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Henry and Thompson Journals.

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VOLUME II.



*NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF  
THE GREATER NORTHWEST*

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THE MANUSCRIPT JOURNALS OF

ALEXANDER HENRY

Fur Trader of the Northwest Company

AND OF

DAVID THOMPSON

Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company

1799-1814

*Exploration and Adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan,  
Missouri, and Columbia Rivers*

EDITED WITH COPIOUS CRITICAL COMMENTARY BY

ELLIOTT COUES

Editor of "Lewis and Clark," of "Pike," etc., etc.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II

**The Saskatchewan and Columbia Rivers**

NEW YORK

FRANCIS P. HARPER

1897

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## Part II.

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### THE SASKATCHEWAN.

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#### CHAPTER XIII.

##### THE SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE.

**M**ONDAY, Aug. 8th, 1808. Dispatched the Lac la Pluie Indians, and at eight o'clock embarked in my small boat, bidding adieu to Panbian river. I took three men with me. My lading consisted merely of my baggage and some dried provisions. I found some Indians opposite Grand Marais; stopped to give them a pipe of tobacco and bid them farewell.

At Rivière aux Marais I stopped at another camp for the same purpose, and then pushed on. Those Indians, with whom I had associated for so many years, appeared really affected at my departure. We camped near Plumb river. *9th.* Before day we were on the water. At Rivière aux Grâties we put ashore for a short time at another camp, and then proceeded. At the Long Reach we found more Indians, to whom I gave some tobacco; they would have loaded us with moose and red deer meat. Camped at Rat river. *10th.* At sunset we arrived at the Forks, where I found a camp of Indians, and Delorme, a freeman [note <sup>12</sup>, p. 193]. *11th.* Hoisted sail, and about two miles below Seine river met a canoe coming up for me with the two men I had sent to Bas de la Rivière. We put ashore, transferred my baggage to the canoe, and started my people in the boat for Panbian river, with a supply of high wine and

tobacco. Camped at Dead river, where the Courtes Oreilles and some others were gardening.<sup>1</sup> From them I purchased a small quantity of provisions, which, with what I had already, would enable us to proceed without going to Bas de la Rivère.

The small band of Courtes Oreilles settled here came from Michilimakinac about 16 years ago, when the prospects of great beaver hunts allured them from their native country. At first they dispersed in different quarters of the North West. A band went as far as Lesser Slave Lake and Athabasca river, by the Saskatchewan route; but beaver getting scarce, they abandoned those parts and are now nearly all here, where they pass the summer attending to their corn and potatoes, and in the autumn separate to hunt. These people have no inclination to intermarry with the Saulteurs; they keep to themselves, and dispose of their daughters only among their own tribe. Their manner of living is entirely that of their own nation; they erect bark huts for the summer, others of birch rind for the winter, and also use rush mats [pukkwi, in Tanner]. Their utensils and furniture are neatly constructed, and generally kept clean. They are thus much more civilized and more industrious than the Saulteurs. The first corn and potatoes they planted here was a small quantity which I gave them in the spring of 1805, since which period they have extended their fields, and hope in a few years to make corn a regular article of traffic with us.

A Saulteur I found tented with the Courtes Oreilles came to me very ceremoniously, and having lighted and

<sup>1</sup> "We then went down to Dead River, planted corn, and spent the summer there. Shagwawkoosink, an Ottawawaw, a friend of mine, and an old man, first introduced the cultivation of corn among the Ojibbeways of the Red River country," Tanner, p. 180.

"Mr. Henry had traded ten years at Pembinah; he was succeeded by a Mr. M'Kenzie, who remained but a short time, and after him came Mr. Wells, called by the Indians Gahsemoan, (a sail,) from the roundness and fulness of his person. He built a strong fort on Red River, near the mouth of the Assiniboin," Tanner, p. 181.

smoked his pipe, informed me that he had been hunting up a small river a few days ago, and that one evening, while in his canoe, he was surprised by the appearance of a very large animal in the water. At first he took it for a moose, and was about to fire at it; but on its nearer approach perceived it to be one of the *Kitche Amicks* or large beavers, which he dared not shoot, and allowed to pass near his canoe without molesting. I had already heard many stories among the *Saulteurs* concerning this immense beaver, but put no faith in them; fear, I presume, magnifies an ordinary beaver into such a monster, or a moose or bear in the dark may be mistaken for one of them, as they are seen only at night, and I am told are very scarce.

Late this evening, while the Indians were still drinking, there arrived a party of young men who had been hunting en canot up Dead river; they brought some fresh meat, including that of a large black bear and her two cubs, one of which was brown, and the other perfectly black. This is frequently the case. I once saw a black bear, killed early in the spring, whose two cubs were taken alive; one of them was cinnamon, and the other black. Both were kept at the fort for a long time, and became perfectly tame.

This evening, also, I was present at a dispute between two young men, who were drinking at our fire, and about to draw their knives on each other when I interfered. Their quarrel had started during the hunt, when they were tracing a wounded moose. This affair brought to my mind a circumstance which occurred to myself one day in the autumn of 1799, near the foot of Fort Dauphin mountain, on *Rivière Terre Blanche*, when I went out with my *Saulteur* hunter. We had not gone far from the house before we fell upon the fresh tracks of some red deer, and soon after discovered the herd in a thicket of willows and poplars; we both fired, and the deer disappeared in different directions. We pursued them, but to no purpose, as the country was unfavorable. We then returned to the spot where we had fired, as the Indian suspected that we had

wounded some of them. We searched to see if we could find any blood; on my part, I could find tracks, but no blood. The Indian soon called out, and I went to him, but could see no blood, nor any sign that an animal had been wounded. However, he pointed out the track of a large buck among the many others, and told me that from the manner in which this buck had started off, he was certain the animal had been wounded. As the ground was beaten in every direction by animals, it was only after a tedious search that he found where the buck had struck off. But no blood was seen until, passing through a thicket of willows, he observed a drop upon a leaf, and next a little more. He then began to examine more strictly, to find out in what part of the body the animal had been wounded; and judging by the height and other signs, he told me the wound must have been somewhere between the shoulder and neck. We advanced about a mile, but saw nothing of the deer, and no more blood. I was for giving up the chase; but he assured me the wound was mortal, and that if the animal should lie down he could not rise again. We proceeded two miles further, when, coming out upon a small open space, he told me the animal was at no great distance, and very probably in this meadow. We accordingly advanced a few yards, and there we found the deer lying at the last gasp. The wound was exactly as I had been told. The sagacity of the Saulteurs in tracing strong wood animals is astonishing. I have frequently witnessed occurrences of this nature; the bend of a leaf or blade of grass is enough to show the hunter the direction the game has taken. Their ability is of equally great service to war-parties, when they discover the footsteps of their enemies. But to return to my voyage.

*Aug. 12th.* Having obtained over night all information I could concerning the route on the S. and W. sides of Lake Winipic, we loaded early and went to the entrance of Red river. The wind continued strong from the S. W., causing a heavy swell. We put ashore for an hour, when, the

wind having abated, we embarked and steered N. W. across the bay. None of us had ever passed by this route, as the common track through Lake Winipic runs along the E. side [*i. e.*, from mouth of Winnipeg river northward] as far as Tête du Chien [Dog's Head, at The Narrows], where the lake contracts to a strait hardly a league wide, which canoes cross. At ten o'clock the wind rose from the N., and this annoyed us much in rounding the Presqu'Isle.<sup>2</sup> The wind then coming about from the S. E., we hoisted sail and kept on till two o'clock, when there was every appearance of a squall from the S. W. We had some difficulty in landing, as the rain fell in torrents and the wind blew a gale. Here we camped for the night. The land is very low, thickly covered with pine and underbrush, and looks gloomy. The beach is sand and gravel. Raspberries are very abundant.

*Aug. 13th.* Long before day we were on the water. The weather was cloudy, with a strong S. W. wind. We came on to the entrance of Terre Blanche bay, and attempted to round a long sandy point. We had hard work to regain the shelter of the woods, where we remained until daylight, when, having pushed off with much labor, we rounded the point and entered the bay. The wind blew a gale; however, we coasted along in the reeds and rushes to the entrance of Rivière Terre Blanche.<sup>3</sup> Here we put ashore

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the peninsula now known as Willow pt., on the W. shore of the lake, in Tp. 19, R. iv, E. of the princ. merid.; cluster of Willow isls. there; boat channel between them and the point; places called Husavik and Gimli in the vicinity.

<sup>3</sup> To be distinguished, of course, from the Terre Blanche or White Earth r. mentioned earlier in this work as a tributary of Lake Manitoba. Henry is coasting due N., down the W. shore of Lake Winnipeg. He has passed Drunken r., and also the small places called Arnes and Hnausa; his "long sandy point" is the position of a place now known as Sandy Bar, and here he enters a sort of bay or recess between the mainland on the W. and Big isl., which latter warrants its name in comparison with all the others in this southern section of the lake. Into this bay falls Henry's Terre Blanche r., formerly also White Mud r., now Icelandic or Icelanders' r.; place called Icelandic River on the shore, and back of this the larger settlement of River-town. Big isl. is only separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, of which Henry speaks beyond, hoping to find a passage through it.

near the old establishment where my people wintered in 1804-05. They made miserable returns, almost perished with hunger, and since that time no Indians have consented to winter here. The miserable country is destitute of large animals; martens only are numerous, and there is no good fishery.

This is the last Saulteur establishment I have made for Red river, and I here bid adieu to the tribes with whom I have passed 16 long winters.<sup>4</sup> During this time I have experienced every trouble, danger, and inconvenience which attends the management of affairs among that turbulent nation. I have been frequently fired at by them and have had several narrow escapes for my life. But I am happy to say they never pillaged me to the value of a needle. Fifteen of those winters I was strongly opposed by different interests in all my earthly possessions. I sincerely believe that competitive trade among the Saulteurs is the greatest slavery a person of any feeling can undergo. A common dram-shop in a civilized country is a paradise compared to the Indian trade, where two or more different interests are striving to obtain the greater share of the Indians' hunts—particularly among the Sauiteurs, who are always ready to take advantage of the situation by disposing of their skins and furs to the highest bidder. No ties, former favors, or services rendered, will induce them to give up their skins for one penny less than they can get elsewhere. Gratitude is a stranger to them; grant them a favor to-day, and to-morrow they will suppose it their due. Love of liquor is their ruling passion, and when intoxicated they will commit any crime to obtain more drink. To this end they frequently pillage a trader and even threaten him with death; and sometimes, when sober, they rob him of both wet and dry goods. It therefore requires a person to be continually on his guard against them and allow them to play no tricks with impunity. At the same time he must study to avoid

<sup>4</sup> A notable statement, showing that Henry had been in the fur-trade since 1792, or for seven years before the opening of the present journal in 1799.

coming to extremities; for they are all so nearly related that to injure one is a grievance to the whole tribe. But let us now proceed on our voyage to other nations, who may treat us more leniently.

The wind continued high from the S. W. We embarked and proceeded along the lee shore, in hopes of finding, as I had been given to understand, a small passage between the mainland and the large island opposite.<sup>5</sup> The bay is shallow and overgrown with rushes; wild fowl of all kinds are numerous. We searched in vain for the passage, and were obliged to return to the mouth of the bay and coast along the [Great Black] island, the shores of which are covered with huge flakes of limestone. At three o'clock we came to an opening, but a gale from the N. W. obliged us to put ashore at the entrance of this large strait,<sup>6</sup> where there was an uncommon number of gulls of different kinds. Here we remained until five o'clock, when the wind abated, and we embarked, though the swell was still high. We made a long traverse from this island to the mainland, where the shore was so steep and rocky that we could find no place to put ashore, and were obliged to push on in the dark. In a short time the wind rose dead ahead from the W., and the swell increased. Our position was decidedly unpleasant;

<sup>5</sup> The "small passage" which Henry did not find is at the Grassy Narrows between the mainland on the W. and Big or Great Black isl. on the E. Hind's map marks the channel here as 10 chains wide and 6 feet deep in 1858; but it may have been much less in 1808. A little beyond Grassy Narrows is the small Guano isl., close to the mainland; this was named by John Fleming, Sept. 22d, 1858.

<sup>6</sup> Between Big or Great Black isl. on the W. or left, and Black (also called Grand) isl., which latter is nearly as large, and lies E. of the N. end of the former. Big isl., is believed to be Isle de Fer of Verendrye, later Iron isl., so named from the extensive deposits of iron ore upon it. Punk isl. is next largest; the Deer isls. and Goose (or Little Black) isl. are among the many small ones of this group, S. and E. of Grindstone pt. This point is the end of a very bold projection from the W. shore, its long axis N. E., delimited from the rest of the W. mainland by the broad and deep Washow bay. The place where Henry put ashore was on the E. side of Big isl., very likely at the spot where Hecla is now situated.

the sea dashed with great violence against the rocks, the night was extremely dark, and the wind seemed to be increasing. Anxious to find any place to land, we crept on as near the shore as the surge would permit, till, having shipped a great quantity of water, we discovered a small cave on a beach of white pebbles, into which we ventured to run our canoe. This was fortunately a good landing-place, as a point of rocks which projected into the lake a few yards broke the fury of the waves before they reached us. Here we unloaded for the night, happy to find so comfortable a berth.<sup>7</sup>

*Sunday, Aug. 14th.* At daybreak we embarked. The wind continued strong ahead, and though the men labored hard against it, we made slow progress along the shore. About two o'clock we found ourselves astray, completely embayed, and at a loss what course to take. We put ashore for a short time, and then, the wind having veered to the S. E., we embarked, hoisted sail, and steered N. for a high [Grindstone]<sup>8</sup> point about four leagues off. Having doubled this point, our course lay due W. along a steep rocky shore. At sunset the wind came about E. and blew hard; took in a double reef and sailed on. The guide soon discovered that we were approaching the wished-for Narrows of Tête du Chien, and about 1 p. m. we arrived at Grande Pointe, happy to find ourselves once more on the main route.<sup>9</sup> We put ashore and camped for the night.

<sup>7</sup> Henry's snug berth was in what later became known as Boat harbor, a small recess of the shore inside Little Grindstone pt.

<sup>8</sup> Grindstone pt., a prominent headland, the end of the great peninsula which delimits Washow or Deep bay on the S., is about 8 m. N. by E. from Boat harbor or Little Grindstone bay; Punk isl. on right offing. Henry rounds Grindstone pt., coasts W. some miles, and then makes the traverse across Washow bay.

<sup>9</sup> The length of the strait which intervenes between the two main divisions of the lake may be 10 or 12 m., about N. N. W. and S. S. E., representing the direct distance between the two most prominent projections from the W. side, now called the Bull's Head and the Dog's Head. The last of these appears to be what Henry calls Grande Pointe, or Tête du Chien, marking the exit from the strait. This exit is the narrowest place—*i. e.*, The Narrows, where a pro-



The land in the bottom of the deep [Washow] bay, into which we went to-day, appeared low and marshy, covered with small pines, willows, and long grass; but the land which projects toward the N. shore gradually rises and becomes rocky, until it forms perpendicular dark gray bluffs, which continue to Tête du Chien, where we again find large piles of limestone.

*Aug. 15th.* The wind continued to blow hard from the S. E., making a heavy swell in the Narrows. My guide thought it unsafe to proceed, as we had a long traverse to make on leaving this place. As the weather was clear, we spread our baggage to dry, almost every article having been wet since the 13th. During this operation the men gathered raspberries, which grew in profusion. The N. side of the lake appeared to be rocky, the rocks black and gray. The traverse is about a league wide; across it appear some snug inlets and coves with a sandy bottom, which would be of great advantage if one were overtaken by a storm. At eleven o'clock everything was dry, and the wind had abated; we hoisted sail, and came on to the Fort of the Traverse of the Bark Island;<sup>10</sup> but a sudden

jection from the E. comes within 3 m. of the Dog's Head. From here the traverse goes past Snake and Black Bear isls., the group of Moose isls. which occupy the throat of Fisher bay, and Tamarac, Jackhead, and other isls., to the W. shore of the N. division of the lake, about Little Jackhead and Big Jackhead rivers, and so on. Maps differ irreconcilably in naming various points along each side of the Narrows. The latest ones before me agree best with Henry. Fleming's map in Hind's Report, 1858, marks on the W. side in succession: (1) Bull's Head, (2) Little Long bay, (3) Limestone Cave pt., (4) Whiteway's pt.; and on the E. side, beginning opp. the Bull's Head: Loon's straits or *Détroit le Duc* (lettered "Canoe Route of old N. W. Co."), then a succession of numerous small coves and boat harbors, and finally the Dog's Head, at the narrowest point of exit from the straits, as on other maps, but on the opposite side. McKenzie's map of 1801 again differs from all others I have seen.

<sup>10</sup> So copy, evidently by scribe's error. I incline to read "foot of the traverse of Black Bear island." In any event, this island is one of the many which occupy the traverse across the broad throat of Fisher bay Henry is about to make to the W. mainland; see last note, where several of these islands are named. Henry's Encampment isl. is another of them, perhaps present Snake isl.; but I cannot make positive identification. The Moose isls.

squall from the N. W. obliged us to put ashore at L'Isle d'Encampement, where we were detained until three o'clock. The wind then came about from the S. E.; we hoisted sail, and took the traverse [of Fisher bay], in which we found a very heavy swell. At sunset we got over to the W. mainland, and kept on with double-reefed sail until nine o'clock, when we camped on a fine sandy beach. We soon had a terrible squall with thunder, lightning, and a heavy shower. My tent was blown down, and we passed a wretched night, wet to the skin.

*Aug. 16th.* At daybreak we loaded and embarked; wind strong, about W. We crept slowly along the shore, which partially sheltered us. At Rivière à la Tête du Brochet,<sup>11</sup> we put ashore for an hour, and then continued until eleven o'clock, when we came to the great Reef of Rocks,<sup>12</sup> a chain of large stones which extends into the lake for more than a mile. We attempted to get around it, but were in danger of being blown out in the lake; we therefore put ashore, and unloaded. The land along here is very low, with a fine sandy beach. The woods in many places stand nearly a mile from the beach, the intervening space being low, with many small lakes, marshes, and stagnant ponds; the waters of the lake seem

of last note are distinguished as Great Moose and Little Moose on Fleming's map; and the one now called Tamarac is there given as Juniper isl. This last is directly off Little Jackhead r. Fisher bay is a very large one; Fisher r. at its head, where there is now an Indian reserve, Tp. 28, R. i, E. of princ. merid.

<sup>11</sup> *Brochet* is F. name of the pike, a fish, otherwise called jack; and *tête du brochet* is literally jackhead, another name of the same fish. But in present connection Tête du Brochet appears to signify Pike Head, in the sense of cape or headland, for such is or has been the name of the point near the mouth of the river Henry has reached. This is now known as Jack, Jackfish, or Jackhead r., site of an Indian reserve, and long ago the scene of missionary effort; Fleming marks "Old Missionary Post" in 1858. To reach this place Henry has passed Little Jackfish Head, Little Jack, Little Jackfish, or Little Jackhead r., Cross pt., Spruce pt., and Point Maymagwaysee.

<sup>12</sup> Apparently the place now called Stony pt.; formerly Wicked pt. or the voyageurs' Pointe Maligne; to be distinguished from another of same name beyond.

to have washed the foot of the woods many years ago, and to have since gradually receded. This circumstance I have observed in several other lakes of this country, both large and small, where the water is diminishing. I shot a white crane and a few ducks; at four o'clock we loaded, and with great difficulty we got around the reef. As the wind continued to blow hard, we shipped much water. We kept on to Pointe aux Ragominoire,<sup>13</sup> where the swell was so high that, in rounding the point, we nearly filled several times; it was as much as one man with a kettle could do to keep our canoe clear. We all got wet to the skin, and our baggage was completely soaked. We discovered a brigade of nine canoes, ashore at the foot of the traverse. My people thought it was our Fort des Prairies brigade, from which they had parted at Bas de la Rivière, as the number of canoes was the same. We had a hard pull to reach them, as the wind blew a gale, and were sadly disappointed to find it was the English River brigade, Joseph Paul,<sup>14</sup> guide. We camped with them for the night.

*Aug. 17th.* This morning the wind was easterly, but the swell occasioned by the late gale still ran high. After much trouble in loading, we embarked and stood out on the traverse for the Tête aux Pichaux.<sup>15</sup> The English

<sup>13</sup> So copy, clearly in error if the phrase be French, but I am unable to make the required correction. (Qu : Pointe aux Rayonnements ?)

<sup>14</sup> A noted character for many years, whose name has come up before, where McDonald of Garth speaks of having "a bold guide, Joseph Paul, an old bully," in Masson II. p. 38. Unless there were two persons of the identical name, he was a guide c. the N. W. Co. on English r. after the fusion of 1804. He had a son, Pierre Paul; and both were captured by orders of Governor Williams, June 20th, 1819, imprisoned for some months, taken to Canada and released.—Jean Baptiste Paul is listed voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Lake Winnipeg; Nicolas Paul, ditto, Athabasca; and Paulet Paul, ditto, English r.

<sup>15</sup> A phrase I cannot explain. It looks as if it might be Tête aux Pêcheurs, Fishers' Head, or Tête aux Pécheurs, Sinners' Head. But Henry's course is readily traced. On clearing Stony pt. and rounding Willow pt., he enters upon the traverse of Kinwow bay, in the throat and offing of which are various islands, as Birch, Nut, Cranberry, and Commissioner. This traverse made, about 8 m. N. W., he strikes the bold promontory called the Cat Head, separating Kinwow bay from Lynx bay. He would strike the Cat Head at or

River brigade soon followed. The wind increased to such a degree in rounding this point, and the sea ran so high while we were under sail, that at intervals we lost sight of the masts of the canoes not more than 30 yards distant; but the swell ran long, and was not dangerous. Having safely rounded the cape, the wind came about full aft, and we kept on our way, while the loaded canoes, having received some damage in the swell, hugged the shore, to find a convenient spot to land for repairs. The shore here is very high, and almost a continuous limestone cliff. I am told it is a famous place for moose. We came on to Isle d'Encampement,<sup>16</sup> at the foot of the St. Martin's islands traverse. At this place the canoes for Fort Dauphin, Swan river, and Rivière à la Biche [Red Deer river] strike off to the left, S. W., up Sturgeon bay to the entrance of Dauphin river, whilst those bound northward cross [this bay and pass] among St. Martin's islands to the W. mainland. The wind had fallen, and there was every appearance of a fine afternoon as we stood outside Encampment island to make for the Toad islands, which we did not discover until we had paddled about two hours, they being very low. Having reached them, the wind freshened from the N. E.; we hoisted sail, and soon after made the mainland at Pointe du Grand Marais. As the sun went down near the point called Macbeth's on Fleming's map. I am inclined to think this is Henry's "Tête aux Pichaux"; for he presently speaks of a "continuous limestone cliff," and such is the character of the shore for the most part between Macbeth's pt. and Lynx pt. (the latter at the entrance of Lynx bay).

<sup>16</sup> This Isle d'Encampement is one of the group of Bashkega isls., in the throat of the great Sturgeon bay Henry has reached, after making the traverse across Lynx bay. This identification is certified by what he says of its being a place where canoes for Fort Dauphin, etc., strike off to the left of the Saskatchewan route he is pursuing. The W. side of Lynx bay is delimited by a prominence called for the same reason Point Turn Again on some maps, and Saskatchewan pt., directly off which lie the Bashkega isls. Sturgeon bay is an immense recess southward, receiving Little Saskatchewan or Dauphin r. on its W. side. Henry has to cross the throat of Sturgeon bay on a W. course or a little N. of W., to the St. Martin's isls.; and this is the traverse said in the text. In fact, Sturgeon bay was formerly called St. Martin's bay, as receiving the outlet of Lake St. Martin (Dauphin); it is so marked on McKenzie's map, 1801.

the wind increased; we attempted to get into Rivière aux Guerriers,<sup>17</sup> but passed it unobserved. As the wind was too high to return, we had no choice, but must keep on. We soon found that our canoe could not stand it much longer, as we shipped great quantities of water; and night coming on, we determined to run ashore, at the risk of breaking our canoe. We ran in close to shore, and, finding no inlet or cove to shelter us from the swell, the land being low and nearly straight as far as we could see, we put her about, and kept her stern foremost. Almost every swell washed over her, and as soon as we could find bottom all hands jumped overboard, each taking a load ashore. This lightened the canoe enough to keep her out of danger, but all our baggage was once more wet. We hauled her up with some difficulty, and camped for the night, during which the wind continued to blow with great violence.

*Aug. 18th.* At sunrise, the wind having abated and coming from the S. E., we with great difficulty loaded our canoe and embarked, hoisted sail, and kept along the shore; but the wind increased to such a gale that we could scarcely carry two feet of sail. At Pointe au Canot Cassé [Broken Canoe point] we discovered a sail ahead, which, on approaching Pointe Maligne [Wicked point], put ashore. On coming up with it, we found it to be Mr. D. Thompson,<sup>18</sup> bound

<sup>17</sup> Literally Warriors' r., now called War Path r., a considerable stream, draining from several lakes into the W. side of Lake Winnipeg, 9 or 10 m. S. of Dancing pt., and about as far beyond the marshy point where Henry struck the W. shore of the lake. This is nearly opposite to the S. end of the large Reindeer or Caribou isl. of present maps. From the marshy point to War Path r. is a fine sandy beach, with deep water alongshore, and some exposure of limestone. The mouth of the river is about 40 feet wide, but easily passed unobserved; so Henry missed a good harbor in the basin into which it dilates, just inside its mouth.

<sup>18</sup> David Thompson, whose MSS. before me, Bk. No. 23, Vol. x, gives his journey to the Rocky mts. of 1808, beginning Aug. 4th on the Rainy Lake route, and shows that he was navigating Lake Winnipeg Aug. 13th–20th, when he reached the mouth of the Saskatchewan. Henry's Pointe au Canot Cassé (written "aux Canah Cassie" in copy) is present Dancing pt., or next above this. Present Wicked pt. is much further along, almost up to the boundary.

for the Columbia, via Saskatchewan river. We shipped a quantity of water in putting ashore here, the swell being very high, and the wind was too strong for us to attempt to round the point. This is a chain of large stones and rocks which extends far into the lake, and is dangerous when the wind is high; frequently accidents have happened here to those who were not cautious. About noon the wind abated; we loaded and embarked, in company with Mr. Thompson. Having rounded the [Wicked] point, the wind sprang up aft; we made sail, and passed along to Egg island. Here the wind increased, a heavy swell rolled in, and we were obliged to run in between Egg island and Pointe aux Gravois, which joins the Détour,<sup>19</sup> where the landing is very bad when the lake is in the least agitated. Having got into the bay, after shipping a great deal of

between Manitoba and the recently established District of Keewatin. This is the one lettered "Wickett Pt." on Thompson's map, *q. v.* Between the two points said several streams empty into the lake, among them two called Sand r. and Ebb and Flow r.

<sup>19</sup> The Détour of the voyageurs was the general name of the great peninsula from the W. shore of the lake, around which the canoes had to go far out of their direct course. It extends due E. for 20 m. or more from the general shore line, with an average breadth of perhaps 5 or 6 m. Its shape is strikingly like that of the human thumb. Its principal names are or have been Big pt., Long pt., Point Missineo, and Cape Kitchinashi—all coming to the same thing, namely, size. The voyageur doubled it by going E. and returning W.—a matter of 40 m. or more. In rounding this point Henry sailed in present Keewatin, but his whole coast line was in present Saskatchewan district; for these two political divisions meet Manitoba in the vicinity of Good Harbor, on the S. side of the base of the great peninsula. This harbor is the one Henry ran into, between Egg isl. and Pointe aux Gravois or Gravelly point. In coming to this bay from Wicked pt. he passed certain coastwise islands, called Sand and Gull, and the mouths of at least three small rivers from the W., two of them known as Gull Egg or Two Rivers. The Egg isl. Henry names is one of several small ones into which the end of Gravelly pt. breaks up, so called from the numbers of gulls, terns, and other birds which bred on them. Henry's speaking of Gravelly pt. as an "isthmus" is liable to be misread; he simply means that, having got in behind this spit, which was about 2 m. long and very narrow, he carried across it, rather than go round it, to get into the open again and coast E. along the great Détour. See Thompson's map, "Egg Isles" and "Detour."

water, we proceeded under the lee of the point, which forms an isthmus for about two miles before it joins the mainland. Here we put ashore and camped. Gulls of various kinds were numerous, and we killed a great many.

*Aug. 19th.* The wind continued to blow hard; at nine o'clock we had a squall and light shower. When the wind fell, we carried our canoe and baggage across the isthmus, and loaded. The wind rose again, but as it was fair, we hoisted sail and scudded on fast. The wind increased; we took in a double reef. Still we had too much sail, and were in great danger. We furled our sail, leaving only about a foot of canvas spread, which even then required two men to support the mast and keep the yard from being carried away. On the shore, which would not admit of our landing, I observed a nine-gallon keg, which I supposed to be empty; but, in a short time, I saw another of the same kind. I then suspected them to be part of a cargo that had been wrecked in the late gales. We proceeded until we came to the Point of the Détour, where the wind was directly ahead. While some of my people were pitching camp, I went with two men to examine the kegs, and found them full of high wine—belonging to our Athabasca brigade. I found also two newly broken paddles, which made me suppose that some of our canoes had been cast away at this point. We returned to camp with the two kegs. We found abundance of excellent raspberries, just ripe, and had good sport shooting gulls and ducks.

*Aug. 20th.* At sunrise the wind had abated and it soon fell dead calm; but there was still a heavy sea. However, we made out to load and embark, and came on to Moose Nose island, where we shot some ducks and gulls, with which the shore was almost covered. The wind sprang up again. We hoisted sail, came on with a pleasant breeze aft past Horse islands, and soon entered the mouth of the Saskatchewan,<sup>20</sup> or, as the French call it, Rivière du Pas.

<sup>20</sup> Copy wavers in spelling the word, ending with *-woine*, *-waine*, *-wine*, *-wane*, *-win*, *-wan*. It is as often as not in its present fixed form, to which I have

The Saskatchewan is here a fine broad stream, which enters the lake with a swift current from S. to N. The lake shore to the N. and N. W. appears more elevated than that upon the S. We crossed to the W. side, and proceeded up river with poles to the foot of the first rapids, where we took towing-lines up the Grand rapids.<sup>21</sup> Here we saw the

hitherto uniformly adjusted it ; and I shall continue to do so, after this instance. The word means " swift flowing " river, and its forms are of course very numerous—initial *s* variant to *sh*, the *k* and hard *c* interchangeable, etc., besides the substitution of *u* or *ou* for *w* in French usages, and fluctuation of every one of the vowels. Forms like Kisiskatchewan or Kisiscachiwin are said to be nearer the aboriginal word. Harmon renders Sisiscatchwin. Tanner has Saskawjawnun, Saskutchawin, Saskowjawun, and Saskawjewun. One of the more remote from present spellings which I have found is Kejeechewon. The early F. travelers bequeathed us a different name for the river, derived from a certain place on it, in such forms as Poskoiac, Pasquayah, Pasquia, Basquia, etc. Rivière du Pas, sometimes in Henry aux Pas, and du Pass, is explained beyond in its application to this great waterway or thoroughfare, of which Lake Winnipeg is the main reservoir. The Saskatchewan corresponds to British America as the Missouri does to the United States ; both are rivers of the first magnitude and importance in the vast drainage area eastward from the Rocky mts.—the one to turn at last into Hudson's bay through Nelson r., the other into the Gulf of Mexico through the Mississippi. The Saskatchewan drains the whole range of the Rocky mts. from the Athabaskan waters on the N. to those of the Missouri on the S., its uttermost sources being on the Continental Divide. Some of its southernmost tributaries, as Belly r. and St. Mary's, gather their waters over the boundary of the United States, ranging alongside headwaters of Milk r., a tributary of the Missouri ; all the rest, in British America. The Saskatchewan has two main courses before these unite in one ; they are the South Saskatchewan and North Saskatchewan, which compare with each other much as the Yellowstone may be said to compare with the Missouri above their confluence. Belly r. and Little Bow r. unite, and join Bow r., in Alberta, to compose the South Saskatchewan ; this is joined by Red Deer r. in Assiniboia, near long. 109° 50' ; the stream continues E. and then turns N. into the District of Saskatchewan. The North Saskatchewan flows through Alberta and on throughout the district of Saskatchewan ; its principal tributary, high up, is Battle r. ; there are many others, but no very large ones. Junction of the N. and S. Saskatchewan is effected in Tp. 49, R. xxii, W. of the 2d initial meridian, near long. 105°. One of the most practically important points about the main Saskatchewan is its connection, in the vicinity of Cumberland House, with the great chain of lakes by means of which a waterway is afforded both to Missinipian and Athabaskan streams. We shall follow Henry up the noble river, and take the N. Saskatchewan to his destination, noting many interesting things as we go.

<sup>21</sup> Henry entered the river by rounding a low gravelly beach, and went S. 2



vast numbers of pelicans that resort to the foot of those rapids, where I am told there is an abundance of fish of various kinds, particularly sturgeon. Loaded canoes generally discharge half their load, and make two trips; but as my canoe was light we went on without loss of time, and after a tedious walk along a rough, ugly shore, with loose stones, and perpendicular banks of clay, we arrived at Grand Rapid portage. The opposite [south] shore is almost a continuous high bank of limestone of different colors. Before the canoes arrived I went to see as much as I could of the falls or rapids that occasion this portage. I did not find them nearly so bad as I had been given to understand. There is no particular fall, but a succession of descents, especially on the S. side, where I would not hesitate a moment to run down a canoe with half her cargo. On my return I found the canoes had arrived, and the people were busy carrying the baggage over the portage. This is upward of a mile long, but would be a very good road, were it not that the H. B. Co. from York Factory, with large boats, are in the habit of laying down a succession of logs from one end to the other for the purpose of rolling their boats over. This is a nuisance to our people, frequently causing accidents which endanger their lives. It was quite dark before we got everything over. We experienced much annoyance from mosquitoes, and had rain during the night.

*Sunday, Aug. 21st.* At daybreak the rain continued,

m., having on each side low-lying land heavily wooded with balsam-fir and poplar. Before reaching the rapids he turned W., and so continued through them for 2 m., then curving N. W. on the portage. The rapids are formed by the passage of the river through a limestone plateau which presents a high steep bank on both sides of the river; the stratification is horizontal, and 25 ft. above the surface of the water. The total length of the rapids, usually called 3 m., is 2 m. and  $56\frac{1}{2}$  chains; the total descent of water is  $43\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The portage is on the right hand going up, left bank, toward the upper end of the rapids; its length is a little over a mile, and used to be reckoned about 2,100 paces; in this distance the fall of water is  $28\frac{1}{2}$  feet, leaving only 15 feet for all the rest of the rapid descent; the bank along the portage is a light clay containing limestone boulders, and very steep. Boats can also be towed or "tracked" up the S. side of the river, opp. the portage, with parts of their cargoes.

with thunder and lightning; however, we loaded and embarked. The current is here very swift, and we had difficulty in getting on with poles. After going about a league we crossed to the S. side and soon came to the portage, or rather the *décharge*, of Roche Rouge,<sup>22</sup> where our canoes were towed up with lines, without unloading. Here we all embarked, and paddled over to the range of islands, where we found a very strong rapid which we ascended with poles, and soon entered Lac Traverse [Cross lake].<sup>23</sup> As the wind blew strong aft, we hoisted sail and scudded before a fine breeze. This is a treacherous little lake when the wind is thus from below, there being a current which, when counteracted by the wind, causes a dangerous chopping sea; several instances are known of people throwing pieces overboard to save their lives. We were obliged to double-reef our sail before we got over, and then had a narrow escape from swamping. This lake is about two leagues across; the country round it appears low; the shores are mostly covered with a black or gray rock, in some places loosely piled, in others forming solid masses. There are many islands on the N. side, which prevents us from seeing the full extent of the lake. We presently came to the Grande Décharge [Cross Lake rapids],<sup>24</sup> up which our canoes were towed with the line without unloading, although the water

<sup>22</sup> Red Rock rapids begin about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  m. from the portage, above a rippling shoal, and extend for one mile, during which space the descent of water is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet, with a deep, smooth current of 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. an hour. They are run by loaded boats without difficulty. The "range of islands" which Henry mentions are a mile further; the rapid there is 10 chains long, with a fall of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Then Cross l. is almost immediately entered.

<sup>23</sup> Lac Traverse or Cross l. is so named as being *à travers*, or athwart the river, which enters and leaves it due W. to E., near its S. end. It is crossed from exit to entrance in about 3 m., but its length N. to S. along its major axis is 15 m. or more. It contains a large island in its upper part, but this is several miles off the route.

<sup>24</sup> These rapids are generally run down with full loads, and towed up with part loads; or a portage is made on the N. side of 230 yards, in which space the fall is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet; including the quick water below, the total descent is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet. A range of islands is passed at this point.

runs here with great velocity. Having got safe up, all hands embarked, and we proceeded with poles and paddles alternately; ascending several small rapids through a cluster of islands and winding channels for about two miles, when we came to the entrance of Lac Bourbon or Cedar lake.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Present Cedar l., first Lac Bourbon, dating from the time Verendrye established Fort Bourbon there in 1749 or a little earlier (he died Dec. 6th, 1749). This was said to have been at the mouth of the Poskoyac, *i. e.*, of the Saskatchewan, and hence has been sometimes accredited to the shore of Lake Winnipeg, where the river finally debouches. But in those days the Saskatchewan, or at any rate the Poskoyac, was taken to end in Cedar l., and the part of the stream up which we have come was called Bourbon r. In fact, the discharge of Lake Winnipeg into Hudson's bay, by present York or Nelson r., was in early times known as R. Bourbon; and a fort built by the French in 1676, and rebuilt by them in 1682, at or near site of York Factory, was named Fort Bourbon. This double employ of the name has caused some confusion. Cedar l. is itself a pretty old name for this body of water. It dates back nearly to 1763, when the French régime was exchanged for English dominion in the N. W. For a short time nobody went much beyond Lake Superior, but in 1770 Thomas Curry of Montreal journeyed to Fort Bourbon, with guides, interpreters, and four canoes, and wintered 1770-71. This pioneer of all the English traders was satisfied with his venture, and never repeated it; but he was immediately succeeded by James Finlay, who in 1771 went as far as Nipawi, then the last F. settlement on the Saskatchewan. The Anglo-Saxon soon spread over the country, the way to which had been led by the Romance race. Thus Cedar l. was entered Oct. 3d, 1775, by the elder Henry, in company with J. Frobisher and T. Frobisher, who had been stemming the "current of the Bourbon" for two days, and he speaks of "Lake de Bourbon, called by the English, after the Indians, Cedar Lake. . . . At the north end there was, in the French time, a fort or trading house, called Fort de Bourbon, and built by M. de Saint-Pierre," *i. e.*, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Le Sieur de Verendrye. Henry adds that at and adjacent to this fort are "several of the mouths of the river Sascatchiwaine," showing where the river was supposed to end in his day. Umfreville says, p. 146 of his Hudson's Bay, etc., pub. 1790: "I passed the winters of the years 1784, 1785, 1786, and 1787, on a large river, which empties itself by many branches into that lake which is laid down in maps by the name of lake Bourbon. This lake was improperly called so by the French, when in possession of Canada; but its real name is the Cedar lake, and it is thus named by the Indians, on account of that kind of wood being found thereon." Sir A. McKenzie speaks, p. lxxviii, of Fort Bourbon, "situated on a small island, dividing this [Cedar l.] from Mud-Lake." One of several small islands in that situation is still known as Fort isl. Thompson's MS. of 1793 speaks of the "old Canadian house" at the end of the lake, as he was going up. The N. W. Co. had also a fort on Cedar l., which Harmon says was abandoned in 1802; our

Here we found four tents of Mashquegons [Swampy Indians], who generally reside at Moose lake,<sup>26</sup> about 20 leagues to the N. They gave us the flesh of a fat buck moose for some rum and tobacco. We entered the lake with a strong head wind about S., and proceeded with much labor until we came opposite Pointe de Lièvre, or Rabbit point,<sup>27</sup> where the lake opened to the W., and a deep bay on the S. prevented our crossing at once. I expected to find the small band of Saulteurs who generally summer here and when autumn approaches return to Red Deer river to winter. I found a freeman and his family who informed me that the Indians had been gone three days, and that he supposed them still engaged in making Swamp [East Mossy] portage. This lies at the S. end of Cedar lake, about nine miles hence, and is the route by which the H. B. Co. crafts from York Factory proceed to Swan river. I desired to see these Indians on some particular business, but it would have retarded my voyage too much to go after them. At four o'clock the wind came round from the E.; we hoisted sail and passed Pointe de Lièvre. The wind increased as the sun went down; before we could reach Isle de la Traverse,

author does not mention this, but Thompson maps "N. W. Co. □" on the W. shore of the lake. The Narrows, leading E. from the lake, is the site of Cedar Lake house of the H. B. Co., built 1858, on the W. bank. The lake is of somewhat rectangular figure, with a deep bay on the N. side. The river enters by several mouths in marshes at the N. W. corner, and leaves near the middle of the E. side; the traverse between these two points is about 20 m. direct. The lake is directly N. of Lake Winnipegosis, and so close that portages are made from one to the other. These are known as E. and W. Mossy portages. At East Mossy portage, the one Henry presently mentions as Swamp portage, the two lakes are 3 m. and 76 chains apart, and it is but little further by the present wagon road, which leads to the post or store of the H. B. Co. on the shore of Lake Winnipegosis. The white cedar which gives name to the lake is *Thuja occidentalis*.

<sup>26</sup> Lac Original or Lac à l'Original of the French, now as then Moose l. of the English. But it lies nearer 20 m. than "20 leagues" of Cedar l., and due N. It discharges southward by Moose Lake r. into the Saskatchewan, near the entrance of the latter into Cedar l.

<sup>27</sup> Or, also, Hare pt. which I have once found as Hair pt. by error; a tongue of land on the N., or Henry's right as he goes W.

which lies in the crossing, it blew a gale, and we expected every moment our canoe would be swamped. We reefed our sail down to two feet, and even that was more than the canoe could carry with safety. Having reached the island, we put ashore under the lee; but it was so very small and narrow as to scarcely shelter us from the swell, and not at all from the wind. We could not pitch tents on account of the gale and lack of suitable soil to drive the pickets in; for this little strip of an island is covered with loose stones and low brush. Pigeons were plentiful on our arrival, but they instantly left; we saw also a few outardes and ducks, with great flocks of gulls. The shores of this lake appear low; there are several large bays about it, and a number of islands, some of which are quite large, with rocky shores. Wild fowl are plentiful, and I am told sturgeon abound.

*Aug. 22d.* At sunrise the wind abated; we embarked, but soon after we left the island a W. wind sprang up, which obliged us to leave our direct course and steer into the bay on the N., where we found shelter on an island. We unloaded, and, the weather being fine, spread out our things to dry, most of our baggage having got wet yesterday while we were under sail. At one o'clock the wind fell, and everything being dry we embarked in a delightful calm. When we came to the cluster of islands we put ashore on one of them to procure cedar to repair our canoes next spring, as no wood of that kind is found beyond this lake. Pine is therefore used in making and repairing canoes in the N. departments, but it makes them very weighty.

The wind having sprung up from the E., we hoisted sail, and soon passed old Fort Bourbon, near which we entered one of the channels of the Saskatchewan.<sup>28</sup> The country is

<sup>28</sup> The place where the Saskatchewan finally discharges into Lake Winnipeg does not seem to have altered much in historic times; but the delta of the mighty river which Henry now enters from Cedar l. is continually changing to such an extent that topographical details of his day may have but a general resemblance to those now existent. This throws the absolute position of old Fort Bourbon a little in the air, or under water, perhaps, though there is, of course, no question of its location on the W. side of Cedar l., "at the mouth

very low—nothing but an extensive marsh covered with reeds and long grass. There are several different channels, in all of which the current is strong. This place is a famous sturgeon fishery at all seasons. We ascended the channel to Lac Vaseux,<sup>29</sup> and as the wind continued fair, we hoisted sail and came on through the lake. On Isle aux Festions<sup>30</sup> there was a tent of Mashquegons, but we did not stop; they came off in a small canoe and brought us some wild fowl, for which we gave them liquor. The wind increased as the sun went down, and we had all our canoes could bear. When it became quite dark we found ourselves astray, unable to discover the entrance of any one of the numerous channels of the Saskatchewan which empty into this lake, We repeatedly ran aground upon mud banks, and could see no dry land on which to camp. Having paddled and dragged our canoe about until my men were quite harassed, I ran her in among the rushes for the night. Here we were sheltered from the wind, which continued to blow hard. I sounded and found eight feet of water. Soon after we had

of the Saskatchewan." The H. B. Co. maintains a post on the S. side of the present main channel of the delta. Above the delta for several miles the river can hardly be said to have any main channel. It comes through a maze of interlacing collateral branches in mud flats or muskegs only a foot or two above average water level, liable to annual overflow and to shift after any such inundation. However, some notable features will appear as our author flounders through this swamp.

<sup>29</sup> The correct F. name, found in various corruptions, as Vase of Thompson's MS.; Vase, etc. Mud or Muddy l. of the E. is its present name. This is a special overflow lake of varying dimensions, according to rise of water, but of no great size, and mainly on the right hand going up, close above the delta.

<sup>30</sup> So copy, evidently in grammatical error. I am inclined to read 'Isle aux Festins, Island of Festivals, also called Kettle isl., and Drum or Devil's Drum isl. A passage of Fleming's in Hind's Rep. Expl. of 1858, p. 75, throws light on the situation. This writer is describing Muddy l., and adds: "This island is a favorite camping and fishing place of the Swampy Indians, there being on it a clump of good sized poplar, the only timber fit for fuel for miles around; and here they hold their great councils, dog feasts, and medicine dances. The name in Swampy is *Kash-ke-bu-jes-pu-gua-ne-shing*, signifying 'Tying the mouth of a drum.'" Fleming also notes here a low limestone exposure in situ, and his map legends "Great Indian Camping Place."

taken our berths for the night a thunderstorm from the W. made our bad situation worse.

*Aug. 23d.* At daybreak the weather was clear, but we had a gale directly ahead. We renewed our search for a channel, and after a tedious spell of hauling the canoe over mud, into which the men more than once sunk up to the middle, we made an entrance, up which we proceeded. At eleven o'clock we found a spot of dry land, called Pine island, where we put ashore for a much-needed breakfast, after the disagreeable night and morning we had passed. The country appeared to be the same as below—a continuous marsh on every hand, though wood is seen at a distance on both sides. Having refreshed ourselves, we embarked and stemmed the strong current, soon coming to where the banks began to be covered with willow and other wood; but the same marshy country continued. To all appearance the banks are overflowed annually, about midsummer, in consequence of the melting of snow on the Rocky mountains, and this inundation makes mud into which one sinks knee-deep. We shot a number of wild fowl during the day—outardes, ducks, pelicans, and some pigeons, of which we saw great numbers; and at sunset we put ashore to camp. During the night we heard dogs barking up the river.

*Aug. 24th.* At an early hour we were upon the water. We soon came to a tent of freemen, but only stopped to learn who they were. At eleven o'clock we entered the main channel of the Saskatchewan, and soon after reached the Pas.<sup>31</sup> This place may be called the first real dry land

<sup>31</sup> We have thus got out of the extensive alluvial lowland, with its string of marshes and overflow lakes. The last one of these is now known as Muskrat l., in which is an island of the same name. Near this dilatation of the river is the mouth of one of the discharges from the Lac Orignal or Moose l. of note<sup>28</sup>, this chapter. Rounding a long well-marked bend to the N., we are presently brought to the Pas. This is a notable place, close to the mouth of Rivière au Pas or Pasquia r., site of the present Pas Mission or Cumberland Station, and Indian reserve, on the S. side of the Saskatchewan. The Pas was the location of old Fort Poskoyac or Poscoiac, built by the French before 1755. This

we have found since we left Lac Bourbon. The little [Pasquia] river of Montagne du Pas [Pasquia hills] comes in here on the S. Formerly the French had an establishment on this spot, some traces of which are still to be seen. It was also a place of general rendezvous for the different tribes of Indians previous to the smallpox, when they were very numerous and troublesome to the traders in passing. We found one tent, containing a Mashquegon family, from whom we got some dried meat, and continued on to Carrot<sup>32</sup> river, at whose entrance we found a freeman tented. He had passed part of the summer up this river, where there

establishment, no doubt the one of which Henry saw the traces, derived its name from that of an Indian village. Thus the elder Henry, when he was here with the two Frobishers in Oct., 1775, speaks of a river into which he turned, and found "the Pasquayah village" of 30 circular leather tents, under a chief Chatique or Pelican, who obtained rum by a show of force, after a stormy conference. This river was the present Pasquia r., coming N. from the hills of the same name—R. au Pas of our author, R. du Pas of various other writers, lettered "Pasquiaw R." on Thompson's map. The implication of this F. term is not the Indian word Pasquia, but the passage or crossing of the Saskatchewan, which was habitually made at the mouth of Pasquia r., and to which this river led from the S., as might be inferred from our text. But both the Indian and the French here in question have been frequent synonyms of the Saskatchewan itself, or of so much of the great river as was known in French times. Pasquia r. empties in the S. E. corner of projected Tp. 56, R. xxvii, W. of the princ. merid., according to the best map before me. Fleming renders the name Basquia, and gives an account of the mission as he found it in 1858.

<sup>32</sup> Carrot r. is the largest tributary of the lower Saskatchewan. Its mouth is only 2 or 3 m. above that of the Pasquia, on the same side, and in the same township. Carrot r. heads as far W. as the third initial meridian, or long. 106° W., in a number of small lakes closely approximated to the South Saskatchewan in the vicinity of Batoche, where its ultimate source seems to be as near the latter river as that of the Qu'Appelle, commented on in note <sup>16</sup>, p. 300. It runs on the whole about E. N. E., skirting the Pasquia hills on their N. side, and draining nearly all the country between these hills and the Saskatchewan. The hills form the watershed between Carrot r. and that Red Deer r. which falls into Lake Winnipegosis. Carrot r. runs through some lakes in the upper part of its course, one of them called Waterhen l., and receives many tributaries, but none of very marked size. Carrot r. is connected with the Saskatchewan by the long Seepanock channel, which starts from the other river near Pasquitinow hills. Carrot r. is found on some maps and in some texts as Root r.—but whether the carrot has grown from the root, or the root been clipped from the carrot, may be a question. Thompson calls it Seepanok r.: see his map.



were several salt springs, and had made a considerable quantity of salt, which he had brought to dispose of to our men on their way to the interior, where this article is not found. We proceeded to the Grand Remous,<sup>33</sup> where we camped. The land continues low on both sides of the river, but is well wooded with liard, poplar, ash, and willow. Opposite our camp, on the N. side, rising ground approaches within half a mile of the river. This is the first high land we have seen for some time.

*Aug. 25th.* Early we embarked. The very strong current, with a continued head wind, made it hard work for the men. At sunset we camped at the Barrier,<sup>34</sup> a small river which comes in on the N., at the entrance of which there was formerly a famous whitefish fishery; but, for what reason I cannot say, very few are now taken.

*Aug. 26th.* Before day we embarked, and about two leagues from camp we met a tent of Mashquegons, but did not stop. We soon came to Little English<sup>35</sup> river, which

<sup>33</sup> Big Eddy of the English, at a place called the Round Turn, where the river makes a sharp bend on account of the high land which Henry presently mentions. It is a wooded ridge about 50 ft. high. In this vicinity two sizable lakes lie close alongside the river and discharge into it. The lower and larger of these is Indian Pear Island l., on the S. and W. The other is Aticamake or Whitefish l., on the E. side of which is now an Indian reserve. Both these lakes, Carrot r., and Pasquia r. empty so close together that all four of these discharges are within the limits of the same township. Between the two lakes the river is ascended in a direction nearly N., though with many minor flexuosities, and continues 22 m. in the same direction, up to a point now called the Great Bend. This is the most northerly degree (near 54°) the main Saskatchewan reaches anywhere; and thence the course up river is S. W. to the next point Henry mentions.

<sup>34</sup> "Barrier" does not imply any natural obstruction to navigation, but was in those days a usual name of a fish-weir set across a stream. Barrier r. is called by Thompson and others Fishing Weir ["Fishing Wier" on his map], and is marked on present maps as Fishing Water cr. It is a small stream or channel which comes S. E. from the strait between the two lakes soon to be mentioned, and falls through the small Barrier l. into the Saskatchewan. In high water it affords a canoe passage from the Saskatchewan into the lake on which Cumberland House is situated. The mouth of Fishing Weir cr. is about 15 m. above Great Bend.

<sup>35</sup> Before reaching which Henry passes, unnoticed, a small stream on his left

falls into the Saskatchewan from the N. W. We here leave the latter river to proceed to our dépôt on the lake<sup>36</sup> at the

hand, formed by the confluence of Birch r. and Petabec r., respectively from two small lakes called Swan and Goose. His Little English r., called simply Little r. by Thompson, is present Tearing r., a small side-stream or channel, which falls into the Saskatchewan about 13 m. above Fishing Weir cr., and, like the latter, connects the strait between the two large lakes next mentioned with the main course of the Saskatchewan. It was called English r. as being the waterway which the H. B. Co. took to proceed directly to their early and long celebrated establishment—Cumberland House—as Henry does in the present instance. Fishing Water cr., Tearing r., and yet another further on, now called Bigstone r., are all three of them similar collateral channels between the Saskatchewan and the large lake-system on which Cumberland House is situated. Opposite the mouth of Tearing r. is now an Indian reserve, on the S. side of the main river.

<sup>36</sup> This body of water is specially notable as the largest one in immediate connection with the Saskatchewan above Cedar l., as longest the location of the most important establishment, and as the initial one of the great chain of lakes which offer a practicable thoroughfare to Missinipian and Athabaskan waters—in larger words, to Hudson's bay and the Arctic ocean. It has had various names, successively or simultaneously. The earliest is probably the aboriginal word for sturgeon, whence Lac à l'Éturgeon of the French, and Sturgeon l. of the English. Thus the elder Henry, writing of Oct. 26th, 1775, says, p. 259: "We reached Cumberland House, . . . seated on Sturgeon Lake . . . built the year before by Mr. [Samuel] Hearne, who was then absent on his well-known journey of discovery. We found it garrisoned by Highlanders from the Orkney Islands, and under the command of a Mr. Cockings," etc. The Indian name is rendered Namew. Thompson has Cumberland l., in 1793 and later; Franchère says English l. Both these terms are obviously due to the H. B. Co. occupancy. But Sturgeon continued to be the usual name for many years, till at length it was restricted to the principal N. E. offset of the main body of water, and the latter took its present designation, Pine Island l. Its three connections with the Saskatchewan, by the Bigstone, Tearing, and Fishing Water channels, have been already noted. It receives from the W. Big Sturgeon r., a stream which skirts the Saskatchewan on the N. for many miles, from Candle and other lakes; it also receives Swampy r. from the same general direction. The E. side of the lake is prolonged in a broad channel eastward and then northward past Whitey's Narrows into present Sturgeon or Namew l. The N. end of the latter receives the single discharge of Malign or Sturgeon Weir r. and of Rat r., which unite just before entering it. Sturgeon Weir r. comes from the N. W. and conducts in that direction, through Amick or Beaver l., Ridge r., and many others, to the old Portage de Traite or Trade portage, to the Missinipi r., variously called also Churchill r., English r., and, at one time, Danish r. This is the immense system of waters—or chain of lakes connected by streams—which at its W. extremity connects by Methy portage with

N. end of this little river. We began to ascend it; found the current very strong, with a winding passage among a number of channels, along which no kind of wood is to be seen. The land is low, covered with reeds, rushes, and long grass. On the banks grow some small willows, behind which appear many ponds and small lakes, full of wild fowl. At twelve o'clock we came to Petit Lac Vaseux, or Little Mud lake, which is a small body of water like the lake of that name already passed, but not nearly so large. From the middle of this lake we had a full view of Montagne du Pas, or Pasquiaw mountain, S. E. from us about 12 leagues. It is one proof of the extreme lowness of the country through which we have passed, that those hills were not seen until we reached this lake. Having worked our way through this shallow lake, we entered a small channel, like that below; the current very strong, and in several places intercepted by shoals of clay, mud, and stones. At the entrance to Sturgeon [present Pine Island] lake we put ashore on an island, whose black, rocky shore gave us reason to suppose we could put our feet once more on terra firma. Upon this island our north-bound brigades generally unload and proceed to Cumberland House for their supply of provisions; which, having brought, they load, and proceed N. along Sturgeon [or present Namew] lake about 12 leagues to the entrance of Rivière Maligne [Bad, Malign, or Sturgeon Weir river]; then up this river, and through a succession of lakes and rivers, to their respective destinations—

the Athabascan system, and on the other hand runs into Hudson's bay. The Rat r. just said leads the voyageur N. E., into a region formerly known as the Rat River country, where, by one chain of rivers, lakes, and portages, access is had to the Missinipi again, and by another to York or Nelson r. We have brought Henry from the Red River of the North by water up to Cumberland House; we could bring him down to this place from the Rocky mts. In fine, we are here in the focus of a vast network of waters whose strands radiate in every direction. A canoe could start from this house, and with no portage of more than a day's length could be launched on the Arctic ocean, Hudson's bay, Gulf of St. Lawrence, or Gulf of Mexico; and, without much greater interruption, could be floated on to the Pacific ocean.

some even to the Columbia, and others to McKenzie's river. It is this vast extent of country from which the N. W. Co. may be said to draw their treasures. It is true, profits arise from the trade in other parts, eastward; but nothing in comparison to what we obtain from the Athabasca country.

We embarked with a fair wind, found the lake very shallow, and frequently got aground in the mud. The distance was about one league from our entrance of the lake to Cumberland House,<sup>37</sup> where we arrived at 3 p. m. Here we put ashore at our establishment.

<sup>37</sup> This famous name has designated several things which need to be discriminated. There have been more than one Cumberland House of the H. B. Co. itself; and when these posts had become well known, "Cumberland House" as already a place-name, as well as the name of a H. B. Co. post; and other establishments, both of the N. W. Co. and X. Y. Co., were known as "Cumberland" houses. Thus our text presently speaks of the N. W. Co. house here, but by no name of itself.' This house in Henry's and Harmon's time stood 100 rods or a few hundred paces from that of the H. B. Co.; it was maintained by the N. W. Co. till the fusion of 1821. Harmon was there Sept. 5th, 1805, and went higher up; he arrived there again Sept. 11th, 1806, to winter 1806-07; he found David Thompson and James Hughes, en route from Kaministiquia to Fort des Prairies, and the H. B. Co. house was in charge of Peter Fidler at that time. At date of Sept. 5th, 1805, Harmon, p. 146, says of "Cumberland House": "this fort stands on the north [?] side of a considerable lake, called by the natives, who in this vicinity are Muscagoes, Sturgeon lake. . . This post was established, 33 years since, by Mr. Joseph Frobisher." But this was another than the Cumberland House usually so called; for we are told that in 1774 Hearne was charged by the H. B. Co. to build "Fort Cumberland" near where Frobisher's house had been built in 1772 or 1773; whereupon, Cumberland House was built by Samuel Hearne in 1774, the year before he went on his wonderful journey toward the Arctic ocean. The elder Henry says explicitly it was built by Hearne the year before he (Henry) came there, Oct. 26th, 1775. Sir A. McKenzie, p. ix, says it was built by the H. B. Co. in 1774, "and not till then," he adds pointedly; he calls the position the E. bank of Sturgeon l., and assigns lat. 53° 56' N., long. 102° 15' W. David Thompson was repeatedly at Cumberland House; we possess his "Meteorological and Astronomical Observations at Cumberland House situated in the interior Parts of Hudson's Bay in Latitude 53° 56¾' N. Longitude 102° 13' W.," from Oct. 10th, 1789, to Aug. 31st, 1790; his journey from Cumberland House to York Factory in 1790; his journey from York Factory past Cumberland House to Buckingham house, extending from Sunday, Sept. 1st, 1793, to Friday, Nov. 28th, 1793; his

This post is kept up by us less for the purpose of trade than for the convenience of a dépôt to supply our northern brigades. In the spring we bring down the Saskatchewan to this place from 300 to 500 bags of pemmican, and upward of 200 kegs of grease; part of the latter is taken to Fort William, while the whole of the former is required for our people going out in the spring and coming back in the fall. The H. B. Co. have a more permanent establishment here than ours, and may be said to have all the trade in their own hands—I believe the sole instance of the kind in the N. W. Many reasons may be given why the N. W. Co. allowed them to monopolize the trade of this place, which is of no great advantage to us. A principal one is the superabundant stock of provisions, pemmican, grease, etc., which the H. B. Co. receive annually from the Saskatchewan; for, as they have no northern brigades to supply, this affords them every means of satisfying throughout the year the wants of the natives,

journey from Buckingham house past Cumberland House to York Factory, from Friday, May 16th, 1794, to Friday, July 5th, 1794; and in later years find him at Cumberland House repeatedly, en route to and from various places. In his journal of 1793, when he was going W., he notes a certain Goose Creek portage, whence he says it was by land  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. N.  $67^{\circ}$  E. to "old" Cumberland House, "in the lake," and then 1 m. N.  $64^{\circ}$  W. to the place where the "new" buildings had been erected. Again, coming down the Saskatchewan in 1794, he notes a certain Gull portage and Cumberland l., whence he makes it  $\frac{1}{4}$  m. S.  $79^{\circ}$  E. to the "new settlement," and then 1 m. S.  $64^{\circ}$  E. to the "old house." Once more, at date of Friday, June 23d, 1797, he speaks of "the point on which stands the new Cumberland House," at which he found Mr. Campbell and Mr. Bird on his arrival at the date said. Thompson left the H. B. Co. and entered the N. W. Co. May 23d, 1797; this Campbell was of the N. W. Co.; and as all three of Thompson's "new" posts are one and the same house of the N. W. Co., we learn that this must have been founded in 1793, or earlier. One element of ambiguity in recorded positions of Cumberland House is that it has often been said to be "on Pine island," "in Pine Island lake," though any map shows it on what appears to be the S. shore of the lake, with no Pine isl. in sight. But this Pine isl. is simply the great area isolated by the lake on the N., the Saskatchewan on the S., Bigstone r. on the W., and Tearing r. on the E. It may be worth while to copy here the clearest description I have seen, that by Fleming, in Hind's Rep. of 1858, p. 174:

whose country is wretchedly destitute of game animals. This lake abounds in sturgeon, which are caught in nets, at all seasons, and on which our people mainly subsist, winter and summer. Wild fowl are also in great abundance at their proper season. The land around the lake appears low, and in many places rocky. On the N. is black or gray stone, and on the S. are the same strata of limestone which have been mentioned already. The English have excellent gardens here; the soil is good, but covered with stones, which require hard labor to remove. Barley grows to perfection; potatoes and all kinds of kitchen stuffs are raised.

I remained until near sunset; when, having settled the place for the winter, and given my people directions concerning the Indians, etc., I embarked, being anxious to overtake my brigade, which left yesterday. On leaving the fort, we almost immediately entered a small [Bigstone] river to the W., which runs nearly S., with a strong current, for about four miles, when it empties into the Saskatch-

“Cumberland House, the chief depôt or fort of the Cumberland District of the Hon. Hudson’s Bay Company is situated on the south shore of Cumberland or Pine Island Lake; . . . about two miles in an air line north of the Saskatchewan, on the north side of what is called ‘Pine Island,’ a tract of land of considerable extent, between the Saskatchewan and Pine Island Lake, isolated by two branch rivers connecting the lake with the Saskatchewan. The stream we passed before reaching Pemican Portage is the western connection, and bears the name of Big Stone River; it is about six miles long by its windings, and about two chains wide. When the water of the Saskatchewan is high, it passes through this channel or canal into Pine Island Lake, and when low, the water from the lake flows into the Saskatchewan. . . The eastern connection is about the same size as Big Stone River and joins the Saskatchewan some distance below Pemican Portage; it is called ‘Tearing River,’ and is the route followed by the McKenzie River boats. The Saskatchewan boats go by these rivers when they require to call at Cumberland.” Fleming’s map is perfectly clear on all these points; so is Thompson’s, which marks “N. W. Co.” on the precise site of Cumberland House, and shows the two rivers isolating Pine isl., though neither of them is lettered. The mouths of Bigstone and Tearing rivers are about 14 m. apart by way of the Saskatchewan. The Pemican portage above said is the old carrying place between the main river and the house.

ewan. It was perfectly dark when we arrived at its mouth, and with some difficulty found a proper place to camp.

The Indians of this place are a band of Mashquegons, with a few straggling Saulteurs. The former generally winter below, about Moose lake, and the latter on the S. side of the Saskatchewan, in the environs of Carrot river and Montagne du Pas; they seldom if ever intermix, as the Mashquegons are afraid of the Saulteurs.

*Aug. 27th.* At daybreak we embarked and hoisted sail, but the wind soon died away; my men took to the paddle, and at intervals the pole. The river here is broad and deep, with a very strong current; the banks are thickly covered with liard, ash, poplar, willow, and pine; the beach is a fine sand. At two o'clock we met a small canoe with one of our people on board who had been above, looking after some Indians, and was returning with a few good furs to Cumberland House, where he will winter. At sunset we camped at the lower entrance of Sturgeon river;<sup>38</sup> mosquitoes very numerous and troublesome.

*Sunday, Aug. 28th.* Early we embarked and were soon among some islands, at the upper end of which we passed the upper end of Sturgeon river, which is nothing more than an arm on the N. side, forming an island about three leagues in length. This N. channel has obtained the name

<sup>38</sup> Henry goes on to explain that what he means is merely a collateral channel of the Saskatchewan. Thompson and other contemporaneous travelers speak of passing this Sturgeon r. in navigating the Saskatchewan: but no modern map I have seen marks any such connection of Big Sturgeon r. with the Saskatchewan. The formation in question may possibly have something to do with a place I find named Big Nigger bay. Somewhere in the course of today's voyage Henry passes the site of a post named Hungry Hall. Thompson notes it in 1794 as 14 m. above Sturgeon r.; it was then operated, and he found there Messrs. Ross and Thorburn. There were many Rosses, of different companies; but the only Thorburn I have found was of the N. W. Co., and I infer that Hungry Hall was a house of this company: see note <sup>16</sup>, p. 300, for Thorburn. But "Hall" would be an unusual designation of any N. W. Co. house, and there may have been a house of this Co. at the same place as a H. B. Co. Hungry Hall. Henry is silent on the subject, unless the "old establishment" he speaks of to-morrow be this one.

of a river, being at high water navigable for canoes. We soon came to Cate P'te,<sup>39</sup> where we put ashore to gum. At this place, which is called Barren [Pasquitinow] hill, commences the first range of high land on this river; on the N., where the land is elevated to near 100 feet, the soil is yellow sand covered only with short grass. The hill is a delightful spot, compared with the low marshy country we have passed, but the surrounding country looks wretched; it is overgrown with the same wood as below, which in many places appears to have been ravaged by fire, the trees lying across each other in every direction. At this place a chain of stones runs across the river, and here we may say that our men lay aside the paddle for the pole and line, hence even to the Rocky mountains; for the current is too strong to paddle, and the bottom, being sand and gravel, affords good footing for the pole. This facilitates our progress much more than the paddle would, even were the current less swift. Having repaired our canoe we embarked and soon came to the foot of the Grand rapid,<sup>40</sup> which is nothing more than an increased velocity of the current, without any cascades or falls; here we took the line. Two men remained on board to keep the canoe straight, while the four middlemen tackled themselves to the towing-line by means of their portage-slings. These are attached to the line and passed over one shoulder across the breast and under the

<sup>39</sup> "Cate pointe" is not French, and I cannot explain the phrase except by error of copy. But there is no question of the place, which is that now known as Mosquito pt. This is certified by Henry's description of what he calls Barren hill, the present Pasquitinow hill. At the point said there is a cut-off in the river, and from nearly opposite the hill starts the Seepanock channel before mentioned as connecting the Saskatchewan with Carrot r.

<sup>40</sup> Squaw rapid and Tobin's are lower and upper of two now named in this part of the river. The only one mentioned by Thompson along here is Grand rapid; in 1800 he passed old Fort St. Louis May 29th, Grand rapid May 30th, and next day entered Cumberland Lake r. In coming down, in 1808, he left the Nepoway 8.30 a. m., July 8th, was at Grand rapid 6.30 p. m., same day, and an hour later at a place he calls Sandy bay. These data may serve to identify the rapid which Henry here names. Squaw and Tobin's are marked on late maps in Tp. 54, R. x, W. of the 2d init. merid.



other arm, by which means the men are enabled to exert all their strength and are also kept from falling during this tedious labor. The beach is mostly covered with large and small stones, and in many places issue springs, near which the soil is nothing but mire. Into this the men sink knee-deep, and then suddenly stumble upon the loose round stones, so that they are frequently in danger of falling or of breaking the line. I proceeded up this rapid on foot, along the edge of the wood, where I found quantities of choke-cherries approaching maturity, and panbians in great abundance. Tracks of cabbrie, moose, and red deer were seen along the beach. I arrived at the upper end of the rapids some time before the canoe, although the poor fellows came at a round trot the whole way. This rapid is occasioned by a broad chain of stones, which intercepts navigation for about two miles, when the river resumes its former appearance. Having got safe up, we unloaded and gummed the canoe, and soon after reloaded and embarked. The river here spreads into several channels, occasioned by islands and sand-banks. We passed the remains of an old establishment, abandoned many years ago. At dark we overtook Mr. House<sup>41</sup> of the H. B. Co. from York Factory, bound to the South Branch of the Saskatchewan, with a large boat containing about 20 pieces, worked by eight Orkney men. Here we put up for the night.

*Aug. 29th.* Before day we were on the water, leaving our H. B. Co. gentlemen still sound asleep. The island on which we slept is called Birch island,<sup>42</sup> there being plenty of that wood upon it: that and cypress occur on both sides of the river in great plenty; the ground appears to be a yellow sand, in some places much elevated. We passed

<sup>41</sup> A Mr. House is noted by Thompson at Fort Vermilion July 18th, 1809, and Thompson met him in the Rocky mts. near the head of the N. Saskatchewan Aug. 8th of that year, with one man and an Indian. Mr. House left Fort Vermilion for Fort Augustus Sept. 23d, 1809.

<sup>42</sup> Big Birch isl. appears on modern maps in Tp. 53, R. xii, W. of the 2d init. merid. "The Big Birch Islands" is conspicuously legended on Fleming's map of 1858—three of them abreast in a dilatation of the river.

another old establishment,<sup>43</sup> where we put ashore to gum. We re-embarked, and soon arrived at the foot of the line, [place where the towing-line would be required], where I was happy to find our brigade of 10 canoes all safe, and prepared to ascend the strong current before us. Paddle and pole were now laid aside, the towing-line only to be used for several days. All hands began to march on a round trot, through mud and mire and over loose stones, where every moment I was afraid some of them would break their necks. We came on about six miles, and camped opposite an island,<sup>44</sup> on the N. side.

The river above appears free from islands. The country on both sides is elevated, and the banks close to the river have become much higher since we took the line; at every bend they come down to the water. The land ahead appears to rise much, while at a distance below us the difference in level is equally apparent; still, we have no falls or cascades—all is one continuous strong current. Tracks of animals are very numerous along the beach, including those of bears, both of the common and grizzly species.

*Aug. 30th.* Early this morning we were off, and I had the satisfaction of taking a comfortable nap without any noise to disturb me; the canoe glided on as if under easy sail. The bowman and steersman had only to keep her straight against the current, which was done with the greatest facility; those at the line endured the greatest labor. The line was from 40 to 60 fathoms long, and frequently fouled among the stones and driftwood, which added much to their toil and trouble. The bank, or range of high land on each side, which runs parallel with the river, confines the view on either hand; and this, with the nearly straight course of the river; whose bends are at a considerable dis-

<sup>43</sup> No identification—we are still below the Nepoin house, the first one I can find by name above Hungry Hall.

<sup>44</sup> Henry appears to be in the vicinity of the Two Islands found in Tp. 51, R. xiv, W. of the 2d init. merid.

tance apart, gives a far from pleasant sameness to the prospect; while the strong current we have to stem renders this part of the voyage very tedious. On the tops and sides of some of the hills are small spots of ground, free from wood. The country in general appears to be thickly wooded, but the growth is small, particularly on the N. side. At noon we passed the old establishment at the Nepawee,<sup>45</sup> which stands on the S. side. Here, I am told, the

<sup>45</sup> Or Nipawi, Nipawee, Nepiwa, Nepoway, Nepoin, Neepoin, Nippewean, Nepowewin, etc., house, at or near a point on certain rapids in the river, named in the same variant terms. The word is said by some to mean "wet place": compare Nipuwin as a name of Dead r., note <sup>46</sup>, p. 41. Both the place and the house are mentioned in various old records, and neither seems to have ever been lost sight of. When Thompson came down in 1808 he passed the Nepoway at 8.30 a. m., July 8th, having been at Forts St. Louis and La Corne late the day before. In one of his traverse tables, 1794, he speaks of "the Neepoin by Mr. Ross." Nepoin house is also said to have been in charge of Messrs. Porter and McLeod in 1794 (James Porter, N. W. Co., who was in Athabasca 1799-1800); and Thompson's map locates "N. W. Co. Nepoin." Sir A. McKenzie states that the French had a post at Nipawi long before and at the conquest of Canada in 1763, and says, p. lxi: "There are on this river five principal factories. . . Nepawi House, South-branch House, Fort-George House, Fort-Augustus House, and Upper Establishment [Rocky Mt. house]. There have been many others, which, from various causes, have been changed for these, while there are occasionally others depending on each of them." But the very old Nipawi house here in mention may have been Fort à la Corne, or a post close by this; such certainly seems to have been the original Fort Nippéouing, ascribed to the Verendrye period, *ca.* 1748. After the French, James Finlay was the first English trader there; he had followed the pioneer Thomas Curry, and wintered 1771-72 at Nipawi, "the last [uppermost] French post on the Saskatchewan." One old post, on the N. side of the Saskatchewan, in the vicinity of Nepowewin, seems to have been the first to acquire the name of Fort des Prairies—a term found before 1757, but later applied to various different establishments, as trade gradually pushed up river; thus, in Thompson's time and our author's, such high up posts as Forts Vermilion, George, and Augustus were called Fort des Prairies, and any two such in simultaneous operation were distinguished as Upper and Lower; but no Fort des Prairies appears before 1780 higher up than about the position we are now discussing. Finlay wintered at a Fort des Prairies 1775-76; J. B. Cadotte from S. S. Marie was at the same one in 1775; this is also the one which the elder Henry reached Jan. 25th, 1776, and finally left Mar. 22d, 1776. He describes it as on the margin of the Pasquayah or Sascatchiwine, where the river was 200 yards wide, with banks 30 ft. high; as stockaded with poplar or aspen,

plains are at no great distance from the river; indeed, we now frequently see barren spots on that side, the banks appear to increase in height, and the current augments in velocity [Nepowewin and other rapids]. At sunset we camped at an Indian tent. The family had gone out for the meat of a moose, which they soon brought in and gave to me in return for liquor, which kept them intoxicated all night. We find amusement in fishing with hook and line in the eddies, when the men stop to rest and light their pipes, as they frequently do in the course of the day.

*Aug. 31st.* At 4 a. m. we were on our march; current very strong, and frequent rippling points, which required the greatest exertion of the men at the line and the two in the canoe with their poles. Such places are occasioned at every bend, by chains of large stones across the river. At noon we met a canoe with a Saulteur and his family, whom I prevailed upon to return with us. At six o'clock we camped at the spot where the French formerly had an establishment called Fort St. Louis,<sup>46</sup> built by St. Luc de la Corne in a low bottom on the S. side, where some years ago were still to be seen remains of agricultural implements and carriage-wheels. Their road to the plains is still to be

to an area of an acre, and having two gates; 50 to 80 men employed. He adds that four different interests were then struggling for trade, and that "this fort, or one which occupied a contiguous site, was formerly known by the name of Fort aux Trembles," p. 314. Thompson in 1794 notes a post he calls Isaac's house,  $9\frac{3}{4}$  m. above the Nepoway. For the modern Nepowewin Mission, opp. modern Fort à la Corne, see next note.

<sup>46</sup> This *old French* Fort St. Louis is the same as Fort La Corne, à la Corne, or de la Corne, as would be inferred from the text, and we are fortunate in what Henry says of it, as it has been much confused with the later Fort St. Louis of the N. W. Co. Of the old one, C. N. Bell says, Trans. No. 17, Manitoba Hist. and Sci. Soc., 1885, p. 17: "Ft. a la Corne has been known at different dates as Ft. St. Louis and Nippeween. Ft. a la Corne was built in 1753 by Mon. de la Corne who commanded all the posts in the Interior." Some have located it loosely, much too high up, and even at the forks of the Saskatchewan; but it was below Fort St. Louis of the N. W. Co., to which Henry presently comes. When Thompson came down river, July 7th, 1808, he passed the forks at 2.30 p. m. and did not reach Fort La Corne until 6.15 p. m. The fort was in fact situated within the present Indian reserve, close to or at the

seen, winding up a valley on the S. side. The banks of the river are here of a considerable height, and in many places destitute of verdure. The ground, having slipped away or been washed down by the rain, displays on the face of those banks a sandy soil, interspersed with a few large round stones; springs issue in many places, near which the ground is generally a miry red, white, or yellow clay. Moose, red deer, cabbrie, and bear tracks were numerous along the beach. The weather was warm to-day and the mosquitoes were troublesome; but at sunrise we found a chilly vapor arising from the river, which caused them to disappear, and indeed required an additional blanket to keep us warm. The plains on the S. approach the tops of the banks, but it cannot be called an open country, as spots of wood are frequent. Buffalo abound in winter, when the cold obliges them to leave the plains for shelter among the hummocks, where they find plenty of good long grass.

*Thursday, Sept. 1st.* At 4 a. m. we were on the water, and at nine arrived at an old establishment of our own, which has been abandoned since 1805, called Fort St. Louis<sup>47</sup>

mouth of Payoenan cr., and thus about 12 m. in an air line below the forks—much more by the bends of the river. The position is about the center of Tp. 48, R. xx, W. of the 2d init. merid. In coming up to this place Henry has passed unnoticed a considerable stream called Englishman r., which falls in from the N. on the line between Ranges xviii and xix, Tps. 49.

On this identical spot—site of old Fort St. Louis, built by La Corne, 1753—the H. B. Fort à la Corne was in operation in 1858. Henry Y. Hind dated his instructions to John Fleming, his assistant surveyor, "Fort à la Corne, August 9th, 1858," and Fleming proceeded to explore the Saskatchewan downward from this post. It stood on the S. bank; directly opp. at the same time was the church or mission called Nipowewin. He calls the distance between this post and Cumberland house upward of 150 m. by the windings of the river, and makes the breadth of the river 965 feet at the post.

We thus perceive clearly that the name Nipowewin, with its equivalents, has at different times designated various places and houses many miles apart, on the main Saskatchewan below the forks; and that among these Nipowewin houses were those that were first called Fort des Prairies.

<sup>47</sup> Here we see it took Henry five hours to go up from old Fort St. Louis (or La Corne) to the N. W. Co. post of the same name. When Thompson came down, July 7th, 1808, he passed between the two places in  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour—5.30

from its proximity to the old French fort below. Here we found a band of Saulteurs awaiting our arrival to get their necessaries, and a freeman with his family. The Indians had just killed two red deer, which the women had gone for with their horses. Here we thought proper to put ashore and unload for the purpose of making up the outfit for the South Branch, which is near at hand. Those Indians were anxious to take their debts and go on the N. side to hunt. At noon they arrived with the meat, which they gave to me; their horses appeared lean and miserable. At three o'clock our business was settled, the canoes were loaded and sent on, and soon after I proceeded on foot, leaving Mr. Decoigne<sup>48</sup> busily giving out debts to the Indians. He will proceed up the South Branch four days' journey by the river to the place where we formerly had an establishment, and there settle for the winter to trade with the Assiniboines, Crees, and a few Saulteurs; the two former tribes

to 6.15 p. m. The later Fort St. Louis seems to have been near a little stream from the S. now called Pine cr. It may be here noted that a certain Fort St. Louis was built before 1686 on Hudson's bay (James' Bay), about the present site of Moose Factory, at mouth of Moose r., which latter was once known as Rivière St. Louis.

<sup>48</sup> François Decoigne: see note <sup>21</sup>, p. 279. The post he was sent to re-establish is not further indicated by Henry. Harmon, p. 147, Sept. 21st, 1805, speaks of the South Branch fort of the N. W. Co. as about 120 m. above the Forks, at a place where the two streams approached within 15 m. of each other, and of another 6 m. below it, abandoned on account of an attack by Rapid Indians, when Louis Chattellain was in charge, about 1790, when the H. B. Co. house in the vicinity was destroyed by the same Indians. This South Branch fort was built in 1805; Harmon wintered there with Wm. Smith and 15 men; and the H. B. Co. had a house a few hundred paces off. This is also the place where Harmon took to wife a Canadian's daughter by a Snare Indian woman, aged 14 years, Oct. 10th, 1805. The Indians who traded at South Branch fort were Crees, Assiniboines, Saulteurs, Muscagoes, and a few Blackfeet. Thompson, on his journey from York Factory to Buckingham house, in 1793, came up the Saskatchewan, and, at the forks, turned up the South Branch for three days, reaching a H. B. Co. house of this name Oct. 18th, whence he took horses overland; this house was at or near present Batoche.

The French are said to have ascended the South Branch in 1752, when Fort Jonquière is supposed to have been built by St. Pierre "at the foot of the Rocky mts.," perhaps at or near present Calgary on Bow r.

are at present dispersed in the plains, collecting provisions. We came on about two leagues and camped. The higher we proceed the more plenty we find fruit of various kinds; the women generally keep on by land, during the use of the line, to gather fruit, which alleviates the labor and revives the spirits of the men.

*Sept. 2d.* At 5 a. m. we set off, and at nine arrived at the Forks,<sup>49</sup> where put ashore to gum on the N. side, facing the entrance of the South Branch, which comes in from the S. W. and appears to be the principal one. The people we left yesterday, who are to proceed up this branch, will have to use the towing-line until they reach their winter quarters, as the current is strong and rapid the whole way. At eleven we proceeded up the North Branch, which here comes from the N. W. The stream is much contracted between high banks on both sides, the current is stronger than below the forks, rapids are more frequent and some of them dangerous, requiring the utmost exertion of the men at the line and in the canoe with the poles. The course of the river is more crooked than below the junction of the two streams, and the descent much greater. We met an Indian who had killed a buck moose, about a mile from the river. I dispatched eight men for the meat, which I divided

<sup>49</sup> The confluence of the N. and S. Saskatchewan has been already noted, p. 462. The South Branch is rather the main river, as Henry says; but the other is the one which has usually been so considered and called the Saskatchewan without qualification, perhaps only because it was the most traveled and settled, thus becoming best known; and in saying "Saskatchewan" hereafter we shall mean the North Branch, up which we go. The South Branch has had various names for some or all of its course. Thompson calls it Pekakemew or Pekahkemew r. in his journals, and letters "Bow River" on his map. It was for some time known as La Fourche des Gros Ventres, Big Belly fork, from the Indians found upon it: compare present Belly r., name of one of its uppermost tributaries, so called for the same reason. Bow r. is really the main course of the stream, and the name has often properly attached to the whole river. This term is conjectured to indicate the great curve the river makes: but the sweep is too ample to have attracted early or aboriginal attention as a name-giving character; more probably Bow r. is as much as to say Bow-wood r. Rivière d'Arc was the F. name, as if contracted from R. à Bois d'Arc: compare Fort Brisebois, an old post at site of present Calgary.

among the canoes and paid for in liquor. At sunset we camped at Sucker creek,<sup>50</sup> having performed a great day's journey. The track along the beach has become very bad for the men at the line; the bank comes in close to the water's edge at many places, which are obstructed by heaps of earth and wood daily sliding from the upper part of the shore. At such places cold springs issue and form miry rivulets, into which the men sink knee-deep. Wherever the beach is broad, in turning the low bottoms, the shores are covered with loose round stones, which makes tracking laborious. The exertion they are obliged to make keeps them in a perspiration, and with their blood thus boiling, as it were, they throw themselves upon their bellies at those springs and take enormous draughts of ice-cold water; but I never saw that this had any bad effect upon them. One of our men to-day had a narrow escape from being drowned while disengaging the line from one of those embarras which so frequently occur. The line getting clear with a sudden jerk, he was tossed headlong into the river, but a freeman in one of the canoes caught him after he had been carried downstream some distance and swallowed a great quantity of water. We now see barren spots on the tops of both banks, and some very pretty small meadows of stout grass. Choke-cherries and panbians abound.

*Sept. 3d.* At 4 a. m. we were on the march; country the same as yesterday, but the beach, if possible, worse. We passed several small lakes and creeks on the S. At eleven we reached the head of the line [place beyond which the towing-line would not be required], where we put ashore to gum and repair our canoes. The men, poor fellows, were heartily tired of the tedious business and rejoiced to see the smooth current before them. All this toilsome tracking is performed on the N. shore, and every little bend, bay, or inlet must be rounded. At this spot about two

<sup>50</sup> Sucker cr. or r., also called Carp r., from the fish in it, which, no doubt, are both catostomoids and cyprinoids. It enters the Saskatchewan from the N. about the center of Tp. 49, R. xxiii, W. of the 2d init. merid.



feet of rope hung from a tree, where a woman, in a fit of despair at ill usage from her Canadian husband, had determined to put an end to her troubles by hanging herself; but she was discovered and cut down before it was too late. This happened a few years ago. At one o'clock we embarked. The banks which so closely confine the stream below here begin to spread on each side, and appear at intervals away from the river; the land has no perceptible elevation; the river widens, and is much intercepted by sand-banks. The current is smooth, but strong; the pole is used in direct advance, the paddle in crossing and recrossing the river where the shore seems more or less favorable for the pole. At two we passed old Fort Providence, which stands upon an island, and soon after came to Sturgeon fort, where the remains of several old establishments still appeared.<sup>61</sup> The N. side is well wooded, mostly with pine, but fire seems to have destroyed much of it. On the S. wood is scarce in many places, and the plains first appear opposite Fort Providence, where they come down

<sup>61</sup> Passing present Little Red r., from the N., at whose mouth are two or more islands, Henry quickly reaches site of present Prince Albert, now a principal settlement in this region, where the H. B. Co. still have a post or store, and to which the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan branch of the C. P. Ry. runs from Regina, Assin. The position is in Tp. 49, R. xxxi, W. of the 2d init. merid. Fort Providence was upon one of the islands said, or some other in the immediate vicinity. Thompson notices an island hereabouts by the name of Holmes's. (A Mr. Holmes accompanied the elder Henry on his excursion to an Assiniboine village from Fort des Prairies in the winter of 1775-76. Samuel Holmes was clerk and interpreter, N. W. Co., 1802; joined the X. Y. Co., soon left that, and went to live with Assiniboines, by whom he was killed en route to the Missouri.) Prince Albert is one of the many stations of the N. W. mounted police—probably the best system ever devised for keeping order in a very extensive and sparsely populated country. Sturgeon Fort seems to have been so called with reference to the river just above it: see next note.

This Fort Providence is to be distinguished from two others of same name on or near Great Slave l., one of them founded by Leroux under orders of (Sir) A. McKenzie on a point of land at mouth of a river discharging from Lac de la Marte, on the N. arm of the lake, about lat. 62° 20', long. 114°, and the other near the W. end of the same lake, near lat. 61° 30', long. 117°.

to the river side. Passing those ruins, we soon came to Setting river or Pucketona-sipi,<sup>52</sup> where we found a camp of 20 leather tents of Crees, a few Saulteurs, and two freemen, on the S. side. I crossed over and camped on the N. in a beautiful small meadow, where there was every appearance that a range of forts stood many years ago. Soon after we had settled camp the Indians brought me some fresh moose and red deer meat, with a few skins and furs, which they traded for liquor and tobacco; all were soon intoxicated, having tasted no rum since last spring. They spent the night crossing and recrossing the river, trading every kind of trash they could collect. Among them were several mongrels [half-breeds], who were very troublesome; I was at the point of chastising one of them for his insolence. When these people live among Indians and abandon themselves to such a life, they are the worst of savages, given to all kinds of roguery and inciting the natives to more mischief than they would otherwise do.

*Sunday, Sept. 4th.* Having finished my business with those fellows, purchased three horses, and hired one of the rascals to go with us as hunter, I packed up the skins I had traded and gave them in charge of one of the freemen, to be delivered at my house on the South Branch, one day's journey hence by land. At seven o'clock I sent the hunter and my guide off by land on the N. side, with the

<sup>52</sup> Setting r. of Thompson, 1794, and his Sturgeon rivulet of July 7th, 1808, when he was 8½ hours in getting from it down to the forks; "Pukketowoggan Brook" on his map, *q.v.*; Net Setting r. of various books and maps, now usually Sturgeon r. Variants of the name all refer to the capture of the fish *Acipenser rubicundus*, which has given designation to several streams already noticed, and many more to come. This stream discharges by various branches from a number of lakes, one of them Sturgeon l., where there is now an Indian reserve of the same name, and where its principal branch, Shell r., falls in; some of its other tributaries are Midway cr., Fox cr., and Rabbit cr.; it courses about S. S. E., and falls into the left bank of the Saskatchewan in Tp. 49, R. xxvii, W. of the 2d init. merid., about 5 m. above Prince Albert. Shell r. comes from the W.; it heads about Shell l. and others, and not far from its sources runs through Ahtahkahcoop Indian reserve, where there is a Church of England mission.

horses, as the country will not admit of traveling with horses along the river, being covered with pine and brushwood and full of mashquagies. We divided the provisions I had traded, and then embarked. At eleven we ran a canoe afoul a stump and stove a hole in her, which obliged us to put ashore for repairs. At two we passed Hudson's house,<sup>53</sup> on the N. side, an old establishment of the H. B. Co., and at sunset arrived at Les Ecorres Jaunes,<sup>54</sup> also on the N. Here we found a camp of 10 Crees, and a few Saulteurs and freemen, who had a number of horses. I gave them liquor for some provisions, and purchased three horses; they were not so troublesome as those we left this morning. In the evening my hunter and guide arrived with the horses, after much trouble in the woods and swamps.

<sup>53</sup> There appear to have been two houses of this name on the Saskatchewan between Carlton and the forks. Thompson's traverse table of 1794, brought down river, notes "Hudson House by Mr. Turner," and "Hudson House by Mr. Tomison," between a place he calls First Pines and Setting r. (Examine his "N. W. Co. □" on the map, a little above mouth of his "Pukketowoggan Brook.") On July 6th, 1808, he was at the Yellow Banks 5.20 p. m., and passed "old" Hudson house at 6.50. Furthermore, he sets them respectively 3 and 14½ m. below the Lower Crossing, and the lower one of the two he calls 15 m. above Setting r. These indicia would put the houses respectively in ranges III and II, W. of the 3d init. merid. One of them was built before 1798, *ca.* 1797; this was about 2½ hours by water below Fort de Milieu. Said Mr. Turner was the well-known English astronomer and surveyor of the H. B. Co., who wintered 1791-92 at Fort Chipewyan with Roderic McKenzie; he was found on an exploring tour at Lac des Bœufs, June 1st, 1791, and Thompson camped July 1st, 1796, at "Mr. Turner's lopt tree" in Athapishow l. Said Mr. Tomison, also of the H. B. Co., went with Thompson from York Factory to Manchester house on the Saskatchewan in July, 1787. Thompson wintered 1787-88 at Manchester house and probably 1788-89 at Hudson house (was not wintering at Cumberland House till 1789-90).

Distinguish above houses from two named or called Hudson's Hope, in the Rocky mts., on headwaters of Peace r. Old Hudson's Hope was on the N. bank, about long. 121° 40' W. New Hudson's Hope was on the S. bank, near 122°, at the foot of the great cañon, whence a road which avoided the cañon went over the mountain to a certain old H. B. Co. post above the cañon.

<sup>54</sup> So copy, for *Écorres Jaunes*, *c.* *Écorchures Jaunes*, meaning bare yellow spots, *i. e.*, the Yellow Banks of the English, a well-known locality.

*Sept. 5th.* Early I sent off my hunter and guide with the horses, gave the Indians directions for going to my South Branch house, and at six we were on the water. A strong wind springing up from the E., we hoisted sail and came on expeditiously. We may now be said to enter the plains. The banks rise on both sides and encroach upon the river. Wood is scarce, and only some small hemlock, the country in general being open and barren. The river spreads much, but is intercepted by sandbanks and willow islands. When the wind blows hard we are much troubled in the canoes by the dry sand blown off those extensive and numerous banks, which look like snowdrifts. We observed on each side many deep beaten paths, where the buffalo ford the river. At ten o'clock we passed old Fort du Milieu,<sup>55</sup> abandoned many years ago. We saw many wild fowl passing S., and a herd of buffalo swimming across the river. We worked hard to approach them before they landed, and as the current swept them down we got near enough to fire just as they were landing. I found them only a band of six bulls, which are not good for much at this season. I shot one, but the meat was not worth embarking. Soon afterward we arrived at the Monté or crossing-place.<sup>56</sup> This

<sup>55</sup> Or Fort de Milieu, as if the middle fort or half-way house between two others. On July 6th, 1808, Thompson passed here  $2\frac{1}{4}$  hours down from the Crossing Place (Carlton), one hour before reaching the Yellow Banks, and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  hours above the site of old Hudson house.

<sup>56</sup> Present Carlton, on the right bank, in Tp. 45, R. iv, W. of the 3d init. merid., where a main road crosses the river to proceed through the Mistowasis and Ahtahcahoop reserves, and goes N. W. to Green l., Beaver r., etc., in continuation of the road Henry mentions as coming here from the South Saskatchewan. This runs through the Okemasis and Beardy reserve, connecting Carlton with Batoche, St. Laurent, and other places on the South Branch. Batoche is nearest Carlton, at a (direct) distance of 19 m.—a little more by the road. The date of 1797 is given as that of a Fort Carlton, whether of establishment or abandonment. Henry's term "Monté" is to be explained as the mounting-place, *i. e.*, where canoes were exchanged for horses to go overland in any direction. There were two posts named Fort du Monté, or de la Montée, in June, 1814: that of the N. W. Co., in charge of John McLain; and that of the H. B. Co., under a Mr. Pruden or Prudent. The H. B. Co. now maintains a post or store at Carlton.

derives its name from being on the usual direct route of the Indians between the North and South Branches of the Saskatchewan. The road is good, and it is only one day's journey across. Here two of our people with horses from above were waiting for us. They gave us unwelcome intelligence concerning the natives, who have been murdering one another, are on the eve of declaring war, and even threaten our establishment in that quarter. We also found some of the families belonging to our South Branch house who had passed the summer in the plains, living on buffalo, as we keep up no summer establishment at that lower post. I desired them to proceed to Mr. Decoigne's, and provided them with a skin canoe to cross the river. Having settled with them I sent on the canoes, and with my hunter, guide, and the two people from above set off on horseback, taking only five horses; the others were sent across to South Branch. We found it very pleasant riding through the plains, which are here extensive on both sides of the river; ripe cherries in great abundance. About sunset we came toward the river to look out for the canoes, and found them pitching their tents on a beautiful open spot. Twenty tents of Crees were pitched within half a mile of camp. They plagued us for liquor, but I only gave them each six inches of tobacco and sent them away, desiring them to bring what they had in the morning, when I would pay them in rum. They gave us plenty of dried poires and fresh choke-cherries.

*Sept. 6th.* The Indians brought fresh and dried provisions to trade for liquor and tobacco, but our canoes could not embark much, being already deeply loaded with 28 pieces, exclusive of baggage. Having settled with them and sent the canoes off, I proceeded by land on horseback, accompanied by my hunter, the guide, and one of my people who had come from above. We had not gone far before we saw a few bulls, and soon after the plains were covered with numerous herds, as far as the eye could reach, on both sides of the river. The plains are elevated but

level between the river and Red Berry hills, which lie about three leagues N. W.<sup>57</sup> Adjusting our saddles, we set off in pursuit of a large herd ; the ground was tolerably good for the chase, free from stones and holes. Each of us soon killed a good fat cow ; which, being as much as we could take upon our horses, we gave up the chase and sent one of our party to stop the canoes, while we dressed the meat and loaded our horses. The Red Berry hills appeared covered with buffalo. Having loaded our horses and gone to the river, we found the canoes waiting for us half a league above Ash island, where three young men, who were hunting, came in hopes of getting tobacco. They were of the tribe called Saskatchewan Assiniboines, tented about two leagues S. from the river, and desired us to remain until they could inform their camp, who would bring provisions and berries to trade, as they had no furs. I ferried them over the river, and sent on the canoes, having divided the meat among them. This island derives its name from being mostly covered with the last ash we shall see, as none grows higher up. A little below it is a large flat bottom on the S., covered with bastard maple [*Negundo aceroides*], the sap of which produces tolerably good sugar, but it is not so agreeable in flavor as real maple sugar. Higher up the river no more of this kind is to be found. As we reached the top of the bank, the canoes being still in sight ahead, we perceived a large party of horsemen on the S., coming toward them. We rode on as fast as possible ; and, having come up with our people, I went down to the river and hailed them to land. The party on the S. soon came opposite us and hallooed that they wanted to trade. I crossed over to them in my canoe ; they gave me fresh and

<sup>57</sup> Extending much further in the same direction. This general elevation drains S. E. into present Red Berry or Redberry l. and other smaller ones, and ultimately into the river by two or more small streams, one of them called Bloody cr. by Thompson in 1794. Some of the smaller lakes in this quarter are called Blaine, Ashe, and Paddling—the latter lying partly in the Pettyquawks Indian reserve, where the R. C. mission is maintained. (See Thompson's map, "Red Berry Hill.")

dried provisions and fruit, in return for liquor and tobacco. I sent on the canoes, and went with my three people by land in search of a convenient place to camp. We feared those Assiniboines would swim over during the night and steal our horses, as they frequently do when our people go up this river. Having found a beautiful meadow at the river's edge, on which the horses could feed near our tents, we unsaddled; and about sunset the canoes arrived. The river here is broad, and much intercepted by sand-banks and small islands covered with low willows, thus forming a number of different channels which frequently deceive our men. Finding plenty of water below, they push on to the upper end of the island or sand-bank, where there is not water enough to pass, and then have to return, to the great merriment of those crews who take the right channel. This derision begins by some one's howling in imitation of a wolf; the whole party then howls in chorus, while those who are nonplussed redouble their exertions to overtake the brigade. The banks run parallel with the river, elevated and barren, but nearly level, excepting some ridges at a distance. The valley between the banks is upward of a mile wide, and at every bend where the stream crosses from the opposite side is a long, flat bottom. Some of these are covered with wood, others with small willows; and some, destitute of both, form delightful lawns, with only a few bushes, loaded with choke-cherries and paires. The latter are now getting dry, but are still delicious eating, and may be gathered by handfuls. Buffalo paths are deep and numerous in every direction. This evening I gave to each man 10 balls, and powder enough to fire them. This precaution is necessary where the natives are numerous and often maliciously inclined toward the whites.

*Sept. 7th.* I sent off the canoes, and ascended the bank to hunt buffalo; but on looking up river, we perceived a camp of Indians on the S., at some distance. We rode on to keep the canoes always in sight, even at a great distance from the top of the banks, when they sometimes

appear like black specks among the sand-banks. Having come opposite camp I found the hills and beach covered with men, women, and children, some on foot and others on horseback. I crossed over to them, and found about 30 tents of Gens de Pied Assiniboines. They were loaded with dried provisions and berries, and in a moment the beach was covered with bags containing articles which they would force upon me, and thankfully accept the least trifle in return. But as our canoes were already fully loaded, I made them a few presents of tobacco and liquor, and pushed off, when they all in a body rushed into the water with small bags of dried berries, which they began to throw into my canoe, begging tobacco in return. I believe that, had we not been expeditious in pushing off, they would have swamped my canoe, as those Meadow Indians have no idea of the nature of a canoe; supposing she will carry everything that can be laid upon her, the thought of her sinking never strikes them. Having got clear of them, we returned to the N. side; and I proceeded by land with my three people. We soon found buffalo in abundance crossing from S. to N. The ground was bad for the chase, being mostly covered with large round stones and badger holes; however, the temptation was too great, and away we went, neck or nothing. During this chase I frequently stumbled, for, on the ground over which I passed, stones and holes appeared in every direction, over and into which the buffalo were tumbling every moment. I picked out a good fat cow, and with one shot brought her to the ground, heartily glad to escape without accident. My hunter and guide having each killed a cow, we took the best of the meat, and proceeded to the river, which we sighted exactly at The Elbow,<sup>68</sup> where the canoes had put ashore to gum. The river from Les Ecorres Jaunes to this place runs

<sup>68</sup> Le Coudre of the French, a notable turn of the river in general direction from N. N. E. to W. N. W., though not with so sharp a bend as the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan: see note <sup>16</sup>, p. 300. The present Elbow is mainly in Tp. 39, R. viii, W. of the 3d init. merid., near long. 107° W.



from S. W. to N. E., but here it appears to come from N. W. to S. E., which is the reason why it is termed The Elbow. On the S. is a delightful plain, which gradually falls till it reaches the river; it was covered with buffalo coming down to cross; but on observing us, they altered their course and slowly proceeded in a body up river.

On reaching the canoes we met a freeman, who had been sent down in a canoe to inform us that the Crees had assembled at Battle river, and were determined to stop us, in order to prevent the Slaves from receiving arms and ammunition. They feared that a serious war would be the consequence of their own imprudence in having murdered three Piegans this summer in cold blood, although the relatives of the latter had massacred four Crees on the spot, and would have destroyed many more had not the Crees saved themselves by forced marches. Having got every intelligence possible from this man, I sent the canoes on.

As we were mounting, the whole body of buffalo on the S. suddenly moved and went at full speed, directing their course obliquely for the river about a mile above us, as if determined to force their way across. We rode along the lower bottom until we came abreast of them, when we concealed ourselves in a hummock near the spot where we supposed they would land. By this time the river was crowded with them, swimming across, bellowing and grunting terribly. The bulls really looked fierce; all had their tails up, and each appeared eager to land first. The scene would have struck terror to one unaccustomed to such innumerable herds. From out in the plains, as far as the eye could reach, to the middle of the river, they were rushing toward us, and soon began to land about 10 yards off. I shot one dead on the spot, my ball having broken his neck; my hunter and guide only wounded theirs. This discharge suddenly halted those on the S. side, and turned those that were still in the water. The whole herd retired a short distance, and stood quiet for some time. We killed four, and embarked the best of the meat. While thus engaged the

buffalo opposite us made a sudden movement in the same oblique manner as before, rushing again down to the river in a body. We mounted and endeavored to intercept them, but they had begun to land before we reached the proper place, and we only killed two. The sun was nearly down, and it was time to look out for a place to camp. We went ahead of the canoes to the beginning of the Sandy hills, where we perceived that a grizzly bear had devoured a calf during the day. We fresh primed our guns and continued through a long thicket of willows, every moment in fear of meeting this ferocious animal. On coming to an open spot we perceived him ahead of us, running at full speed among the hummocks. We chased him and fired, but he got into a thicket. It being nearly dark, we did not think it prudent to molest him for the present, and returned to a convenient place to camp, where we met the canoes. My guide had chased a wounded buffalo and was not yet returned. When quite dark, I took my gun and walked up to the bank, intending to fire some shots to direct him to camp. Here I found some bulls, aimed at one as well as the darkness would allow, and to my surprise shot him dead. One of my men this evening, in carelessly handling a knife, stabbed a companion near the ankle; it bled for a long time, and nothing that I could do stopped the flow until I applied red-willow bark [*Cornus sericea* or *stolonifera* ?].

*Sept. 8th.* At daybreak, when the canoes proceeded, we mounted and went to examine the thicket where we had left our wounded bear, but found only his tracks in the sand where he had gone toward the plain. The Sandy hills are near two leagues in length and one in breadth; the country is very uneven, with alternate hills and valleys of pure sand, in many places without a blade of verdure; our horses sink over their hoofs, which makes it very fatiguing. In some places we find clusters of cherry-bushes, now bending to the ground with fruit. Grizzly bear tracks are numerous; I presume they resort to those sands to partake of the fruit. Having passed those sands, we came to a beautiful level

country, covered with buffalo. Eagle hills then appeared at no great distance, on the S. Here we chased a herd of buffalo over the best ground I ever rode, entirely free from stones and holes. We killed each a cow, and took the best of the meat to the river, where we made a fire and roasted some of it, awaiting the canoes, opposite Rivière de la Montagne d'Aigle,<sup>59</sup> which comes in on the S. The wind blew hard from the W., which caused a great drift of sand and retarded the canoes. These having arrived, we divided the meat and sent them on. We rode on the top of the bank, amusing ourselves chasing buffalo until near sunset, when we camped at a pleasant spot opposite Eagle hills. My people having gathered a quantity of cherries in the Sandy hills, I made a keg of cordial by steeping them in Jamaica spirits and adding a few pounds of sugar.

*Sept. 9th.* I sent off the canoes as usual, and proceeded by land. We soon found plenty of buffalo, and though the ground was bad, we could not refrain from the chase, at the risk of our necks. Having as much meat as our canoes could embark, I thought it prudent to send my hunter ahead to the Indian camp, to find out how they were disposed. He left us accordingly, while I, with the guide and the other man, proceeded to the river with the meat. He had not been gone more than an hour, when we suddenly perceived a large body of horsemen from above, coming directly toward us. We halted, and determined to sell our lives as dearly as possible; any attempt to save ourselves by flight would have been in vain. From the hallooing and whooping they made, urging their horses at full speed, we had reason to suppose they were badly inclined, and would

<sup>59</sup> Present Eagle Hill r. or cr., a considerable stream flowing from the elevations whence it takes name. In coming up to it from the Elbow Henry passed a cr. on his right, and then Sugar Bush cr. and Telegraph coulée on the S. side. When Thompson came down in 1800, May 24th, he made it 14½ m. from Eagle Hill brook, as he calls it, to the E. end of The Elbow, apparently scant measure by water. The position of the mouth is in the S. W. part of Tp. 39, R. x, W. of the 3d init. merid. (See "Eagle Hills" and "Eagle Hill Brook," on Thompson's map.)

consequently give us no quarter. However, on nearer approach, I saw our hunter at their head; he joined us first, and told me they were a hunting-party. This was agreeable intelligence, as we should have stood a poor chance, being only three against 30. We inquired the news, but could get no satisfactory information. We left them and proceeded to the river, while they set off to chase buffalo. We soon found the canoes, and stopped for two hours, when the Indians came, loaded with meat; but I would take none from them. I gave each six inches of tobacco, and they proceeded toward their tents. I again sent my hunter on to the camp, to discover whether there were any danger, and, if so, to return during the night and inform us. Sent on the canoes, and proceeded myself by land. Passed old Fort Montagne d'Aigle,<sup>60</sup> now a heap of ruins, in a low

<sup>60</sup> Eagle Hill fort, a short distance below the mouth of Battle r. Some details of the story Henry relates, which have otherwise reached us, are to the effect that a trader had dosed a Cree to death with laudanum in his liquor; that in the fracas which resulted the trader and others were killed, and the rest fled, abandoning much of their property. Thus, Sir A. McKenzie says, orig. ed. 1801, p. xiii: "Most of them who passed the winter at the Saskatchewan, got to the Eagle hills, where, in the spring of the year 1780, a few days previous to their intended departure, a large band of Indians being engaged in drinking about their houses, one of the traders, to ease himself of the troublesome importunities of a native, gave him a dose of laudanum in a glass of grog, which effectually prevented him from giving further trouble to anyone, by setting him asleep forever. This accident produced a fray, in which one of the traders, and several of the men, were killed, while the rest had no other means to save themselves but by a precipitate flight."

When Thompson came down the river from Buckingham house in 1794, he passed the mouth of Battle r. and went S. 41° E. 2 m., S. 34° E. 3 m., S. 29° E. 2 m., S. 24° E. 2 m. = 9 m. about S. S. E., "to where Mr. Cole was killed." This is doubtless a memorandum of the identical occurrence. In this vicinity was also the place where Thompson says he was "frozen in" while en route in 1793 to winter 1793-94 at Fort George. In coming to Eagle Hill fort from the river of the same name, Henry passed on his right Raspberry cr. and many others making down from the hills; also, a place on the S. side of the river called Baljennie, S. W. of which, at some miles' distance, is the Red Pheasant Indian reserve. The long stretch of the river between Eagle Hill r. and the old fort should be noted, as the latter has been sometimes said to have been at the mouth of the former. The present road from The Elbow of the Saskatchewan to Battle r. runs along the S. side.

bottom on the N. side. This is the place where the traders who wintered in 1779-80 had a battle with the Crees in the spring of 1780, when one of the traders was killed by a Canadian, and one Cree. The traders were obliged to abandon their property to the mercy of the Indians, who pillaged and destroyed most of it. Opposite this place Eagle hills leave the river, and trend southward. From Rivière de la Montagne d'Aigle to this place the high lands continue, mostly covered with large hummocks, chiefly poplar. Moose and red deer are very numerous, and formerly these hills were famous for beaver; there being many deep valleys and rivulets, well wooded, and in other respects suitable for those animals. The hills run close to the river all this distance, with very few bottoms of any extent on the S., but on the N. the country continues the same as below, with extensive bottoms. We here met a few Indians from the camp above, who, having heard of us, came to get tobacco. They remained with us until we came abreast of Battle river,<sup>61</sup> where I stopped till the

<sup>61</sup> Battle r. is by far the largest tributary of the N. Saskatchewan, running through about six degrees of longitude, or from beyond 114° to about 108°. It heads in Alberta in the feeder of Battle l., which lies across Range lines ii and i, W. of the 5th init. merid. (Tp. 46), in the vicinity of Pigeon l. (where the Wesleyan mission is) and Beaver l.; and having taken tribute from both these, runs S. E. into the Sharp Head Indian reserve. Thence it turns northward into the Bobtail reserve, where it is skirted by the Calgary and Edmonton branch of the C. P. Ry., and then bounds the Samson reserve on the S. and E. After a short course E. to Todd's Crossing, it turns N. to its northernmost point in Alberta, where it receives the discharge of Long l.; thence the average course is S. E. for a long distance, during which it runs through Dried Meat l. and receives various tributaries further on, nearly to the boundary between Alberta and Saskatchewan. Hence onward, its course averages N. N. E. to Grizzly Bear coulée, having received Iron cr., Grattan cr., and Buffalo coulée from the N. W. The Grizzly Bear place marks its highest point in Saskatchewan, and thence it winds E. S. E. around the Blackfoot hills, receives Ribstone or Nose cr. from the S. and Blackfoot coulée from the N., and then continues, with many windings, but on an average nearly E. course, to fall into the Saskatchewan, in the close vicinity of present Battleford. On nearing its end, Battle r. runs through Little Pine reserve, past Pound Maker reserve, and finally between Sweet Grass reserve on the S. and Thunder Child and Moosomin reserves on the N. Battleford is on the S. bank of Battle r., in Tp. 43, R.

canoes came up, and then camped on a pleasant rising ground. We were soon visited by many Indians on horseback, who all appeared happy to see us, and were quite civil; but I knew them to be so treacherous that no dependence could be put on their outward behavior. We examined our firearms, and I gave out ammunition, to use in case of attack. Battle river comes in from the S. W., broad and shallow. Beavers are very numerous up this river, but it is dangerous to go there, on account of the numerous tribes of Slave Indians who inhabit its upper part, and of the Assiniboines who live on the lower part, and are nearly as treacherous as the others. The night passed without hearing from our hunter, which gave us some hopes that no plot was meditated.

*Sept. 10th.* At daybreak the canoes were off, and with my two people I proceeded by land. We were soon met by a mounted party of young men who accompanied us to their camp, where we were heartily welcomed by some of the principal men. My hunter informed me that he had made every inquiry, but could learn of no intended hostility. A story of that nature had been in circulation, but they say it had no real foundation, as it was only "among the children." But I suspect there was some truth in the report,

xvi, W. of the 3d init. merid.; a road comes N. to it from Saskatchewan Landing on the South Branch, in continuation from a station on the main C. P. Ry. A trail from Battleford leads S. S. W. to the South Branch at the confluence of Red Deer r., known as Red Deer forks. This was the site of Chesterfield house, built by John McDonald of Garth in 1805, and then the furthestmost post of the N. W. Co. in that direction. Chesterfield house was re-established by Donald McKenzie for the H. B. Co. in 1822, but abandoned in a few years, after repeated hostilities by the Blackfeet, in which lives were lost. Another trail leads from Battleford S. W. to the hills, among which is one called the Nose, 2,960 ft. high, giving alternative name to Ribstone cr., which heads near it; lakes in these hills are Gooseberry, Sounding, and others. The road from Battleford keeps on N. W. up that side of the N. Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt. Battleford maintains a station of the mounted police, and the H. B. Co. a place due N., across the Saskatchewan. Battle r. does not seem to have been named for any one fight, but as the scene of warfare between Crees and Blackfeet. Thompson maps "N. W. Co. □" near its mouth.

and that, as frequently happens when large numbers of Indians are collected, the whole would not consent to what some desired; which must have been the reason why the plot came to nothing. The canoes having arrived, I made the Indians a present of a nine-gallon keg of liquor, with some tobacco and ammunition, and received a few skins; provisions I would not take, having no room to embark them. We stayed about an hour, when, the wind increasing, my people were anxious to set sail, and I was heartily tired of such a set of beggars. I purchased three very good horses; they had a great many in camp, and the adjoining hills were covered with them; some were handsome beasts. This camp consisted of nearly 100 Cree tents, clustered without regularity or method. At eight o'clock I sent off the canoes under double-reefed sails, while I remained with my guide to settle with the Indians and prevail on some of them to return above, this fall, to make their hunt as usual in the strong wood country. My hunter went back, as we had no further occasion for his services. At nine I set off with my guide and overtook the canoes under full sail near Rivière au Brochet.<sup>62</sup> The sand-drifts in the valley were terrible; we could not see the canoes till we came opposite them; they had not more than three feet of sail, yet were scudding. We crossed Rivière au Brochet, which comes in from the N., and soon passed opposite old Turtle fort,<sup>63</sup> which stands in a low bottom on the S. We next crossed Turtle creek,<sup>64</sup> which comes in from the N. Both

<sup>62</sup> Otherwise Pike r., now Jack or Jackfish cr., a small stream from the N. which falls in nearly opposite the N. E. corner of the Moosomin reserve. Thompson calls it Pike brook in 1800, and Jack cr. in 1794: see the stream flowing from "Pike Lake" on his map.

<sup>63</sup> Or Turtle River house, which was situated about a mile below the mouth of that river, on the other side of the Saskatchewan, at the N. border of the present Thunder Child reserve. When Thompson passed down, May 22d, 1800, he heard news of the death by drowning of Louis Cardinal, close above this place. Thompson made it  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. from the house down to Pike r., and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m. between Turtle r. and Pike r.; the distance seems more by late maps.

<sup>64</sup> Present Turtle r. or Turtle Lake r., coming S. from Turtle and other lakes and skirting the Saskatchewan at a gradually diminishing distance, to fall in, as

this and Pike river have deep water and steep banks. The country here becomes more hilly, and the hummocks more frequent than we have found them since leaving the Monté. At sunset we hailed the canoes and camped, but found the sand drifts so disagreeable that we could scarcely take supper. Beaver vestiges are frequent along the river. At our present situation a large spot of ground is cleared of its wood by those animals.

*Sunday, Sept. 11th.* At daybreak the canoes were off, and as the E. wind continued they hoisted sail and scudded smoothly; but the swell was high, and I feared some accident would happen to the deeply loaded canoes. Yesterday afternoon they all shipped water, and some were in danger of swamping. I set out with my men and guide, intending to make a circuit to see if we could find buffalo. The country was rough and hilly, with frequent rivulets and small lakes, the latter covered with geese and ducks, not in the least shy. We came to the upper part of Turtle creek, on the N. side of which we saw buffalo. We chased them, killed five cows, loaded our horses with the choice pieces, and directed our course for the river. But where to find the canoes was uncertain. We drove on as fast as our loaded horses could go, but night came on before we reached the river, and we were at a loss whether to go above or below. I was willing to stop for the night at a small brook<sup>65</sup> and defer the search until next day, but my guide, for some particular reason, wished to reach the canoes. I therefore desired him to do as he thought proper, and after some consultation we determined to go on. In crossing a rivulet<sup>66</sup> our horses stuck in the mire, and we

just said, in Tp. 46, R. xxviii, W. 3d init. merid. See the stream Thompson runs from "Turtle Lake" on his map. About 9 m. higher up, on the S. side of the Saskatchewan, is Bresaytor, a mounted police station.

<sup>65</sup> Henry's "small brook" and "rivulet" occasion some doubt whether they were the same or not, and in either case identification is so difficult that I suspect some error. He is on the left bank, and the only stream I find on this N. E. side is one called Englishman r. on the best maps before me, emptying in the N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Tp. 48, R. xxi, W. of the 3d init. merid. Old Fort Brûlé, which



had much trouble to get them out. We continued in the dark, as near the banks as possible, until ten, when we perceived a light ahead, which we rightly supposed to be that of our canoes. We found them camped near old Fort Bruler [Brûlé], which has been abandoned for some years. It was built on a presqu'isle [peninsula] on the N. At this place the H. B. Co. were plundered by Fall Indians, and narrowly escaped being murdered. The same attempt was made upon the N. W. Co., but by the intrepid behavior of one of the clerks the Indians were repulsed and obliged to retire with the booty they had taken from the H. B. house.

*Sept. 12th.* I sent off the canoes, and proceeded by land as usual in search of buffalo. We found them very numerous along the banks, and had fine sport. But the country was so rough as to render the chase dangerous on horseback, the hills and valleys being covered with stones and badger holes. We therefore approached the buffalo on foot, killed and wounded many, and several times brought the best of the meat to the canoes, which were in sight

Henry presently mentions, seems to have been the same, or in the same place, as old Fort de l'Isle or Island house; and this, as well as Manchester house, was below Englishman r. Thus Thompson, coming down river in 1800, passed English brook, as he calls it, May 21st, and then came to the site of the Island house, 1½ m. above a certain Birch brook which he names—Island house being obviously the same as Fort de l'Isle; it was gone at that date. Thompson had before come up to Manchester house, Oct. 18th, 1793; and in going down river in 1794 notes it as 3½ m. below Horse cr. (now Englishman r.). When Thompson passed "Burnt Fort de l'Isle," as he calls it, July 4th, 1808, he was from 7.15 a. m. to 7.15 p. m. in going down to Battle r. (Examine his map in this connection.) We know exactly where Manchester house stood, and Fort de l'Isle must have been in the immediate vicinity. It is not likely that Brûlé was the name of any actual fort, but a designation that Fort de l'Isle acquired after its destruction by fire; *brûlé* simply means "burnt." The occurrence which Henry narrates was in 1793. It was led by a Fall Indian named l'Homme au Calumet: see date of Apr. 3d, 1811, beyond, where Henry calls this post Pine Island fort.

The Island house or Fort de l'Isle of this note must be carefully distinguished from another of the same name which Decoigne built on the Saskatchewan about 20 m. above Fort George, in 1801: see a note beyond. For the Fort de l'Isle on Winnipeg r., see note <sup>33</sup>, p. 28.

from the bank all day. The people on board also had excellent sport in killing buffalo as they crossed the river. Seeing them thus engaged, I dreaded lest some accident might happen, for wounded bulls will attack anything that comes in their way. At sunset we camped at the beginning of the Red Deer hills, which had been in sight since morning. They stand on the N. side, and appear of the same nature as the Eagle hills; though not so extensive, I believe they are higher.

*Sept. 13th.* At daybreak I sent off the canoes, and with my guide and men started early also, intending to reach our establishment to-day, if possible. We took our course along the foot of the hills, but soon ascended Montagne à la Biche,<sup>66</sup> in hopes of shooting some game and shortening our route. But we came to a wretched country, up steep banks and down deep valleys, where close hummocks of small poplar scarcely permitted passage, and the bottoms were nothing but swamps, in which our horses frequently mired. Buffalo, moose, red deer, and cabbrie are numerous among those hills, and bear tracks are often seen. The country on the S. appears much elevated, and of the same nature. At ten o'clock we found ourselves on the W. side of the hills, happy to have passed them. We soon crossed Red Deer river,<sup>67</sup> and directed our course to the Butte des

<sup>66</sup> French for what Henry has just before called Red Deer hills in English. These terms were applied to the large extent of elevated and broken country upon which he has entered, and which stretches up to the present Moose hills, N. of the Saskatchewan, in the vicinity of old Fort George, Buckingham house, etc. To reach his post to-day he traverses the present Makaoos and Seekas-kootch Indian reserve, which are contiguous, and where there is a place called Onion Lake, a telegraph office, and mounted police station. Some more special features of his last day's journey are presently noted.

<sup>67</sup> A sizable stream which falls in from the N. E. in Tp. 52, R. xxv, W. of the 3d init. merid. It may have another name now, but the one Henry gives was current in his time. Thompson mentions Red Deer Hill brook, on his left in coming down from Fort George, May 20th, 1800, and makes it  $4\frac{3}{4}$  m. below "the old house of Umfreville," which he had passed on his right, *i. e.*, the right or W. bank of the Saskatchewan.

Edouard Umfreville is one of the best known of the early travelers and

Saulteurs,<sup>68</sup> where we fell upon the Indian road, which we followed. We nooned at La Plante's river<sup>69</sup> to refresh our

traders. He was a writer of the H. B. Co. 1771-82, when he was captured by La Pérouse; on his release he went to Quebec in Apr., 1783, and entered the N. W. Co. in 1784, the year of its founding. In May, 1784, he left Montreal for the interior; reached S. S. Marie in about a month; and "was pitched upon," he says, "to pursue an unknown tract [track] in order to explore another passage into the interior country, independant of the old one known by the name of the Great Carrying-Place [Grand Portage]," p. 144 of his book. Curiously enough, that is about all he says on this score; but I gather from other sources that he went into the Nepigon country that summer, with one St. Germain, one Dubé, Jean Roy, and five others; reached Sturgeon l. July 10th; Monataggé or Minitakie l., 13th; Lac Seul, 16th; named Portage des Chênes and P. des Trembles, 22d; and Portage de l'Isle, Winnipeg r., 23d. He went on W., up the Saskatchewan, and wintered high on the N. branch, 1784-87; as already said in note<sup>28</sup>, p. 465; but it is passing strange that Thompson's indication of Umfreville's house is absolutely the only exact one I have ever seen. Umfreville himself only says, p. 149: "About 270 miles below where I wintered, or about 430 miles from its mouth, two branches unite in one." He left his house May 14th, 1788, and on Oct. 10th reached New York City, "a place too well known to require any description here." His book, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay, etc.*, is a thin 8vo. of pp. viii, 230. London, 1790, now rather rare; the copy I handle is in the library of Georgetown College, West Washington, D. C.; it once belonged to J. Gilmary Shea, the noted apologist of Louis Hennepin. The book was mainly written against the H. B. Co., with which the author fell out in 1783, and is disappointing in various respects; but it is a work of good faith, containing some information not found elsewhere, particularly in ethnography. Umfreville is our original authority on the Fall Indians (Atsinas), of which he gives a vocabulary opp. p. 202, with others of the Nehethawa or Kalisteno (Cree), Assinepoetuc or Stone Indians, Blackfeet, and Sussees.

<sup>68</sup> This is probably present Frenchman's butte, quite close to the river, where it bends at a right angle in Tp. 53 of the range last said. The present road, coming N. W. from Red Deer Hill r., passes between this butte and the Saskatchewan, and continues directly on the same course, away from the river, to Onion Lake sta.

Present Fort Pitt of the H. B. Co. is situated on the same side of the river, in the same tp. of the next range (xxvi). The Earl of Southesk, who was there in 1859, describes it as a square palisaded and bastioned fort, about 100 yards from the water. The road which comes up the right bank of the river from Battleford crosses the Saskatchewan at Fort Pitt, and keeps on N. W. to Onion Lake, etc.

<sup>69</sup> A small stream which comes S. through the above mentioned Indian reserve and falls into the Saskatchewan a short distance below Fort Pitt, in the same tp.; present name, if different, not ascertained.

horses, and then took a well-beaten track through small plains and hummocks of poplars and willows. At Les Deux Grosses Buttes<sup>70</sup> we halted for an hour. On leaving them we soon came in sight of the river, and went along the bank. At sunset we sighted Fort Vermilion, in a long, flat bottom of meadow, directly opposite the entrance of Vermilion river, which falls in on the S. A large camp of Slaves began to whoop and halloo as we came down the hills, and appeared rejoiced to see us. We passed the H. B. Co. fort and entered our own, where we were warmly welcomed.

The canoes had been absent since the 10th of May last, journeying to and from Fort William. The Indians were desirous of crossing to visit us, but we allowed none to come over this evening. I was visited by our H. B. Co. neighbors, Messrs. Hallette<sup>71</sup> and Longmore,<sup>72</sup> who were anxious to hear the news from Europe, having been deprived of that satisfaction since this time last year. Nothing extraordinary had occurred during the summer, except the disturbance between the Slaves and the Crees; the former were still exasperated at the treachery of the latter, and threatened revenge.

*Sept. 14th.* The Blackfeet were on the bank early,

<sup>70</sup> Present Two Big Hills, N. of the river 4 and 5 m., in Tp. 54, R. i, W. of the 4th init. merid., W. of the Indian reserve, and due S. of the small Onion l. Henry crosses two very small nameless streams, and reaches his destination.

The large Vermilion r., opp. whose mouth was the fort, was sometimes called Painted r., as in Thompson's itinerary of Sunday, May 18th, 1800.

This Saskatchewan Fort Vermilion must not be confounded with one of the same name which was on Peace r., about lat. 58° 30', long. 116°, nearly opp. mouth of Boyer r., and two days' journey below the Horseshoe house (Thompson, May 2d, 1804): see note <sup>1</sup>, p. 511.

<sup>71</sup> Usually spelled Hallett or Hallet; first name not ascertained. He had been some years in this region. Thompson notes his arrival at Fort George Sept. 6th, and again Sept 11th, 1799, and he left Sept. 15th, to go down the Saskatchewan to build at Turtle r. Franchère found him in charge at Fort Vermilion, June 10th, 1814, when there were 90 persons there.

<sup>72</sup> Mr. Longmore or Longmoor of the H. B. Co. was found by Thompson on Swan r. (tributary of Lake Winnipegosis) in Sept., 1797.

calling to us to ferry them over in the bateau we kept for that purpose. We sent for the principal chief; the young men required no boat, for they were soon among us, quite naked. This chief, called Painted Feather, is a man of great authority in his tribe. We desired him to send his young men out to hunt buffalo for our people, which he readily consented to do, giving orders to the camp for a party to set off instantly, as buffalo were at hand. We were employed all day in taking inventories and settling the affairs of this post. I found a small garden, stocked with barley, potatoes, cabbage, turnips, carrots, parsnips, and beets, all of which appeared to have produced well.

*Sept. 15th.* At ten o'clock the brigade arrived; the canoes were unloaded and the baggage carried into the fort, where everything was opened to make out the several assortments for above. The Blackfeet returned with ten cows. We had a dance which lasted till daybreak; our H. B. Co. neighbors were of the party, and all was mirth—our men as smart and active as if they had rested for a month.

*Sept. 16th.* Two canoes departed for the Columbia.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> David Thompson's two canoes. The reader will remember that Henry met Thompson on Lake Winnipeg, Aug. 18th, and that they entered the Saskatchewan together Aug. 20th, Thompson being "bound for the Columbia," p. 459. Well, they have come up to Fort Vermilion together, or nearly so, for Thompson arrived there on Thursday, Sept. 14th. Henry has had not a word to say of this; and as for Thompson, there is no entry in his itinerary of this voyage after Aug. 29th—he had been up and down the river so often that he did not think it worth while—till his arrival at Fort Vermilion on the 14th inst. Consequently, the Saskatchewan memoranda of Thompson I have made in this chapter are all from other voyages, especially of 1793, 1794, 1800, and earlier in 1808, when he went down. We will proceed to trace Thompson over to the Columbia; it will be a good introduction to Henry's journey in the same direction, later on in this work. The narrative of Thompson's journey is contained in his Book No. 23, Vol. x.—Leaving Fort Vermilion as said, he reached Fort Augustus Sept. 23d, and left 25th, 1808. 28th, camped above old White Mud house. Oct. 3d, Boggy Hall. Oct. 7, Baptiste's brook. Oct. 8th, Rocky Mountain house. Oct. 9th, camped close above "Mr. [Peter] Pangman's marked tree." Oct. 15th, Jaco's brook. Oct. 16th, Medicine Knowl [Knoll]. Oct. 21st, laid up canoes for the winter; Saskatchewan all frozen; horseback journey of 16 days before him. Oct. 24th, passed Koo-

We paid the Indians for their meat, and gave them some liquor and tobacco. They appeared highly pleased, and retired to their camp to drink, without once troubling us during the night. We finished packing what goods were to be sent above. This evening four young men arrived, who informed us that they had been sent for tobacco for their chiefs, whom we might expect in a few days with a great quantity of provisions and some beavers. They were Strong Wood Assiniboines, who generally reside near Battle river, one long day's ride due S.

*Sept. 17th.* The canoes for Fort Augustus departed early. Messrs. [James] Hughes<sup>74</sup> and D. Thompson followed on horseback—the former to winter at Fort Augustus, the latter to proceed to the Columbia. I have taken up my quarters for the winter at this post, where I expect to be visited by numerous tribes from the S.—Blackfeet, Sarcees, Fall Indians, Blood Indians, and Assiniboines

танае plains (E. side of Continental Divide still, notwithstanding the name). Oct. 27th, went on to the Height of Land (the pass now known as Howse's). Oct. 28th, down "the brook of the Columbia waters" (present Blueberry cr.). Oct. 31st, made "Kootanae" r., as Thompson curiously called the Columbia itself, above Canoe r., for some years. He followed this up to Nov. 10th, when he arrived at his "Kootanae House of last year," *i. e.*, the post he had built in 1807 on the left or W. bank of the Columbia, near mouth of Toby cr. and near foot of Lower Columbia or Windermere l., where he wintered to Apr. 27th, 1809. Thompson discovered Howse's pass on this trip. *in 1807. See p. 607.*

<sup>74</sup>Already a partner of the N. W. Co., having signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys. This is probably the Mr. Hughes who wintered at James Finlay's Fort de l'Isle, 1793-94, and in any event the James Hughes, clerk N. W. Co., who went with John McDonald to Fort George in 1797. He came in next year, arriving at Grand Portage June 29th, 1798, and leaving about July 14th, for the Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mt. Dept., where he served several years. We find him at the Rocky Mountain house with Thompson in 1801, and also at Decoigne's Fort de l'Isle on the Saskatchewan in the summer of that year. In 1805 he was in, as he left Kaministiquia at the same time that John McDonald of Garth did. In June, 1806, he was en route from a Saskatchewan post to Kaministiquia, with Alex. Stuart, and in September of that year was found at Cumberland House en route back to his post. He was in again in 1808, and left Rainy Lake house Aug. 3d of that year for his post. He continues in charge of Fort Augustus, 1808-09; no further record found.

—and on the N. by about 100 tents of Crees. The Pie-gans or Picaneaux trade at Fort Augustus, as their lands are near the Rocky mountains. The Mashquegie Assiniboines, on the N., trade also at this post.

Here I passed the winter, during which nothing occurred but the routine of trade. The ensuing spring I embarked May 20th for Fort William, where I arrived June 18th, 1809.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Henry's Journal breaks short off with this curt statement of his wintering 1808-09 at Fort Vermilion, and voyaging to Kaministiquia the following summer. Instead of a diary or personal narrative, he next gives us his observations on the Indians, for which, of course, I make a new chapter. This ended, we shall find him again at Fort Vermilion, where he arrives Sept. 13th, 1809, from Fort William, and resumes his journal.

The reader will easily find Vermilion r. on any good map. Thompson traces it conspicuously, but without any lettering: see the large stream on his map, running from "Chain of Lakes," and falling into the Saskatchewan from the S., a little beyond long. 110° W. This is the position of Fort Vermilion. We thus see that this was the Lower Fort des Prairies to which Henry had been appointed, as said on p. 440. At the same date, Fort Augustus was Upper Fort des Prairies. Refer to note <sup>46</sup>, p. 481, for explanation of "Fort des Prairies" as a generic name of various places.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### ETHNOGRAPHY OF FORT VERMILION.

THE Crees, or Kinistineaux, are a numerous people, derived from the same original [Algonquian] stock as the Ogebois [Ojibways, Chippewas,] or Saulteurs, inhabiting the country adjacent and N. W. of the latter, even as far as Peace river.<sup>1</sup> Their language is less copious and

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. McKenzie has the following on the origin of the name, p. 123: "On the 13th [Oct., 1792], at noon, we came to the Peace Point; from which, according to the report of my interpreter, the river derives its name; it was the spot where the Knisteneaux and Beaver Indians settled their dispute; the real name of the river and point being that of the land which was the object of contention. When this country was formerly invaded by the Knisteneaux, they found the Beaver Indians inhabiting the land about Portage la Loche [Methy portage], and the adjoining tribe were those whom they called Slaves. They drove both these tribes before them; when the latter proceeded down the river from the Lake of the Hills [Athabasca], in consequence of which that part of it obtained the name of the Slave River. The former proceeded up the river; and when the Knisteneaux made peace with them, this place was settled to be the boundary." A native name of Peace r. is Unshagah or Unjigah. It is the next great river N. of the Athabasca, from the Rocky mts. about E. N. E. to Lake Athabasca, into the W. end of which it falls, in common with Athabasca r., near 111° 30' W. long. The two main branches of Peace r. in the mountains are Finlay's r. and Parsnip r.; the latter heads in the Continental Divide, in close relations with the northernmost elbow of Fraser's r. There are, of course, many tributaries, a principal one of which is Smoke or Smoky r. The main tributaries in order downward, from Finlay's to Smoky r., are called Halfway, N.; Moberly's, S.; Pine, S.; Mud, S.; D'Echafaud, S.; another Pine, N.; Mountain, N.; Rat, S.; Muddy, N., at Dunvegan; Burnt, S.; and Little Burnt, N. The united waters of Peace r. and the Athabasca, together with the discharge of Lake Athabasca, flow northward into Great Slave l., whence this great system of waters seeks the Arctic ocean as McKenzie's r. Peace r. is credited with a length of over 1,000 m. It began to be occupied by the traders toward the end of the last century. Some of these posts may be here noted, including the most famous one of that region, which, however, was not on Peace r. but on Lake Athabasca, in the delta country of Peace and Athabasca rivers. This is Fort Chipewyan, Chepewyan, Chippewyan, Chipewean,



expressive than the mother tongue from which it originated. They are deficient in direct terms for many things, and often express themselves by saying that a thing is almost this or that, but cannot find a proper term for it; whereas a Saulteur is never at a loss, and always appears to have a directly applicable term. Their accent is more abrupt than that of the Saulteurs. They appear to be much less enlightened. A Cree often finds difficulty in tracing out his

etc. Two of the name are to be distinguished, "old" and "new." The celebrated Peter Pond led the way to the founding of old Fort Chipewyan by building a house on Athabasca r. some 30-40 m. above the lake, in 1778; it long remained a noted point on the river. Thompson passed "Pond's old House" May 17th, 1804, and made observations which yielded lat.  $58^{\circ} 25' N.$ , long.  $111^{\circ} 23' W.$  The "old Pond fort" is marked for position on some modern maps. Some confusion has occasionally arisen as to its location, for it has been said to have been on Rivière à la Biche, or Elk r.; but these were both synonyms of Athabasca r. The circumstances of the origination of old Fort Chipewyan are thus stated by McKenzie, p. lxxxvii: "At the distance of about 40 miles [up Athabasca r.] from the lake [Athabasca] is the Old Establishment . . . formed by Mr. Pond in the year 1778-9, and which was the only one in this part of the world, till the year 1785. In the year 1788 it was transferred to the Lake of the Hills [Athabasca], and formed on a point on its Southern side, at about eight miles from the discharge of the river. It was named Fort Chepewyan, and is in latitude  $58. 38.$  North, longitude  $110. 26.$  West . . . the place which I made my headquarters for eight years, and from whence I took my departure, on both my expeditions." Sir Alexander left it June 3d, 1789, returned to it Sept. 12th, 1789, after an absence of 102 days, and wintered there with Roderic McKenzie, 1789-90; on his return he found C. Grant building a new house. Fort Chipewyan stood on the base of a rocky point which ran about a league out into the S. W. part of the lake, and soon became an important trade center as the general rendezvous and distributing post of that whole region. It was painted inside, and had a little library. It was styled "Emporium of the North" and "Little Athens of the Hyperborean regions." It was decaying in 1815 and abandoned about 1820. New Fort Chipewyan was built across the lake, on the N. side of the W. end, and thus more nearly in Peace River delta itself.—In 1798 Mr. John Thomson built a house,  $28 \times 24$  feet, on Peace r., at entrance of Little Red r.; this I have found by the name of Fort de la Rivière Rouge ou Grand Marais; it had been abandoned and was in ruins in 1805.—Fort Vermilion stood on the right bank of Peace r., near Boyer r., about lat.  $58^{\circ} 30' N.$ , long.  $116^{\circ} W.$ : note <sup>70</sup>, p. 506. David Thompson was there May 2d, 1804. Andrew McKenzie, natural son of Sir Alexander, died young there, Mar. 1st, 1809.—Fort Encampment Island was on Peace r. above Fort Vermilion; it was operative along about 1808. Fort de

grandfather, as they do not possess totems<sup>2</sup>—that ready expedient among the Saulteurs. They have a certain way of distinguishing their families and tribes, but it is not nearly so accurate as that of the Saulteurs, and the second or third generation back seems often lost in oblivion. Their ideas of creation are nearly the same, and they have the same wonderful stories concerning Nainauboushaw, whom they call Wee-suc-ha-jouck. Their tales, however, are not related so clearly and distinctly; many things appear obscure to them, and to such they can give no proper signification. They are fully as much addicted to spirituous liquors as the Saulteurs, but generally have no means of obtaining it. Those only who frequent the strong wood country can purchase liquor and tobacco. Those who inhabit the plains are a useless set of lazy fellows—a nui-

Tremble, du Tremble, or des Trembles—one of several "aspens" forts so-called—was on Peace r. above Fort Vermilion and below the mouth of Iroquois r., a little beyond lat. 58°, near long. 116° 30'.—Fort McLeod (one) was on the left bank of Peace r. below (N. of) "the forks," *i. e.*, mouth of Smoky r., say lat. 56° 40', long. little over 117°.—What D. Thompson calls Fort of the Forks, where he spent more than a year, 1802-04, was on Peace r., right bank, about 5 m. above the mouth of Smoky r.—Fort Dunvegan is the best known by name of all these Peace River houses, as Dunvegan is still the name of the place, on the left bank, at mouth of Muddy cr., near lat. 56° and about long. 118° 40'; the fort was well built and situated; Harmon arrived there Oct. 10th, 1808, and was to winter 1808-09 with Donald McTavish, J. G. McTavish, John McGillivray, and about 40 others; F. Goedike left Oct. 14th for St. John's above.—Fort St. John was on the left bank of Peace r., some 100 m. above Dunvegan, a few miles below that Pine r. which comes from the S., lat. above 56°, long. near 121°, in what was then New Caledonia and is now British Columbia.—Cust's house is marked on some late maps as on the left bank of Peace r., in the cañon, lat. 56°, long. 122°.—For Hudson's Hope, old and new, below and at the cañon, see note<sup>53</sup>, p. 489.—Fort McLeod (another), which was also called McLeod's fort, was built at the N. end of McLeod l., about lat. 53°, a little beyond long. 123°. McLeod l. receives Crooked r., which is the discharge from Kerry's and other lakes, and also receives Long Lake r., at the mouth of which is the fort; the combined discharge of these waters, now known as Pack r., joins Parsnip r.

<sup>2</sup> An excellent account of the Ojibway totem-system is given by the learned Anglojibway, Hon. W. W. Warren, in *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, V. 1885, Chap. II, pp. 41-53.

sance both to us and to their neighbors, and much addicted to horse stealing. They are generally found in large camps winter and summer, idle throughout the year. Buffalo is their only object. Although passionately fond of liquor and tobacco, still they will not resort to the woods where they could procure furs to purchase those articles. In winter they take to the bow and arrows; firearms are scarce among them, and they use but little ammunition. If they procure a gun, it is instantly exchanged with an Assiniboine for a horse.

Their tents, like those of all other tribes of the plains, are of dressed leather, erected with poles, generally 17 in number, of which two are tied together about three feet from the top. These being erected and set apart at the base, the others are placed against them in a slanting position, meeting at the top, so that they all form nearly a circle, which is then covered with the leather. This consists of 10 to 15 dressed skins of the buffalo, moose, or red deer, well sewed together and nicely cut to fit the conical figure of the poles, with an opening above, to let out smoke and admit the light. From this opening down to the door the two edges of the tent are brought close together and well secured with wooden pegs about six inches long, leaving for the door an oval aperture about two feet wide and three feet high, below which the edges are secured with similar pegs. This small entrance does well enough for the natives, who are brought up to it from infancy, but a European is puzzled to get through, as a piece of hide stretched upon a frame of the same shape as the door, but somewhat larger, hangs outside, and must be raised by hand to pass. These tents are spacious, measuring 20 feet in diameter. The fire is always made in the center, around which they generally place a range of stones to prevent the ashes from scattering and keep the fire compact. New tents are perfectly white; some of them are painted with red and black figures. These devices are generally derived from their dreams, being some sea-monster or other hideous

animal, whose description has been handed down from their ancestors. A large camp of such tents, pitched regularly on a level plain, has a fine effect at a distance, especially when numerous bands of horses are seen feeding in all directions.

The men in general tattoo their bodies and arms very much. The women confine this ornamentation to the chin, having three perpendicular lines from the middle of the chin to the lip, and one or more running on each side, nearly parallel with the corner of the mouth. Their dress consists of leather; that of the men is a pair of leggings, reaching up to the hip, and fastened to the breech-clout girth. The clout itself is generally a few inches of woolen stuff: but, when this cannot be procurèd, they use a piece of dressed leather about nine inches broad and four feet long, whose ends are drawn through the girth and hang down before and behind about a foot. They are not so particular and decent in this part of their dress as the Saulteurs. The shirt is of soft dressed leather, either cabrie or young red deer, close about the neck and hanging to the middle of the thigh; the sieves are of the same, loose and open under the arms to the elbows, but thence to the wrist sewed tight. The cap is commonly a piece of leather, or skin with the hair on, shaped to fit the head, and tied under the chin; the top is usually decorated with feathers or other ornament. Shoes are made of buffalo hide dressed in the hair, and mittens of the same. Over the whole a buffalo robe is thrown, which serves as covering day and night. Such is their common dress; but on particular occasions they appear to greater advantage, having their cap, shirt, leggings, and shoes perfectly clean and white, trimmed with porcupine-quills and other ingenious work of their women, who are supposed to be the most skillful hands in the country at decorations of this kind. Their dress consists of the same materials as the men's. Their leggings do not reach above the knee, and are gathered below that joint; their shoes always lack decoration. The shift or body-garment reaches down to the calf, where

it is generally fringed and trimmed with quill-work; the upper part is fastened over the shoulders by strips of leather; a flap or cape hangs down about a foot before and behind, and is ornamented with quill-work and fringe. This covering is quite loose, but tied around the waist with a belt of stiff parchment, fastened on the side, where also some ornaments are suspended. The sleeves are detached from the body-garment; from the wrist to the elbow they are sewed, but thence to the shoulder they are open underneath and drawn up to the neck, where they are fastened across the breast and back. Their ornaments are two or three coils of brass wire twisted around the rim of each ear, in which incisions are made for that purpose; blue beads, brass rings, quill-work, and fringe occasionally answer. Vermilion is much used by the women to paint the face. Their hair is generally parted on the crown, and fastened behind each ear in large knots, from which are suspended bunches of blue beads, or other ingenious work of their own. The men adjust their hair in various forms; some have it parted on top and tied in a tail on each side, while others make one long queue which hangs down behind, and around which is twisted a strip of otter skin or dressed buffalo entrails. This tail is frequently increased in thickness and length by adding false hair, but others allow it to flow loose naturally. Combs are seldom used by the men, and they never smear the hair with grease, but red earth is sometimes put upon it. White earth daubed over the hair generally denotes mourning. The young men sometimes have a bunch of hair on the crown, about the size of a small teacup, and nearly in the shape of that vessel upside down, to which they fasten various ornaments of feathers, quill-work, ermine tails, etc. Red and white earth and charcoal are much used in their toilets; with the former they usually daub their robes and other garments, some red and others white. The women comb their hair and use grease on it.

Chastity does not seem to be a virtue among the Crees, who make frequently temporary exchanges of wives among

themselves. But clandestine amours, if discovered by the husband, are often attended with serious consequences to the woman, who is punished by loss of her nose, and sometimes even by death. Polygamy is very common; the first wife is considered as mistress of the tent, and rules the others, frequently with a rod of iron, obliging them to perform all the drudgery. More than one family seldom inhabit the same tent. Venereal disease is common, and appears to be a principal cause of death, as they do not possess that knowledge of roots and other remedies which the Saulteurs use. Smallpox some years ago made great havoc among these people, destroying entire camps; but they are again increasing very fast. To find the exact number of men would be difficult, as they are dispersed over a vast extent of country, and often mix with Assiniboines and other natives with whom they are at peace. As nearly as I could ascertain, they have about 300 tents, which may furnish 900 men capable of bearing arms. It must, however, be observed that in this calculation I do not include those Crees who live N. of Beaver river.

The Assiniboines or Stone Indians originated from the Sioux or Nadouasis, probably S. of St. Peter's [Minnesota] river, where some misunderstanding between different bands caused their separation. They are now numerous, and inhabit a vast extent of plains. Their lands may be said to commence at the Hair hills, near Red river, thence running W. along the Assiniboine, from that to the junction of the North and South branches of the Saskatchewan, and up the former branch to Fort Vermillion; then due S. to Battle river, then S. E. to the Missourie, down that river nearly to the Mandane villages, and finally N. E. to the Hair hills again. All this space of open country may be called the lands of the Assiniboines. A few straggling Crees occasionally mix among them.

They are generally of moderate stature, rather slender, and very active; there are, however, many tall and well-proportioned men among them. Their complexion is of a

lighter copper color than that of the Crees, and their features are more regular. The men adjust their hair in various forms; it is seldom cut, but as it grows is twisted into small locks or tails, about the thickness of a finger. Combs are never used; what loose hair falls out is twisted into those tails, and frequently false hair is added. Many wear numerous tails trailing on the ground; but it is customary to twist this immense flow of hair into a coil on top of the head, broad below and tapering above like a sugar loaf nine inches high. No grease or oily substance whatever is applied to the hair, which they frequently wash, and then daub with red earth. Their dress, tents, customs, and manners are nearly the same as those of the Crees, but they observe more decorum in camp, and are more cleanly and hospitable. Their robes and other garments are kept clean, but daubed with clay. They are excellent riders and notorious horse-thieves, even among themselves, perpetually embroiled on account of horses and women; instant murder is frequently the consequence, and indeed to those two causes may be attributed all the quarrels and disturbances among the Meadow tribes, who seldom wait until intoxicated to revenge an injury. Chastity is little esteemed, and fidelity is not considered essential to conjugal happiness. They often barter the persons of their women for a trifling recompense. Polygamy is very common, and they regard their wives in the same light as all other savages in this country do—that is, as mere drudges and slaves. Venereal disease is common, and I cannot find that they have any effectual remedy. The men are careless in concealing their private parts; a small strip of leather is generally hung before, but little attended to, while the backside is always naked, except when they have on buffalo robes. In other respects they dress like the Crees.

The principal occupation of these people is making pounded meat and grease, which they barter with us for liquor, tobacco, powder, balls, knives, awls, brass rings, brass wire, blue beads, and other trinkets. Transportation

of their baggage is mostly performed by dogs, as their horses are generally kept for hunting buffalo. Dogs are tacked to two straight poles about 15 feet long, fastened together at one end, at the other spread about eight feet apart. Where the poles are lashed together, several folds of dressed buffalo skins, which answer for a saddle, are fastened and laid directly on the dog's shoulders; a strip of leather attached to this is brought round the dog's neck and made fast again to the meeting of the poles; then a hoop is laid across the poles a little behind the dog's rump and interwoven closely with leather thongs, and upon this the burden is laid. Often horses are tacked in the same manner, particularly in winter. In summer they chase buffalo on horseback, and kill them with the bow and arrows; in winter they take them in pounds.

It is supposed that these people are the most expert and dexterous nation of the plains in constructing pounds, and in driving buffalo into them. The pounds are of different dimensions, according to the number of tents in one camp. The common size is from 60 to 100 paces or yards in circumference, and about five feet in height. Trees are cut down, laid upon one another, and interwoven with branches and green twigs; small openings are left to admit the dogs to feed upon the carcasses of the bulls, which are generally left as useless. This inclosure is commonly made between two hummocks, on the declivity or at the foot of rising ground. The entrance is about ten paces wide, and always fronts the plains. On each side of this entrance commences a thick range of fascines, the two ranges spreading asunder as they extend, to the distance of 100 yards, beyond which openings are left at intervals; but the fascines soon become more thinly planted, and continue to spread apart to the right and left, until each range has been extended about 300 yards from the pound. The labor is then diminished by only placing at intervals three or four cross-sticks, in imitation of a dog or other animal [sometimes called "dead men"]; these extend on the



plain for about two miles, and double rows of them are planted in several other directions to a still greater distance. Young men are usually sent out to collect and bring in the buffalo—a tedious task which requires great patience, for the herd must be started by slow degrees. This is done by setting fire to dung or grass. Three young men will bring in a herd of several hundred from a great distance. When the wind is aft it is most favorable, as they can then direct the buffalo with great ease. Having come in sight of the ranges, they generally drive the herd faster, until it begins to enter the ranges, where a swift-footed person has been stationed with a buffalo robe over his head, to imitate that animal; but sometimes a horse performs this business. When he sees buffaloes approaching, he moves slowly toward the pound until they appear to follow him; then he sets off at full speed, imitating a buffalo as well as he can, with the herd after him. The young men in the rear now discover themselves, and drive the herd on with all possible speed. There is always a sentinel on some elevated spot to notify the camp when the buffalo appear; and this intelligence is no sooner given than every man, woman, and child runs to the ranges that lead to the pound, to prevent the buffalo from taking a wrong direction. There they lie down between the fascines and cross-sticks, and if the buffalo attempt to break through, the people wave their robes, which causes the herd to keep on, or turn to the opposite side, where other persons do the same. When the buffalo have been thus directed to the entrance of the pound, the Indian who leads them rushes into it and out at the other side, either by jumping over the inclosure or creeping through an opening left for that purpose. The buffalo tumble in pell-mell at his heels, almost exhausted, but keep moving around the inclosure from E. to W., and never in a direction against the sun. What appeared extraordinary to me, on those occasions, was that, when word was given to the camp of the near approach of the buffalo, the dogs would skulk away from the pound, and not approach

until the herd entered. Many buffaloes break their legs, and some their necks, in jumping into the pound, as the descent is generally six or eight feet, and stumps are left standing there. The buffalo being caught, the men assemble at the inclosure, armed with bows and arrows; every arrow has a particular mark of the owner, and they fly until the whole herd is killed. Then the men enter the pound, and each claims his own; but commonly there is what they term the master of the pound, who divides the animals and gives each tent an equal share, reserving nothing for himself. But in the end he is always the best provided for; everyone is obliged to send him a certain portion, as it is in his tent that the numerous ceremonies relating to the pound are observed. There the young men are always welcome to feast and smoke, and no women are allowed to enter, as that tent is set apart for the affairs of the pound. Horses are sometimes used to collect and bring in buffalo, but this method is less effectual than the other; besides, it frightens the herds and soon causes them to withdraw to a great distance. When horses are used, the buffalo are absolutely driven into the pound; but when the other method is pursued, they are in a manner enticed to their destruction.

These people, although the most arrant horse-thieves in the world, are at the same time the most hospitable to strangers who arrive in their camps, where rounds of invitations to feasts are given, until the guests are satisfied. These feasts vary according to the time of the year, but are always of the best the season affords, such as dried berries, meadow turnips, choice meat, marrowfat, etc. These Indians are miserably provided with utensils; even their wooden bowls are made very roughly. They are tolerably well off for firearms, which they get in barter from the Crees for horses. Bows and arrows, shields, lances, and clubs constitute their weapons of war, in which they are frequently engaged, being at enmity with all the different nations to the S., and particularly with their old friends,

the Sioux, to whom they seem to have sworn eternal hatred. They are rather timorous, and nothing but their numbers causes them to be dreaded. Seldom more than one family dwell in the same tent, and whenever a young man marries he sets up a tent apart. The smallpox some years ago ravaged them, and greatly diminished their numbers.

These people have numerous traditions concerning the Great Nainouboushow, whom they call Eth 'tom-E. Their ideas concerning creation are nearly the same as those of the Saulteurs, with the addition that Eth 'tom-E, having caused the water to rise by his misconduct, made a canoe of twigs into which he embarked a pair of every kind of beasts, birds, etc.—something like Noah's ark; and it was the muskrat that brought up the earth. The dead are always buried near by, in the same manner as the Saulteurs bury theirs, but in a sitting posture, with their faces to the E. Their ideas of a future state are nearly the same, but they say that, after a person has lain some time in a trance, his soul or spirit goes as far as the river which it must cross to reach the Elysian Fields, but is driven back by a hideous red bull, and obliged to enter the body again. The most heinous crimes among them being murder and suicide, all who are guilty of these tumble headlong into the stream, and are heard of nevermore. Women who hang themselves are the most miserable of all wretches in the other world.

Their principal and most inveterate game is that of the hoop, which proves as ruinous to them as the platter does to the Saulteurs. This game is played in the following manner: They have a hoop about two feet in diameter, nearly covered with dressed leather, and trimmed with quill-work, feathers, bits of metal, and other trinkets, on which are certain particular marks. Two persons play at the same time, by rolling the hoop and accompanying it, one on each side; when it is about to fall, each gently throws one arrow in such manner that the hoop may fall upon them; and according to that mark on the hoop which

rests upon the arrows, they reckon the game. They also play another game by holding some article in one hand, or putting it into one of two shoes, the other hand or shoe being empty. The platter is now very common among them. They have another game which requires 40 to 50 small sticks, as thick as a goose-quill and about a foot long; these are all shuffled together, and then divided into two bunches, and according to the even or odd numbers of sticks in the bunch chosen, the players lose or win. They have several different ways of playing with those sticks.

Into their numbers I have been particular to inquire; but I find them so much divided and subdivided into different bands or tribes, as to make it a difficult task to ascertain the exact population. The following is as near the truth as I can come:<sup>3</sup>

200 Tents of Little Girl Assiniboines, who inhabit Rivière la Souris, the Moose Hills, and Tête à la Biche.

200 Tents of Paddling and Foot Assiniboines, who inhabit the lakes of Rivière Qu'Appelle, etc., and thence to the Missouri.

160 Tents of Canoe, or, as some call them, Canoe and Paddling Assiniboines, who dwell W. of the Paddling and Foot Assiniboines.

24 Tents of Red River Assiniboines, who dwell to the W. and near the latter.

30 Tents of Rabbit Assiniboines, who dwell to the W. and near the latter.

<sup>3</sup> As indicated by the name of Stone Sioux or Assiniboines, these Indians are of the Siouan linguistic family; Hohe is their Dakotan name. They now number about 3,000 souls, nearly evenly divided between British America and the United States. Late official returns show 952 on Fort Belknap reservation, 719 on Fort Peck reservation, both in Montana, and 2 at Devil's Lake Agency, N. Dakota; total for the United States, 1,673. The figures for British America, with some insignificant exceptions, are: Pheasant Rump's band, at Moose Mountain, 69; Ocean Man's band there, 68; Man Who Took the Coat's band, at Indian Head, 248; Bear's Head band, Battleford Agency, 227; Cheepoostequahn band, Peace Hills Agency, 128; Bear's Paw band, at Morleyville, 236; Chiniquy band, at Sarcee Agency, 134; Jacob's band, 227; total, 1,337. Grand total, 3,010.

- 40 Tents of Stone or Rocky Assiniboines, who dwell about the Skunk Wood hills or Montagne de Foudre [Thunder hill].
- 35 Tents of Those Who Have Water For Themselves Only ; Skunk hills and westward.
- 38 Tents of Eagle Hills Assiniboines, who dwell between Bark [Bear] hills and the South Branch.
- 50 Tents of Saskatchewan Assiniboines, who inhabit the South Branch of that river, and Eagle hills.
- 33 Tents of Foot Assiniboines, W. of Eagle hills and toward Lac du Diable, S. of the South Branch.
- 40 Tents of Strong Wood Assiniboines, on Battle river and between that and the South Branch.
- 850 Tents in all, exclusive of Swampy Ground Assiniboines, who, although of the same nation, inhabit the strong wood W. of Fort Augustus, along Panbian river [branch of the Athabasca], never frequent the plains, and are excellent beaver hunters. Formerly they were very numerous, but frequent murders among themselves, and the ravages of the smallpox, have reduced their numbers to about 30 Tents. They are fully as much addicted to spirituous liquor as the Saulteurs.

These 880 tents might produce about 2,000 men capable of bearing arms. In the summer of 1809 a great body of Assiniboines assembled on the Missouri for war. When all their firearms were collected and counted, the total was 1,100 guns, which may be considered as a proof that I do not exaggerate in the above estimates.

The Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegans may be considered under one grand appellation of Slave Indians.<sup>4</sup> The tract

<sup>4</sup>In so considering them, Henry uses "Slave" in an unusual sense, which, however, may have attached to the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegans in his time. The Slaves properly so called belong to an entirely different linguistic family, namely, the Athapascan, and to the Northern group or division of that stock. But the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegans constitute the Siksika division of the great Algonquian family, to which linguistic stock the Crees also belong.

"Blackfoot" and "Blackfeet" are terms which have been very loosely used, and led to much confusion of perfectly distinct Indians. Certain "Blackfeet"

of land which they call their own at present begins on a line due S. from Fort Vermillion to the South Branch of the Saskatchewan and up that stream to the foot of the Rocky mountains; then goes N. along the mountains until it strikes the N. Branch of the Saskatchewan, and down that stream to Vermillion river. Painted Feather's band of Blackfeet are the most eastern; next to them are the Cold band of Blackfeet; near these again are the Bloods; and the Piegans or Picaneaux dwell along the foot of the mountains. These people in general are remarkably stout, tall, and well-proportioned men. The language is the same among the three tribes. Their complexion is rather swarthy,

are the Sihasapa, a division of Teton Sioux, with whom we have nothing here to do. The Blackfeet of our text are the Siksika proper, who have long formed and still constitute, with the Kino or Bloods and the Piegans, a great confederacy, now numbering nearly 7,000. A part of these Indians, to the number of about 1,800, occupy the very extensive Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan reservation in northern Montana, from the Rocky mts. eastward in the region of Maria's r. and Milk r., and the headwaters of Belly and St. Mary's rivers; the agency is on Badger cr., a branch of Two Medicine cr., a branch of Maria's r., not far from the spot where the Lewis and Clark Expedition had its only fatal collision: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 1096 *seq.* A majority of these Indians are Piegans alone. The rest of the Siksika, being a majority of the Blackfeet proper and Bloods, are on reserves in Alberta, to the number of nearly 5,000.

The Henry copy wavers in spelling "Piegan," but it is in this form as often as any other, and I make it so uniformly. Some of the forms I have noted are Pigan, Peigan, Peegan, Peagan, Paegan, Pagan, Peikan, Pekan, Pikan, Pikenow, Pickenow—those with *k* sound nearest the early French Picaneaux, sing. and pl., which Henry uses also. The name is usually Pahkee or Pawkee in Lewis and Clark literature.

The Northern division of the Athapascan family includes all the numerous tribes of that stock now in British America and Alaska. They are entirely an interior family, being cut off from the coasts by the Eskimo on the N. and E., also by Algonquian tribes on the E., and almost so on the Pacific by Salishan and other families; though two Athapascan tribes reach the Alaskan coast, one of them being the Ahtena or Copper River Indians. On the S. the Northern Athapascans encountered Algonquian and Salishan tribes. Fourteen principal tribes of Northern Athapascans are now recognized, among them the Ahtena, Kutchin, Montagnais, Montagnard, Nagailer, Slave (properly so called), and Taculli. The Indians commonly called Nahanies, Chipewyans, Yellow Knives, Dog Ribs, Beavers, Hares, and many others, all belong to this great division.

although they frequently have a fair skin and gray eyes, with light hair. In dress and manners they nearly correspond with the natives of the Missourie, which I have already mentioned in my journal.

These Slave Indians daub their bodies, robes, and garments profusely with red earth, which appears to be the principal article of their toilet. They have another favorite pigment, which they procure on their excursions beyond the Rocky mountains, of a glossy lead color, which is used to daub their faces after red earth has been applied. This kind of paint tends to give them a ghastly and savage appearance. The elder men allow their hair to grow, and twist it in the same manner as the Assiniboines; but instead of forming the coil on the crown, they wear it on the forehead, projecting seven or eight inches in a huge knob, smeared with red earth. The young men allow theirs to flow loose and lank about their necks, taking great care to keep it smooth about the face; they also wear a lock hanging down over the forehead to the tip of the nose, there cut square, and kept smooth and flat, as if to hide the nose. They wear no breech-clouts and are quite careless about that part of the body. Their dress consists of a leather shirt, trimmed with human hair and quill-work, and leggings of the same; shoes are of buffalo skin dressed in the hair; and caps, a strip of buffalo or wolf skin about nine inches broad, tied around the head. Their necklace is a string of grizzly bear claws. A buffalo robe is thrown over all occasionally. Their ornaments are few—feathers, quill-work, and human hair, with red, white, and blue earth, constitute the whole apparatus; but they are fond of European baubles to decorate their hair. The young men appear proud and haughty, and are particular to keep their garments and robes clean. The women are a filthy set. Their dress consists of leather; their hair, never combed except with the fingers, is worn loose about the neck and always besmeared with the red and lead-colored earth. This gives them a savage countenance, though the fea-

tures of many of them would be agreeable, were they not so incrustated with earth. Some of them keep their coverings white; I presume they are cleaned with white clay, and when trimmed with fringe and quill-work look tolerably well. They are a most licentious people. Many of them have six or seven wives. The men, when inclined to treat a stranger with civility, always offer him the handsomest. At our establishment they are a nuisance in offering women, as they would bladders of grease, and often feel offended if their services are not accepted. The women appear to be held in slavery, and stand in awe of their husbands.

They are notorious thieves; when we hear of a band coming in every piece of iron or other European article that can be carried off must be shut up. They have not yet begun to steal horses—no doubt because they have such vast numbers of their own; some of the Blackfeet own 40 or 50 horses. But the Piegans have by far the greatest numbers; I heard of one man who had 300. Those animals are got from their enemies southward, where they are perpetually at war with the Snakes, Flat Heads, and other nations, who have vast herds, and who appear to be a defenseless race; having no firearms, they easily fall a prey to the Slaves, who are tolerably well provided with arms and ammunition. A common horse can be bought here for a carrot of tobacco, which weighs about three pounds, and costs in Canada four shillings. The saddles these people use are of two kinds. The one which I suppose to be of the most ancient construction is made of wood well joined, and covered with raw buffalo hide, which in drying binds every part tight. This frame rises about ten inches before and behind; the tops are bent over horizontally and spread out, forming a flat piece about six inches in diameter. The stirrup, attached to the frame by a leather thong, is a piece of bent wood, over which is stretched raw buffalo hide, making it firm and strong. When an Indian is going to mount he throws his buffalo robe over the saddle, and rides on it. The other saddle,



which is the same as that of the Assiniboines and Crees, is made by shaping two pieces of parchment on dressed leather, about 20 inches long and 14 broad, through the length of which are sewed two parallel lines three inches apart, on each side of which the saddle is well stuffed with moose or red deer hair. Under each kind of saddle are placed two or three folds of soft dressed buffalo skin, to keep the horse from getting a sore back.

Their tents are large and clean. The devices generally used in painting them are taken from beasts and birds; the buffalo and the bear are frequently delineated, but in a rude and uncouth manner. They are great warriors, and so easily prey on their enemies that many of the old men have killed with their own hands, during their younger days, 15 or 20 men. Women and children are never reckoned; and he is considered but a moderate warrior who has killed only 10 men. Like other tribes of the plains, these people appear much afflicted with venereal disease, for which they have no remedy. They are exceedingly superstitious in all their actions; even their smoking is done with many superstitious maneuvers. Some rest the pipe on a small stone which they carry about for that purpose; others, on dry buffalo dung; others again, on a particular piece of earth, clay, wood, or metal. Some of them have a small bone whistle suspended to their necks, and on taking a fresh-lighted pipe, whistle several times before they smoke, at the same time waving the hands on each side of the stem. The pipe is always passed round in rotation with the course of the sun; and they never press down its contents with the finger after it is once lighted, a small stick being used for that purpose. Each man draws only a few whiffs, and instantly hands it to the next on his left.

The ideas the Blackfeet have of the creation and a future state are much confused. The following information, which I obtained from old Painted Feather, was all I could collect: At first the world was one body of water inhabited by only one great white man and his wife, who had no children.

This man, in the course of time, made the earth, divided the waters into lakes and rivers, and formed the range of the Rocky mountains; after which he made the beasts, birds, fishes, and every other living creature. He then made a man out of clay, and gave him the power to make a wife for himself, which he did out of clay also. They were then man and wife, and in course of time had a numerous offspring, who intermarried, and from whom originated all the white men. The Indians were afterward made by the great white man out of the same material. But in the course of time he grew jealous of his wife for some unknown cause, and one day in a fit of rage he cut off one of her legs. She fled to the moon, where she is still seen sitting with only one leg, and for her misconduct is doomed to appear only at night. The great white man himself retired from the earth in disgust, and took up his abode in the sun, where he still remains. They both still live, and will do so forever. He is the great ruler of all things—what they term Nah-toos, which signifies Great Spirit and Supreme Being. He is of middling stature, and has an enormous beard and eyebrows; he never raises his head or eyes to look upon the earth, for, if he did so, all nature would instantly perish. Time has no effect upon him. In winter he appears old and loses his vigor; in summer he resumes his natural strength and renews his youth; thus he is always the same thing. He is displeased when they murder each other, but delights in their wars, and is pleased to see them destroy their enemies. They have no knowledge of any bad spirit. An eclipse of the sun or moon denotes bloody wars. When a Blackfoot dies his spirit instantly goes to a great hummock situated between Red Deer river and the South Branch of the Saskatchewan, in sight of the Rocky mountains. Here the spirit ascends into the air and proceeds southward to a delightful country, well stocked with horses, buffalo, and women, and there lives happy to all eternity, making pounds, chasing buffalo, and enjoying handsome women.

But everyone that has lived a wicked life on earth, committed murder in his own nation, or been guilty of suicide, must pass by a different route to the Elysian fields. He has a steep precipice to climb, which gives him much pain and trouble; having surmounted this, he comes to a large camp of tents. There, if the inhabitants come out to welcome him, he will be happy forever. Perhaps those individuals will not receive him, but desire him to return to his life upon the earth. This is considered as a great punishment, but it must be done. A woman who hangs herself is regarded as the most heinous criminal, and never arrives at the Elysian fields; she disappears and is never heard of again. Men killed by enemies in war fly instantly up into the air and proceed eastward, where they remain in perpetual motion, hallooing and whooping as if in battle; many of them have been heard flying past. If an Indian is terrified at the cries of the deceased he shall surely die himself in a short time; but if, on the contrary, he is undismayed and not afraid to join in the whoop, he shall then live to old age. Thunder is a man who was very wicked and troublesome to the Indians, killing men and beasts in great numbers. But many years ago he made peace with the Blackfeet, and gave them a pipestem in token of his friendship; since which period he has been harmless. This stem they still possess, and it is taken great care of by one of their chiefs, called Three Bulls. Lightning is produced by the same man that makes thunder when he visits the earth in person and is angry; but they know not what causes his wrath.<sup>5</sup>

The principal occupation of the Slaves is war, and, like all other savages, they are excessively cruel to their enemies. I have heard of instances that chilled my blood with horror. The country they inhabit abounds with animals of various kinds; beaver are numerous, but they will not hunt them with any spirit, so that their principal produce is dried pro-

<sup>5</sup> Painted Feather seems to have been an all-round and well-posted theologian, to judge by the mixture of Jewish, Mohammedan, Scandinavian, and Oriental dogma he confided to Henry.

visions, buffalo robes, wolves, foxes, and other meadow skins, and furs of little value. In summer they chase buffalo on horseback, and kill them with the bow and arrows, and in winter they take them in pounds. Smallpox has destroyed great numbers; however, they are still very numerous, and increasing fast. The following is the present population, as nearly as I could ascertain it:

120 Tents, Painted Feather's band, . . .	360 warriors.
80 " Cold band, . . . . .	160 "
100 " Bloods, . . . . .	200 "
350 " Piegans or Picaneaux, . . .	700 "
<hr/>	
650 Tents of Slaves, or about . . . . .	1,420 "

Painted Feather's band are the most civilized, and well disposed toward us. The Cold band are notoriously a set of audacious villains. The Bloods are still worse, always inclined to mischief and murder. The Piegans are the most numerous and best disposed toward us of all the Indians in the plains. They also kill beaver. The other tribes stand in awe of them, and they have frequently offered us their services to quell disturbances made by other tribes.

The Big Bellies, or Rapid Indians,<sup>6</sup> are now stationed S. of the Slaves, between the South Branch and the Missouri. Formerly they inhabited the point of land between the North and South branches of the Saskatchewan to the junction of those two streams; from which circumstance, it is supposed, they derived the name of Rapid Indians. They are

<sup>6</sup> Otherwise Fall Indians, so called by Umfreville as living about the rapids or falls of the South Branch of the Saskatchewan. Henry's synonym, Big Bellies (Gros Ventres), is here used in its proper application. This name led to great confusion when it was extended improperly to the Minnetarees or Hidatsas who were then living on the Missouri with the Mandans, and are now on the Fort Berthold reservation in N. Dakota; for these, like the Mandans, are of Siouan stock. But the Big Bellies, Gros Ventres, Rapid, or Fall Indians are the Atsina: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 199, and esp. Umfreville, 1790, p. 197, and table opp. p. 202.

[not] of the same nation as the Big Bellies of the Missouri, whom I have already mentioned. Their dress, customs, and manners appear to me to be the same. Formerly they were very numerous, and much dreaded by the neighboring nations. But since the smallpox their numbers have diminished very much, through the effects of that baneful disease, and in consequence of depredations committed upon them by tribes with whom they have been at variance. The Slaves have fought many bloody battles with them, though they are now on amicable terms. They are a more industrious people, and commonly bring us a good trade in dried provisions, beaver skins, and grizzly bear and buffalo robes. In dressing these robes they are far superior to the Slaves and fully equal to the Mandanes. They are an audacious, turbulent race, and have repeatedly attempted to massacre us. The first attack was made at old Fort Brûlé in 1793, when they pillaged the H. B. Co. fort, and were about to commit a similar outrage upon that of the N. W. Co.; but, through the spirited conduct of one of the clerks, they were repulsed, and fled with the booty already acquired from the H. B. Co. establishment. The summer following they assembled and formally attacked the H. B. Co. fort on the South Branch, which they destroyed, massacred the people, and pillaged them of everything they could find, leaving the place in ashes. At the same time they attempted to destroy the N. W. Co. fort, which stood near that of the H. B. Co.; but, meeting with an unexpected resistance, they retired with the loss of one of their principal chiefs, and some others killed and wounded; since which they have been more peaceable. They may now form about 80 tents, containing 240 men bearing arms.

The Sarcees<sup>7</sup> are a distinct nation, and have an entirely

<sup>7</sup> There are many forms of this word in the Henry copy, as elsewhere—Sarcee, Sarci, Sarcie, Sursee, Sursie, Sussie, Sussee, etc.; but "Sarcee" is spelled as often as any other, and as this is the most usual form now, I reduce his variants to one. I have noticed Susie and Circe, but these forms are rare. As Henry says, these Indians are totally distinct from any others he has treated.

different language from any other of the plains; it is difficult to acquire, from the many guttural sounds it contains. Their land was formerly on the N. side of the Saskatchewan, but they removed to the S. side, and now dwell commonly S. of the Beaver hills, near the Slaves, with whom they are at peace. They have the name of being a brave and warlike people, with whom neighboring nations always appear desirous of being upon amicable terms. Their customs and manners seem to be nearly the same as those of the Crees, and their dress is the same. Their language greatly resembles that of the Chepewyans,<sup>8</sup> many words being exactly the same; from this, and their apparent emigration from the N., we have reason to suppose them of that nation. They affect to despise the Slaves for their brutish and dastardly manners, and, though comparatively few in numbers, frequently set them at defiance. Formerly they killed many beavers; but, from the proximity of tribes who were indolent, they have become nearly as idle as the others. Of late years their numbers have much augmented; in the summer of 1809, when they were all in one camp, they formed 90 tents, containing about 150 men bearing arms.

The Missourie on the S., the Rocky mountains on the W., and the North Branch of the Saskatchewan on the N., seem to be the bounds of the foregoing numerous tribes, beyond which all are considered as enemies. It is true

They belong to the Northern division of the great Athapascan family, being one of the six tribes of the Montagnards. Their nearest relationships are with the *Tsa-ottine*, or Beaver Indians. The Sarcees are now confederated with the *Siksikas*. The Sarcee reserve occupies three townships (Tps. 23 of Ranges ii, iii, and iv, W. of the 5th init. merid.), S. W. of Bow r., in the vicinity of Calgary.

<sup>8</sup> Also *Chipewyans*, *Chippewyans*, and *Chippewayans*—by no means to be confounded with the *Chippewas* (*Ojibways*), notwithstanding the marked similarity of the two names. As would be inferred from what Henry correctly says of their language, they belong, like the Sarcees, to the Athapascan family. They are one of four tribes of *Montagnais*, who are related to the six tribes of *Montagnards* mentioned in the last note. They are also known as *Thilanottine*. Fort *Chipewyan*, the principal post on Lake *Athabasca*, was named for them.

they frequently have bloody battles among themselves, but it is seldom long before peace is restored.

A person thoroughly acquainted with the following short Vocabulary<sup>9</sup> of the four principal languages used in the interior of the North West, E. of the Rocky mountains, is seldom at a loss to make himself understood by the other different tribes, who in general have a smattering of one or another of the following tongues. N. B. The Ogebois are commonly called by the English Algonquins, by the Canadians Saulteurs, and by the H. B. Co. servants Bungees. The Kinistineaux are called by the Canadians Krees or Crees, and by the servants of the H. B. Co. Southern Indians. The Assiniboines are commonly called Stone Indians or Naudowesis. Under the appellation of Slave Indians are understood the Piegans, Blackfeet, and Bloods.

<sup>9</sup> The Vocabulary which follows, pp. 534-38, represents two entirely distinct linguistic stocks, Algonquian and Siouan, and three different languages of the former of these stocks. The reader will not fail to observe that the Siouan stock, as here represented by the Assiniboine tongue, is radically distinct from the locutions of the Algonquian; and that of the three examples of the latter, the Ojibway and Cree are much more nearly related to each other than either of them is to the Siksika. The actual ethnic significance, as a contribution to comparative philology, Henry's short and quite untechnical lists, devoid of all lexicographic niceties, have no doubt long since been superseded by the more extensive and more expertly constructed vocabularies we have acquired since the early day when this one was prepared. But I dare say they are as good as many of the lists upon which philologists have to this day been obliged to rely in estimating the degrees of ethnic affinities they have sought to establish; and, in any event, the vocabulary is the work of a man who lived for some years among these Indians, and was familiar enough with their speech to transact business successfully with them. It is evident from inspection of the lists that the author's spelling is unsettled and almost haphazard, with a superfluity of both vowels and consonants, in most cases, to render the required sounds; but no attempt to correct this crudity, by rendering an orthography according to any system of phonetics, could be carried out without respelling almost all of the words. The result would not be Henry's Vocabulary, but mine, and this would obviously be an anachronism. I have therefore printed the tables literally true to copy, in so far as the MSS. is unmistakably legible, though I cannot doubt there are some blunders, especially in the *n*'s and *z*'s, which the handwriting of my copy does not in all cases clearly distinguish; though a part of the difficulty in this particular may inhere in the imperfect nasalization of the *n*-sound, especially in some of the Siouan tongues.

ENGLISH.	OJEBOIS.	KINISTINIAUX.	SLAVE INDIAN.	ASSINIBOINE.
	[ <i>Algonquian (Ojibway)</i> ]	[ <i>Algonquian (Cree)</i> ]	[ <i>Algonquian (Siksika)</i> ]	[ <i>Siouan.</i> ]
God, or Good Spirit	Kijainanitou	Kijainanitou	Nahtooyeespoos	Wakantanga
Devil, or Evil Spirit	Matchemanitou	Matchemanitou	Nahtooyeepuchowpew	Tagocheejaw
My father	Nossai	Notawwee	Nenah	Atai
My mother	Ningah	Necowwee	Nekist or Nekrist	Ainah
My son	Neguisses	Necocosis	Nekoose	Metcningshe
My daughter	Indaniss	Netahnis	Netum	Metchongshé
My elder brother	Nissayain	Nestace	Nessa	Metchin
My younger brother	Neshemain	Neseen	Nesskun	Mesougan
My elder sister	Nemissain	Nemiss	Nessa	Metangai
My younger sister	Neshemain	Neseen	Nesskun	Metangshé
My husband	Nenahbaim	Nenahpem	Nemewroom	Mekingench
My wife	Nemintemoemish	Nitchchenotokigai	Netokeemun	Metawin
Man	Ininee	Nahtapayou	Muttahpée	Witcha
Woman	Icquoi	Issquoi	Ahkwé or Ahkéé	Wea
Boy	Quewaisence	Nahtpase	Sakcahnuppee	Oughshinaw
Girl	Quoisence	Isquicis	Ahkickkoon	Wettchinjou
Child	Abimontchen	Ahwahcis	Pookow or Boocow	Ahquishinah
Head	Ochitegoine	Hoostequan	Hootequion or Ootookan	Pah
Hair	Wenisscis	Waistekiah	Hootoquan or Notookan	Nawtoo
Ear	Hotowwog	Hotowahgie	Hotokeis	Nohai
Forehead	Hocatick	Hoscahtick	Quess	Etaik
Eyebrows	Nimams	Mesahpuahnaknaw	Emouapin	Ishtahai
Eyes	Oskejickgou	Meskeesic	Wapispis or Moswahhis	Ishtaw
Nose	Hochauce	Hooskewon	Hoquiciss or Hocrisis	Pohai
Nostrils	Dainequom	Hotahegicoomah	Hoopooscan	Pohaiouhnaahgaw
Cheek	Nenow	Onowoian	Nochapinnase	Tapon
Mouth	Hotone	Metoon	Moowoi	Ec
Teeth	Weebit	Weepittah	Moaikin	He
Tongue	Hotainanew	Hotaahnew	Mutchchinne	Tchaizai
Throat	Coondaugau	Hocoottusqui	Ochrystone	Notai
Beard	Michhetone	Homeistowonah	Mooiooye	Pohtee
Face	Hoskinggick	Hoskinggicgon	Eepape or Hastekrist	Etai
Neck	Oquoigan	Hoquihoo	Okin or Okristone	Taho
Shoulders	Hodenemangun	Hoteetemun	Oatchekin	Heaitai
Elbow	Odoscan	Hoosscan	Okinnistis	Eshpausai
Arm	Onick	Hoospetoon	Mooams	Esto
Hand	Onintch	Hohechee	Oochitche	Napai
Fingers	Oneseginnintchjow	Hoyeyakkechechahnah	Okittis	Nabiseu
Nails	Hoskungez	Hooskussce	Otanhoketis	Shagai
Breast or Brisket	Okawkegun	Naskekun	Opalkee or Nokiskin	Naucoo
Belly	Omissat	Wahtie	Mokoon	Menauhahi
Back	Opicgoine	Hoospisquon	Mukkehkin or Ookukkin	Tapait
Heart	Hotalai	Hotaliho	Hooskitchip	Tchantai
Knee	Hogonitick	Nickchequon	Hoosix	Oupawho
Foot	Hosit	Meicoo	Okahit	Siha
Blood	Misqueé	Wossahki	Hahpan	Wai
Skin	Oshaguil	Totosahpoi	Otoakeis	Ha
Milk	Totoshaboo	Neai	Sahwonekekan	Assambai
My Name	Nin	Hessinnecautai	Neeto or Ne	Me
Yes	Hishinnecausoo	Hahain or Ah	Hassatch	Thazhait
No	Ain	Nomah	Haw or Ah	Han or Hoi or Hai
Do you hear?	Cawwin	Kepateten	Sah	Heah
I hear you	Kinondonena	Nepateten	Kittieootsim	Nowmahhowhai
I see you	Kinondone	Kiwabimin	Kittieoots	Wautchihong
Talking	Gaukikitowin	Hiyemetauquissue	Kitmainew	Wachininahgo
Smelling	Minandaman	Meahum	Aipooye	Eya
Calling	Matwaibebugie	Hotaiboieu	Esimmattoo	Omennan
Crying	Mauwewin	Mattoo	Opupissah	Okipanbeno
Laughter	Bahpewin	Pahpée	Awwahsan	Tchaitach
Sneezing	Seenisquagomai	Ontayemoo	Haihame	Ehatch
Singing	Negamouwin	Negammoo	Intahsay	Pishaubeno
Sighing	Ansingguom	Muchquiahtahtum	Aindekit	Nowanoo
Whistling	Quishquish	Quiskoosue	Opahsout	Waneanno
Running	Beemebuttoune	Pimmepahtah	Sixhemouka	Kijono
Dancing	Neemin	Nimchetto	Haicoie or Omakkah	Eaughah
Sitting	Naimustape	Uppew	Oposkow or Aipim	Watchibie
Lying down	Shingguishin	Pimmecinnu	Ahpheet	Eminotangano
I stand	Neenebow	Neenebowwe	Iookat	Ewanga
Jumping	Quashquenotaman	Quoscotoo	Haipoat	Nahangindo
Scratching	Passacobetone	Checheakkew	Sixpipew	Kepesija
I tremble	Neningishcah	Nahnunmepiyoo	Ahmomenah	Nishpeuano
Sleep	Nepaum	Napas	Hapopooye	Mattchantchando
Dream	Enaubandam	Pooahtum	Iyoukow	Stimai
			Puppookan	Wewahaminando



ENGLISH.	OJEBOWS. [Algonquian (Ojibway)]	KINISTINEAUX. [Algonquian (Cree).]	SLAVE INDIAN. [Algonquian (Siksika).]	ASSINIBOINE. [Siouan.]
I or Me	Neen	Neyah	Neestoo	Meai
You or Thou	Keen	Keyah	Kristoo	Neai
He	Ween	Weyah	Kaiyamoo	Jai, or Shai, or Aai
We	Nenawind	Neyan	Neestone	Onguiai
Ye	Keennawah	Keyahwoo	Kristone	Neaibe
They or Them	Weenyahwah	Weyahwoo	Hoomiks	Heaibe
Go	Mautchou	Neah	Mistahbout or Hahcuyit	Kanaw
Come	Ondass	Hestum	Pooahpout	Cooah
Love	Sakaitewin	Sakaihetonan	Ketuckhomin	Wahcaupahanitheno
Hatred	Shingaindewin	Peupuckquatetonan	Intaichemitcheman	Wahtaiwanazicheno
I am glad	Wematchegaindam	Nemewaiyeten	Harseenookitchip	Pevahnanno
Sorrow	Indinnegawewoindum	Nomahnemehaiyeten	Hainnenookitchip	Etchomawmene
Lazy	Kittemishkai	Kittemeew	Pahstimmew	Chechinktwaw
To eat	Wissinin	Meessoosoo	Ohyoyet	Eutah
To drink	Minequoui	Minnequi	Simmit	Yatca
Meat, flesh	Weeass	Weeass	Echqueshakoo	Jando
Grease	Pemetai	Pimme	Poomis	Wassna
Fat	Weinin	Wein	Oschinniye	Washe
Bone	Okunan	Hoosunnuch	Onun	Hooho
Buffalo	Pecheke	Moostouche	Ainew	Peetai
Moose	Mouse or Mouze	Mooswah	Cikittisso	Tah
Cabbie	Muchcataiwanouoish	Ahpisemoosecuse	Owwahcass	Tahtogan
Red Deer	Homashkose	Wahwasskais	Poonnokno	Opah
Bear	Mucquaw	Mucquaw	Kaiyiyos	Wahangsigah
Beaver	Ahmick	Ahmick	Kickstahkee	Tchabah
Otter	Nekick	Nekick	Aimuniz	Peetaun
Muskkrat	Washusk	Wahtchusk	Meessoomskiks	Sinkaupoi
Marten	Wabishince	Wahpistan	Ciaikayoo	Nanpahhega
Mink	Shaungouish	Ahchackas	(Not known to the Slaves)	Eguoisen
Raccoon	Essaibun	(Not known to Cree)	Pinahtooey	Weetcha
Fox	Wagouche	Mahkaishis	Mucquoye or Ahpees	Shongashan
Wolf	Myhegun	Mihaiacun	Pinnetooye	Shongatonquetcha
Fisher	Hojick	Hochack	Poonokometai	Iskaijauck
Horse	Paipaijioskunghee	Mistahtim	Immetai	Ahcanyecabe or Shon-
Dog	Animouche	Ahtim	Punnahkow	Shonga [gatanga]
Beast	Aiwoissain	Ahpiskue	Mahmeeks	Watatch
Fish	Kecoon	Kinnosue	Comayoxsakenekin	Hoohan
Worm	Monsai	Mannotose	Mochakachin	Wamanouska
Frog	Muckkackie	Ahheak	Hesskinass	Tabaihan
Mouse	Waiwabeganoutchin	Ahpiegociss	Seeskriss	Pispigan
Fly	Ogie	Hotche	Sahesk or Picesen	Onohain
Goose or Outarde	Nickuck	Nickuck	Sahesh or Sihow	Mahachop
Duck	Sheship	Seseep	Picenoocoyeis	Pahondo
Feathers	Megouinuck	Megouinuck	Wah	Mahahai
Eggs	Wawonoon	Wahwah	Ooyes	Wintika
Nest	Wasseswon	Wocheestun	Otchoos	Wahopai
Food	Megim	Mechenin	Meestis	Wahahtoube
Tree	Meticguom	Meestickoot	Okanekin	Tzchonggee
Branch	Meticgons	Wottequon	Seeyoopooks	Tchaganagan
Leaf	Nebiche	Neepeeah	Meastierotopee	Wahpai
Bark	Onenauquek	Woitckkase	Ekisniss	Tchaha
Birch Rind	Wiegwass	Woosqui	Peeksee	Tchahatamba
Bird	Pinainshe	Peaiciss	Shahkoo	Citca or Cititca
Earth	Ackke	Yaicow	Cassahpaschecou	Munka
Sand	Mainggow	Pasucakheisske	Pasecacoo	Weaugaw
Mud	Asushishke	Wabuttonisk	(Same as Mud)	Opchizah
Clay	Wabegun	Peecoo	Mookskitche	Mukuscaw
Ashes or Dust	Pingowe	Tchacutinnow	Naitoon or Ahpowwocoye	Tchahota
Hill	Watchew	Woocheu	Okee	Pahap
Mountain	Menis	Minnistick	Nekiteitie	E. Hai
Island	Menockwah	Minnistickquosquohow	Omucksekinme	Weetah
Island of Wood in	Neepee	Nippee	Omucksekinme	Hatcheweatath
Water [the Plains]	Seepee	Sayayhegan	Kitchigaming	Menie
River	Sagaiegan	Kitchigaming	Mistahhaassin	Wahpa
Lake	Kitchikitchigaming	Assin or Kishkabicka	Pewabick	Mindai
Sea	Assin or Kishkabicka	Mistahhaassin	Muscotaien	Menientak
Rock	Pewabick	Muscotaien	Wabegone	Eai
Iron	Mashquotingue	Wabegone	Seeguog or Seequin	Mauza
Plain or Meadow	Wabegone	Seeguog or Seequin	Kneebing	Tinta or Intaw
Flowers	Seeguog or Seequin	Kneebing	Tuckwahqueegg	Wahtchatchan
Spring	Kneebing	Tuckwahqueegg	Pepone	Waieto
Summer	Tuckwahqueegg	Pepone		Minokai
Autumn				Pitaieto
Winter				Waneaito

ENGLISH	OGEBOIS.	KINISTINRAUX.	SLAVE INDIAN.	ASSINIBOINE.
	[ <i>Algonquian (Ojibway)</i> ]	[ <i>Algonquian (Cree)</i> ]	[ <i>Algonquian (Siksika)</i> ]	[ <i>Siouan.</i> ]
East	Wabunong	Sackastaien		Weohiehumbata
West	Punquishemong	Pakiseimoo		Weoakpait
North	Kewoitinong	Keewoi		Wahzeeahtha
South	Shawanawong	Sowone		Ehtgawehtho
Day	Kijaigat	Keessecow	Kristekooye	Hambatch
Night	Taibiccot	Taibiscow	Kokoose	Pazatch
Morning	Kekejep	Keekecip	Hapinnahkoose	Aiaukin
Evening	Onauguishin	Hotakoucin	Hiaxekookoose	Ettahaitoo
Shadow	Aquateshin	Chickcakstaiou	Otuckka	Ohhandzee
Shining	Wassasiah	Wassasiah	Omexetoiye	Weaupanoo
Sun	Keisis	Keessecowpesim	Kristekooyenahtoose	Naupaitowee
Moon	Tebickeisiss	Taibiscowpesim	Kookoosenahtoose	Haitowee
Stars	Anongoug	Ahtaaukeoosuck	Kukahtoose	Waitchapai
Sky	Kejikong	Kesick	Espootskristakooye	Muhpeai
Clouds	Inahquoit		Howkischistecow	Namukpeana
Fog	Ahwon	Kuscowwon	Cemookoo	Oughpohno
Wind	Notin	Heotin	Essopouye	Sataiambatch
Blow (verb)	Bootahtan		Eecooessopouye	Honehinganno
Storm	Mathekejaigat	Neespautshekeessecow	Pahcabkristahkooye	Honinggatch
Thunder	Anwemicke	Pehaisue	Ootsecumepoocoo	Wakeya
Lightning	Wassomog	Wassoommook	Papam	Wacouquine
Rain	Kemewoin	Kimnewon	Sooto	Mauhazenne
Snow	Cone	Coonnah	Koonescooye	Wa
Ice	Micquam	Misquonme	Sookookattook	Tchaha
Fire	Schoutai	Iscotow	Istze or Istdze	Paitah
Thaw	Shakaiaw	Suskun	Sixepoo	Eshtoo
Cold	Kissinnah	Kiscin	Estooye	Ossnie
Warm	Kaijautai	Ahboiah or Keessahpoi	Mailstooye	Mashtau
Strong	Mashcawissie	Muscowwissur	Neetsekoonah tapes	Maumenihatch
Weak	Chagoiewe	Icackithecaw	Matcekoonah tapes	Maumeniaishne
Wise	Naibookcaw	Einnesue	Mookukhe	Kissabatch
Stupid	Kawkebawtiss	Kakeibatiseu	Cutkokukhe	Watchitonshee
Big	Mitchaw	Mesticitto	Omuko	Tangatch
Small	Ahassah	Uppesaseeu	Onaxsim	Tchuskin
High	Ishpeming	Ispimick	Espimieu	Wakanteenado
Low	Taubusish	Taubuscis	Haihuckssim	Coutaindo
Broad	Mougahtaiah	Haiahkuscow	Omuckssim	Tangatch
Thin	Pepahgah	Pahpuckcahsin	Henaxsim	Sesepenah
Thick	Keepahgah	Keepuckcahsin	Haipuckssim	Shogah
White	Wabishcaw	Wapiscow	Sixinnum	Iscaw
Black	Muckcataiwah	Kuskittaisue	Sixinats	Saba
Blue	(Same as black)	(Same as black)	Sixinats	Toh
Green	Osshawishcowa	Chepotetuckqua	Koom or Moono	Toh
Red	Miscowa	Cameekqua	Muksinmun	Shaw
Yellow	Osawwa	Hosowwow	Otoucou	Zee
Bow	Meeticwab	Ahchappen	Nahmahye	Etasip
Arrow	Meticanouin	Ahtoose	Hopes	Wahindebai
Hut or Tent	Wigwaum	Meekkeworp	Moiyees	Weateebce
Door	Shquantaim	Isquatem	Espootoot	Teoba
Life	Baimahtishewin	Pimmahtisuein	Kahmoottah	Wetchone
Death	Neepooh	Cheepie	Aiinyou	Taino
Body (my body)	Neow	Weyoo	Oostom	Tatchang
Youth	Osquibaimahits	Hoskingissue	Munnecuppiks	Mahtatjatch
Young man	Osskinaigishug	Muttopieyoin	Munnecuppee	Kuskatch
War	Nantobunnwin	Kecahtouck	Owwahcoots	Esuabai
Quarrel	Quikaundewin	Notinnetoin	Haisutushepukkabepooyee	Kijirebitch
Fighting	Megahtewin	Inchoaum	Haideskaw	Kitchizabitch
Friend	Neetchee or Nicounis	Haukemah	Nuppe or Nepuckcow	Kitchewa
Chief	Okremah	Muscienhchum	Ninnow	Hougah
Writing	Mussinaigun	Niahtum	Essinauckhissue	Wooaabee
Carry	Baimewetone	Woipinnah	Haschou	Kitcheing
Throw	Ahpucketone	Keeskissha	Saitahpe	Uckpaia
Cut	Kishkeshan	Cahtah	Essowwits	Macsw
Hide (verb)	Kawtoune	Hotanmah	Necesittai	Nahma
Beat	Bueitai	Kimmountiske	Howwahhowyuckkee	Awapatch
Thief	Kaimoutishke	Hoshee	Howwoiackke	Wamanonsaa
Canoe	Tcheman	Wasskaihegan	Ahkuchachit	Wata
Fort	Wahkiegun	Hotaukquosick	Otesickan	Tchonbasap
Yesterday	Pitchinaugo	Hochageegat	Mattoonee	Atanaha
To-day	Nongunkjeigaut	Wahpuckee	Hanokekristahkooye	Dhtanneha
To-morrow	Wahbunk	Heekwah	Mattoonis	Taiaukaitch
Now	Shiaigwah	Hooscut	Hanoock	Nangaha
Before	Wiaishcut	Hestumisbee	Mattomatch	Eetogaup
After	Eshquatch		Socooutch	Yooengaup

ENGLISH.	OGEBOIS. [Algonquian (Ojibway)]	KINISTINEAUX. [Algonquian (Cree).]	SLAVE INDIAN. [Algonquian (Siksika).]	ASSINIBOINE. [Siouan.]
Here	Ohmah	Hotah	Annomoo	Dain
There	Owoite	Naitai	Cmee	Jair or Chai
Upon	Okitceaiyie	Tuckkooch	Espotch	Aican
Under	Ahnaumaiyie	Sepow	Estatzk	Cowde
Look	Gainaiwabundai	Wahpemich	Essammis	Waigaga
Where	Tanindai	Tantai	Simah	Tokiae
What do you say ?	Hauneeenalkittonian	Tunnetwayan	Ahsahketowonne	Tago
Who	Ahwainain	Ahwenah	Sikkauts	Toai
When	Taunuppe	Taesbee	Sanittce	Tobangeha
Good	Oneesheeshin	Onewashin	Harsse	Washtai
Bad	Maunahdat	Myahtun	Puckcabs	Sheejatch
How many ?	Haundosoi	Tantahtoo	Sanitcim	Tonanga
One	Pecheik	Paiach	Tookskum	Wajin
Two	Neeche	Nisheu	Nahtookskum	Nom or nomba
Three	Nissivois	Nistoo	Netookskum	Yaminai
Four	Naiouin	Naihoo	Nesoim	Taba
Five	Nahnan	Niaunan	Nesitchche	Sabita
Six	Negoutawaswoi	Kootwassuck	Naiou	Shockpai
Seven	Neeshwassois	Taibookook	Haikitschekum	Shacou
Eight	Nishshowassois	Ihainanna	Nahnessoim	Shacanno
Nine	Shangussois	Kaicahtematahtat	Peekssue	Naubitchoung
Ten	Mittassois	Metahtat	Kepoo	Wekijemina
Eleven	Mittassoishachipecheik	Paiachkosap	Kepoomistahpoottookskum	Auckaiwainjin
Twelve	Mittassoishachiniche	Nishencosap	Kepoomistahpootnahtooks- [kum]	Auckainjib
Twenty	Weechetannah	Nisshemitenah	Nahshepooe or Nahtisippe	Wekijeminanomb
Thirty	Nisswoismitenah	Nistoomitenah	Nahhapooe	Wekijeminayeminai
Forty	Naioumitenah	Naihoomitenah	Nauseepooe	Wekijeminatoba
Fifty	Naunaimitenah [nah]	Niannanmitenah	Nesittsepooe	Wekijeminasabata
Sixty	Negoutahwassoismitenah	Nekootwasscemitenah	Naipooe	Wekijeminashockpai
Seventy	Neeshwassoismitenah	Taibookookemitenah	Ekihshekepooe	Wekijeminashacono
Eighty	Nishshowwassoismitenah	Ihainannamitenah	Nauseepooe	Wekijeminanaubit-
Ninety	Shangussoismitenah	Kaicahtematahtemitenah	Peeksepooe	Opowouzie [choung]
One hundred	Ingoutewack	Metahtatemitenah [ah]	Kepoopoo	Sheenataw
Strouds	Manitouwaiguin	Manitouhaigan	Mipis	Shenasa
Blanket	Waypewean	Wahpewwian	Mahquoiahpis	Tchotanga
Gun	Fashkizzegan	Fashkesingan	Nanahmoie or Nahmah	Tchahne
Powder	Muccahai	Kusketaien	Satsoopaktz	Tahaichute
Ball	Anwin	Moosassinne	Ouwatssoopaktz	Massmoon
Shot	Sheshipauwin	Seeseepassinne	Ahnahkseopse	Ospai
Hatchet	Wahahquoit	Chickahhoicun	Kucksahke	Min or Minah
Knife	Mooocoman	Mooocoman	Estooou	Wahokisa
Spear or Lance	Shemahgan	Semahgan	Supuppestarts	Tchahia
Kettle	Ahkick	Ahstick	Essh	Tchande
Tobacco	Assaimah	Chesstemmow	Pistahkan	Meneipaitah
Rum	Schoutaiwaboo	Escoottewaboo	Nappeokee	Tchoweguinanga
Capot or Coat	Papinsichcowagan	Piscowagon	Essookahs	Oe
Beads	Manetoumininse	Meekeesuck	Kristaiman	Mazahouzaizee
Brass wire	Osawahbicconce	Tibbisahwoonahpis	Hesekin	Washishah
Vermilion	Ossannahmun	Weyahman	Mokesan	Mazaiuma
File	Sissebogeegan	Kiskeman	Sissainit	Tchaga
Fire-steel	Schoutaikaun	Ahpact	Hahtzmak	Tchakioup
Flint	Pewamuck	Chuckkussahhacum	Sesayketan	Echassno
Gun-worm	Keetichegun	Kateahhaigan	Saipitshemahtcis	Taispai
Awl	Meekose	Hosucthchich	Mookris	Washeju
White man	Waimittogosh	Wahmistagooshu	Nappeekoon	Eeashseja
Algonquin	Ogebois	Nahcowweethinnuuck	Nahmsiyekoon	Shahia
Kinistineaux	Kinistineau	Naihaiyouwok	Siyekoon	Eeaiska
Stone Indians	Assineboan	Assinnaboattuck	Assinneekoon	Pegan
Piegans	Pekumnoeninnewog	Pekunnoethinnuucks	Pekannekoon	Waiwitchushta
Blood Indians	Misquoeninnewog	Mecoethinnuuck	Kineneakoon	Seehasap
Blackfeet	Muccataihoositeninne- [wog]	Kuscahtaiwiahstittuck	Sichekiekoon	
Big Bellies	Bowitticgoininnewog	Powistickethinneuck	Hahtzmaikoon	Hahharahon
Sarcees	Susseewog	Susseuck	Tschatogawbe	Saiwahtoukta
Mandanes	Cowathewog	Coworttaiuuck	Howmoxtoxsowes	Sindaihno
Snake Indians	Kinaibicohinnnewog	Kenapicoethinnuuck	Pechitcknahnatopekoon	Cawrie or Caunzie
Crow Indians	Cawaguijoehinnnewog	Cahachkewahchow	Essapookoon	Paminaska
Flat Head Indians	Naubugouishtequonin-	Nupuckistoquonuck	Cootsookspaitahpee	Cootonai
Kootonais	Cootoonaiwog [ninnewog]	Cuttoonahhowuck	Cootonai	Taukemonk
Snare Indians		Hotahpahquowethinnu- [uck]	Haestahpe	Moneahajwasheju
Englishman	Shaganash		Soyeappekoon	Washeju
Frenchman	Waymitticgoosh		Hahtiseappekoon	Minahtangawasheju
American	Kitchemooocoman		Homuksestoacan	

## CONTINUATION OF THE SLAVE INDIAN VOCABULARY.

ENGLISH.	SLAVE INDIAN.	ENGLISH.	SLAVE INDIAN.	ENGLISH.	SLAVE INDIAN.
Old (long time)	Missahaum	Flag	Sahakutten	Assepis	Mahtuckse
Companion	Entukkah	Gallop	Omukkah	Slave	Akeekoke
Badger	Mestunesoape	Grass	Muttooye	Smoke	Ahkiik
Bed	Ahsahkan	Hail	Sahhookattook	Soon (just now)	Min
Best (very good)	Mistaboutahkse	Hare	Wahstomokkow	Berries (Poures or [Saskutum berries])	Apooye
Blind (no eyes)	Kutedgewapesbe	Heavy	Ahkskoo	Speak	Sahpetahkit
Bridle	Essehoooyepstarts	How (what is it?)	Ahkza	Stirrup	Ahkiik
Sheep (gray sheep)	Oomohkekineu	Keg	Sooyenne	Stop	Omukkiye
Goat (white goat)	Ahpemukekineu	Lad	Muncuppe	Swan	Minis
Calm (no wind)	Kutedgesoopoo	Spoon	Koos	Sweet (Sugar)	Akiaye
Cassette (or trunk)	Sooye	Last	Shahkootz	Swift	Oswoyis
Corde (or line)	Ahpees	Lean	Kutedgekyissakoo	Sail	Ooo
Crane	Oopa	Leather	Pohkee	Shank	Ahmomiye
Crow or Corbeau	Wasto	Liar (you lie)	Siyepitz	This	Kahkussin
Daylight	Ahpinakooos	Long	Ennooye	Trap	Sepisemahtis
Dish	Koos	Magpie	Wastoonah	Whip (horse whip)	Netukkoomechewan
Dung	Estah	More	Estik	I love it	Ketukkoomechewan
Eagle	Peeta	Naked (no covering)	Kutedgeessookas	Thou lovest it	Otukkoomechewan
Encamp	Okekoke	Near	Ahtche	He loves it	Netukkoomeche-
Enemy	Kahtoomo	Needle	Anahksmokese	We love it or him	[manannans
Mashquegon Indians	Mahtooyesiyekoon	New	Muna	They love it or him	[manahmo
Lake or Flat Bow	Patooksenahma	None	Kutedge	You love it or him	[mechewan
[Indians]		News (what news?)	Etchinckee		Nekuttaawkoome-
Grand River or Ear	Omuksenahatati	Pipe	Ohquinemanokoot-		[chewan
[Bob Indians]		Pitiful	[take		Kekuttaawkoome-
Green Wood or Blue	Koomoonnotape	Plenty	Omukstape		[chewan
[Earth Indians]	Muttooyettape	Poison	Ahcream		Thou hatest it or him
Straw Lodge Indians	Natoooye	Rabbit	Pahkabssahme		[chewan
Equal	Kinneye	Saddle	Powestah		Ookuttaawkoome-
Enough	Paitch	Scissors	Ahatain		[chewan
Far	Maahs	Shoe	Oosakin		He hates it or him
Father-in-law		Sinew	Ahchekin		

NOTE. I cannot vouch for the correctness of this continuation of the Slave Indian Vocabulary, a part only having been taken down by myself.—A. H.

*Rocky Mountain House, Jan. 1811.*

## CHAPTER XV.

FORT VERMILION: 1809.

THE Saskatchewan at Fort Vermillion measures across its bed 240 yards, which space is all overflowed at moderately high water. But in autumn, when the water is generally low, a beach of sand, gravel, and stones is exposed for a space of 40 yards, leaving the water 200 yards wide, with a swift, deep current over a sandy bottom.

*Wednesday, Sept. 13th, 1809.* At 4 p. m. I arrived at Fort Vermillion, having been two months on my voyage from Fort William, with a brigade of 11 canoes, loaded with 28 pieces each, and manned by five men and one woman. Our expenditure of provisions for each canoe during this voyage was: Two bags of corn,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushel each, and 15 lbs. of grease, to Lac la Pluie; two bags of wild rice,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushel each, and 10 lbs. of grease, to Bas de la Rivière Winipic; four bags of pemmican, 90 lbs. each, to Cumberland House; and two bags of pemmican, 90 lbs. each, to serve until we came among the buffalo—generally near the Montée, or at furthest the Elbow, of the Saskatchewan. This shows the vast quantity of provisions we require yearly to carry on the trade in the N. W. Those brigades which proceed N. W. of Cumberland House require three additional bags of pemmican per canoe, and some a fourth.

On arrival at Fort Vermillion, I found about 300 tents of Indians, all on the S., on both sides of Vermillion river. They were a part of two tribes of Blackfeet, Painted Feather's and the Cold band, who had for some days awaited our arrival to get their usual supplies. Most of them had just returned from war, on the upper Missourie,

toward the Rocky mountains. They were unsuccessful in finding either their Indian or their American enemies; so they were deprived of their usual spoils in scalps and horses of the former, and missed a supply of beaver and merchandise from the latter, from whom they took considerable booty last year in an excursion of this kind. They desired to cross this evening, in hopes of getting a dram, but I would not allow them; however, many of the young men swam over on horseback, perfectly naked. I found my people had passed the summer busily, building an Indian house, store, and shop, outside the fort near the gate, which I intend to surround also with stockades. The natives have become so troublesome that we find it necessary to keep them at a proper distance while at our establishments, and not allow them to come in numbers inside our principal fort; so that, should they be unruly, we might have full scope to defend ourselves. The frequent disturbances between the Slaves and Crees cause a certain jealousy, which they often wish to revenge upon us, saying that we are more partial to one tribe than to the other. This may some day be attended with serious consequences to the establishments on this river. The Crees have always been the aggressors in their disturbances with the Slaves, and no sooner is a crime committed than they fly below, or to the strong wood along Beaver river, which makes the others suppose we are concerned in secreting them. That affair of last summer, when the Piegans were murdered, has exasperated the Slave tribes, and they all appear determined to be revenged, either on the Crees or ourselves, although they know that we are innocent of that affair, and that we have always abused the Crees for their rascally conduct. At sunset the gates were shut, and the Indians retired to their camps.

*Sept. 14th.* At 10 a. m. the brigade arrived; the canoes were instantly unloaded, and everything was carried into the fort. We took inventories, unpacked the goods, and made up the assortment for this post. While this business

was going on in the storehouse, I sent to invite Painted Feather and his band, who came in with 30 principal men, heads of families, who usually trade with us. I gave them a nine-gallon keg of Indian rum and a fathom of tobacco, informing them at the same time what would be our system of trade this winter, what kind of skins were of value, and what otherwise. They were thankful for the present, and promised to behave well and do all in their power to hunt. I then sent them back to camp, with directions for the Cold band to come over, which they accordingly did in a short time. They consisted of 40 principal men, heads of families, to whom I gave a similar present and the same advice, for which they were equally thankful. To the young men we pay no particular attention, all our transactions being with the elders. The trade with the Slaves is of very little consequence to us. They kill scarcely any good furs; a beaver of their own hunt is seldom found among them; their principal trade is wolves, of which of late years we take none, while our H. B. neighbors continue to pay well for them. At present our neighbors trade with about two-thirds of the Blackfeet, and I would willingly give up the whole of them. Last year, it is true, we got some beaver from them; but this was the spoils of war, they having fallen upon a party of Americans on the Missouri, stripped them of everything, and brought off a quantity of skins.

Having sent the Cold band across, we proceeded to other business; they did not trouble us in the least. Ten Sarcées afterward came in to trade a few beavers and muskrats; I gave them some rum, and sent them over to drink with the Blackfeet.

*Sept. 15th.* Early this morning we made out our assortment of goods, and packed up all that was intended for above. The Blackfeet were all sober, and wanted to trade what trash they had. I accordingly stationed three men to ferry them to and fro. Tedious business it is to ferry savages, for no sooner does the boat touch the shore than they rush on board pell-mell until it is so crowded that

she grounds, as the water is shoal for some distance from shore. Our men attempted to show them the impropriety of crowding on board in this manner; being ready to take over as many as they could, and return at once for others. But they might as well have talked to so many stones; all were mute, the boat was fast aground, and not one would get into the water to push her off. The way our people managed an affair of this kind was to deliberately go ashore, sit down on the beach, and wait till the Indians began to debark, which was seldom long, and then, when the boat floated, instantly embark and push off. This crossing continued from sunrise until dark; some of the young men were insolent to our ferrymen, and one of them discharged an arrow into my neighbor's boat; but no accident happened. Their trade consisted of dried berries, pounded meat, grease, back fat, buffalo robes, dressed buffalo skins, and horses, all of which we got very cheap. The price of a common horse is a gallon keg of Blackfoot rum, 2 fathoms of new twist tobacco, 20 balls and powder enough to fire them, 1 awl, 1 scalper, 1 falcher,<sup>1</sup> 1 worm, 1 P. C. glass, 1 steel, and 1 flint. We do not mix our liquor so strong as we do for tribes who are more accustomed to use it. To make a nine-gallon keg of liquor we generally put in four or five quarts of high wine and then fill up with water. For the Crees and Assiniboines we put in six quarts of high wine, and for the Saulteurs eight or nine quarts.

This evening we were informed that another large band of Painted Feather's tribe were expected early to-morrow morning. Their principal man, a chief, was Three Bears. We had a dance at my house, to which I invited my neighbor and his family. All were merry—our men as alert as if they had already rested for a month; but we were much crowded, there being present 72 men, 37 women, and 65 children, and the room being only 22 x 23 feet made it disagreeably warm.

<sup>1</sup> So copy, apparently for *falchion*, and meaning a flesher, or knife used for flaying.



*Sept. 16th.* Early this morning the baggages were given out, the canoes loaded and sent off for Fort Augustus, and soon afterward Mr. Hughes followed on horseback. Three Bears and his band were ferried over the river; a small band of Bloods arrived also. This was a day of bustle and confusion—the boat going continually, and the shop always full. A misunderstanding arose between a Blackfoot and some of our people; the fellow threatened to shoot, but the affair ended without accident, as some of their principal men interfered. Soon after this another affair happened, and, as luck would have it, at the water's side, where the freemen were employed. A Blackfoot had been promised some rum by me, unknown to the young men who traded with them, and on going away he demanded the small keg, which was refused him. Without coming to me, the fellow went down to the river to cross, threatened to shoot one of my men, and actually primed his gun for that purpose, saying we had deceived him. He was a notorious scoundrel, who had murdered three of his own countrymen, and frequently said that he must kill a white man before he died. However, one of the principal men, who happened to be present, interfered and thus settled the affair, which might have been attended with serious consequences. The Indians also appeared very troublesome in crossing at our neighbor's. I therefore thought proper to set a watch during the night. It was late before we got them all over to their camp.

*Sunday, Sept. 17th.* The chief of the Cold band arrived, accompanied by the rest of his tribe. This man is called Gros Blanc, being extraordinarily corpulent. I had the curiosity to measure his bulk, and found he was around the shoulders 5 feet 7 inches, and around the waist 6 feet 4 inches. He appears to be upward of 60 years of age, and generally rides a white mule; he is now in mourning for his brother, called the Sun, who died about 15 days ago. Our bustle and confusion continued; from daylight till dark the men were ferrying to and fro. I sent off my Cree in-

terpreter, Jérôme,<sup>2</sup> on horseback to a camp of Crees in the strong woods, to desire them not to come near us for some days, as I apprehended danger from the Slaves, who appeared inveterate against them. The Blackfeet daily bring in enough buffalo meat for our sustenance; otherwise we should be in a sad dilemma, as it would be imprudent to send out a hunting party while they are among us. It was late before we could get clear of them all. I kept watch during the night as usual.

*Sept. 18th.* A party of young men came over on horseback to inform me that a band of Bloods were to arrive to-day. I sent as usual to each principal man six inches of tobacco. The young men had great diversion in swimming their horses. They wear not the least article of covering; therefore, during their stay, which is generally most of the day, they remain perfectly naked, walking or riding about the fort with the greatest composure. Some of them have modesty enough to use their hands to cover the parts, while others find means of putting it into the body, and then fastening the orifice so tight with a string that scarcely anything appears. The hind parts they care nothing about. At ten o'clock the Bloods arrived; their chief, called *Le Bœuf qui Boit*, appeared to be a person of consequence. A few Piegans came with them. This day was as troublesome as usual; our houses continually crowded with Indians, going and coming, trading and begging. The Slaves are the most arrant beggars I ever saw; refusing them an article is to no purpose; they plague me as long as they can get within hearing. Refuse them an awl, they ask a gunworm; refuse them that, they ask a knife; and so on, till I must either give them something, or retire. At noon the Sarcees set off to return to their camp on the upper part of Vermillion river. I made an arrangement with my

<sup>2</sup> "Mr." Jérôme, Jerome, or Gerome, of the N. W. Co., was at Fort George with John McDonald and Mr. Decoigne, in Sept., 1798; but interpreters are not usually given any title.—Pierre Jérôme of the N. W. Co. was in that country in 1799.

neighbor to keep the Indians in order and save our property—a precaution necessary on this part of the river, where the natives are so numerous and good furs so scarce.

*Sept. 19th.* Three H. B. boats arrived from York Factory, each loaded with 70 pieces and manned by eight men; John Parks, conductor. I began to equip the freemen I found here, who were anxious to be off. Jérôme returned from the Cree camp, where there are 20 tents. Finding our stock of fresh meat short and no appearance of a supply from the Indians, I sent four men to the strong wood for moose and red deer. There were buffalo on the S., but it would be imprudent to send there, surrounded as we are with Indians who are insolent even in the fort.

*Sept. 20th.* Heavy rain. The soil in the fort is a heavy, black mold, which, when soaked with rain, adheres to the feet in large clods; and the crowd of people in our houses soon covers every flooring and passage with mud. Our men got out of patience with the Indians, and hauled their boats on the bank, 100 yards from the water's edge, as we do every evening after the Indians are all over. A number of young men swam over, pushed a boat into the water, and began to ferry themselves back; but they could not manage her for want of the oars, which we always keep in the fort. I sent down a party and got her hauled up out of their reach; the Indians fired several arrows, but without doing any harm. I finished equipping and settling with the freemen. A drunken Blackfoot had a quarrel at the H. B. house, which nearly came to something serious; but Painted Feather pacified him, and exerted himself in making speeches to his countrymen, advising them to be quiet and peaceable toward the whites, without whom they would be pitiful indeed, etc.

*Sept. 21st.* All my freemen decamped toward the strong wood to hunt beaver and other furs, as we will take no wolves nor provisions from them. A small band of Bloods arrived, accompanied by a few Fall Indians and Piegans. Crossed them over and traded. Two H. B. boats set off

for Fort Augustus. Having purchased a number of horses, I sent three men with them to the horse-keeper's tent at Dog Rump creek.<sup>3</sup> This afternoon word was brought that the Slaves had fired arrows at the H. B. boats about three miles above, but that no accident had happened. Indians troublesome at the water-side in crossing, and wishing to steal our boats; some appear inclined to quarrel, while others take great pains to prevent any disturbance. However, to guard against a surprise, I was careful to keep my swivel loaded, frequently fresh-primed in their presence, and always pointed at their camp across the river, giving them to understand that, if they misbehaved, I would instantly fire the big gun and sweep their tents away. This had the desired effect, and the old men redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order. I engaged François Deschamps and his son [François, Jr.] as hunters for the season, as it would be imprudent to keep Cree hunters near the fort in such troublesome times as these.

*Sept. 22d.* Deschamps and family decamped to hunt on the S. side opposite Fort George, where there is a considerable space of strong wood, in which moose and red deer are numerous. The Indians on the S. filed off, directing their course S. W. toward the plains. Another small band of Blackfeet arrived, crossed over, and traded, strolling about and selling their horses. I gave out equipments and advances to the summer men, and set all hands to work at the Indian house.

*Sept. 23d.* The last band of Blackfeet arrived, consisting of 16 principal men, headed by Ermine Tails, one of the best and most respected among them; we had no trouble in crossing this band. He took his station on the beach near the boat, and gave my men to understand that not one Indian should cross excepting his own band, who wished to trade. Some of our troublesome old customers

<sup>3</sup> Present Dog cr., a small stream falling into the Saskatchewan from the N., alongside the Moose hills, about 6 m. above the site of old Fort George and Buckingham house.

were coming toward the boat, but he made a short speech, and not one of them appeared on the beach while he and his party were crossing. This man has more authority than Painted Feather himself; they are afraid of him. Mr. House set off for Fort Augustus on horseback. Indians on the S. seemed to be moving off in large files; as far as we could see the track was covered all day with men, women, children, horses, and dogs. A band of Sarcees arrived, headed by a chief called Little Broken Knife; they remained all day. A young Cree arrived with letters from Fort Augustus, informing us that the Piegans intended to pillage our Columbia canoes on their way to the Rocky mountains; but I calculate that those canoes will have passed the Rocky Mountain house<sup>4</sup> before the Piegans camp on the river.

*Sunday, Sept. 24th.* The Sarcees crossed over. My people returned from hunting, with four moose and four red deer. The young Cree set off for Fort Augustus. At noon not a Blackfoot was to be seen on the S.; but one of them returned to inquire about a horse that had been stolen from him by one of his own people and sold to me. Three Assiniboines came for tobacco for a band who were about to arrive. I gave them 22 pieces of six inches each for the principal men, and sent them off. We are heartily glad to be clear of those Slaves for some time; notwithstanding our precautions to prevent theft, we found they had purloined several axes, kettles, and other small articles. One of my men found that, in lieu of a new gun he had hung up in his house, the cover contained a stick, which must have been put in when the gun was taken away. Even cassettes had been rifled. Sent Mr. Rocque to shoot geese and ducks.

*Sept. 25th.* Being clear of Indians, I went hunting wild fowl to the N., where I found a number of both salt and

<sup>4</sup> On the Saskatchewan at the mouth of Clearwater r. This post, like all the others on the river above Fort Vermilion, which Henry will visit in due course, need not yet be particularly noted.

fresh-water lakes, and game in abundance. Set two men to dig away the bank, as it was too steep to haul up our firewood. *26th.* Sent off Cardinal and son to Goose lake, to examine some bark and gum I had purchased from a freeman. All my men hard at work at the Indian house. *27th.* Rain; men repairing the chimneys and doing other necessary work within doors. In the evening a Cree hunter, La Faux,<sup>5</sup> arrived at my neighbor's house. *28th.* The Cree off to his tent in the strong wood, for fear of the Slaves. *29th.* Six Crees arrived from Frog lake,<sup>6</sup> to know if the Slaves were away, that they might come in and get their usual supplies of tobacco, ammunition, etc., on debt. *30th.* Parenteau arrived from the horse-keeper's with 40 horses, all fat, having done no work since last winter. I sent men up to Fort George, to raft down some stockades and other wood required for our repairs.

*Sunday, Oct. 1st.* Men repairing their saddles, etc., to go hunting; others racing their horses.

*Oct. 2d.* Sent eight men with horses to hunt buffalo on the S., as we were getting short of fresh meat. Fifteen Crees arrived from Birch lake,<sup>7</sup> where there are 40 tents—part of the camp I passed at Battle river. The other 60 tents are gone down toward the Red Berry hills, where

<sup>5</sup> Probably correct in feminine form, meaning Scythe; Le Faux would be Falsity. But it may be for Le Fou; the man is called "the fool" beyond. For men's names occurring along here, see the list beyond, p. 553.

<sup>6</sup> Present name of a small lake adjoining the Puskeeahkeehewin and Ooneepowhayoos Indian reserves on the N. side of the Saskatchewan. It discharges through the latter reserve into the river by Frog cr., some 10 m. long, at a point 9 m. or less above Fort Vermilion. This lake and creek show well on Thompson's map herewith. Henry's Goose l. and others, to which he went shooting in the vicinity of the fort, are mere ponds.

<sup>7</sup> Birch l. is the largest one of a cluster of many at and near the source of Vermilion r., in Alberta, just over the border of Saskatchewan. It lies chiefly in Tps. 50 and 50 of Ranges xi and xii, W. of the 4th init. merid., and discharges by Birch cr. into the Vermilion. This river has a general course E. and then N. to its mouth opposite Fort Vermilion, receiving numerous tributaries on its crooked way. Birch l. is about 50 m. in an air-line W. S. W. of the fort.

they will pass the winter eating buffalo, and not kill a good skin the whole season.

*Oct. 3d.* Crees from Frog lake arrived—15 men at my house, and as many at my neighbor's. We were busy all day equipping them and giving debts for the winter, as they are good hunters, who stay in the strong woods. Deschamps brought in three red deer and one buffalo; he is tented at La Plante's river, near Pine lake.

*Oct. 5th.* Another party of Crees arrived from Frog lake to get equipped for the winter. Last night the water rose five feet, which I suppose must proceed from the late heavy rains. I set a party gathering turnips and potatoes, as we had a frost last night, and ice in the small ponds. One of the hunting party returned with two bulls; they had seen no cows between this and Montagne du Milieu. People returned with a canoe from Fort Augustus.

*Oct. 6th.* Durand off to hunt with Deschamps. Gathered all my turnips—about 50 bushels, very large and of an excellent quality.

*Oct. 7th.* I set off early on horseback to go up to my horse-keeper's tent, where Croite and La Pierre, who were camped near Fort George, also arrived. One of their hunters came in with a fat moose he had killed in the Moose hills, which appear due N. about two leagues.

*Sunday, Oct. 8th.* Returned. A terrible storm of hail and rain before I reached the fort. I found four young Assiniboines, in for tobacco for a band who were coming to trade; also two Crees from below, with some furs.

*Oct. 9th.* Finished gathering potatoes—80 bushels, but small and watery. The hard, dry soil is unfavorable for them, being in the plains, where no wood has grown. Sent six men again up river for a raft of pine to make kegs for the winter and spring, when we require a quantity for trade and to contain grease. A large party of Gens du Bois Assiniboines arrived with their chief, old Star, formerly of great consequence, but of late years not listened

to. He is a Kootonois<sup>8</sup> by birth, who was taken in infancy at war, and by his great bravery acquired influence. He is of small stature and has every characteristic of his own nation. It is lamentable that the natives in general, in this country, have lost that respect they formerly had for their chiefs. The principal cause of this is the different petty copartnerships which of late years have invaded this country from Canada; the consequences are now serious to us, as the natives have been taught to despise the counsels of their elders, have acquired every vice, and been guilty of every crime known to savages. I gave them liquor to

<sup>8</sup> This word wavers in spelling in the Henry copy, but to no greater extent than it does in the writings of the best ethnographers. The form which appears in the above passage is a French plural, like *Illinois*, *Iroquois*, etc., but forms with triple *o* sounds are not common in English. Some of the ordinary variants are *Kitunaha*, *Kootenuha*, *Kituanaha*, *Kootenai*, *Kootanie*, *Kutani*, *Kutenay*, *Cootanie*, *Cootenai*, *Coutanie*. Thompson's MSS. of 1800 and later, which are full of the word, usually give it as *Kootanai*, *Kootanaie*, *Kootanie*, or *Kootanae*. In geography, the word has measurably settled into *Kootenay*, as the name of numerous places and other things in the Rocky mts. about Columbian headwaters, besides that of the great tributary of the Columbia upon which these Indians mostly lived. It is desirable that the ethnographic and geographic terms should conform; and as Henry—or his transcriber, at any rate—seems to have no settled orthography, we will hereafter hold our copy to *Kootenay*, plural *Kootenays*. These Indians, or some of them, were also called *Flat Bows*, or *Skalzis*. They are so different from all other Indians in their speech that the earliest traders among them took note of it. Thus Ross Cox, who calls them *Cootonais*, writing of 1816, says, p. 233: "They are a very peculiar tribe. Their language bears no affinity whatever to that of any of the western nations. It is infinitely softer and more free from those unpronounceable gutturals so common among the lower tribes." They are now regarded as alone representing a distinct linguistic stock, which Powell terms the *Kitunahan* family, in literal conformity with the name used by Hale in 1846, though he calls their principal divisions *Cootenai*. These are: *Kootenay* proper, or *Upper Kootenay*; *Akoklako*, or *Lower Kootenay*; *Klanoh Klatklam*, or *Flat Head Kootenay*; and *Yaketahnoklatakmanay*, or *Kootenay of the Tobacco Plains*. Most of these Indians lived and live in *British Columbia*, whence they extended and extend into adjoining parts of the *United States*. A recent census showed 964 of them, of which 425 were at *Flat Head Agency* in *Montana*, and 539 at *Kootenay Agency* in *British Columbia*. (*Flat Head*, as used in this connection, must not be confused with *Flat Bow*, nor yet confounded with *Flat Head* as applied to Indians of the *Salishan* family.)



drink; but they were peaceable and quiet. A band of Sarcees arrived with some good furs. I gave them liquor also, and all were merry together. My men brought in nine bulls. They had been to Battle river, where they fell in with a camp of Blackfeet, who treated them well. I sent the two Crees below. Two young Crees arrived on the S. side. They went into the H. B. house, and in the evening one of them stole out, provided with a stock of lines, to catch horses. He was no sooner gone than his companion turned king's evidence and declared him to be a horse-thief. Instant search was made for our horses, and fortunately all were collected.

*Oct. 10th.* I sent a party with the horses to the horse-keeper's tent, and Cardinal to the Indian camp at Frog creek; he fell in with the thief, whom he brought in and put in confinement. The Assiniboines did all in their power to release the prisoner, and even made threats; but to no purpose. Mr. Longmore was intoxicated, and insisted upon killing the Indian; he came over, armed *capapee*,<sup>9</sup> and I had some trouble to prevent murder. Questioned in evidence, he gave us full and satisfactory information regarding the notorious character of the prisoner, as a horse-thief and murderer. I brought in the prisoner before his companion and detailed to both what had been told us regarding him; his defense was lame, and his excuses without foundation. Everything confirmed what we had heard of him. To allow him to escape unpunished, after such proof, would be imprudent, and encourage others to commit similar crimes. He was secured for the night.

*Oct. 11th.* At nine o'clock he was conducted down to the river below the H. B. house, and shot by a discharge of 15 guns—much against my own inclination, I must confess. I had various reasons for not wishing him to be executed,

<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to find this word used, so late as 1809, in place of the usual *cap-a-pie* or *cap-à-pie*. We have *cap-a-pe* in Shak., after the old French *de cap à pie*, the modern turn of which is *de pied en cap*, from foot to head: "Arm'd at all points, exactly, *cap-a-pe*," Hamlet, i. 2.

corporal punishment being all I desired; but my neighbors insisted on killing him. The Assiniboines soon after decamped, returning S. E. to their camp on Battle river. Durand arrived with a cow from Deschamps' tent. Buffalo are now coming up. Two Crees arrived from below. I got my kitchen finished.

*Oct. 12th.* A large party of Crees arrived from Birch lake to get equipped for the winter. Those Indians are accustomed to winter in the strong wood, and are good hunters; but the affair of last summer made them go below. However, I gave out debts to the best of them, in hopes they would hunt even there.

*Oct. 13th.* Vermillion river frozen over, and borders of ice along the Saskatchewan. Crees continued to arrive from below, and we were busily employed equipping them. Men arrived with rafts of pine from above. My hunter Parenteau, and horse-keeper Croite, arrived *en baggage*. Finished carting in 720 bundles of hay for the winter.

*Oct. 14th.* Sent Parenteau and a party with horses to hunt buffalo. Sent Beauvois to remain with Deschamps. Fifteen tents of Crees are camped at the fort, on their way to the woods; I sent them to tent near the little lakes behind, in case the Slaves might come in. My men all at the fall work of the fort, such as building the Indian house, store, and shop, surrounding them with stockades, repairing the houses, mudding the chimneys, carting hay, etc.

*Sunday, Oct. 15th.* Equipped the Crees who were going below to winter; gave them debts, liquor, etc.; gave liquor also to those who were camped behind the hills, and sent them all away. The H. B. returned with a large boat from Rapid creek, where they had been some time raising pine wood to make eight canoes next spring.

*Oct. 16th.* Indians came back to trade horses for liquor, and those camped here sold both horses and tents for liquor. Some took rum on debt. They were going and coming all day, trading and begging liquor. Those fellows are great drunkards; they part with everything for rum. The men

began to work for themselves, repairing their houses. *17th.* Part of the Indians still drunk. I equipped those who were sober, and gave them debts, but with a sparing hand, as I feared they would make no great hunts. *18th.* Equipping Crees all day and giving them debts, principally tobacco and ammunition. *19th.* We got clear of all the Crees, who decamped, some for the strong woods and some for below. A band of Gens de Pied Assiniboines arrived. I gave them liquor, and they drank all night peaceably.

*Oct. 20th.* The Assiniboines traded early and set off for Lac du Diable, S. of Battle river and S. E. from here. They brought nothing but pounded meat and grease. My men finished repairing their houses, and this evening everyone was entered and settled for the winter, as follows:<sup>10</sup>

*House No. 1.*

1. Parenteau.....	I	Man	I	Woman	5	Children.	
2. Perain.....	I	"	I	"	1	Child.	
3. Clément.....	I	"	I	"	2	Children.	
4. Dubois.....	I	"	I	"	1	Child.	17 Persons.

*House No. 2.*

5. Cardinal.....	I	Man	I	Woman	5	Children.	
6. Ladouceur.....	I	"	I	"			
7. Ottawa.....	I	"	I	"	3	"	
8. Pichette.....	I	"					15 Persons.

<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately the list gives few full names. My memoranda of persons of the surnames which appear above are the following, exclusive of some already noted; identifications are possible only in some of the cases. Compare the lists beyond, June 3d, 1810, and Apr. 4th, 1814.

1. Parenteau or Parrenteau is often named in Henry. This man was Joseph Parenteau, listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—There was another, Jean Parenteau, ditto, La Pointe, 1804.—One Parenteau's camp was passed by Thompson on the Saskatchewan, near Baptiste's r., June 25th, 1808.—On Aug. 18th, 1804, at Island portage on Winnipeg r., Thompson passed a cross newly erected to "poor Parenteau of Athabasca," recently drowned there.

2. Perain is also written Perrin, Pivain, and Pivian; no clew to any such name. "Perain" may be Perau, which suggests Perrault. Compare Périgny.

3. Clément. Antoine Clément is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—One Clement was with Thompson on Athabasca r., Apr., 1799.—One Clement was with him at the Rocky Mt. house, Apr., 1800.—One Clement was there with him in Nov., 1806, and left on a mountain tour with

*House No. 3.*

9. Crevier.....	I Man	I Woman	I Child.	
10. Thibault.....	I "	I "	I "	
11. Dumont [and another?].	2 Men	I "	4 Children.	
12. Lajeunesse.....	I Man			14 Persons.

*House No. 4.*

13. Guilliou.....	I Man	I Woman.		
14. Durand.....	I "	I "	I Child.	
15. Carrière.....	I "	I "	2 Children.	
16. Martelle.....	I "	I "	4 "	
17. Le Blanc's wife.....		I "	2 "	18 Persons.

*House No. 5.*

18. Faille.....	I Man	I Woman	4 Children.	
19. La Pierre.....	I "	I "	3 "	
20, 21. Lussier [François and Joseph].....	2 Men	I "	I Child.	
22. Gagnion.....	I Man	I "		17 Persons.

Finan McDonald, Feb. 9th, 1807.—One Clement summered with Thompson at the Kootenay house, 1806. All these may easily be the same person.

4. Dubois: see note <sup>58</sup>, p. 50.

5. Cardinal, often Cardinale. The one above said has a son with him, one of his five half-breeds.—One Cardinal, a Canadian, was with Thompson on Beaver r., Athabasca region, Sept. 26th, 1799.—One Cardinal was at Fords George and Augustus in Sept., 1799.—One Cardinal wintered at the fort at Forks of Peace r., 1802-03; on May 5th, 1803, he was re-engaged for one year and went to the Horseshoe house.—Jaco, Jacco, or Jacko Cardinal was at the R. Mt. house in Apr., 1800.—Joseph Cardinal is listed as interpreter N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Louis Cardinal was drowned in the Saskatchewan about Turtle r., early in 1800.—R. Cardinal is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fond du Lac, 1804.—S. Cardinal, ditto, Fort des Prairies, 1804.

6. Joseph Ladouceur, listed voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804, is probably the above.—Louis Ladouceur is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., La Pointe, 1804.—Siméon Ladouceur, ditto, English r., 1804.

7. Ottawa: probably a sobriquet; or an Indian of that tribe.

8. Joseph Pichet and Louis Pichet are both listed as voyageurs N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—The Pichette above said continues with Henry at the Rocky Mt. house in 1810, and is sent with provisions to Thompson on Pembina r., br. of Athabasca r.

9. Charles Crevier appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Jean Baptiste Crevier is listed beyond, Apr. 4th, 1814.

10. One Tabault was on the Assiniboine in 1793.—Basile Thifault appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804. These two names are the same, and may indicate the same person. Basile was no doubt the one with Henry.

11. Dumont frequently appears as Dumond.—One Dumond of the N. W.

*House No. 6.*

23. Parisien.....	I Man	I Woman	6 Children.	
24. Languedoc.....	I "	I "	I Child.	
25. Croite.....	I "	I "	I "	
26. Beauvois .....	I			15 Persons.

*House No. 7.*

27. Jérôme.....	I Man		4 Children.	
28. Rocque.....	I "	I Woman	I Child.	
29. Réhelle .....	I "			
30. Fleming.....	I "			10 Persons.

*House No. 8.*

31. Mr. Hamel.....	I Man			I Person.
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*House No. 9.*

32. Mr. Small .....	I Man			I Person.
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*House No. 10.*

33. Self.....	I Man	I Woman	3 Children.	5 Persons.
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*Tent.*

34. F. Deschamps.....	I Man	I Woman	4 Children.	
35. F. Deschamps, Jr.....	I "	I "	I Child.	9 Persons.

*Tent.*

36. Martin.....	I Man	I Woman	6 Children.	8 Persons.
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Totals,	36	27	67	130 Persons.
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Co. was with Thompson at R. Mt. house on Oct., 1806.—François Dumond is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804.—One Dumond or Dumont went with Thompson from R. Mt. house and returned Nov. 17th—Dec. 3d, 1800.—Gabriel Dumont is with Henry in 1810, beyond.—Jean Baptiste Dumont is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.

12. La Jeunesse: see note <sup>24</sup>, p. 221.

13. Guilliou is same name, apparently, as Gailloux and Giaoux, which appear in Thompson's MSS. His man was Joseph, who went with him from Boggy Hall into the mountains at the sources of the Athabasca, 1810, and wintered 1810-11 in Thompson's Canoe camp at mouth of Canoe r., br. of the Columbia; he reappears as Joseph Geillioux in Henry, Apr. 4th, 1814, beyond. The true form of this name may be Jaloux; if so, Henry's man may have been Joseph Jaloux.

14. Durand. The above is Louis Durand, who appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; he continues with Henry in 1810.—One Durand was with Thompson, Forts George and Augustus, May, 1800.—J. Durand left the R. Mt. house Oct. 26th, 1806; no doubt the Joseph Durand who is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804, and who later appears with Henry, beyond.—Paul Durand is listed, ditto, ditto.

15. André Carrière and Joseph Carrière both appear as voyageurs N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Michel Carrière, the "Carrier" of A. Ross, p. 181,

*Oct. 21st.* Four young men arrived for tobacco for a band of Blackfeet who were coming in. Sent tobacco to six chiefs, each six inches. The Blackfeet arrived and traded fresh and dried provisions.

*Sunday, Oct. 22d.* Ten young men came in for tobacco. A large band of Blackfeet arrived on the S. side. We allowed only the principal men to cross; we gave them liquor and sent them back to drink, so as not to trouble us

Canadian voyageur and overland Astorian, was lost near Umatilla r. in Oregon, Jan., 1812.

16. Baptiste Martel is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.

17. Le Blanc. Cadien Blanc was at Fort Chipewyan in 1799.—One Le Blanc, on the Saskatchewan with Thompson, was fitted out to winter with the Kootenays, 1800—01.—One Le Blanc of the N. W. Co. was at R. Mt. house Nov. 6th, 1806.—Pierre Le Blanc appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Kaminstiquia, 1804.

18. Faille. No such name found elsewhere.

19. La Pierre is a name I find mangled in many ways in the Henry copy; which is the more surprising, as it is very common, besides being good French. In the above list it happened to be La Puire, an obvious slip which I repair.—Antoine La Pierre is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1804.—Joseph La Pierre was an Astorian on ship Tonquin from New York, Sept. 6th, 1810, and on the Columbia in 1811—14; he is the "Joe de La Pierre" of Irving's book: see list of Apr. 4th, 1814, beyond.—Louis La Pierre is twice listed as voyageur N. W. Co., in 1804, Fort des Prairies and Athabasca.

20, 21. Lussier, also Lusscier and Luscier. F. [François] Lussier and Joseph Lussier are both listed as voyageurs N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804: the figure "2" in Henry's list, after the name, means these two Lussiers.—One Lussier of the N. W. Co., at R. Mt. house in 1807, went with Thompson to the Columbia in May that year; summered 1808 at Kootenay house; wintered with Thompson in the R. mts. 1808—09; his wife died Apr. 25th, 1809, leaving four children. This is either Basile Lussier or Étienne Lussier of the list of Apr. 4th, 1814, beyond.

22. Gagnion. Joseph Gagnon is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Pierre Gagnon, Ginan, or Genou, of the N. W. Co., left the R. Mt. house Oct. 26th, 1806, and was with Thompson in the R. mts., at Saleesh house and elsewhere, winter of 1809—10.

23. Parisien commonly appears in copy as Parizzian and Perizzian, in the above list as Parisien; Thompson has Perrizien. The name is common, and I reduce all the forms to one.—Baptiste Parisien, full name probably Jean Baptiste Parisien, is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Bonaventure Parisien, the same.—Hyacinthe Parisien appears as voyageur contre-maître N. W. Co., Rainy l., 1804.—Ignace Parisien was on the upper Sas-

until to-morrow. Three Crees from the Moose hills arrived. I could not but reflect upon their imprudence in coming when the Slaves are here; it cannot be called bravery, for it is well known that Crees are the most arrant cowards in the plains, afraid of their own shadows. They depend upon us for protection, and it gives us a great deal of trouble to keep both parties quiet. The Blackfeet are as foolhardy as the Crees. Two of them appeared last fall on the S. side,

katchewan with Thompson in 1808.—One Parisien was with Thompson at Fort George on the Saskatchewan in Sept., 1799.—Joseph Parisien is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Red Lake Dept., 1804.

24. Auguste Languedoc appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; most probably the above.

25. Croite. Nothing further; name will recur in another connection.

26. Beauvois is probably the man who is listed, as René Beauvais, Fort des Prairies, 1804.

27. Jérôme: see note <sup>2</sup>, p. 544.

28. Rocque is the same name as Larocque: see note <sup>66</sup>, p. 52, and note <sup>17</sup>, p. 301. The Rocque who is listed without Christian name as interpreter, N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804, is probably Henry's man.—Pascal Rocque appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Le Pic, 1804.

29. Réhelle looks as if it were a new form of that elusive name already noted as Reale, Relle, Reilh, and Reilhe: see note <sup>14</sup>, p. 274.

30. Fleming: nothing like it found.

31. Hamel: see note <sup>66</sup>, p. 52. The name occurs above as Hamelle.

32. Mr. Small. "Athapupuskow or Mr. Small's R." occurs in the Thompson MSS., Sept. 13th, 1804. This is present Cold r., tributary to the Missinipi from Cold l., connected with present Athapuscow l. Mr. Small was at Boggy Hall when Thompson passed, June 25th, 1808.—Pat. Small was with (Sir) A. McKenzie in 1786, and at Isle à la Crosse, Feb. 24th, 1788.

33. "Self" is of course Mr. Henry, the increase of whose family since we last heard of it will be observed.

34, 35. François Deschamps, father and son; no doubt the two listed as respectively interpreter and voyageur, N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804. François, Sr., was in this region in 1799 or earlier; he had another son, Joseph, dit Gros Tête, said by A. Ross to have died a violent death. François, Jr., was on Prince Maximilian's Missouri expedition, *ca.* 1832; he was accounted a good shot and hard fighter, and said to have killed several persons in the Governor Robert Semple affair near Fort Douglas on Red r., June 19th, 1816. A. Ross states that he was stabbed to death near Fort Union on the Missouri, when his wife was shot and his children were burned.—Jean Baptiste Deschamps is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Athabasca Dept., 1804.

36. Martin: see note <sup>5</sup>, p. 442.

and called out to be crossed over, while there was a Cree camp of 80 tents, all drinking, who, on observing the Blackfeet, had flown to arms and declared they would murder them. My neighbor and myself crossed over to them, and with the utmost difficulty prevailed upon them to return to their friends, telling them the Crees were determined to kill them if they crossed. They appeared perfectly unconcerned, and said they did not care, as they would have the satisfaction of dying at the white people's fort. However, we insisted upon their going back, which they did with great reluctance. Thus are we plagued and tormented to keep peace among those different nations at our houses, where a disturbance at this early season might prove pernicious to our trade.

*Oct. 23d.* Sent eight men with 30 horses to hunt buffalo on the S. side, and 10 men to the N. W. of the Moose hills to raise birch to make houses and dog sleds for the winter, as we have no good wood of that kind at hand. The river is now choked with drifting ice, and it was with the utmost difficulty my people got their horses over. Crossed the Blackfeet; 20 traded with me, most of them chiefs, and twice that number with my neighbor, principally for provisions. They brought in wolves, but I sent them to my neighbor, as wolves were not in season. A light fall of snow last night extinguished a fire we had perceived raging toward Dog Rump creek on the N. side of this river, due W. This had threatened to devastate the country, and a famine would have been the consequence.

This afternoon Mr. Bird<sup>11</sup> arrived from York Factory, which he left last September in a light canoe. He was caught in the ice at Ecorres Jaunes, whence he came by land

<sup>11</sup> Of the H. B. Co. I have no mem. of his first name. He was found by Thompson at Cumberland Ho. June 23d, 1797, and wintered in the Athabasca country, 1799-1800. Mr. Bird's newspapers must have had accounts of the battles of Eckmühl, 13 m. S. S. E. of Ratisbon, Apr. 22d, 1809, in which Napoleon beat the Archduke Charles of Austria, and of Aspern and Essling, on N. side of the Danube, 5 m. N. E. of Vienna, May 21st and 22d, when the fortune of war was reversed.



on horseback. He brings us London papers so late as June 13th, containing accounts of the battles between the French and Austrians. He also brings orders from their committee at home to practice more rigid economy; to take no wolves from the natives and as few small furs as possible, there being no sale for them; only beavers, muskrats, and swanskins are of value. This will be a fatal blow to the natives; it will deprive them of their usual supplies, and probably make them troublesome.

*Oct. 24th.* I invited the H. B. agents to breakfast, and settled with them concerning our trade with the natives for the winter. I determined upon a jaunt up to Fort Augustus; took inventories and packed up the property, that nothing might be given out in my absence.

*Oct. 25th.* Three men returned with bull meat; no cows to be seen. Ice drifting.

*Oct. 26th.* Mr. Bird set off with his family on horseback. We crossed the horses from the S. side with great trouble from the ice, and came near drowning them. I sent Beauvois to the horse-keeper's tent to have my horses in readiness there. Mr. Rocque shot 20 rabbits,<sup>12</sup> brown, gray, and white. The boys belonging to the fort daily shoot rabbits in the hummocks, and kill great numbers at this season, when they are easily traced.

<sup>12</sup> These were *Lepus campestris*, the varying hare of the great plains, which turns white in winter, and at the date said would be changing its pelage.

## CHAPTER XVI.

TO FORT AUGUSTUS AND BACK: 1809.

**F**RIDAY, Oct. 27th. At sunrise I was on horseback with my neighbor and one of his men; at noon we arrived at my horse-keeper's tent. At the house we had no snow, but on passing Frog creek we found the ground covered about three inches deep. The country was very rough—continual hills and valleys, mostly covered with small poplar and willow hummocks; but just before we crossed Rivière du Milieu<sup>1</sup> we passed a beautiful small plain, perfectly level, without a hole or stone; the soil pure sand covered with short grass. On the N. side near the plain is a delightful lake, surrounded with hummocks of pine, cypress, and poplar, and open grassy ground. This is a famous raceground, over which two persons seldom pass without trying their horses' speed. At three o'clock my horses were ready, and we set off. Passed the ruins of old Fort George,<sup>2</sup> only the chimneys of which are now to be seen.

<sup>1</sup> Present Middle cr., coming from Puskeeahkeehewin reserve and falling into the Saskatchewan from the N., between Frog cr. and Moose Hill cr. On the other side of the river present Photograph cr. falls in from the S. W., between Frog cr. and Middle cr.

<sup>2</sup> Fort George was built by Angus Shaw, with about 60 men, in the autumn of 1792, and abandoned in 1801. It was one of several Saskatchewan posts to which the name or epithet of "Fort des Prairies" attached, and a place of importance for some years. It stood on the N. bank, 4 m. by the road above Moose or Moose Hill cr., about on the line between Ranges v and vi, W. of the 4th merid., Tps. 56. The opposing H. B. Co. post was Buckingham house, where Thompson wintered 1793-94; his observations fixed the position as lat. 53° 52' 07" or 15" N., long. 110° 41' 07" W. (magn. var. 18° E.). He was also repeatedly at Fort George after he had left the H. B. Co. and entered the N. W. Co., May 23d, 1797, when the entry in his journal is: "This Day left the Service of the Hudsons Bay co. and [entered] that of the Company of Merchants from Canada—may God Almighty prosper me." His MSS. include a

At dark we came to Dog Rump river, which having crossed, we stopped for the night. This comes from the N. W. into the Saskatchewan, which is about two leagues S. of us. Moose river, where my horse-keeper is tented, rises in the

fragment of a "Journal of Occurrences of Fort George," running Sept. 5th-10th, 1799, found in Bk. 12, Vol. VI. He says that at 8 a. m. Sept. 5th, "Mr. John McDonald and me" arrived; found the fort without doors or windows, and otherwise dilapidated; heard of Mr. Peter Fidler at Green l.; six canoes arrived all right. Sept. 6th, Mr. McDonald, Cardinal, La Liberté, La Remmé, and others started on horseback for Fort Augustus, leaving him with two men and 20 pieces of goods to wait for Daniel McKenzie; Burleigh left; Mr. Hallet came. Sept. 7th-10th gives nothing special. In the present sad disarrangement of the MSS., this fragment connects directly with another piece of writing now bound in Bk. 10 of Vol. V, running from Sept. 11th, 1799. On that day he shut up the place; the bastion had been pulled down in the spring; Mr. Chas. Isham arrived from Green l.; heard that Mr. Auld had left Mr. Linklater at Isle à la Crosse and gone to Green l. to winter in opposition to Mr. McTavish; meanwhile the English canoes were at mouth of Beaver r.; Mr. Fidler was at Isle à la Crosse with the Churchill people; Mr. McTavish had tried to get a man in place of deserter Richards, and also to take away Petit Coquin's wife, but failed in both attempts—with much more news Mr. Isham brought to Fort George. Sept. 15th, the English with Mr. Hallett went down river to build at Turtle r.; English under Mr. Pruden off for Meadow l.; Buché's canoe of the Little [X. Y.] Society put up  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. below Fort George. Sept. 22d, Messrs. [Daniel] McKenzie, King, and Stuart arrived from Turtle r. Mr. McKenzie, of Forsyth & Co., passed in one canoe. Sept. 23d, N. W. brigade arrived; those of Forsyth & Co. passed on. Sept. 25th, Dan'l McKenzie, King, and others off for Fort Augustus; Robertiere sent with letters to Mr. Shaw at Red Deer l.; Perrizien and Dauphine sent down to Mr. Belleau at Turtle r.; men arranging themselves for the winter. Sept. 26th, St. Burah put the warehouse in order. Sept. 27th, Ogilvie's canoes passed on for Fort Augustus. This ends the fragment, but we know that he wintered at Fort George 1799-1800. On Mar. 25th, 1800, he left it for a journey by land to Fort Augustus, as appears by a fragment, Mar. 25th-28th, in Bk. 13 of Vol. VI. This fragment is repeated and the journal is in full in Bk. 6 of Vol. III, running Mar. 25th-May 12th, 1800, by which we trace him by land from Fort George to Fort Augustus Mar. 28th, to Rocky Mountain house Apr. 8th, and thence down river to Fort George May 12th. This journey from the Rocky Mountain house, Sunday, May 4th, to Fort George at 2 p. m. Monday, May 12th, is also traced in a fragment in Bk. 13 of Vol. VI. On May 18th, 1800, he finally left Fort George for Grand Portage on Lake Superior.

Distinguishing this Fort George from another of the same name on Fraser r., at mouth of Nechacho r., and moreover from that Fort George which was Astoria before the latter was captured by the British, Dec. 13th, 1813.

hills of that name, and empties into the Saskatchewan below Fort George. Snow all night.

*Oct. 28th.* We found six inches of snow, and the storm continued. We saddled at daybreak and proceeded. Our route lay about W. along a deep valley overgrown with pine and willows, on a hillside, which made it both tedious and dangerous. We saw several fallow deer. At ten we passed Egg lake on our left, frozen over and covered with snow. The riding became very rough. At one o'clock we reached Little Fish lake, where we stopped to refresh our horses; it was entirely free from ice, and wild fowl were in abundance. It is about two leagues in circumference, and lies E. and W. It receives its water from Great Fish lake, to the N. W., and thence empties into the Saskatchewan under the name of Rivière des Cate.<sup>3</sup> Both of these Fish lakes abound in excellent whitefish. At two o'clock the storm ceased; we saddled and set off, crossing the creek on the ice where it falls into the lake. The N. side of this lake is thickly wooded with poplar and the S. is covered with willows. We next came to a rough, hilly country, overgrown with small poplar and willow; to the N. the country appeared elevated and covered with strong wood. Having

<sup>3</sup> So copy—again this troublesome phrase, obviously not good French, but whose rectification escapes me. However, there is no doubt what stream is thus designated. Henry is traveling W. from Dog Rump or Dog cr., at a considerable distance from the Saskatchewan, here looping southward off the road which strikes it higher up, and has come to present Stony cr. His route is not far S. of the government telegraph line from a station at the mouth of Moose cr. His Little Fish l. is the small one through which Stony cr. runs at the intersection of Tps. 56 and 57 of Ranges viii and ix, W. of the 4th merid. His Great Fish l. is present Stony l., a little further N. W., around which the telegraph now goes. Stony cr. runs S. E. from this through the other Fish l., to fall into the Saskatchewan about the intersection of Tps. 55 and 56 of Ranges vii and viii. This position is a mile or two above Death r. (formerly Quinney cr.), which falls into the Saskatchewan from the S., and about 6 m. below the site of that Fort de l'Isle, or Island fort, which Mr. Decoigne built in 1801, say 20 m. above Fort George. In passing, June 30th, 1808, Thompson calls it "Old Island Fort," which he says was between a stream he calls Sloping Bank brook and Fort George, less than a day above the latter.

surmounted these hills we entered a flat space lying N. and S., covered with low willows. Beyond this flat we found a sandy soil, covered with cypress and pine. At dusk we crossed a small creek<sup>4</sup> on an old beaver dam, and camped for the night, having made a good day's journey.

*Sunday, Oct. 29th.* Snow continued. At daybreak we proceeded through a rough, hilly, woody country to Terre Blanche river.<sup>5</sup> We had some trouble to cross in broken ice, our horses in water up to the saddles, and the current strong. We kept on through an elevated, barren country covered with cypress, the soil almost pure sand, and shortly reached the N. bank of the Saskatchewan, here narrow,

<sup>4</sup> Henry has crossed the boundary between Saskatchewan and Alberta, about long. 111° 30' W., entered the present Little Hunter and Blue Quill Indian reserve, and is camped on Saddle cr., in the vicinity of the Snake hills. This creek is formed from several tributaries discharging from Saddle l., Duck l., Egg l., and some others, all small, in and about the reserve; it flows about S. into the river opposite the Snipe hills, which rise on the other side. The Egg l. here said is not the one Henry so calls; there are many Egg lakes hereabouts, where gulls, terns, and other water birds breed in great numbers. Henry's camp is probably near where the telegraph line crosses Saddle cr., some 8 m. N. of the Saskatchewan. The mouth of Saddle cr. is 12 m. or more above a place on the river where the H. B. Co. built Fort St. Paul, in the N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Tp. 55, R. xii, W. of the 4th init. merid.

<sup>5</sup> Passing without notice the little Red Earth or Red Clay cr., Henry speedily comes to Rivière à la Terre Blanche, otherwise White Earth, White Mud, or White Clay r. or cr., which flows S. E. from White Earth and other lakes into the Saskatchewan about the intersection of Tps. 58 and 59 of Ranges xv and xvi, W. of the 4th init. merid. This position is notable as the northernmost point the Saskatchewan anywhere attains—a few minutes past lat. 54° N., and some 8 m. directly N. E. of present Victoria: see Thompson's map, stream lettered "White Earth Brook," with mouth just beyond 54° N. We shall find Henry on the spot again in 1810, and hear more about the place—to be carefully distinguished from another of the same pallid and earthy name higher up the river (above both old and new Fort Augustus). This upper White Mud house was "old" in 1808; when Thompson came down river in 1810, he went from it at 9 a. m. June 22d, to old Fort Augustus, 6.50 p. m. same day; June 23d, he reached Carp r. at noon; and at 7 p. m. reached what he calls White Mud Brook house, the one Henry will establish on the spot where he now is: see June 23d, 1810, beyond.

rapid, and free from sand-banks or islands; the ice was crowding down, almost in one body.

We proceeded along the bank, where there is a pretty plain and a beautiful cypress grove, and soon reached Rivière au Lac de Vire,<sup>6</sup> where we stopped to refresh our horses. We then passed over Prairie du Lac de Vire, which is a low, level plain running E. and W., bounded by rising grounds N. and S., formerly a famous hunting-ground for the natives, where animals were always numerous; we saw a large herd of red deer. Our course was next within sight of the Saskatchewan, sometimes below the bank, and again along the top; the country hilly, covered with small poplar and willow. We crossed several rivulets<sup>7</sup> on the ice, and then came to Rivière à la Carpe,<sup>8</sup> where we found no ice. Having crossed it, we had a tedious route among burnt-wood, willow, crossed logs, and rivulets for some distance, till we lost sight of the river, and proceeded through a level country, thickly overgrown with poplars and willows, where old beaver dams and fallen trees lay across the road, to our great annoyance. We kept on till dark, when we could no longer follow the track in the woods. We stopped for the night near an old beaver dam where a small lake had been formed by those sagacious animals. The number of dams we have passed since we crossed Rivière à la Carpe is astonishing; this tract appears to

<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere in Henry, Virer, Vivres, and Vivere, but apparently F. *virer*, to turn, turn about, tack; compare, however, F. *vivier*, fish-pond; and F. *le vivre, les vivres*, as a noun meaning food, victuals. This lake and river were formerly also Lac à Fumée and Rivière à Fumée, whence present Smoky l. and Smoky cr., discharging into the Saskatchewan 2 or 3 m. below Victoria; mounted police station, place called Pakan in the vicinity, etc. Across the river from Victoria is the mouth of the stream which discharges from Limestone l., on the S., once known as Vermilion l.; E. of the lake and S. E. of the stream is Lake Whiteford, one of the many that were Egg lakes in Henry's time or earlier—I find it so called in 1797.

<sup>7</sup> Running S. in parallel courses through the present Indian reserve; three of them are called Steep cr., Cut Bank cr., and Hollow Hill cr.

<sup>8</sup> Present Carp or Sucker cr., from the N. W., a little beyond the limits of the reserve just said: see "Carp Brook" on Thompson's map.

have been once a perfect nest of beavers. The snow ceased this afternoon, but at dusk the storm recurred, and we had a blustering, snowy night.

*Oct. 30th.* At daybreak we were on horseback; the storm continued with great violence, but the thick woods defended us from the wind; a foot of snow was on the ground, and all the trees were loaded, which made riding disagreeable. At eight o'clock we again sighted the river, and proceeded through an ugly country, covered with willows, until we came to sandy ground, where we were sure to find cypress, without willows or underbrush. The road was then pleasant until we came to Vermilion river,<sup>9</sup> where we found an ugly mire, in which our horses sank to their bellies. Where we crossed this river the current was strong, and carried very little ice. We soon lost sight of the Saskatchewan, passing through willows and small poplars for some distance, till we again had it in view, covered with shoals of ice. The snow ceased, the weather cleared up, and we soon found the country more open. Here we lost sight of the river and came upon a level plain, which continued to Sturgeon river.<sup>10</sup> There we met a party of Crees who had

<sup>9</sup> Present Paint or Red Water cr., from the N. W.—not to be confounded with that much larger Vermilion r., from the S., opposite the mouth of which was Fort Vermilion. Thompson speaks of this as Vermilion r., on his *left* coming down: see his map, "Vermillion B." Red Water cr. falls in about the intersection of Tps. 56 and 57 of Ranges xx and xxi, W. of the 4th init. merid., a little above a certain Beaver or Beaverhill cr., which comes from the S. E. into the other side of the Saskatchewan.

<sup>10</sup> Distinguish this from uncounted other Sturgeon rivers which irrigate the map of British America. This is a pretty large stream, which heads in the Height of Land between the Saskatchewan and Athabaskan watersheds. Its uttermost sources are close to the sources of Pembina r., a large tributary of the Athabasca. There is a set of lakes from or through which run the headwaters of Sturgeon r., such as Round l., Isle l., Fish l., and especially the large Lake St. Ann, on issuing from which Sturgeon r. takes its name and shapes its main course E., zigzagging into the Saskatchewan. Lake St. Ann is the site of an Indian reserve, which lies on its N. shore, and also of St. Ann settlement on its S. shore—H. B. Co. post and R. C. mission. The distance hence to the mouth of the river is not over 50 m. in an air-line, but much further by the course of the crooked stream, which runs through more than one lake and

been to Fort Augustus for their winter supplies, and were returning to their tents in the strong wood on the upper part of Terre Blanche river. We found a very strong current on crossing this river, and water up to our horses' bellies. Having got over, we ascended the hill, left the old track to our left, and directed our course to the Little mountain, passing N. of old Fort Augustus.<sup>11</sup> We now came to beautiful level plains, intercepted by a few poplar hummocks, with the Beaver hills in full view on the S. We crossed the old Portage track leading to Panbian river,<sup>12</sup>

receives various tributaries. Big l. is one of them, fed by a certain Dog cr., and below this lake a short distance is St. Alberts, with a mounted police station and a mission. Other places lower down the river are called Namas and New London (or "Lunnon"). The river empties into the Saskatchewan from a N. W. course, nearly in the center of Tp. 55, R. xxii, W. of the 4th init. merid. See "Sturgeon Rivulet" on Thompson's map, running E. from what he calls "Manito Lake," and note approximation to Pembina r., as there shown.

<sup>11</sup> *Old* Fort Augustus is to be carefully distinguished from the one to which Henry is going, at present Edmonton. The old fort stood on the left or N. W. bank of the Saskatchewan, close above the mouth of Sturgeon r.—between that and the mouth of present Frog cr., which falls in on the other side, and probably about opposite the latter: see the site, conspicuously lettered "Fort Augustus, N. W. Co.," on Thompson's map. The situation is thus a little below the present Fort Saskatchewan, and on the other side of the river, fully 20 m. in an air-line N. E. from Edmonton, and much further below the latter by the bends of the river. "Old" Fort Augustus has often been confused with the "new" Fort Augustus which was built by Mr. Hughes at present Edmonton, and maintained by the N. W. Co. till the fusion of 1821. Both were among the several Saskatchewan posts which successively or simultaneously shared the name or epithet "Fort des Prairies." Thompson notes the ruins of old Fort Augustus when he passed, June 22d, 1810; it had been destroyed by Blackfeet since he passed it before in July, 1809.

<sup>12</sup> Pembina r., the one last noted as a large tributary of the Athabasca. The road from Edmonton now goes past Horse l. to St. Albert, whence the trail continues, about N. N. W., up a section of Sturgeon r., past the Calahoo reserve, through the Alexander reserve, past Deadman l. and Bourlon l., and so on over the Height of Land to the H. B. Co. post on Lac la Nonne or Nun l., and down its discharge to Pembina r. Crossing the latter a few miles above Paddle r., it keeps on to Athabasca crossing, a point on the great river a few miles below that H. B. Co. post which was built opposite an older one known as Fort Assiniboine. Pembina r. is the main tributary of the Athabasca, coming from the Rocky mts. on a course similar to that of McLeod's r., next above.



which appeared very plain, going due N. At the Petite Montagne<sup>13</sup> we met another party of Crees on their return to their tents. Soon afterward we fell upon the well-beaten track leading from old Fort Augustus upward; here the country is pleasant and open, with level plains and few hummocks. We met some more Crees, and then saw a party ahead, which proved to be Mr. Bird's. We had given up hope of overtaking him, as he slept at least ten miles ahead of us last night. We soon came up with him near a small lake at the cross woods, where we found a party of Crees drinking. We passed them into a country covered with willows and long grass. This may be called the W. end of the plains, on the N. side of the Saskatchewan. We met a long string of Indians under march, mostly intoxicated; they called loudly for rum, but we went on till we came to the entrance of the strong woods, where the track brought us upon the bank, in sight of the river, at a flat bottom, on which were the two establishments; the hill was steep and slippery. At 4 p. m. we entered Fort Augustus,<sup>14</sup> after a toilsome but expeditious journey from Fort Vermillion.

It was explored and navigated down in 1799 by Thompson, whose "Journey from [old] Fort Augustus to the Forks of the Athabasca River, 1799," is recorded in Bk. 12 of Vol. VI of his MSS.—with which compare even dates in Bk. 10 of Vol. V. Thompson started 8 a. m. Friday, April 19th, 1799, with 3 men and 5 horses, from old Fort Augustus, and went 11 m. N. W. to a point where he rafted over Sturgeon r., which he says the Indians called Nithkeek-pahk Niskootake Sipi. He struck the Pembina Apr. 21st, found his canoe  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. lower down, at 6.15 p. m., and navigated the river to its junction with the Athabasca at noon of Apr. 25th. His canoe had been built for him on the river by Durand and two other men.

<sup>13</sup> Henry's Little mountain, or Petite Montagne, is present Horse hill, past which Horse Hill cr. flows S. E. into the Saskatchewan. The next one above, on the same side, is Second Rut cr., and the next is First Rut cr.—counting from Edmonton; at the mouth of the second one is a place called Clover bay. On the other side of the Saskatchewan come in successively Doctor's cr. and Old Man's cr., running N. W. from the Beaver hills. All these are small and comparatively insignificant.

<sup>14</sup> Locality of present Edmonton, by far the most important place on the upper Saskatchewan; terminus of the Calgary and Edmonton branch of the C.

*Oct. 31st.* This morning early Le Bœuf qui Boit, a chief of the Bloods, appeared on the S., and called out to be crossed over, which was done accordingly. It was something uncommon for a great chief to thus come ahead, without sending young men in for tobacco, but the cause was this: During the summer the tribe had formed a war-party against the Crees, and crossed the river below this place; but, failing in their undertaking, they desired to wreak their vengeance upon this establishment. Fortunately their tracks were discovered, and our people kept watch during the night. The fellows came near the fort, but seeing our people on their guard, they dared not attack us, and contented themselves with taking all the horses they could find—only 12. To-day was the first time since that affair that any of them appeared here, and they were doubtful of their reception. This chief came over alone, and informed Mr. Hughes that he had brought back eight of the 12 stolen horses; the other four, he said, were too lame to walk. But the truth was that these four were good buffalo hunters and the others cart horses. He got a severe reprimand, and soon after the whole band arrived, consisting of about 100 men. Rum was given them, and they went to drink on the S. side. They appear more troublesome than they were at Fort Vermillion last September.

The Saskatchewan is here only 15 [?] yards wide; the current is very swift, and bound in by high banks at no great distance apart, the bottoms being not so extensive as they are below. But the banks are steeper, higher, and covered with wood. The channel appeared uninterrupted, and little ice was drifting; this may proceed from the great velocity of the current, as the ice is from 10 to 15 days later in thawing than at Fort Vermillion. This evening

P. Ry., and thus the "jumping-off place" for the Arctic ocean, the musk-ox, or anything else one may seek under guidance of the Pole star; North and South Edmonton on opposite sides of the river; H. B. Co. store; mounted police station; Tommy la Potac and Papaschase Indian reserves in the vicinity.

Morin<sup>15</sup> returned from working beaver with the Sarcees, having killed 50.

*Wednesday, Nov. 1st.* The Bloods crossed and began to trade—40 principal men at our fort, and 60 at the H. B. They brought a great quantity of wolves and provisions, but few beavers. A band of Sarcees also crossed; both parties finished trading and recrossed to the S. side. They were much inclined to mischief, but, observing everything prepared to give them a proper reception, they retired peaceably, though our neighbors were pillaged and nearly stripped by them, on the S. side. The Sarcees were peaceable and quiet. Two of our men arrived with a large gang of horses from the Rocky Mountain portage, where they left our Columbia canoes, safely embarked on the W. side of the mountains, 27 days ago. They would not have been more than half that time had they passed by the usual route, S. of the Saskatchewan; but this would have been dangerous on account of last summer's trouble among the natives. They came through a dreadful country on the N. side, covered with thick woods, brûlés, and renversés.<sup>16</sup> Their horses' legs were scratched and torn in many places. There came with them an old Saulteur woman and her three children, who went with our people two years ago. *2d.* Indians decamping from the S. side; ice drifting; Cree hunters arrived; a merry dance at Mr.

<sup>15</sup> Various persons named Morin, Morrin, or Morren.—One Morrin of the N. W. Co. wintered at Slave l., 1799-1800.—Augustin Morin is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1804.—Étienne Morin, ditto, Fort des Prairies, 1804; very likely Henry's man.—François Morin was voyageur contre-maître of the N. W. Co. on upper Red r., 1804.—François Morin reappears as guide N. W. Co., Rat River country, 1804; this is probably the François Morrin or Morren whom Thompson sent to winter at Pukketowaggan l., 1805-06.—Jean-Baptiste Morin was a voyageur N. W. Co., in the Rat River country, 1804.—One Morin, probably François, was on the Kaministiquia route in July, 1804, and that autumn voyaged with Thompson; and one Morren, probably François, was sent by Thompson from Cumberland house June 22d, 1805, with three canoes, bound for Kaministiquia, having as passengers Mr. Leith and Mr. Halcro of the late X. Y. Co.

<sup>16</sup> Trees burned and overturned—what we should call windfalls.

Bird's. *3d.* Cree hunters drinking all day; they are tented about two miles off in the woods, behind the fort.

*Nov. 4th.* I set off in company with my neighbor, two of his people, and two of mine. Fine clear weather; snow melted, leaving a slippery, muddy track. Camped near Vermillion river.

*Sunday, Nov. 5th.* Snow all day, and traveling very disagreeable. Camped at Rivière au Lac de Vivres [*sic*], where the snow had not melted in the least, notwithstanding two days of warm sunshine, which took all the snow away from Fort Augustus.

*Nov. 6th.* At sunrise we were on horseback. The Saskatchewan was frozen fast. Snow continued. We had trouble in crossing Terre Blanche river, from the snow and ice. Fish river frozen over, except some open spots, which were covered with ducks. Camped near Egg lake.

*Nov. 7th.* It was late before we could find our horses. Arrived at my horse-keeper's tent at Moose creek, our horses completely knocked up. Here we had proposed to sleep, but an old woman who came from the fort brought us news that the Assiniboines and Crees had declared war upon us, and were momentarily expected at the fort; that they were coming up both sides of the river, determined to go to Fort Augustus, sweep the river clear of whites, and steal every horse. This intelligence induced me to take fresh horses, and set off with all expedition possible. A little before sunset we reached the fort, where the news was confirmed. It had been brought during my absence by one of our best Crees, who had faithfully promised to inform us if any real danger threatened. My men had crossed the horses on the ice, and all my people were busy making sleds.

*Nov. 9th.* I dispatched L. Durand with a letter to Mr. Hughes at Fort Augustus, and sent Parenteau to my tent for horses to hunt buffalo. Found myself very unwell, with a high fever and sore throat, proceeding, I believe, from my violent exercise in coming from Moose creek, when I

rode the most rough and cruel-going mare I ever straddled. She had neither gallop, canter, nor trot, but all three combined to tear my entrails out, and severely did I feel the effect of her cursed gait.

*Nov. 10th.* Could scarcely crawl about the house; the fever increased, and my throat was very bad. Parenteau returned with horses. My neighbor gave a dance in honor of the wedding of his eldest daughter to one of his men, but I could not attend. Men prepared to hunt, but appeared loath to go where they might fall in with any Indians, as we were at variance with all the natives excepting the Strong Wood Crees and Mashquegon Assiniboines.

*Sunday, Nov. 12th.* Early this morning ten young Blackfeet came in for tobacco for a band who were to arrive later; sent, as usual, six inches to each principal man. They arrived at noon and pitched their tents, each party near the gates of their own trader. Gave them liquor as usual, one pint of Indian rum to each principal man, and they began to drink.<sup>17</sup> *13th.* The Blackfeet traded and set off. *14th.* An alarm—the plains and hills covered, as we supposed, by horsemen. This being the direction whence we expected the natives would come upon us, we had some reason to suppose it was the enemy, and entertained serious thoughts of defending ourselves. However, on examination, we discovered that the party was a large herd of red deer, which at that distance appeared like men on horseback. This was not the first time I had been so deceived. *18th.* My men returned from hunting, bringing four cows and four bulls; they had been obliged to make *travaillés*, as the frozen meat injured the horses' backs. This is our last trip on horseback for the season, as there is now snow enough for sleds; a horse will haul 1½ cow

<sup>17</sup> The above passage is typical of almost incessant entries in Henry's journal, during the monotonous routine of wintering at a "Fort des Prairies." I shall hereafter condense to the utmost, or strike out entirely, the trivial incidents which have no present significance, or upon which I do not wish to remark historically.

on a sled, but will bring only half an animal on his back.

*Sunday, Nov. 19th.* Parenteau went for his horses to the camp. *20th.* I sent him to tent in the plains and hunt buffalo on the S. side; also Crevier and Perrin to haul the meat in, put it on a stage, and take care of it until it should be brought home. This is called making the *quart de loge*; each man is obliged to put 20 animals on the stage, and haul nearly the same number into the fort. Each man must also raise buffalo hides enough to make 20 pemmican bags [taureaux], for which purpose their women generally go with them to make their quart de loge, as they then get the tallow and other offals, which are of great service in their ménage. *22d.* I started 15 men, well armed, for the South Branch, to bring up a canotée of goods I left there last fall. These were brought to Cumberland House by the English River brigade, and the South Branch men made a second trip to Cumberland House to bring up some of the pieces. My people appeared loath to go, as they apprehended danger; however, I was obliged to send them. My men were employed taking the coals out of the kiln for the blacksmith. The wood we use for this purpose is birch, which produces good strong coal.

*Sunday, Nov. 26th.* A band of Blackfeet arrived, loaded with fresh buffalo meat. They informed us of a quarrel between Painted Feather's band and the Cold band, caused by a woman who had been debauched from the latter; the young men belonging to the former went for her; a dispute arose, four of the party were wounded, and the woman was shot in the leg. This affair has caused the Cold band to separate from the others; they have gone up to Fort Augustus to trade, and we shall see no more of them this winter. *28th.* Durand<sup>18</sup> and Fentoiné came from Fort

<sup>18</sup> Dunord or Du Nord, and probably the Antoine Dunord who is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804. Also, he is probably the same Du Nord whom Thompson found at Boggy Hall on the Saskatchewan in 1810, and who went with Thompson into the mountains at Athabaskan headwaters.

Augustus for a supply of goods;<sup>19</sup> they were six days on the journey, and brought bad news of the Slaves, who had threatened to destroy our establishment. Two freemen arrived from Cold lake, on the N. side of Beaver river.<sup>20</sup>

The MS. says, at date of Jan. 8th, 1811: "Du Nord beat a dog useless & the sled we made got broke & was with the dog thrown aside"; Jan. 11th, on the Height of Land (Athabasca Pass) Thompson calls him a "poor spiritless wretch," and orders him back—but relents; Jan. 13th, Thompson says sarcastically, "this famous F. de P. man"; Jan. 20th, Du Nord deserts the party under critical circumstances. The "Denard" of Dec. 1st and "Durand" of Nov. 28th are obviously the same person, not to be confounded with the Durand who was with Henry at Fort Vermilion.

<sup>19</sup> So copy here, and Fautienne beyond; obviously for Fontaine or Lafontaine. The latter form is found in Henry once as "Thyfouffana." The man is probably Charles Fontaine, listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Antoine Fontaine appears as voyageur contre-maitre N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—One Lafontaine, as voyageur there and then.—Joseph Lafontaine, as the same, Nepigon, 1804.

<sup>20</sup> This is a large, navigable stream which was of much importance as a waterway in those days, but cannot be said to be well known yet. The examination and correct mapping remain a desideratum. It rises in Alberta, near long. 113° W., from the Height of Land between Athabaskan and Saskatchewan waters, gathering its stream from various lakes,—one of them Long l.,—and starts eastward N. of the parallel of 54°. Before quitting Alberta it receives the discharge of a chain of lakes from the S. These are the Fish or Fishing lakes, of which Henry sometimes speaks; two of them are now called Good Fish and Whitefish; at these there is an Indian reserve, and at the last named a Wesleyan mission; another of this chain is Floating Stone l. Before quitting Alberta again, Beaver r. is joined by Little Beaver r., and in this last small stream is found the feature which makes Beaver r. so important a waterway. For this northern tributary heads so close to Lac la Biche or Red Deer l. that the intervening distance is easily portaged, and the lake discharges by the river of the same name into the Athabasca, thus establishing a remarkable connection. It was a regularly traveled route for many years. Thus Franchère's party came this way in June, 1814; and many years before that Thompson knew the route well. His journal of 1798-99, in Bk. 10 of Vol. V., traces his route from Sault Ste. Marie to Lac la Biche, where he wintered. Passing over earlier stages of this, we find him ascending Beaver r. late in Sept.; he comes to the forks Oct. 1st, and takes up Little Beaver r., on an average 8 yards wide and 8 inches deep. Oct. 3d, he is at a portage of 370 yards, which takes him into a little lake wholly away from Beaver r. He goes, Oct. 4th, through this lake about 3 m. N. W. "to the head of the Red Deer brook," full of rushes, where he finds it impossible to take large canoes further. So he lays them up and starts for Red Deer l., leaving his men to carry about  $\frac{1}{4}$  m. to a place

They brought a few furs and some of the large trout [*Salmo (Cristivomer) namaycush*] in which the lake abounds. One weighed 35 lbs. and was of excellent flavor—as good as any in Lake Superior. 30th. The freemen set off on their return to Cold lake. A Cree arrived from Deer hill with some skins. I settled with him and sent him back instantly on account of the Blackfeet, who, I believe, would have murdered him had I not taken particular care of him. To thank me for my kindness he stole two horses on setting off—what ungrateful villains these Indians are!

Dec. 1st. Denard and Fautienne [Dunord and Fontaine] set off with three kegs of high wine for Fort Augustus. 4th. My hunters and other men have been drinking and rioting since yesterday; they make more d——n noise and trouble than a hundred Blackfeet.<sup>21</sup> 7th. Red Eagle and another

where there was a dam. His course is N. 22° E. ½ m., carrying a light canoe 250 yards of this little brook to a small lake, paddles through this, comes to the brook again, attempts to force through, is obliged to carry ½ m. N. 50° E., and then 1 m. N. 12° E., when he puts down in the same small brook and goes down it with plenty of water to Red Deer l. at 1 p. m., “Thank God!” as he was wont to ejaculate when he got anywhere. Oct. 5th, his men having got everything over, he goes to look for a place to build. Oct. 6th, views the lake on the W. side for about 4 m. and finds a place to build on a small bay. Oct. 7th, beginning to build. The position of this Red Deer Lake house he afterward determined to be lat. 54° 46' 23" N., long. 111° 57' W. The H. B. Co. has now a post on the lake and the R. C. Church has a mission. The greatest length of the lake is about 20 m.; it is somewhat hourglass-shaped, with the Beaver River portage at the S. E. and Owl r. at the N. E.; it discharges by Red Deer r. at the N. W. Returning now to Beaver r., we find it holding an average E. course from Alberta into Saskatchewan, and so on for many miles, but with great windings, to beyond long. 108°, where it makes a sharp elbow and turns due N. At the elbow it receives Green r. from Green l. It holds N. to beyond 54° 30' and then falls into Lac à la Crosse, one of the large lakes of the Churchill River or Missinipi system. Beaver r. is thus seen to be a sort of collateral or intermediate waterway E. and W. between the Saskatchewan waters on the S. and Missinipian and Athabaskan waters on the N. The Cold l. which Henry mentions in this connection is one which lies 7 m. N. of Beaver r., at a point near long. 111°; making which portage and going through Cold l. the voyageur is on Moose r., which runs through Trout l., Lac des Isles, and Waterhen l. into Beaver r. at a point where it is flowing N.

<sup>21</sup> To condone the expletive our author uses in his exasperation, and support the ten-to-one ratio of unpleasantness between drunken voyageurs and ditto



Cree arrived with their furs and paid their debts; they came from Egg lake and brought a good hunt. They tell me they believe our horses are all stolen from Moose creek, having seen a large road going down to the river. *8th.* Equipped the Crees, gave them liquor, and sent them off with two men to ascertain whether our horses were stolen. *9th.* The two men returned; the horses were safe, the cold weather having obliged them to leave the barren hills and retire into the river bottom under shelter of the banks. As they all passed by the same track, the Indians supposed them stolen.

*Sunday, Dec. 10th.* A band of Gens du Bois Fort Assiniboines arrived, bringing only pounded meat and grease. *15th.* A band of Sarcees arrived with provisions and a few beaver skins; I gave them some liquor. They are troublesome Indians, perpetually asking for liquor and other things gratis. One of them threatened to stab Mr. Small, and I believe would have attempted it if he could have got a knife. Those Indians formerly killed a great quantity of beaver, and were accordingly much indulged by the traders. But of late they hunt very little, and still expect us to treat

Indians, a passage from the very religiously minded Harmon may be cited, p. 102, Dec. 25th, 1802: "Of all the people in the world, I think the Canadians, when drunk, are the most disagreeable; for excessive drinking generally causes them to quarrel and fight, among themselves. Indeed, I had rather have fifty drunken Indians in the fort, than five drunken Canadians." Henry's "noise and trouble" was certainly of the sort he says if it was ten times as bad as this, also from Harmon, p. 62, Nov. 19th, 1800: "To see a house full of drunken Indians, consisting of men, women, and children, is a most unpleasant sight; for, in that condition, they often wrangle, pull each other by the hair, and fight. At some times, ten or twelve, of both sexes, may be seen, fighting each other promiscuously, until at last, they all fall on the floor, one upon another, some spilling rum out of a small kettle or dish, which they hold in their hands, while others are throwing up what they have just drunk. To add to this uproar, a number of children, some on their mothers' shoulders, and others running about and taking hold of their clothes, are constantly bawling, the elder ones, through fear that their parents may be stabbed, or that some other misfortune may befall them, in the fray. These shrieks of the children, form a very unpleasant chorus to the brutal noise kept up by their drunken parents, who are engaged in the squabble."

them as before. *16th.* Sarcees off. My party arrived from the South Branch with all the property in good order. These poor fellows have had much trouble during their journey. They fell in with some Crees near Birch lake, and were treated like dogs; however, they got an Indian to guide them to the South Branch. Having four bands of Crees to avoid, they kept along the strong woods, and, after much anxiety, reached the forks. But to return with the goods was difficult, as the natives were bent on mischief, and to have fallen into any of their camps with the property would have been certain pillage and death. However, their guide proved an honest fellow, who spared no pains to avoid the different bands, even the one he belonged to himself; he made our people take a long circuit, and saw them out of danger before he left them. Desnoyers<sup>22</sup> arrived with his fall hunt, bringing 50 skins. Crees and Assiniboines are more numerous below than usual, large camps having come from Swan and Assiniboine rivers; they are notorious villains.

*Dec. 20th.* The Blackfeet have repeatedly sent for my neighbor and me to come to their camp and see buffalo driven into the pound. Painted Feather's brother being here for that purpose, we determined to accompany him, and as we were told there was a vast quantity of meat already staged for us, we took each a dozen men with horse-sleds to bring it home. We set off at sunrise on the sleds, and, after a pleasant ride, came at noon to the Blackfoot tents at the elbow of Vermillion river.<sup>23</sup> We were received by Painted Feather and some other principal men, who informed us the young men were all out, but that the wind was wrong, and they doubted that the buffalo would run as long as it held from that direction. They had prepared a large tent for Mr. Hamel and myself, and dispersed our men in others. They were very civil and kind to us, but

<sup>22</sup> I find that Thompson engaged one Noyau or Noyer as hunter at the Rocky Mt. house, Oct. 11th, 1806.

<sup>23</sup> In Tp. 52, R. iii, W. of the 4th init. merid., some 12 or 15 m. S. of Fort Vermilion.

their object was to get what they could from us. Like all Indians, when once they find there is nothing more to be had for the asking or otherwise, they become careless about us. In this camp we found three tents of Assiniboines, who had lately committed murder among their own people and taken refuge among the Blackfeet. We were invited into several tents, to eat, and our men were in their glory, as the Indians were officious in giving them plenty to eat and offering their wives on easy terms. *21st.* Another party of young men endeavored to impound the buffalo, but the weather continued unfavorable; the fog did not clear away until toward evening, and the wind was still contrary. A principal chief of a neighboring pound came to invite us to his camp, where he said the buffalo were numerous; but old Painted Feather would not consent to our going. The day passed, no buffalo came, and we had only the satisfaction of viewing the mangled carcasses strewn about in the pound. The bulls were mostly entire, none but good cows having been cut up. The stench from this inclosure was great, even at this season, for the weather was mild. *22d.* We were called early to see the buffalo, and instantly were on the lookout hill, whence we saw plenty indeed; but the wind was still unfavorable, and every herd that was brought near the ranks struck off in a wrong direction. We could plainly discern the young men driving whole herds from different directions, until these came within scent of the smoke, when they dispersed. We remained until noon, when I lost all patience, and came away much disappointed. The Indians desired us to remain, as they were certain of getting at least one herd in before dark; but I would not listen to them. After a pleasant ride, we reached home at four o'clock, having run several races on the road. *23d.* Some Blackfeet arrived from the camp where I had been, bringing a quantity of fat meat. They informed me we had scarcely left when a large herd was brought in; they had called to us, but we did not hear, as we were too busy racing.

*Sunday, Dec 31st.* Dubois and Coté<sup>24</sup> came from Fort Augustus with bad news concerning the Slaves. They behaved rascally at the fort, and threatened an attack, but our people were so well prepared to defend themselves that it kept them in awe. They happened to meet two of our men in the plains, whom they pillaged, and probably would have murdered, had not a chief interfered. The Cold band and Bloods appear the most maliciously inclined toward us. It proceeds from the sudden change the H. B. Co. have made on this river in not taking wolves as usual; for this has exasperated those savage brutes [*i. e.*, the Indians—not the wolves!] to the last degree. This afternoon my men returned with meat, and the hunters also accompanied them. They brought in the remainder of 300 buffalo which I have received since the arrival of the canoes, Sept. 13th. To-day they brought in 36 cows, besides their own offals.<sup>25</sup> The Sarcees were drinking all night and very troublesome; one of them climbed over the stockades, and I could not avoid using him ill.

<sup>24</sup> For Dubois, see a previous note. The only person named Coté I have found is Joseph Coté, who wintered with Thompson in the Rocky mts., 1810-11, and started with him for the Pacific Apr. 17th, with René Vallada and Pierre Pareil. Coté remained under Thompson on Columbian waters in 1811, at Spokane house and elsewhere, and started with him from the Columbia in Apr., 1812, for Fort William.

<sup>25</sup> Certainly the hunters must have brought in "their own offals," but the offals meant were those which the 36 cows owned before their offals became the perquisites of the hunters who killed the animals.

## CHAPTER XVII.

FORT VERMILION, CONTINUED : 1810.

**M**ONDAY, Jan. 1st, 1810. I sent the Sarcees off after much trouble with them. My neighbor had very imprudently detained a few of his particular friends among the Blackfeet, who also made trouble. I gave a dance to which all hands were invited, including my neighbor and his family. *2d.* My men all drinking and carousing. One of my hens has begun to lay ; I got the first egg this morning. *3d.* Men and women all drinking pellmell ; H. B. men off to cut stockades at Frog creek. *4th.* Dubois and Coté off early with four kegs of high wine for Fort Augustus. I got the fort yard cleared out and everything in as good order as before the boisson.

*Jan. 8th.* Some Assiniboines arrived—35 men of the Gens de Pied, a notorious set of horse-thieves. I had a long conversation with them on that subject ; but as usual none of those who were present had ever stolen a horse. Old Tabeau, Le Bœuf Blanc, and Tourbillion were with them. I gave them liquor, and they drank all night. *9th.* They traded quantities of pounded meat and grease, but nothing else. Two of my men returned from *derouine* well loaded with furs. I had the curiosity to count the Assiniboine dog *travailles*, and found no fewer than 230. *10th.* Assiniboines off. Two men arrived—Plante and Leonaix [Lyonnais]. Mr. Small, who had been *en derouine* to the Indian tents, and also Cardinal, set off with four men to Cold lake for trout and furs. *11th.* I am troubled by smoky chimneys ; the great fires we are obliged to make day and night, have burned all the *canouilles* [cannelures] and cross-sticks, and, the chimney being thin, the mud itself took fire. It was disagreeable work to lay a new coat over

the whole, with the assistance of a range of plank to prevent the mud from falling.

*Jan. 13th.* Mr. Small returned from derouine, in company with the H. B. people. Benjamin Brevece. . .

*Jan. 20th.* Missisticoine, a Cree, arrived with his family from the strong wood on his way to the Cree camps below. This is the first of my Crees who has come out of the woods this season; when once they take the route for the pounds below, we expect no more fur from them during the season, as they idle, playing and eating buffalo. *21st.* Martin and family arrived—miserable objects, destitute of everything. I gave him a place in the yard to erect his tent. *Jan. 22d.* La Certe<sup>1</sup> and Dubois arrived from Fort Augustus, bringing bad news concerning the hostile intentions of the Slaves in that quarter, who daily threaten to attack us.

*Jan. 23d.* Two men and an Indian arrived with letters from Isle à la Crosse,<sup>2</sup> 14 days on their journey; heard of

<sup>1</sup> One La Certe was an engagé of Gregory, McLeod & Co. in 1786.—Bon. Lacerte of the N. W. Co. was at Kaministiquia in 1804.

<sup>2</sup> Lac à la Crosse, or Lacrosse l., is but middling sized, yet was of much consequence as a trivial or three-way place whence the voyageur could go N. W. up the Missinipi system to Athabaskan waters, E. down the same to Lake Winnipeg or Hudson's bay, and S. up Beaver r. to Green r., etc. It was early pitched upon for trading-posts, and in time became the site of many different ones. The H. B. Co. had one in 1791, if not earlier, and maintains one to-day; Alex. McKay was on the lake in 1798. "Isle à la Crosse" was not only an island, but a designation of the lake, and of the N. W. Co. house, the latter being what Henry means by the phrase. Sir A. McKenzie speaks of Isle à la Crosse fort as being on a low isthmus, and adds, p. lxxxii: "This lake and fort take their names from the island just mentioned, which . . . received its denomination from the game of the cross, which forms a principal amusement among the natives." He makes the position lat. 55° 25' N., long. 107° 48' W. Harmon, who was there in Aug., 1808, says the fort was well built, with an excellent kitchen garden. Thompson reached Isle à la Crosse house on Thursday, Sept. 6th, 1798, at 10.15 a. m., "all well, thank God!" (as he exclaims), and proceeded to arrange things for Mr. Alex. McKay, who was to winter there, 1798-99; left him 53 pieces of goods and went on his way 4¾ m. to the mouth of Beaver r. It will be seen by my note on Beaver r., p. 573, that Thompson wintered, 1798-99, on Lac à la Biche, and my note on Pembina r., p. 566, shows him down that stream to the Athabasca, Apr. 25th, 1799. He continued down the

the death of two of our men at that place, Forcier and Gallipot.<sup>3</sup> 24th. A band of Crees from their pound on the Horse hills came to trade provisions—miserable wretches. I got only one beaver from them. Their principal men are Sitting Badger, old Bertrand, and Sac-à-tout-Mettre.<sup>4</sup>

Jan. 27th. We perceived a large track of horses which crossed the river from the N., about a mile below the

latter, and on May 6th arrived at what he calls the Fort of the Forks, "near where a bold river falls in." This bold river is the Little Athabasca, also variously termed Methy Portage r., Swan r., Pelican r., and Clearwater r.—the latter being its current name now. It falls into Athabasca r. from the E., and, by ascending it, the voyageur passes to Missinipian waters, via Methy portage. Thompson started to do so on Friday, May 10th; passed Summer Berry r. on his right (present Pembina r., principal branch, from the S.), and so on to the famous portage, May 13th. Methy, methye, or merthy, is an Indian name of the loach, a fish; the carrying-place was Portage à la Loche of the French, often Loach portage in English. It conducts to the lake and river of the same name; the latter continues through Buffalo l., Clear l., and others, into Deep r.; and Deep r. discharges into Lac à la Crosse, where Thompson reached the N. W. Co. house at 3.15 p. m. of Monday, May 20th. At this house, June 10th, 1799, he took to wife one Charlotte Small, a girl 14 years old. Besides celebrating his nuptials, which no doubt were quite simple, he made out that these occurred at lat. 55° 26' 15" N., long. 107° 46' 40" W.; went into Grand Portage on Lake Superior that summer, and turned up at Fort George on the Saskatchewan in Sept. In 1804, Thompson made another journey to Isle à la Crosse. He left the Horseshoe house on Peace r. Apr. 30th, went down river to Fort Vermilion, where he found Mr. Clark, May 2d; passed "old Aspin fort" (Fort des Trembles, otherwise Fort Liard), next day; passed the fort where Wentzel had once wintered, May 6th; reached Athabasca house on that lake May 12th; set off up Athabasca r. May 15th; passed Peter Pond's old house May 17th, early; reached Little Athabasca r. May 19th; and hence his route was the same we have just traced, by Methy portage, to Isle à la Crosse, from which he kept on to Kaministiquia.

<sup>3</sup> Not improbably the man who is listed as Joseph Gallipeau, voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, Bag-to-Put-Everything-in, referring to the sack in which the voyageurs carried their kit, or small personal belongings. There was a similar phrase, sac-à-commis, meaning the clerk's bag which N. W. Co. employees of that rank used for the same purpose. Sacacommis appears as a name of the bearberry, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*, which was smoked with tobacco, and would be carried in a bag for that purpose; so the word has been referred to the French phrase for clerk's bag. But I suspect that this etymology is a mere pun upon some aboriginal word resembling sac-à-commis in sound: see L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 139, 674, 729, 827.

fort, ascended the banks on the S., and then held S. E. Sent men instantly to examine it; on returning, they informed us that 37 horses belonging to the people of my fort had been stolen. The thieves seemed to have been five, judging from some articles the men brought in, which must have belonged to them; we supposed they were Crees. This seems to be the beginning of their long-meditated plan to deprive us of our horses; but we had supposed it would not be executed until they were off the ground, so that it has come upon us unawares.

*Sunday, 28th.* The men out to ascertain what horses have been stolen. Sent off Dazé<sup>5</sup> and the other man, with the old Indian, on their return to Isle à la Crosse, with letters. *29th.* The men searching for their horses again. Water overflows daily at the mouth of Vermillion river, and spreads over the ice on the Saskatchewan. *31st.* Sent off Cardinal with three men to Goose lake for canoe bark, raised there last summer; they went with two-horse wood sleds. Also sent Guilliou, Dumont, Crevier, and Pivain [Perrin?] up to Fort George to prepare wood for building four bateaux to take our pemmican to Cumberland house. We have no wood fit for that purpose nearer than Fort George.

*Feb. 1st.* Three horses were stolen from one of my neighbor's hunters who were tented at the fort. Laid meat in the icehouse—550 thighs and 380 shoulders. A Saulteur arrived with his wife from South Branch, on his way to join his beau-frère, J. F., at the Rocky Mountain house; but present troubles will keep him here some time. *2d.* A tent of Crees arrived from the woods, on their way to the pounds below. They paid their debts, traded, got liquor, and were drinking all night. I sent Thyfoultana [Lafontaine], Ladouceur, and Gagnion to finish their quarts de loge at Parenteau's tent; these were the last quarts to be made. *4th.* Women all busy stretching buffalo hides to

<sup>5</sup> Hippolyte Dazé is listed as voyageur contre-maître N. W. Co., English r., 1804.



make pemmican bags and pack cords. *5th*. Men arrived with canoe bark; had much trouble with the heavy wood sleds; however, the bark was in good order. *6th*. Found that five more horses were stolen. A small band of Assiniboines arrived from Star [?] river, and old Peter Robilliard<sup>6</sup> warned us to be on our guard, as the Indians below were in general bent on mischief, should an opportunity offer. Sent the rest of our horses up to Dog Rump creek. *7th*. Mr. Hughes arrived from Fort Augustus with the packet from Athabasca and Slave lake;<sup>7</sup> no special news. *8th*. Writing

<sup>6</sup> One Robilliard of the N. W. Co. was with Thompson in the Rocky mts. in 1812, on the latter's return from the Pacific ocean.—Jean Baptiste Robillard is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Another Jean Baptiste Robillard was the Lambert who was guide on Lower Red r. in 1804: see note <sup>10</sup>, p. 212.—Louis Robillard of the N. W. Co. was at Kaminiisiquia in 1804.

<sup>7</sup> Not Great Slave l. of the far North, but Little Slave l., which discharges into Athabasca r. from the W., next below Pembina r., and on which the N. W. Co. had a house for some years. On the interesting and fruitful Athabaskan voyage which Thompson made in Apr. and May, 1799, as already noted, he reached the mouth of Little Slave r. at 8 a. m. Apr. 26th, turned up this river, and entered the lake at 9.30 a. m. Apr. 28th, but immediately left it. He was soon to return, however; for in the strangely jumbled contents of Bk. 13 of Vol. VI. of his MSS., Art. G is a fragment (one loose leaf) headed "Journey to West End of [Little] Slave Lake," running Nov. 5th to Nov. 9th, 1802, from the head of Little Slave r. to the other end of the lake, where was the N. W. Co. house, set by Thompson in lat. 55° 32' 36" N. He found there Mr. Jarvis, Tom Grey, and Le Rammé. Reverse of this folio shows that he had been at the mouth of Little Slave r. Oct. 20th, 21st; he therefore came to the house via the Athabasca. Thompson wintered, 1802-03, at what he calls the Fort of the Forks of Peace r., and locates 5 m. above the mouth of Smoky r., in lat. 56° 08' 14" N., long. 117° 13' 14" or 32" W. We have his journal of Jan. 18th-June 5th, 1803, at the fort, in Bk. 14 of Vol. VI., and its continuation with five different round trips he made from the Peace r. fort and back, in June, Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1803. His sixth trip that year was to Lesser Slave l., in Dec. This itinerary runs Dec. 11th-18th, 1803, in Bk. 15 of Vol. VII., headed "Journey from the Forks of Peace River to East End of Lesser Slave Lake, 1803," and breaks off abruptly; but in Bk. 14 of Vol. VI. the same itinerary runs Sunday, Dec. 11th, to Thursday, Dec. 29th, the day he got back from the lake to the Fort of the Forks. Comparing these two journals of the same journey, we find: He crossed Smoky r. Dec. 11th, and went on up Heart brook Dec. 14th; arr. W. end of Lesser Slave l. Dec. 16th, and went directly to Blondin's N. W. Co. house at 2 p. m.; found Bat. Paul there. Dec. 17th, he started for E. end of the lake; crossed to S. side at Shaw's point; camped at a place deserted by the X. Y.

letters. *9th.* Writing letters to the N., to English river, etc. *10th.* My people discovered a large track crossing the river below, of a party on foot; they followed it, and found that 32 horses had been stolen during the night N. of the fort. The thieves had taken their course immediately below, and Martelle, whom I had sent before day in search of Kapepoonoway, a Cree below Deux Grosses Buttes, got a glimpse of them going off at full gallop. Supposing them to be the Indians he sought, he drove on after them; but finding he gained but little on them, fired a shot to stop them. This made the thieves look back; and, seeing themselves pursued, they redoubled their pace. Martelle thought it strange, and, on examining the track, soon discovered it was a party of horse-thieves. This put him in such a fright that he returned at full speed to give the information. This evening we had a dance at my house, in spite of the horse-thieves and other bad news. Montour declined to go to the South Branch.

*Sunday, Feb. 11th.* Men searching for their horses. La Pierre and Croite are the greatest sufferers in this affair. *12th.* Sent the North West winter packet to the South Branch by a Saulteur and an Ottawa, who go along the strong woods to avoid seeing any Indians. They were the only two men in the fort who would undertake this dangerous journey. *13th.* I started Cardinal and two men for Isle à la Crosse with letters for the English River department, and for some powder and balls, if any could be spared. I sent Jerome off *en derouine* to Mistanbois. Mr. Hughes and myself determined to abandon both Fort Vermillion and Fort Augustus, and to build at Terre Blanche [mouth of White

Co. Dec. 18th, continued E. Dec. 19th, reached N. W. Co. house, near exit of Little Slave r., and stayed till Dec. 22d with Mr. John McGillivray, Mr. McIntosh, and Jarvis; whence it would appear that this was the principal N. W. Co. house, and Blondin's an outpost at the other end of the lake. Thompson wrote to Messrs. Wm. and Duncan McGillivray, McTavish, Hughes, McGillis, and [Robert] Henry; also, to Decoigne and Sandy Flett, for porcupine quills, no doubt to adorn his young wife. He started home Dec. 23d, with Giaoux, Verte-feuille, Boudrie, and La Plante, and arrived safely Dec. 29th ("thank God!").

Earth river]. The latter, being a more central place, will answer the same purpose as the two present establishments and save the expense of one of them; it will also draw all the Slaves to trade at one place, where we can better defend ourselves from their insults. We can occasionally make outposts above for the Swampy Ground Assiniboines and some of the Crees. Buffalo Dung lake<sup>8</sup> might answer for our Strong Wood Crees; for as many of these as might be unwilling to go above could be fitted out from Big Fish lake or its environs, and not allowed to come to Terre Blanche. As for the Crees of the plains below, we wish to have nothing to do with them here; they can always go below, and, if they are inclined to hunt, our establishment at the Montée, where we propose to build this summer, can make a small outpost for them somewhere about Birch lake. By this means we hope to divide the Slaves from the Crees; if it succeeds, it may save us a great deal of trouble and anxiety.

*Feb. 14th.* I set off early with my neighbor and Mr. Hughes and his party, to go up to Terre Blanche to examine the ground, though I must confess this is not the proper season to choose a spot for building. At three o'clock we arrived at the tent where I had a party sawing boards and planks for building boats—a pleasant ride thus far with horse sleds. *15th.* We set off early with dog sleds. At ten o'clock we passed the Indian house, where we stopped to breakfast, and at four camped at the E. end of the flat bottom of Egg lake to wait for my neighbor, who did not arrive until dark. We passed but one island after leaving the old Island house [note <sup>3</sup>, p. 562], situated in a bend on the S. side of the river, above and below which we found rough ice continuously, owing, I presume, to the rapidity of the current. *16th.* At 3 a. m. we were on our march; passed the long flat bottom, then an island on the N. side, and soon another island in a bend on the S.,

<sup>8</sup> Present name of the lake, 50-60 m. W. of Edmonton, discharging by Lobstick r. into Pembina r., W. of which it lies. It is also called Lobstick l., Dirt l., and Chip l.—the latter name being short for Buffalo-chip and Bois de Vache.

See (—)  
 in above  
 Early Fur Trading  
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where we passed the entrance of Rivière des Cate [qu: R. des Selles, present Saddle river?]. Stopped to breakfast at the Rapide Croche, where we again found a quantity of ice, which appeared to have been thrown up by the current. Passed two more islands, and at 3 p. m. arrived at the entrance of Rivière à la Terre Blanche, where we camped in a pine hummock on the edge of the river, and spent the rest of the day looking about for a convenient spot to build. We pitched upon a place, but I did not like it, the situation being too much confined and surrounded by a swamp. Firewood also appears to be very scarce; but pine for building is plenty, and may be the inducement to build on this spot. The Saskatchewan, from Vermillion river to this place, looks different from what it does below; the view is more restricted, and the mostly wooded banks seem dreary. The channel appears free from sand-banks and willow islands, but the bed of the river is encumbered by large stones in many places, where the water must be shallow except during the usual inundation on the melting of the snow on the Rocky mountains, which reaches this far about June.

*Feb. 17th.* At 2 a. m. Mr. Hughes and his party set off for Fort Augustus, my neighbor and our party to return. We had a beaten track on which our dogs went full speed. We saw many buffalo at Basfond du Lac des Œufs<sup>9</sup> on the N. side. At two o'clock we camped to wait for my neighbor, who was far behind and had not been seen for some time. At sunset he arrived. *18th.* At 3 a. m. we set out; fine weather and a good hard track. As morning approached the cold increased, and at sunrise it was very severe. We stopped at the old Island house to breakfast, and at noon reached my boat-builders' tent, where I waited the rest of the day for my neighbor, whose dogs were wretched. I

<sup>9</sup> *Basfond* is hardly a geographical name, being applicable to any piece of low land along a river or about a lake; it is used here in the same sense as we use *bottom*. Henry means the same bottom land about Egg 1. which has been mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Feb. 15th.

found here La Faux, a Cree, who had just killed two fallow deer, one of them tolerably fat. My four men were busy sawing boards and planks and raising ribs for the boats. *19th.* At sunrise we set off. Saw some Indian tents at Moose creek, but did not stop; they appeared to be on their way to the fort, which was not in the least agreeable to me. At noon we reached home, but it was 3 p. m. before my neighbor came in.

*Feb. 20th.* Jérôme and Rocque cutting out pemmican bags. The small band of Assiniboines who are living with the Blackfeet—Birch and his relations, who committed murder among their own people last fall—arrived this afternoon. Some Crees also came in; they were seven tents from the strong woods—old Thunder and his relations, who have made a good hunt. I settled with them and gave them rum. They informed us of a plan that was meditated among the Indians below, to deprive us of all our horses and then attack the fort. In the spring they intend to assemble somewhere about the Elbow and cut off people passing down the river. Tobacco has been circulated all over the country to collect the Crees and Assiniboines below at some particular point. *21st.* Young Assiniboines arrived from the Gens du Bois Fort and Gens de la Grande Rivière—the latter to steal horses, and the former sent by old Star to inform against them. Being discovered by Birch, both parties ran off before we got any satisfactory information. I prevailed upon the Crees to decamp, as we daily expected a band of Blackfeet. I questioned Le Bœuf regarding the information we had received; he tells the same story, and says it was old Bertrand who sent them for tobacco, telling them the Indians were wanted below to join a war party—against whom was not fully explained; some supposed the whites, and others the Slaves. The whole affair seems to be a profound secret, which the Crees have been expressly told not to divulge.

*Feb. 22d.* Parenteau returned from putting horses en cache at old Fort de l'Isle. Messrs. Hallett and Longmore

quarreled; the latter attempted to stab the former with a fork. *23d.* The Crees had eight horses stolen during the night, within 30 paces of their tents. They dare not pursue the thieves, whom they suppose to be only six men, while they are 18 men, all well armed; this is a proof of their cowardice. *24th.* Crees troublesome for liquor. I wished to prevent them from going below to the pounds, and induce them to return to the strong woods. I advanced them some liquor and ammunition on condition they would do so. *25th.* The Crees decamped toward Grosses Buttes. North Wind's son arrived, saying he had been sent for tobacco from Indians at Lac du Brochet [Pike lake]; we suspect him to be a thief, but he stoutly denies it. I gave him a fathom of tobacco for my Indians below, and sent him off. Horse-thieves' tracks are seen in almost every direction, all on snowshoes. *26th.* Painted Feather's band, including 33 principal men, arrived; there are no young men with them, for these have all been to war since the middle of last month toward the Rocky mountains, in search of the Snake Indians, and are expected to return soon. Gave them liquor; they were quiet during the boisson, and informed us of a great deal of bad talk they had heard among the Assiniboines concerning the whites. They say that a few days ago they saw a party of 36 Assiniboines who had stolen many horses from above, and were then on their way below; that there were too many horses to count, among them seven handsome piebalds; and further, that three days ago another band of 20 Assiniboines, armed with guns, had slept at their tents on their way up to Fort Augustus to steal horses; that during the night six of this party stole 74 horses belonging to the Blackfeet and went below. Two Assiniboines accompanied four Blackfeet in pursuit of them, while the remaining 18 Assiniboines went up to Fort Augustus to steal all the horses they could find. This evening late the four Blackfeet who had pursued the horse-thieves returned, not having been able to overtake them. The two Assiniboines who went with them appeared

inclined to murder them, but dared not attempt it. 28th. Two H. B. men arrived from Fort Augustus with news that 65 horses had been stolen by the Assiniboines. Cardinal, Martelle, and Clément arrived from Green lake, not having had occasion to go to Isle à la Crosse, as Mr. McDonald had forwarded to Green lake all the ammunition he could spare us—one bag of balls.

My people had a narrow escape this morning from being murdered by a party of 16 thieves who met them at Plante's river. They said the thieves had been watching for several days near the fort, and had been up as far as Moose creek, but could find no horses; also, that they had watched two days near the fort, to shoot me, as they really wanted my scalp; but that, having been disappointed about both my scalp and my horses, they must absolutely have Clément's scalp. The thieves had also said that they knew Cardinal and Martelle, and would do them no harm, further than taking some trifling articles from them, such as their tobacco, belts, knives, and two new guns which belonged to me. Our people gave them to understand that they had come from some Indian's tents en derouine, having their sleds loaded with skins and furs, which Cardinal got from the freemen on the road; at which the thieves said they would take the furs, were these not too heavy to carry on their backs. If our men had been loaded with dry goods, we should have lost everything; and fortunately the thieves did not see the bag of balls which lay under a bundle of skins. Cardinal, who is a most loquacious person, was exercised to the utmost of his ability, and by his fluency of speech saved the life of Clément from these scoundrels. They were so bent on mischief that, after they had let our men go, and Cardinal had proceeded a few paces, they came up to him and offered to return the guns and other articles they had taken, if he would drive on ahead and leave Clément behind, for they absolutely must have his scalp. Here Cardinal was put to his wits' end; however, he pulled out a pistol he

had concealed and gave it to one of the Crees, who seemed to be the most decent one of the lot, begging this fellow to do him charity, and allow his comrade to live also. This had the desired effect; the Cree instantly placed himself between our people and the Indians, telling Cardinal to drive on and fear nothing. The thieves consisted of 13 Crees and three Assiniboines. They cut the lashings of the sleds to see if it were really furs that my people had, took their snowshoes from them, and gave them two stumps of old guns in lieu of my two new ones, telling Cardinal at the same time that one of the old ones had been loaded to shoot me on sight.

*Thursday, March 1st.* We held a council with the Blackfeet concerning our horses. I offered them four kegs of Indian rum and one roll of tobacco if they would go for the horses peaceably, but they did not relish the proposal. However, before they set off they returned us some of the tobacco, informing us that they had been agitating for some time a plan to be revenged upon the horse-thieves, and that as soon as the snow was gone and their young men returned from war, the Indians below would feel the weight of their anger. They had already heard of the war-party that was forming against them, and were determined to be beforehand with their enemies; for which purpose they had some time ago sent tobacco about to invite the other tribes of Slaves to assemble on Red Deer river, whence they would all in a body go below and find out the Assiniboines and Crees. If the latter should be then inclined to peace, and would return all their and our horses, very well; if otherwise, they would act accordingly. At all events, we might expect to see our horses. This afternoon the remainder of the Blackfeet went off. I sent Mr. Small up to Fort George to desire the men to prepare for Terre Blanche. We had an alarm during the night, supposed to be horse-thieves lurking about the fort; but could see none.

*Mar. 2d.* Settled men for Terre Blanche. Engaged Croite and La Pierre, but had some trouble with Martelle



and others. Mr. Small returned. *3d.* Started 14 men with Mr. Small for Terre Blanche. Some H. B. men also went off. The Saulteur and Ottawa arrived from South Branch. They had heard the same news in circulation there that we had here, and further, that the Crees threatened to destroy the fort below also. My people avoided all the Cree camps and performed their journey along the strong woods.

*Sunday, Mar. 4th.* Another party off for Terre Blanche with horse sleds loaded with meat and baggage. Crevier and Perrin came in, having finished sawing wood for the four bateaux. La Faux also came with them. *5th.* Crevier and Perrin off to Terre Blanche with their families, to saw wood; they take heavy loads of fresh meat. Sent the fool<sup>10</sup> along with them. *6th.* Put tongues to thaw, and perused Gass' Journal Across the Rocky Mountains.<sup>11</sup> *8th.* Desnoyers arrived with his family; I engaged him for the summer to work at Terre Blanche. Beaugard<sup>12</sup> arrived from Cold lake with a few furs. *9th.* Desnoyers set off. *10th.* Mr. Small, Cardinal, and Rocque returned from Terre Blanche. Three men arrived from Fort Augustus, where our people had fought a running battle with the Assiniboine horse-thieves, at the cross woods, in which one of our horses was wounded in the thigh by a ball, and the thieves escaped with a great fright, but with no horses. Beaugard stole a blanket 2½ feet square from me, on setting off. *11th.* Bellegarde, Patenaude,<sup>13</sup> and La Plante came for supplies for the summer. A Cree, La Chenille, arrived from below, who confirmed the intelligence we had received concerning the malicious intentions of the Indians toward

<sup>10</sup> The "fool" is not capitalized in copy, but is very likely the English name of the individual who has hitherto been called La Faux. If so, the latter term should be Le Fou.

<sup>11</sup> Sergeant Patrick Gass' Journal of Lewis and Clark's Expedition, orig. ed., Pittsburgh, 1807.

<sup>12</sup> One Beaugard is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.

<sup>13</sup> Michel Patenaude appears as voyageur contre-maître N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.

us. *12th.* Desrosiers<sup>14</sup> and Sansregret<sup>15</sup> arrived from the South Branch with a packet from the E., containing intelligence of the death at Eagle lake of Mr. Aneas McDonnell,<sup>16</sup> who was murdered by one of the H. B. men. These two men, in coming up river, had seen the camp of vagabond Crees at the Elbow, but avoided them by making a circuit during the night. We understand that all our horses were stolen from Fort Vermillion by this very band while they were tented at Lac de la Graine Rouge [Red Berry lake], and that the Fort Augustus horses were stolen by the Assiniboines at Bois de l'Original [Moose woods], where they are all assembled and preparing for war. The Crees below threaten our people, and say they will destroy both houses—that is, ours and the H. B. Co.'s.

*Mar. 13th.* Fort Augustus men set off with six pieces. *16th.* Denomer<sup>17</sup> and Sansregret set off for the South Branch. *17th.* H. B. men off with 10 horse sleds loaded with baggage for the Terre Blanche. J. Durand's wife ill of an abortion. The wife of François Deschamps, Jr., was delivered of a boy, and an hour afterward was running about the fort. How happy it is for the Indian women that childbirth has so little effect upon them!

*Sunday, Mar. 25th.* According to our calculation this is Easter. Weather clear and cold; no sign of spring; the snow dry even on the very top of the banks, where it lies in

<sup>14</sup> François Desrosiers is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804.—One Deserciers, as I make out the word in Thompson's handwriting, but very likely Derosiers, of the N. W. Co., went with Thompson from Boggy Hall into the Rocky mts. late in 1810.

<sup>15</sup> One Sansregret of the N. W. Co. was at the Pine fort on the Assiniboine in 1793.—Jean Baptiste Sansregret is listed as guide N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.

<sup>16</sup> Or Æneas McDonnell, clerk N. W. Co. The man who killed him was one Mowat, clerk H. B. Co. The men were serving in the Nepigon district at the time: see note<sup>1</sup>, p. 202.

<sup>17</sup> So copy, very plainly; but he is the man whose name is written Desrosiers, on the 12th inst. I find nobody named Denomer elsewhere; but Joseph Denommé is listed as voyageur N. W. Co. on Lower Red r., 1804, and P. Denommé as interpreter N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.

piles, and not a speck of ground is to be seen in any direction. *30th.* Red Eagle, a Cree, whom we have not seen since last December, arrived; he has wintered with only his wife and children, and has made an extraordinarily good hunt. It is uncommon for a Cree family to stay so long alone in the strong woods. *31st.* Red Eagle is troublesome through the counsels of my neighbor, who is prone to instill extravagant ideas into the Indians by his insinuating and trifling manners, and given to slander.

*Sunday, Apr. 1st.* Snow last night, and every appearance of the depth of winter. Parisien's son arrived en baggage; he is a young man who was abandoned among the Crees in infancy. He brought but few skins, and informed us that the Crees were assembling below for war, but upon whom is a secret. *2d.* H. B. men making up their pemmican within doors. A Cree arrived from old Thunder's camp on La Plante's river: he confirmed the news of the Assiniboines and Crees assembling at the Eagle hills for war. *10th.* Began to melt our dépouilles. Saw two swans. *11th.* Saw two outardes. Began to pack pemmican; made 42 bags, and melted dépouilles again. Thibault making wedges, bars, and nooses for the press; Lajeunesse, large kegs; and Carrière, nails. Saw nine swans; killed an outarde. *12th.* The terrible weather has prevented us from making pemmican; the grease instantly gets cold, and does not penetrate and mix properly with the beat meat. I began to fold up my beaver skins and put them in order for packing. *13th.* Made pemmican in the house—46 bags. *14th.* Made pemmican again—88 bags.

*Sunday, Apr. 15th.* Clear and cold; wind S. W., which I hope denotes mild weather, as usual at this season. Little Buffalo, a Cree, arrived from Beaver river for ammunition. He says the snow is still perfectly dry in the woods, and up to the waist; they chase moose with dogs, and easily kill them. Mr. Rocque and others went hunting, for diversion, and killed two cows, but not a calf was to be seen. *16th.* First mild weather. We put out beat meat to dry on the

houses. Finished folding beaver skins. *17th*. Saw five canards de France [wild ducks]. Made up 19 bags of pemmican with cherries; folded parchments. *18th*. One of my mares died. She was lying down; the snow melting under her rolled her back in a hollow with her legs upward, so that she could not recover herself. This frequently happens when the snow is deep. Another mare was bitten in the nose by a mad wolf and died the day after, foaming at the mouth and running about distracted. H. B. men arrived from Fort Augustus with letters, and others from Terre Blanche with horses. We made up the rest of our pemmican to-day—97 bags; in all 292 bags. Mr. Rocque out hunting on the S. side, where he saw numerous buffalo and had a narrow escape from being killed by a wounded bull. His capot was torn, and a large dog standing by him was torn almost in two by the bull's horns, being thus killed instantly. This saved Mr. Rocque, as it gave him time to recover himself and fire, bringing the bull down. He saw upward of 60 dead buffalo; at this season many are so weak that if they lie down they cannot rise.

*Apr. 19th*. We began to make our packs, erect our press, and fill the kegs with grease; 84 kegs were filled and 12 packs made. Berger<sup>18</sup> arrived from Terre Blanche with Parisien's son. *20th*. Making packs again, and women smoking dressed skins; 63 finished. We made up 22 packs. Fifteen Crees arrived from the Horse hills. Beaver Hill Crees were on discoveries, and many reports circulating to the prejudice of Mr. Hughes and myself, supposed to be due to my neighbor's art of detraction, to which I am sorry to find him much addicted. *21st*. Berger off with letters to Mr. Hughes. Three men off to make boats at Fort George; they go with loaded horse trains on the ice. We have spring weather and see a few ducks. Made 25 packs and pressed 24 of them. Total packs completed, 59.

<sup>18</sup> A man from Fort Augustus, not one of Henry's list. One Berger of the N. W. Co. was at the Rocky Mt. house in Nov. 1806.—Joseph Berger appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804.

*Sunday, Apr. 22d.* Crees off to steal horses from the Blackfeet, which did not come to our knowledge until they were away, and one returned to inform us. Three only went back to their camp with the tobacco I sent to their principal men. This is a daring, rascally enterprise of the Crees, and will undoubtedly make war between them and the Slaves if they succeed in stealing horses. I forwarded the tobacco that was sent here from the Piegans to Beaver hill by the Crees—those very scoundrels who are now gone to commit depredations upon people who are holding out the olive branch to them. Three more Crees arrived from below, saying they are also determined to kill Slaves if opportunity offers. We had a great commotion to-day between our houses and those of my neighbor, regarding the many stories in circulation to our prejudice, supposed to have originated there. *24th.* Water is pouring down Vermillion river in a roaring torrent which we hear from the fort; water also rising along the shore.

*Apr. 25th.* At nine o'clock we set off for Terre Blanche on horseback. Much snow still, only small spots on the hills uncovered, the valleys and bottoms having snowbanks that supported the weight of our horses. At Moose river we overtook four Assiniboine horse-thieves. We threatened them with death if they were found again on the same errand. The conference lasted about three hours; they seemed thankful for our lenity, and made us every promise that fear could extort. We stopped for the night at my boat-builders' tent, near Fort George. *26th.* The hard frost detained us until nine o'clock, when we set off; found more snow than yesterday, and it was hard enough to bear our horses. Dog Rump river was flowing from bank to bank with a deep and rapid current. We lost four hours making a raft to cross; got over safely until the last trip, when the raft upset and five of our party plunged into the stream; but we hauled them ashore without any difficulty. Camped at Egg lake. *27th.* Arrived at Fish lake. *28th.* At five o'clock we arrived at our new establishment

on the Terre Blanche. Mr. Hughes got here yesterday evening, having come down from Fort Augustus on the S. side of the Saskatchewan. Our work here has gone on well, considering the backward and stormy spring, and no person to direct our men.

*Sunday, Apr. 29th.* We settled upon the plan for the fort, and made other arrangements with Mr. Hughes for the season. I divided my people and allotted to every man his work until some of us should come again.

*Apr. 30th.* I set off on my return, and Mr. Hughes left for Fort Augustus. We crossed the Terre Blanche on horseback upon the ice. Met two Indian families going to camp at Terre Blanche for some time, to join a smoking-match to be given by a Cree. They will then go to war upon the Snares, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, about due W. These are defenseless Indians, who know not the use of firearms, have only bows and arrows, and are scattered in small camps of three and four tents—an easy prey to the Crees. But their country is so nearly destitute of animals that the Crees suffer from famine when they go to war upon those people, and are frequently obliged to return before they can fall upon them. This evening we camped at the Beaver dam.

*May 1st.* I found six inches of snow upon us, and the storm continued; however, we set off, and camped between Fish and Egg lakes in a delightful elevated situation, surrounded by small lakes covered with wild fowl. *2d.* Rafted across Dog Rump river. Stopped for the night at the tent of my boat-builders. The ice in the Saskatchewan moved this day, and frogs began to croak. *3d.* Ice drifting in the Saskatchewan, and water very high in Moose river, the ice being choked up below. We crossed Moose river and Frog creek on the ice. Snowbanks are still numerous, obliging us to make long circuits to avoid them; some support our horses, while in others they sink up to the belly. At three o'clock we arrived at Fort Vermillion and found that a small party of Crees had been in

from below. They had paid part of their debts, but had cheated us very much. Crees from below cannot be trusted with debts; that country is so destitute of animals of the fur kind that it makes the best Cree hunters rogues and cheats.<sup>19</sup>

*May 4th.* This afternoon Tabeau arrived with some Assiniboines—old Smoke and others—who came to see what kind of a reception they would meet with from us after the many tricks their countrymen played on us during the winter in stealing our horses. I held a long conference with them. They sternly denied that any of the Gens de Pied were concerned in those thefts, saying it was the Gens du Bois Fort, the Saskatchewan Assiniboines, and also the Cree Assiniboines. Those thieves caused serious quarrels among the different tribes; many desired to bring back our horses, while others were determined to keep them. The principal rogues, we understood, were Moose Dung, Wooden Ears, and Belly Fat; Tourbillon and Bœuf Blanc were also among the most audacious. A division took place in consequence of their differences; the Gens de Pied, of 30 tents, decamped upward, and were joined by ten tents of the Gens du Bois Fort, who were not concerned in those thefts, forming a camp of 40 tents. These are now about a day's journey hence, near Battle river, where they propose to summer, and offer to be entirely at our service. The rest of the Gens du Bois Fort, and the other tribes below, will assemble at the Eagle hills to form a war-party against the Gens de Corbeau [Crows]. All our Crees are crossing the Saskatchewan to join them at the appointed place. I am informed of a black plot on the South Branch to murder Mr. Decoigne and our people there. Mr. D. beat a Cree Assiniboine last fall, and the fellow is bent on revenge.

<sup>19</sup> This seems to be a *non sequitur*; but Henry's meaning is that the best Cree hunters cannot pay their debts to him because their country is so destitute of fur-bearing animals that they cannot make the proceeds of the hunt meet his advances; therefore are they rogues and cheats. Very likely they are such, but not necessarily for that reason: see Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 274-277.

*May 5th.* Gummed the canoes and packed everything for Terre Blanche, the goods to remain there and the canoes to proceed to Fort Augustus, where they are to be renewed. *8th.* Ice still drifting and water falling very fast—four feet perpendicular since yesterday morning. I sent express to Mr. Bird on the South Branch, and started three canoes to Fort Augustus to be renewed, loading them with property and baggage for Terre Blanche. A boat arrived from Fort Augustus with bark for the H. B. Co., whose canoes are all made here. *10th.* River now clear of ice, excepting the banks, which are still covered with huge piles, tumbling into the water and drifting down. We are informed by way of Fort Augustus, where old Painted Feather has been with a party of Blackfeet, that their young men have returned from war victorious, having killed a number of Flat Heads, brought a good many scalps, and about 200 horses. At 8 p. m. one H. B. boat sailed for Terre Blanche with Mr. Hallett and family on board.

Green grass begins to appear, but large patches of snow still lie in every valley. The plains are covered in some places with the blue flowers that first sprout in the spring, and are now full blown; the stalk is one to three inches long, covered with a soft, mossy coat. Since the ice began to move in the Saskatchewan the thick, muddy water has swarmed with a brown insect, about the size of a bedbug, with two long legs on either side; while the ice was drifting they resorted to the beach, which was covered with them for three days. They have again taken to the water, which seems almost alive with them.

*May 15th.* Vallé<sup>20</sup> and his stepson arrived on foot from the South Branch, seven days on the journey; saw no Indians. Our people there are making two trips to the

<sup>20</sup> "Old Vallé" and "Vallé's son" are named by Thompson at the house on Athabaskan headwaters near the Continental Divide, May 12th, 1812; the young man was sent over the mountains.—Augustin Vallé is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Louis Vallé appears as guide N. W. Co., Red Lake Dept., 1804.—The surname is the same as Levallé, noted elsewhere.



mouth of the branch, and will leave on the 22d inst. Assiniboines quarreling and committing murder among themselves; one stabbed in the shoulder. The tops of the poplars begin to appear green, with fresh buds; the hills are changing their hue from a dry straw color to a delightful verdure, and fragrant odors greet us.

*May 18th.* Mr. House arrived from Terre Blanche in the boat Mr. Hallett went up in. Mr. Longmore embarked with his family, determined to leave the country and retire to enjoy the fruits of his labors; he is now worth about £1,800, after nearly 40 years' service in the H. B. Co.

*Sunday, May 20th.* One H. B. boat, loaded with boards, set off for the Terre Blanche, and soon after a mounted Indian express arrived, four days from the South Branch. He left us on the 9th inst. *21st.* We have excellent sport daily in shooting ducks in a small pond near the fort. Jérôme and the lads supply us with fish, such as lacaishe,\* doré, and catfish. At the moment I was writing the above line my servant came in to inform me that Indians had gone off with our horses, which were feeding on the hill behind the fort. We all ran up the hill, but too late; they had left only the hopples, which we found cut to pieces. La Pierre's woman had seen them from the waterside; when they first appeared they were ten men, and had some trouble to catch Mr. Small's pied horse. But before she could reach the fort to give the alarm they were mounted, two on each horse, and took away every one we had—Mr. Small's pied, one belonging to Joseph Park, one to Mr. Longmore's belle-sœur, one from the H. B. Co., and two from the Pacquin. The latter was just packing to set off. *22d.* Numerous flocks of white [*Chen hyperboreus*] and gray geese passed from S. to N. Made up 27 bags of pemmican. *23d.* Made up 9 packs. We are continually alarmed, as we believe we hear the report of guns, and at night the dogs are restless and noisy, as if strangers were near the fort. We and the H. B. people have heard knocking at the gates during the night, but could see nothing. Our people

are much agitated, and apprehend danger from the Assiniboines. Stories are not wanting to augment their fears. The freemen at the H. B. house are too much terrified to set off, dreading to fall in with thieves. Mosquitoes begin to be troublesome. *24th.* My people arrived with the four new bateaux, not quite finished for want of nails; 3,600 were not sufficient for four boats 40 feet long; they require at least 400 more. *25th.* Men finishing boats, others pressing packs. Two Indians arrived on horseback from Terre Blanche, whence a bateau also arrived with gum. *26th.* The H. B. people arrived from Beaver river, where they had carried pemmican for the English river people, who came up from Isle à la Crosse in one boat. I received a letter from Mr. McDonald of May 7th at Isle à la Crosse. Packs—80 from Isle à la Crosse, Lac à la Loche [Methy lake], and Green lake; 30 from Lac aux Cariboux [Caribou lake]; 110 from English river [the Missinipi].

*Sunday, May 27th.* Mr. Bird arrived with two boats and all hands from above. *28th.* H. B. people arrived from above with horses, two of which are intended to go down to York Factory on one of their boats. We were busy all day packing, and repairing canoes and boats; we got them all loaded and ready to embark. *29th.* At daybreak the canoes and boats set off. At eight o'clock the H. B. Co. embarked. At three o'clock Mr. Hughes embarked for Fort William, and in half an hour Cardinal and others arrived with horses from Terre Blanche. They came down on the S. side, having fallen in with two parties of Indians, who pursued them the first day. They had started down the N. side, but were obliged to turn back and cross. Who the Indians were we know not; but their behavior was hostile. *30th.* Busy all day packing baggage and conveying boards and planks to the waterside. Made a cache in one of the cellars of 24 bags of pemmican and 7 kegs of grease. Everything ready for our departure. We felt anxious about our horses, and kept a strict watch. The women gave an alarm to-day, saying they had seen a man on horseback.

All dread passing up to Terre Blanche, and many consultations are held upon the subject by both houses.

*May 31st.* At sunrise Cardinal and a boy, Tom, set off for Beaver river to meet the Lesser Slave lake canoes, in hopes of getting a few pieces from them. They took four horses for that purpose. At 9 a. m. I sent off my boat, in company with the H. B. boat; water very high, making it slow and tedious for the men—mine with the pole, the H. B. men with the line. At ten, we all mounted and abandoned Fort Vermillion, leaving our icehouse open, containing about 400 limbs of buffalo, still frozen.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE NEW WHITE EARTH HOUSE: 1810.

**W**E formed a cavalcade of 44 horses, 60 dogs, 12 men, 6 women, and 1 blind man. We made frequent stops to rest our lean, weak horses. One of our dogs that had remained behind overtook us, with a fresh wound in his side, apparently from an arrow. This alarm caused me to send people back in search of the boats, lest any accident might have happened. We stopped near Fort George and kept watch during the night.

*Friday, June 1st.* Early a Saulteur and a freeman joined us from Red Deer lake on their way to Fort Vermillion. We lent them horses to follow us. A Nepisangue [Nipissing] was also with them, carrying his canoe to the Saskatchewan, en route to Montreal. At ten my people joined us; they had slept all safe with the boats at Rivière du Milieu [Middle creek]. We then continued our journey. Two freemen left us at Dog Rump river to go for their things at Red Deer lake. At Egg lake we camped; horses knocked up. *2d.* At Fish lake we found the bushes covered with blossoms. Camped at the end of the highlands.

*Sunday, June 3d.* At 6 a. m. we set off. The freeman and Saulteur joined us. At noon we reached Terre Blanche and found the place destitute of fresh meat. Pemmican is the only thing we have, and of that but 38 bags, for the following families:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Most of the names in this list have occurred in the former one and been accounted for, p. 553 *seq.*; besides which, I note the following:

1. Mr. John Rowand, son of Dr. Rowand of Montreal, entered the N. W. Co. as clerk about 1800; he is listed as such in 1804, and accredited to the usual "Fort des Prairies," *i. e.*, on upper Saskatchewan. Thompson found him at Fort Augustus with 3 men, June 27th, 1808, and speaks of his house on Pembina

	TENTS.	MEN.	WOMEN.	CHILDREN.
A. Henry.....	I	I	I	3
Hamel.....	I	I	..	..
Mr. Rowand } .....		I	2	6
Mr. Montour } .....	I	I	..	..
Mr. Small and son } .....		2	3	4
Dupuis and Most } .....	I	2	..	..
Valle's wife and Bethune's wife	I	..	2	4
Cardinal.....	I	I	2	4
Faille and Pichette.....	I	2	3	7
Saulteurs.....	I	2	3	5
Jérôme and La Pierre.....	I	2	I	5
Joseph Lussier.....	I	2	2	2
Dumont.....	I	2	2	7
Croite and Desnoyers.....	I	2	3	3
François Lussier.....	I	I	2	6
Guilliou.....	I	I	5	8
Nadeau.....	I	I	2	3
François Deschamps [and two sons].....	I	3	I	2
Parenteau.....	I	I	I	3
	17	28	35	72

N. W. men, women, and children, . . . . . 135  
 H. B. people, . . . . . 85  
 Total, . . . . . 220

Workingmen—Pichette, Guilliou, Deschamps, Dumont, Dupuis, Croite, Faille, La Pierre, Desnoyers, Nadeau, F. Lussier, J. Lussier, Hamel—13.

r. (br. of Athabasca r.), May 12th, 1812. Mr. Rowand was the father of Dr. Rowand of Quebec, who was born at Fort Augustus (Edmonton), sent to Lachine to be educated, graduated at Edinburgh, was in London and Paris, was attached to Sir Geo. Simpson's expedition of 1841-42, settled at Quebec in 1847, and died Feb., 1889. The name is often Rowan.

2. B. Dupuis is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; probably the above.—Charles Dupuis is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Kaministiquia, 1804.—François Dupuis is listed as the same, Lake Winnipeg, 1804.—Louis Dupuis is listed as interpreter N. W. Co., Nepigon district, 1804.

3. "Most" I can make nothing of; name probably wrong.

4. Denis Nadeau is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; probably the above.—One Nadeau, "an old Canadian hunter," was found on Beaver r. by Franchère in June, 1814.—Joseph Nadeau, an Astorian, on ship Tonquin from New York, Sept. 6th, 1810, was drowned on entering the Columbia, Mar. 22d, 1811.

Mr. Rowand may have brought Dupuis, "Most," and Nadeau from Fort

*June 4th.* Men at work covering the S. W. bastion.  
*6th.* Cardinal and Tom arrived with Nadeau from Beaver river. Mr. McG.<sup>2</sup> had passed three days before, and left nothing there for us. *7th.* The bastion being finished, we put our property under lock and key. Men began to make the separation between us and the H. B. Co. by erecting a range of stockades; others covered the house, and others worked at the E. wing. Vallé arrived with bark for the Columbia canoes, but brought only 30 furs. I was visited by the old lady for liquor. *8th.* Doctor and lady off, after much trouble with them. Sent women for gum to daub the covering of the house, and men to collect stones for the chimneys. *9th.* Cardinal, Nadeau, and Tom set off for Isle à la Crosse, via Cold lake. The workingmen consume one bag of pemmican, of 90 pounds, per day. To the families we give but little pemmican, as they have dried provisions of their own. *11th.* Men began to cover the house, cut stockades, haul stones, and make a diable<sup>3</sup> to cart with. *13th.* Men off to raise bark to cover the small house. Vallé laid his first canoe; Jérôme and La Pierre assisted him. Mr. Small and Montour off to Parenteau's tent for horses. Old Guilliou repairing a water-tub. Many pigeons passing from S. to N.; the ground covered with blossoms of various fruits, as cherries of two kinds, poires, huckleberries, raspberries, strawberries, etc. One of my hens laid an egg; she was molested on leaving Fort Vermillion, when she had been sitting two days on 13 eggs. Some of our potatoes began to appear in the open field. *14th.* Le Borgne came in with a black she-bear and her two cubs. Men covered the small house and began the

Augustus. The figure "2" in several places may indicate some grown boy, rated neither as man, woman, or child; otherwise we can hardly account for 15 males as against 13 workingmen.

\* <sup>2</sup> Very probably John McGillivray, who passed several winters at Fort Dunvegan on Peace r., 1808 to 1813, and may easily have been on the Beaver River route in June, 1810; but this is mere conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> What we should call a "go-devil"—a rude sort of drag or sled for hauling logs and the like, in some places called a "tieboy."

chimneys. Mr. Small and Montour returned with horses. *15th.* I sent for white clay, of which there is plenty near a small lake about two miles from here. Set men sawing boards to finish covering the house. Great numbers of pigeons passing from S. to N. *16th.* Vallé took his first canoe off the bed. Men working at the little house. I sent Hamel to sow turnips and radishes in the woods. I shot a few pigeons in our barley field, as they pluck it up by the roots and devour it. Loon arrived with Jemmerck.

*Sunday, June 17th.* The people bring in ice to cool water; great masses still lie on the island near us. *18th.* Men finished the chimney, and others covered the house and made an inclosure for the fowls.

*June 19th.* H. B. men off in two canoes for the Columbia,<sup>4</sup> with nine men, including the two Pacquins. They embarked four rolls of tobacco, two kegs of high wine, powder, several bags of balls, a bag of shot, pemmican, etc. My two hunters, Soldier [Soldat] and Battelier [Batailleur], having got a fright above, set fire to the ground and fled below; I gave them liquor, and sent them off to drink in their tents, where they put up for the night. Parenteau arrived from his tent for ammunition, bringing 12 skins in sundries [*i. e.*, sundry articles to the value of 12 skins]. Men finished the separation between us and our neighbors; others gummed and chalked the boards covering the new house, and others laid the floor of the small house. Lussier finished hauling planks from the woods where they had been sawed—193 of 20 feet, and 104 of 12 feet. *20th.* Men calking and gumming; others finishing the small house; others digging the ground for turnips. Lussier hauling wood for the kitchen. Mr. House, Mr. John Parks, Willock [?], with four Cree guides and hunters, the youngest of the Pacquins, and a number of horses, off by land; the whole

<sup>4</sup> Thompson's journal, June 23d, 1810, when he was coming down river from the Columbia, and had got below old Fort Augustus, notes that he passed these two H. B. Co. canoes, "well arranged for the Columbia."

H. B. Co. Columbia expedition consists of 17 persons, including the four Indians. I shifted my quarters from my leather tent into my small house, which was finished. *21st.* I sent off five men in a boat to collect stones for our chimneys, the water being still low. Sowed turnips in the fort. Vallé completed two canoes as far as was necessary for the present. *22d.* Five men sent for stones; two gumming the house, and one arranging wood in the fort; Lussier, as usual, carting. Water rose about six inches this morning; mosquitoes very large and troublesome. *23d.* Lussier hauled stones up the hill, which the men had found in a quarry, of an excellent kind for chimneys, about a mile up the S. side of the river, only 100 yards from the water's edge, where any quantity may be had. Broken Knife, a Sarcee from Jolie Butte, arrived at the H. B. house; the main body of this nation are now tented at Lac du Diable.

At six o'clock<sup>5</sup> Mr. [David] Thompson arrived from the

<sup>5</sup> Thompson's journal of June 23d, 1810, states that he arrived at Henry's house at 7 p. m.—but that is a small matter. It is hard to say where his winter quarters were in 1809-10, he traveled so much in the mountains on Columbian headwaters, Clark's Fork, etc. He had already established several posts, and that winter built the Saleesh house, which 50 observations set in lat. 47° 34' 35" N., and 15 observations gave for long. 115° 22' 51" W. He reached the house on Pend d'Oreille l. 7.15 p. m. Apr. 21st. This was what he called the Kullyspel house, when he built it, in Sept., 1809, at lat. 48° 12' 14" N. Here he rested a day and on the 23d sent canoes off with what goods were wanted at his upper house. At this date he mentions Mr. Finan McDonald, Delcour, sr. and junior, Méthode, Crepaud, and others, including "old Beau Père" (his father-in-law). He set off himself next day, passed Skeetshoo r. Apr. 25th, and was thus trying a new route, which he found impracticable, abandoned, and "please Heaven" would go by "our old road." This took him up Kootenay r. (his McGillivray's and Flat Bow r.) to his McGillivray's portage, where the present canal is between Kootenay r. and the head of Upper Columbia l., on June 9th. He passed through this lake and Lower Columbia or Windermere l. next day, thus coming to the old Kootenay house he had built in July, 1807. Continuing down the Columbia he camped at Rapid (now Kicking Horse) r. at noon, June 14th. He rested a day, left Mr. McMillan, Méthode, Vandette, and others there in charge of packs, and came on with Boisverd, Crepeau, Roberge, Forcier, and the two Delcours, to the mouth of Blueberry cr. This important point in Thompson itineraries is "the west end



Columbia in a light canoe with three men [Boisverd, Mousseau, Forcier], and the Saulteur who went up with our people and the horses to the Rocky Mountain portage [Howse Pass of the Continental Divide] in April. Mr. Thompson left his winter quarters on the 19th of April; his canoes he left at the W. end of the portage in charge of Mr. McMullan, who was waiting for the horses to transport the packs. The snow was four feet deep on June 18th, when Mr. Thompson passed over. He was four days coming here from the forks. He met the H. B. canoes this morning about five leagues below old Fort Augustus.

*Sunday, June 24th.* Camarade à Soulier, a Cree, with his family, arrived from Upper Terre Blanche, but brought nothing. The children picked up a lock of horsehair tied to a piece of red cloth and feathers, drifting down the river, and four of them declared they saw a human arm tied to a log pass down the stream. I sent a boat in pursuit, but to no purpose; the current was too swift, and had carried it beyond reach. Dumont's woman arrived and declared she had seen a party of Indians concealed in the woods, who had built a fire and were drying their buffalo robes. All this made a great alarm. *25th.* Men squaring posts for

of the mountain portage" of which Henry speaks; the position is in the N. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Tp. 28, of R. xxii, W. of the 5th init. merid.; place now called Moberly in the same township. Here the voyageur leaves the Columbia to ascend Blueberry cr., and make the Howse pass, as it is now called, over the Continental Divide which Thompson discovered in June, 1807. Thompson made the Height of Land 4.15 p. m., June 18th; next day he met Bercier, Le Comblé, and Pembroke (a Saulteur), who were waiting with horses for him, and he continued down the Saskatchewan. He reached its "forks," of which Henry speaks, June 19th. These forks are not those of the N. Saskatchewan where Brazeau r. falls in, but the uppermost forking, at head of navigation, where a canoe awaited Thompson. The three men then with him, of whom Henry speaks, were Boisverd, Mousseau, and Forcier. By noon of June 20th, he was at Jaco's cr., and he camped a little below the old Rocky Mountain house that day; June 21st passed Baptiste's cr., Brazeau r. or the N. fork of the N. Saskatchewan, and "Swampy house": June 22d, old White Mud house and old Fort Augustus—and here he is June 23d, 1810, at Henry's new White Mud house, "thank God!" as his manuscript puts it.

the Indian house, Lussier dressing stones, Vallé arranging Mr. Thompson's canoes; Le Borgne gone to Parenteau's tent. *26th.* Men raising pine bark for covering; Croite unable to work, with a sore hand; Lussier hauling posts; Vallé arranging canoes; the Cree I hired to hunt for us decamped; water rising fast.

*June 28th.* Mr. Thompson embarked with his family for Montreal,<sup>6</sup> in a light canoe with five men and a Saulteur. Set women to split and dry meat, having more than we can eat. Men finished raising 1,150 pine bark pieces, of which 250 were raised some time ago. I quarreled with old Lussier. Vallé patched up a small canoe out of the carcass [hulk] of the old one Mr. Small brought down from the Rocky mountains. The water was so high as to prevent us from hauling stones. *29th.* Four Nepisangués arrived from Panbian and Athabasca rivers, bringing in about 50 beavers; they wish to go to the Columbia for beaver. Women drying meat; men working at the Indian house. Water continues to rise in the river. *30th.* J. Ward's boy arrived from his father's tent with the H. B. horse-keeper,

<sup>6</sup> Thompson here corroborates Henry, stating that he was at the house June 24th-27th, and left on the 28th; but it is highly improbable that he went to Montreal. Just this year is one of the few breaks in his record, for nothing can be found for the period between July 22d and Oct. 29th of 1810. At this latter date he was already back on the upper Saskatchewan, at Boggy Hall; therefore he must have made a flying trip indeed, if he went to Montreal and returned so soon. The record we have just followed is found in Bk. 22 of Vol. X., running Sept. 27th, 1809, to July 22d, 1810. To continue his journey from Henry's house: on July 3d, he passed "the forks of Bow r.," *i. e.*, confluence of N. and S. Saskatchewan; July 4th, 7 p. m., reached Cumberland House ("thank Heaven!") where he found Mr. William Henry in charge; July 9th, passed Grand Rapids into Lake Winnipeg; walked the portage "with my family"; July 13, Winnipeg house; "here I left my little family with her sister-in-law to the care of good Providence"; July 15th, started up Winnipeg r.; July 22d, Sunday, 8 a. m., reached Rainy Lake house, "thank God for a good voyage." Here the break occurs, as there is nothing more found; most likely he went no further, though he may have kept on to Kaministiquia. The next entry is in Bk. 25 of Vol. XI., Boggy Hall, Monday, Oct. 29th, 1810, when he was going to start into the mountains at headwaters of Athabasca r. See chap. xx, beyond; much about him there.

Andrew Spencer. They are tented on the Vermillion river. Deschamps came in with four animals. I have finished hauling home meat with the cart horses; my share for the summer is 30 animals. The people must now send horses to bring their share of five animals each. My yellow hen, that has not laid since last winter, laid an egg this morning and looks as if she would continue; if so, I shall have two eggs a day. Horse-flies and mosquitoes torment our horses dreadfully, and almost prevent them from feeding.

*Sunday, July 1st.* Piché and other lads came in from my hunter's tents on a visit. Piché had made the wife of one of my hunters desert, and she is lurking in the woods near the fort. *2d.* Men erecting the Indian house; others gumming; Lussier hauling stone. Piché off with his fair deserter. *3d.* Gumming the covering of the two-story house. Mr. Rowand off to Parenteau's tent with horses. Croite still laid up with a sore hand. Deschamps, Desnoyers, and my other hunters are all in one camp with the H. B. hunters—15 men go hunting daily, so that, unless they disperse, we shall soon starve. Moose and bulls are beginning to get in good order; the buck moose we received had fat about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick on the rump, and the bulls about one inch of dépouille. The doe moose and cows are wretchedly lean and will continue so until the latter end of the month.

*July 5th.* Early this morning Mr. McMillan arrived with the two canoes from the Columbia. Vallé began to repair one, and arrange the new canoe, putting the old wood of others into her. *6th.* Men working at the canoes; others emptying the packs and drying them; found but few wet. *7th.* Vallé finished the canoes and carried the packs down to the river, ready to embark. Joseph Desjarlaix's son, F. Martin, and a young Saulteur came from Lac la Biche for horses to bring their families here, en route to the Columbia. We gave debts to the Nepisangués, who are also going across the Rocky mountains.

*Sunday, July 8<sup>th</sup>.* At daybreak the two canoes<sup>7</sup> set off for the Columbia. The first contained: Delcour, ducent; Méthode, guide; Delcour and Roberge, middlemen; with 23 packs, and one case of Mr. Thompson's property. The second canoe had: Pierre Iroquois, ducent; Joseph Iroquois, guide; Crépaud and Vandette, middlemen; with 23 packs and one bundle of Mr. Thompson's books. The outfit of each canoe was: augers, one oilcloth, one-half a tent, one cod line, one sponge, one awl, one ax, one sail, and one-half a taureau of pemmican; also 40 balls and powder.

This afternoon I had a strong argument with my neighbor regarding some freemen from Lesser Slave Lake department. I had the satisfaction of convincing him of error, and settled matters according to my own ideas of business, etc. Letendre<sup>8</sup> and family arrived from the

<sup>7</sup> The crews of the canoes were Thompson's men, who came out of the mountains shortly after him. The two men named Delcour were Joseph and Jean Baptiste, father and son, noted in Thompson's MS. as senior and junior; both wintered in the mountains under him 1809-10, and the latter at least was on the Columbia with him in Sept., 1811. The name sometimes appears as Delcœur. Méthode is listed as François Méthot, voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804, and also found as Méthote. He wintered with Thompson in the mts. 1808-09, again 1809-10, and on Sept. 25th, 1811, was sent from Canoe 1. down the Columbia to meet Mr. McDonald. Roberge, first name unknown, wintered in the mts. with Thompson 1808-09 and 1809-10. Crépaud, who also appears as Crepaud, Crépau, and Crepeau, and perhaps would be preferably Crêpeaud, first name unknown, also wintered in the mts. with Thompson 1808-09 and 1809-10. Vandette or Vaudette appears in Thompson's journal at the same time, without full name; and we have no means of identifying him with the François Vendette who is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804. Pierre and Joseph were two Iroquois Indians in Thompson's service; he mentions them both.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Baptiste Letendre is listed as interpreter N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; and the same went with Thompson into the Rocky mts. from Boggy Hall late in 1810; he deserted at Canoe River camp on the Columbia, Jan. 26th, 1811, overcome with fear at the prospect before him—though how this was improved when he went off alone is hard to see.

In this connection I may note a name which, though not identifiable with Letendre, is nowhere else accounted for, and may be the same. It is Letang, Létang, Le Tang, Le Temps, or Le Tems.—One Le Tems or Le Temps is noted by Thompson Mar. 25th, 1798, as opposing J. B. Cadotte on Red Lake 1. at mouth of Clearwater r., and therefore no doubt of the X. Y. Co. The same

Beaver hills<sup>9</sup> on the S. side, bringing upward of 100 beaver skins; he had seen no Indians.

*July 9th.* At ten o'clock Mr. McMillan set off for the Columbia to watch the motions of the H. B. in that quarter. Bercier<sup>10</sup> and Le Borgne go to take care of the horses on the Kootenay plains<sup>11</sup> until the fall. Mr. Rowand, Gabriel, and Montour go to Upper Terre Blanche to settle with the freemen and see how F. Deneau<sup>12</sup> comes on. The Nepisangués set off with them for the Columbia. Men working at the Indian house; old Lussier and Croite laid up sick. Cardinal, Tom, and Nadeau arrived from Isle à

person arrived at Grand Portage, June 11th; was on Rainy l. July 22d, and at Winnipeg house July 31st, 1798.—One Letang is mentioned in Wm. Morrison's letter of 1856, as having come into present Minnesota before 1803; and Létang is named as a trader in Minnesota in F. V. Malhiot's Journal of 1804-05, Masson, I. 1889, p. 227 *seq.*

<sup>9</sup> The Beaver hills, still so called, are extensive irregular elevations S. W. of Henry's position. The main drainage is N. W. from the large Beaver Hill l., by Beaver or Beaver Hill cr., into the Saskatchewan a little below present Paint or Redwater cr.; but a number of lesser streams flow the same way in a series, such as Deep cr., Troy cr., Doctor's cr., Old Man's cr., etc. The hills include many small lakes, some of which are called Astotin, Cooking, Hastings, Roundish, Ministic, Atchanis, Joseph, Miquelon, Hay, Big Hay, Demay, and Bittern. "Beaver Hills" and "Lake" are conspicuous on Thompson's map.

<sup>10</sup> One Bercier, full name unknown, is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; probably the above. One Bercier or Bourcier, no doubt the same man, arrived at the Rocky Mt. house from over the mts. under Mr. Montour, Oct. 31st, 1806; was with Jules Maurice Quesnel (clerk N. W. Co., son of Joseph Quesnel and brother of Frédéric Auguste Quesnel) on a mt. tour Nov. 13th-19th, 1806; was with Finan McDonald in the mts. Feb. 9th, 1807; started with John McDonald for Fort Augustus, Feb. 19th, 1807; was with David Thompson among the Kootenays, May, 1807, to summer of 1810, and went with him into the mts. at headwaters of the Athabasca from Boggy Hall in Oct., 1810.—Alexis Bourcier is twice listed as voyageur N. W. Co. in 1804, Lake Winnipeg and Upper Red r.; the same name appears among those of witnesses in the Semple case at Toronto in Oct., 1818.—Antoine Bercier is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—Joseph Bercier, ditto.

<sup>11</sup> Not W. of the Rocky mts., but a small spot on the uppermost Saskatchewan of which we shall see more in due course.

<sup>12</sup> François Deneau, who is listed as interpreter N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; name also Denault.—Antoine Denault appears as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804.

la Crosse, with  $3\frac{1}{4}$  packs. They had seen the Athabasca loaded canoes there; Messrs. M. Thompson<sup>13</sup> and F. R. McDonnell<sup>14</sup> had set off on the 10th inst.; English River canoes on the 2d ult.; Lesser Slave Lake canoes, 9th ult. Freeman off with horses for the H. B. house to Beaver river.

*July 12th.* Men put the faitre [*faîte, faitage, or faitière*—ridge-piece] on the Indian house. A heavy fall of hail and rain, with thunder and lightning and a gale from the W. and N. W. The ground was almost covered with large hailstones, making sport for the children to pelt each other. It poured in torrents for some time, but cleared up, and we had a fine afternoon.

*July 13th.* Desjarlaix, Challifoux,<sup>15</sup> and others arrived at the H. B. house, and five young vagabonds from Lac la Biche came in to us, on their way, they said, to the Columbia, where they hoped to find beaver as numerous as blades of grass in the plains. The old Saulteur woman also came and camped; all these are additions to our already numerous families. I took much trouble in trying to make a division among those freemen, to prevent them from crossing the mountains, where they will be even a greater nuisance to us than they are here. *14th.* Troubled with those mon-

<sup>13</sup> No "Mr. M." Thompson found elsewhere: but compare a Mr. Thompson mentioned by Henry at Astoria, Nov. 30th, 1813, beyond. The person above said is no doubt Mr. John Thomson, whose name often appears with a *p*. He was a clerk N. W. Co., Athabasca Dept., 1798-99, and promoted in place of Mr. Livingstone, when the latter had been killed. In 1798, under James McKenzie, he built the fort on Peace r. at the mouth of Red r., which became known as Fort de la Rivière Rouge ou de Grand Marais. In 1800 he had a post on McKenzie r. in sight of the Rocky mts., one of several which shared the name of Rocky Mt. house; it was in ruins in 1805, having been abandoned before that year. John Thomson signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys. He was found by David Thompson at Cumberland House June 18th, 1812, and on Aug. 5th, 1812, left Fort William for his winter quarters.

<sup>14</sup> No "F. R." McDonnell or McDonell, nor any "F. R." McDonald, found among the many persons of these surnames. It is not Finian McDonald, for he is known to have been elsewhere at the time.

<sup>15</sup> One Jellifaux is named by Thompson as of the N. W. Co. at Rocky Mt. house, Apr., 1800.—Michel Chalifoux is listed as voyageur N. W. Upper Red r., 1804.

grel freemen and Indians all day. No dependence is to be placed upon them; they have neither principles, nor honor, nor honesty, nor a wish to do well; their aim is all folly, extravagance, and caprice; they make more mischief than the most savage Blackfeet in the plains.

*Sunday, July 15th.* Still pestered with those vagabonds all day, but prevailed upon some of them to give up the idea of the Columbia for this year. I wrote a few lines to Mr. Small and Mr. Gabriel,<sup>16</sup> to be sent by Cardinal, demanding two rolls tobacco, one keg powder, one keg high wine. Two of my hunters came in for rum; had much trouble to get them off. Beauregard returned from Fish lake;<sup>17</sup> could get no Indians to go with him for bark. He brought two excellent whitefish, weighing about eight lbs. each. That lake is famous for fish in abundance and of superior quality. La Boucane<sup>18</sup> arrived with an Indian, his hunter, from the Beaver hills, where he and Mariön [?] are working

<sup>16</sup> Probably not the Gabriel hitherto mentioned by Henry without any title.—One Gabriel of the N. W. Co. was at the Rocky Mt. house Nov. 6th, 1806.

<sup>17</sup> Which "Fish" lake Henry means is not clear—probably the one now called Whitefish l., about 25 m. N. E. of his post. Near this is another, now known as Good Fish l. These are two of a cluster of lakes on a tributary of Beaver r.: see note <sup>20</sup>, p. 573.

<sup>18</sup> "La Boucane" does not look quite right, and there is nobody of this name that I can find elsewhere. Nevertheless, the word, in exactly this form and of the feminine gender in grammar, is found in the phrase *Rivière à la Boucane*, name of Smoky r., a large branch of Athabasca r., near the headwaters of which was that Rocky Mt. house which was situated in lat. 53° 18' 40" N. and commonly called the Jasper house, from one Jasper Hawse, who was still in charge when Ross Cox's party passed, June 6th, 1817. *Boucané* appears in literary French as the participial adjective of *boucaner*, a verb which means primarily to smoke-dry meat, but is also used of hunting buffaloes or other animals for their hides or furs. The noun of agent from this verb is *le boucanier*, meaning simply chasseur or hunter, but by extension designating such a freebooter or pirate as we call buccaneer; and *la boucanière* is said in some sans gêne language of a woman fit to be a buccaneer's consort. *Boucanage* is the act or process of smoke-curing provisions. All these terms have been referred to a Caribbean word *boucan*, signifying the place where meat is so cured, but also used in vulgar French for a *bordel*, brothel, or stew. The alleged Caribbean etymon may be all right; but in view of the constant implication of "smoke" in these words one is tempted to suspect connection with F. and Sp. *volcan*, Ital. *vulcano*, Lat. *vul-*

the beaver. He saw plenty of buffalo on his way, now rutting and perpetually in motion. Toward sunset we had a terrible thunderstorm, with a deluge of rain for about two hours, setting all our tents knee-deep in water. *16th.* Cardinal set off for Lesser Slave lake with Joseph Desjarlaix's son; they go on horseback as far as Lac la Biche. I sent a boat with four men down river to cross my hunters to the S. side for buffalo. Men finished the chimneys. I am still plagued by those freemen and vagabonds of Lac la Biche. Camarade à Soulier came in with his family from below; Le Francis Faux [*sic*] and family arrived from Fish lake. *17th.* H. B. canoe, Wm. Flott [Flett?], arrived from Upper Terre Blanche. Three young Crees arrived from Egg lake below; buffalo plenty at Fort Vermillion; Crees and Assiniboines all gone to war toward the Rocky mountains. People returned from below with the boat, having crossed the hunters; they brought a load of flat stones for the chimneys. Three men worked at the fort gate. *18th.* I got the Saulteurs and Courte Oreille off for the Rocky mountains—a begging set, very troublesome to deal with. Sent off Beaugard with an Indian toward Beaver river to raise bark. The three young Crees returned to their camps. La Boucane and Permuatch [?] off also. Deschamps and Desnoyers arrived from the S. side with eight red deer, one moose, and one chevreuil.<sup>19</sup> Men finished the chimneys and others plastered the covering. I sent Croite in search of hay. Strawberries are just ripe and poires approaching maturity. *19th.* Freemen all off for Lac la Biche with the H. B. people for Antoine Desjarlaix's furs. Batoche<sup>20</sup> and

*canus*, or *E. volcano*: compare the queer and unexplained phrase, "Touche de la Cote *Bucanicus*," found in Pike, p. 423, as a name of the Smoky Hill fork of Kansas r.

<sup>19</sup> Chevreuil is *F.* for the roe-deer of Europe, *Capreolus caprea*, not found in America; but is regularly applied by the Canadian-French to our common deer, *Cariacus virginianus*, usually called by Henry fallow-deer. But the chevreuil, or deer of the region where he now is, is more likely to be the mule-deer, *Cariacus ma. rotis* (*Damelaphus hemionus* of Rafinesque).

<sup>20</sup> One Batoche of the N. W. Co. went with Thompson from Boggy Hall



family off for Fish lake for the summer. Men covering the Indian house. Women raising wattap—33 women, 8 bundles each. *20th.* Men finished covering the house with mud, earth, and pine bark; not a drop of water penetrated. Shot two dogs for destroying meat.

*Sunday, July 22d.* Indians made a small present for liquor—8 bladders of grease, 12 do. of back-fat, 50 lbs. of beat meat—the first traded at Terre Blanche fort, and a poor beginning indeed. Gabriel and Misistauepy arrived from Upper Terre Blanche; had left Mr. Rowand there, who was to come away yesterday. At sunset two mounted Sarcees reached the S. side; they came from opposite the Island house below, where all the Sarcees are tented, as is also old Star, with 10 tents of Strong Wood Assiniboines; all are making provisions, buffalo being plenty. Thermometer at noon 83°.

*July 23d.* I crossed the Crees and gave them rum. Eleven Sarcees came from their camp with a few swanskins and trashy dried meat. I traded tobacco and ammunition with them, and sent half a fathom of tobacco to the chief, for him to make his people a smoke, telling him not to come in before Aug. 10th. The Crees came back for liquor, but got none. Men finished mudding the Indian house; Hamel and Croite searched for a spot to make hay, which is scarce. *24th.* Men digging a cellar in the Indian house; Hamel and Croite still searching for hay. Mr. Rowand arrived from Upper Terre Blanche, bringing a keg of high wine, and several horses belonging to the men. Dupond [Durand?] returned from raising birch bark; he had collected 100 very good frames. With him came Parenteau, Misquonogous, Parisien's son, and others; they brought 70 swanskins, killed in Lac qui Frame,<sup>21</sup> where they are tented.

into the mountains about the source of Athabasca r. late in 1810. For the word Batoche, as a place-name, see note <sup>56</sup>, p. 490.

<sup>21</sup> So copy, for Lac qui Fume, or Lac à Fumée, present Smoky l., about 15 m. W. of Henry's post: note <sup>6</sup>, p. 564.

*July 25th.* Mr. Roque and Lajeunesse arrived from the Columbia house with letters from our gentlemen and news of the loss of one of our South Branch boats this spring with 120 taureaux on board, near the forks, by the carelessness of the men, who were sleeping at the time and had no person to conduct them, Decoigne being on horseback.

*Sunday, July 29th.* At 2 p. m. the thermometer was 91°; soon afterward a deluge of rain fell, and at 3 p. m. the thermometer stood at 60°.

The Assiniboines informed us of some serious disturbances that had taken place in their own nation between the Little Girl tribe and the Saskatchewan Assiniboines, wherein eight were killed and many wounded. This affair ensued from the young men of one tribe making too free with the women of the other; this was not yet over, as the relations of the deceased were bent on revenge. They also informed us of a report from below that our establishment on Rivière qu'Appelle had been destroyed and abandoned; but they knew not by whom, nor how it happened.

*July 30th.* The men have finished the Indian house, excepting the upper flooring, for which we have no plank. The house, 70 x 20 feet, has been exactly one month in building, since the wood was all upon the spot; five men have worked continually. We have a few radishes, and pull up young turnips when they stand too close; they make excellent greens when boiled with meat. The women bring in great quantities of poires, raspberries, and strawberries. The H. B. people returned from Lac la Biche with Antoine Desjarlaix's furs. *31st.* Put furs, goods, and provisions in the storehouse and shop. Men began the kitchen and W. wing of the house. Got the bastions in good order.

Furs on hand to-day are: 292 beavers, weighing 337 lbs.; 208 swans; 70 martens; 24 dressed skins; 12 muskrats; 3 grizzly bears; 4 black do.; 1 yellow do.; 2 cubs; 5 loup-cerviers; 4 prime otters; 4 common do.; 1 fox; 1 wolverene; 1 mink; 1 buffalo robe.

Provisions on hand: 175 lbs. of dried meat and dé-

pouille; 92 lbs. beat meat; 10 bladders of grease; 25 taureaux; and 2 others broken open.

*Aug. 1st.* Heavy rain last night. Hamel came in; he could do nothing with the hoe, everything being too wet. Deschamps, Croite, and Le Borgne brought four buck moose and red deer; one moose had fat four inches thick on the rump. One of their horses plunged into the river to swim over, but lost his load, and the current took it away. Women all off on horseback for berries; men erecting posts of the W. wing and kitchen. Beaugard arrived with his Indian; he had raised 250 fathoms of bark. *2d.* Rain prevented men from working outdoors; they therefore prepared wood for the gates, etc. Deschamps' son came in with two buck moose; the dogs destroyed three last night, through the carelessness of Mr. Small in not shutting the door. *3d.* The Sarcees crossed early. Ten men at my house, and as many at the H. B. Capot d'Original is their principal man; their trade is very trifling—a few swanskins, dressed skins, some indifferent dried meat, and ducks of various kinds which, having shed their feathers, are easily killed with sticks in the numerous lakes and ponds. The large ducks are generally fat at this season; the young of the year are lean and insipid. Sarcees are troublesome Indians to deal with—arrant beggars. I traded with them for 405 pounds of dried meat. *4th.* The only pleasant day we have had for a long time. Beaugard is making the chimney in the big house; others are covering the kitchen and small house. I took a walk upon the hills; ripe fruit in abundance—poires, raspberries, and strawberries; huckleberries beginning to turn blue, and gooseberries red. *7th.* Went down to see our haymakers; they have one stack of about 400 bundles made, and 43 cocks ready to stack, but it is three miles from the house, and it will be a tedious business to haul it home. Mrs. Hughes was delivered of a son. *8th.* Mr. Rowand and Gabriel off to Upper Terre Blanche and J. Ward's tents, for horses to go below. Men finished the

chimneys and covered the kitchen. I had my house uncovered, fresh mudded, and new bark put on. *9th*. Four men began to cut stockades for the separation of the fort, two to work at the big house, and two as usual at the chimney; old Lussier carting. *10th*. Men came in with nine cows, one red and one jumping deer; the fattest cow had two inches of dépouilles. Was much troubled with toothache—an old complaint. *11th*. Thermometer generally  $85^{\circ}$  at 1 p. m.; it has not reached  $90^{\circ}$  since the 29th ult. Women busy splitting and drying the meat brought in yesterday; having been carried on horseback it will not keep in such hot sultry weather, with frequent thunder.

*Sunday, Aug. 12th*. A herd of 12 cows appeared on the S. side and were going to cross, but the noise of the dogs and children turned them. The dogs last night devoured a colt. Dubois [Dubé] and Prince [?] arrived from Rivière à la Biche<sup>22</sup> on the S.; they had been away from Fort

<sup>22</sup> This Rivière la Biche, or R. à la Biche, is the principal one of several that were so called by the French, being no other than present Red Deer r., the main fork of Bow r., thus composing the South Saskatchewan: see note <sup>20</sup>, p. 462. It drains from the Continental Divide in the comparatively short interval which separates some sources of Bow r. from others of the S. fork of the North Saskatchewan; the situation is N. W. of the National Park, Banff, etc., not far from the pass through which the C. P. Ry. makes over the divide. Its mountain tributaries are numerous: among these are Bearberry cr., James' cr., and Raven cr., besides the principal one, Little Red Deer r. The river runs N. E. beyond  $52^{\circ}$ , between long.  $114^{\circ}$  and  $113^{\circ}$ ; its northernmost loop is crossed by the Calgary and Edmonton Ry. at the place called Red Deer, Alberta, and receives Dead Man cr. from the N. W., and Tail cr. (discharge of Buffalo l.) from the N. About long.  $113^{\circ}$  it turns S. to lat.  $51^{\circ} 30'$ , receiving Devil's Pine or Ghost Pine cr., Three Hills cr., and Knee Hills cr., from the W. Thence its course is S. E. to beyond long.  $111^{\circ} 30'$  and about lat.  $51^{\circ} 15'$ , receiving in succession the large Rosebud or Arrowwood r. from the W., Willow cr., E., Cranberry coulée, W., Bull Pound cr., E., Berry cr., E., and Sand Hill cr., W. This section of the river runs first between Hand hills on the N. E. and Wintering hills on the S. W., and finally sweeps around Hunting hill, opposite certain Sand hills; the valley is from 200 to 500 feet deep, and the river 450 to 900 feet wide. After running through Dead Lodge cañon, about  $111^{\circ} 30'$ , and thus passing from Alberta into Saskatchewan, the river winds nearly E. to its confluence, receiving several tributaries from the N., the principal of which are Blood Indian cr. and Alkali cr. The confluence occurs

Augustus since April last, hunting beaver. They brought upward of 100 skins and had found great plenty, but were unfortunate in having their women sick. They had seen no Indians. They complained of high waters in the rivers southward, and incessant frosts near the foot of the Rocky mountains. It appears very extraordinary that the waters on the N. should be so high this season, the Saskatchewan having continued much lower than usual. The banks of Beaver river were overflowed for a long time, and Lac de l'Isle à la Crosse was much higher than for many years past. Brochet, a Cree, arrived and sold me a horse for rum. *13th.* Mr. Rowand returned from Upper Terre Blanche. Rain in torrents all the evening. Leather tents become leaky and uncomfortable dwellings when situated long on the same spot. *14th.* Rain did not cease until seven o'clock this morning, when all hands began to work. Brochet decamped after I had purchased another horse from him for 20 pints of liquor; this was a runner. All my hunters camped alongside the fort. This removal will cause inconvenience and probably reduce us to short allowance of meat. I should have preferred their remaining where they were; but like all savages they act according to their whims. *15th.* The dogs of both forts devoured one colt and attacked some others. Soldier instantly shot six, three belonging to the H. B. Co. and as many to us. I settled with my hunters and got them all off for above—troublesome fellows they are. Two men began to set the stockades for the separations; three began the kitchen chimneys, two smoothed plank, one carted stockades, and the cooper prepared wood for small kegs. *16th.* My hunters drinking at Lac de Vivere [?] creek, and troublesome in sending for rum. We have no fresh meat and therefore give out dried provisions. Cardinal arrived from

about 6 m. E. of the 4th initial meridian, on the line of Tps. 22 and 23; position of Red Deer Forks, as it is called, of the Bull's Forehead, and of old Chesterfield house; trails hence N. W. to Edmonton, N. E. to Battleford, and in various other directions to points on the main C. P. Ry.

Lesser Slave lake with two rolls of tobacco. Joseph Desjarlaix came in from Lac la Biche with two rolls of tobacco, one keg of gunpowder, one keg of high wine. *17th.* Thunder and his son arrived from below near the Horse hills; a camp of 48 tents is coming up. No war excursions have taken place, excepting that of some Assiniboines and Crees, who are gone to war upon the Crows. We learn that all our horses below have been stolen by the Assiniboines, and that no buffalo are to be seen on this side of Battle river. The Indians are starving. My hunters troubled me for guns; they broke one and gave away another. I sent Jérôme to return the latter to its owner. *18th.* A part of the Crees crossed to the S. to visit Sarcees. Jack Ward and Parenteau arrived with horses; Ward also brought some swanskins. Gratton<sup>23</sup> arrived from Upper Terre Blanche. I put twelve eggs under my yellow hen.

*Sunday, Aug. 19th.* Jérôme off with Joseph Desjarlaix for Beaver river. Parenteau off with horses to his tent. *20th.* Mr. Rowand came in. Mr. Rocque, Tom, and Le Borgne set off with 15 horses to meet the canoes, as also did Mr. Hallett, with Jemmerck, Henry, two Indians, and 15 horses. J. Ward off for his tent with the supplies for Upper Terre Blanche—tobacco, high wine, and powder. Crees off also for their camps at the Red Deer hills. *21st.* The men left other work, went to make the two last haystacks, and returned in the evening; they have finished upward of 2,000 bundles of good hay. I shot a dog for attempting to bite my little girl. *22d.* Working at the stockades, planks, chimneys, and kegs; Jérôme returned with swanskins from the N. end of the portage; Cardinal and Hamel went to make hay for themselves. Dubaye [Dubé] and Prince off for Battle river to work the beaver. One of my hens hatched a chicken. *23d.* Ice last night in a kettle of water standing outdoors—the first we have had this

<sup>23</sup> P. Gratton is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804. Gratton cr. is one of the branches of Battle r., between Iron cr. and Buffalo coulée.

season. *25th.* The five chimneys finished—a job of three weeks for three men. Men finished smoothing all the planks for the house, 20 and 12 feet long.

*Sunday, Aug. 26th.* We have had hard frost every night since the 23d. The thermometer at noon has generally stood at 60°. The frost last night froze all our potato-tops, and this morning's sun has leveled them to the ground. Mosquitoes begin to be less troublesome. Whether from the nature of the soil, or because our gardens were not properly cultivated, the ground not having been well broken up, I cannot say—but apparently nothing will come to perfection this season. Barley is still green; potatoes very small and not yet blossomed; turnips have run to leaves only, and all other garden stuff is stunted. This morning I broke the 5 remaining eggs under a hen that had been sitting since the 1st inst., finding 4 dead chickens and 1 egg bad; thus, out of 11 eggs placed under her the 2d, I have but 2 chickens. Lyonnais and wife arrived with his hunt from Beaver river; he brings 60 skins in all kinds, and says beaver are scarce in that quarter. Patenaude is camped with him, and has 35 beaver. Misquonogous and lady came in search of liquor. *27th.* The doctor's lady having quarreled with her husband, he ripped open the belly of his horse—a fat, handsome beast; the dogs had a great feast. The doctor had been engaged for a juggling-match, to discover when our canoes would arrive from Fort William, and a sweating cabin prepared accordingly for his conjuration; on coming out of which, he informed us that on a certain day three strange young men would reach the S. side of the river, none of whom could speak Cree; and that the same day, or two nights afterward, four horsemen would arrive from below, to give us news of our canoes. *28th.* This morning at four the thermometer was at 29°, but it rose to 64° at noon. The doctor and his lady came back for rum, but I would give them none. Campbell came in with a red deer from Sucker river, where my two other hunters are still camped. Little

Knife, a Cree, shot Grand Bâtard's horse dead yesterday evening. The former was riding him and, being too much intoxicated to manage him, fell and injured his shoulder; upon recovering he shot the poor beast dead—a stout white stallion. These two examples of yesterday are instances of savage revenge which frequently occur, and of which little notice is taken. *29th.* The hay is finished. Men work as usual, but take their own time, and smoke very often. Beauguard cut his right hand with a looking-glass in a very ugly manner. I have always some invalid in the fort. Desnoyers hauled in logs for the cellar—say 60 of 15 feet, and 30 of 12 feet. *30th.* Set three men cutting wood for a stable of 30 feet; others carting planks, making kegs, etc. *31st.* Gratton began to arrange the blacksmith shop by making the foundation for the bellows; others finished plastering the house. Pigeons are passing from N. to S. in immense flocks, particularly in the morning and evening. Women collecting quantities of cranberries, which grow plentifully among the cypress and pine trees, where the soil is sandy and covered with light moss; they are of the small kind.

*Sept. 1st.* Cardinal's and Lussier's women gathering gum for the Columbia canoes; men working as usual. This is the twenty-eighth day that Faille has been making mortar for the big house; he has just finished. Chimneys and plastering being completed for the present, two men began to whitewash with the clay of this place, which is as white as lime. Deschamps came in with two cows; a few are seen about Fish lake, but they are the wood buffalo, more shy and wild than those of the plains. When they have been once fired at, a second shot can seldom be got.

*Sunday, Sept. 2d.* This afternoon four Crees with their families arrived from the Sarcee camp on the S. side of Battle river, at the Iron Stone.<sup>24</sup> They brought news that some unknown Indians had fallen in with two Sarcees, who

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps a locality in the vicinity of the Iron cr. mentioned in the last note.



were looking for buffalo, of whom one was killed and the other received two balls—one through both thighs and the other in the hip; when he fell apparently dead the parties raised both scalp and made off. The wounded Sarcee, however, recovered his senses soon, and made out to crawl within hearing of the camp, which was at no great distance; he was brought in by his relatives, a horrid spectacle of savage brutality, but seemed in a fair way of recovering. Moose Dung, a notorious Assiniboine horse-thief and murderer, happening to be in the Sarcee camp at the time, and there being some reason for suspecting that the injury had been done by a party of horse-thieves, of which this fellow was one, they instantly murdered him. But the truth is, they do not know who committed the murder; the wounded person says that one of them spoke Cree. This killing nearly caused an ugly affair between the 10 tents of Crees and the Sarcees; but the latter reflected that if it had been done by Crees they must have been a party from below, who, of course, are not considered the same people as the Beaver Hills or Upper Strong Wood Crees. The affair is dropped for the present, but the Sarcees declare they will have ample revenge if they ever find out who did it. We suppose it must have been a party of either Assiniboines or Crees from below, who mistook the Sarcees for Blackfeet and killed them accordingly. At all events everyone is glad of Moose Dung's death; even his own people detested him, and last spring old Tabeau begged me to give him a fatal dose of poison. On the 22d of April last, having stolen all the horses from my boat-builders at Moose creek, Moose Dung would have murdered old Guilliou had he not been prevented by some other Assiniboines. About a month ago Rosebud Eater, another notorious horse-thief, died suddenly. Thus we have got rid of two of the worst scoundrels among the Assiniboines.

*Sept. 3d.* Cardinal and Jérôme off for old Fort Augustus to cut what barley we have there, all we sowed here having failed or been destroyed by the horses. *4th.* Found one

of my two chickens dead this morning, and discovered that the cock had killed it; he was about to dispatch the other when I prevented him. I must make a separate coop for him; he is really a brute, tormenting the sitting hens and killing the chickens. Another hen began to sit on 12 eggs of her own laying. Men are leveling the fort, two laying the upper flooring in the big house, two plowing plank, and two others putting the blacksmith shop in order.

A mounted Assiniboine arrived on the S. side, who said he was of the Saskatchewan tribe, from the Jumping Deer hills, had slept eight nights and come in with his family to trade, in company with another Assiniboine and family. I was at him on the score of horse-stealing, as the Grand River Assiniboines in general are the most notorious scoundrels. He pretended to be very innocent; I gave him tobacco and sent him off to meet his family, whom he left this morning.

Parenteau is now tented at Rivière des Quatre Poteaux,<sup>25</sup> on the Saskatchewan. Joseph Desjarlaix, with one of his sons, Tulibee,<sup>26</sup> and L'Hire [Hilaire?] Dondaine [?], arrived on foot, having left their families this morning at the N. end of the portage; they are pitching their tents in this direction, and came for the loan of horses to enable them to travel with greater expedition, as they propose to go toward the Rocky mountains for the winter, and thence to the Columbia. These freemen have formed extravagant ideas of the numbers of beaver to be found on the W. side of the mountains. I fain would prevent them from going there, but in vain; they are bent on the undertaking, and no persuasion will change their minds.

<sup>25</sup> River of the Four Posts, literally; but I have not succeeded in identifying it. On Sept. 26th, next beyond, Henry is from 9 a. m. to 1 p. m. in going from White Earth r. to R. des Quatre Poteaux, and thence went to Sucker (Carp) r. very soon. Four Posts r. must therefore be one of the several small streams which fall into the Saskatchewan from the N. through the present Indian reserve or a little further E.

<sup>26</sup> Indian name of a kind of whitefish, whose present technical specific name is the same—*Coregonus tullibeei*.

*Sept. 5th.* The Assiniboines arrived, two at my house and one at my neighbor's. We had scarcely got them across the river when two mounted Sarcees arrived on the S. side, who gave us to understand they were badly inclined toward the Assiniboines, and desired to know of what tribe these were. This caused alarm, as I knew these fellows belonged to the most notorious tribe of horse-thieves and scoundrels—the Saskatchewan Assiniboines; still, I was loath that they should be murdered in cold blood. I therefore desired Mr. Small to trade with them instantly, and get them ready to depart, while I crossed the river to pacify the Sarcees. This I accordingly did, and found they were our principal chief, Middle Bear, and another of my customers. I held a long parley with them and settled matters to my wish, giving them to understand that the Assiniboines who were with us had of late years always been in company with those of the Strong Wood, were considered as our friends, and had not been concerned in horse-stealing or anything of the kind. I then brought them over, and met the Assiniboines at the waterside, ready to cross. They held but a short conference, not understanding each other's language, and we hurried the Sarcees up to the house, and the Assiniboines over the river. Thus ended an affair which might have been attended with disagreeable consequences; but, to tell the truth, I believe the two Sarcees found three Assiniboines too many for them. Toward evening some of our women who went across found that the Assiniboines had fled in such alarm that they abandoned all their *travaillies*, saddle stuff, equipments, and even four of their dogs; and, instead of taking the road by which they came, directed their course down along the river. At sunset the two women I had sent to collect gum returned with a considerable quantity, and said they had seen the Assiniboines running as fast as their legs could carry them, keeping always along the bank. Their trade to-day was 215 lbs. of beat meat, 42 bladders of grease, 813 [81 of?] back-fat, 11 beavers, 2 loup-cerviers, and 2 muskrats.

*Sept. 6th.* At two o'clock Mr. David Thompson<sup>27</sup> arrived from Lac la Pluie in a canoe with six men, bound for the Columbia. He brings us long-wished-for news from the civilized world. *7th.* At 8 a. m. the three remaining Columbia canoes arrived, 6 men and 17 pieces each, and began instantly to make repairs. Gratton erected his bellows and began to make irons for the poles of the Columbia canoes. Two Iroquois [Pierre and Joseph] arrived on a raft from Upper Terre Blanche, in search of the Columbia canoes. We gave the men a dance, which continued until daybreak. *8th.* Batoche arrived with Le Pourrie [*sic*<sup>28</sup>]. I gave the latter some liquor, and sent him to drink at some distance from the fort. At 4 p. m. the Columbia canoes set off with the same loads they had on arrival.

*Sunday, Sept. 9th.* At seven o'clock Mr. Thompson embarked. An hour afterward, Mr. Hughes, with his son and Le Borgne, arrived from the Montée; he had left his canoes at the Columbia house.<sup>29</sup> I sent a man on horseback, who returned in company with Mr. Thompson. *10th.* This morning I was surprised to find snow falling fast, and ice in a kettle one-third of an inch thick. Star's band arrived. These Assiniboines traded 5 beavers, 4 swans, 3 cats, 1 red deer, 4 buffalo, 6 dépouilles, 14 taureaux of beat meat, and 132 bladders of grease.

<sup>27</sup> See back, last June 28th. It will be observed that Henry says nothing of Thompson's having been to "Montreal"—only to Rainy I., where we last found him. The Henry record is especially valuable, as we have nothing from Thompson himself till Oct. 29th, as explained in note <sup>6</sup>, p. 608.

<sup>28</sup> At this point we discover that the individual with the enigmatical name is an Indian. The word occurs repeatedly, never twice alike, and I can make nothing of it. But the point is to distinguish, when possible, this name from that of La Pierre, one of Henry's workingmen. Part of the confusion is doubtless due to the original copyist of Henry's MS., whose indecision kept him wavering in writing both names: compare No. 19 of note <sup>22</sup>, p. 630.

<sup>29</sup> This name has occurred before (last July 25th), but I nowhere find it with sufficient indication of the whereabouts of the place so called. Present context leaves it to be inferred that this Columbia house was the N. W. Co. post on the South Branch of the Saskatchewan which Henry sent F. Decoigne to establish: see p. 484. In no event has it anything to do with the Columbia r., or the affairs of Thompson's Columbia canoes just now on the tapis.

*Sept. 11th.* Ice half an inch thick this morning. Mr. Thompson and party set off by land—Wm. Henry, Kenville [*sic*], and 3 women, with Jérôme and Gabriel to conduct them to Upper Terre Blanche. Sitting Badger's band arrived, with some Sarcees, and at sunset we got them over the river. The Sarcees traded 17 beavers, 1 muskrat, 3 swans, 1 loup-cervier, 8 dressed skins, 6 buffalo, 136 bladders of grease, 128 bladders of back-fat, 510 lbs. of meat, 644 lbs. of dried meat, and 2 horses. *12th.* Le Pourie came in; we sent him after Mr. Thompson, to go as far as the Kootenay plains. *14th.* Jérôme returned, having been as far as old Fort Augustus with Mr. Thompson. Cardinal set off for Cold lake to meet the Slave Lake canoes. A band of Assiniboines arrived and remained for the night. We gave them half a keg of liquor, and they began the first drinking-match the natives have enjoyed here; but they were very quiet. Six of our horses are missing; we suspect the Sarcees have stolen them. *15th.* Searched for the horses; found one of them dead on the bank near the fort, apparently killed by horse-thieves—a fine stout bay, belonging to Batoche. Nearly a dozen horses have been missing since the 12th. The Assiniboines traded 2 beavers, 2 loup-cerviers, 246 bladders of grease, 984 lbs. of beat meat, and 12 lbs. of back-fat. Le Cardinal, a Cree, came in from Kootenay river, where he had been with Mr. House of the H. B. Co., and left on the 1st.

*Sunday, Sept. 16th.* Our men worked this Sunday for the first time this summer, on condition of a holiday when the canoes should arrive. Batailleur, one of my hunters, came in from below. *17th.* Gave Batailleur a nine-gallon keg of Indian rum on agreement as hunter for the Rocky Mountain house this ensuing winter. Messrs. Bethune and Rowand, with Louis Durand, arrived on horseback from below, having left the canoes at the Red Deer hills. Mr. Hallett and his party arrived, having left their three boats at Horse creek. *18th.* Working as usual, and making a hen yard; which being finished, the fort was cleared out and

swept for the first time. Mr. Hughes' canoe arrived. Mr. Hughes and myself took tea with Mr. Hallett. Some of our men, engaged for the summer, are now free, and others are doing very little but amusing themselves chatting with the new arrivals. F. Lussier is making pack-saddles.

*Sept. 21st.* At twelve o'clock the brigade of 11 canoes arrived. Got all the property into the fort and unpacked the goods. The Indians, like ravenous wolves on the scent of a carcass, came hotly after the canoes, attracted by the smell of liquor. Cardinal arrived from Cold lake, with Beauchamp's wife from Isle à la Crosse; the Slave Lake canoes passed there on the 16th inst. Lyonnais and Pate-naude, two freemen, arrived with their families. Batailleur's wife and others came for liquor; I gave her a nine-gallon keg of rum and sent her off. *22d.* Began to distribute the goods. Men were settled for their respective winter quarters, and four engaged for the Columbia. Some Assiniboines came in with nine of the 11 horses that were stolen from us some time ago. They had met the thieves and taken all but two of the horses from them. We had a dance this evening, when all got three drams apiece; 15 quarts of high wine were drunk.

*Sunday, Sept. 23d.* Crees from below arrived; hunters also camped at the fort; gave them liquor for some fresh meat, and a drinking-match commenced. Le Campbell<sup>30</sup> went for my horses to Parenteau's tent. My black hen began to hatch her brood. Bostonnais<sup>31</sup> arrived. At four o'clock I sent off three canoes for the Rocky mountains; the fourth starts to-morrow morning, the 24th.

*Sept. 24th.* My own canoe set off, with my family and

<sup>30</sup> This was an Indian or a half-breed, distinguishable from any Scotch Campbell by the French definite article. It occurs many times in passages I have struck out of the Henry copy, in such forms as Le Cambell, Le Camble, Le Comble, Le Comblé, and Le Gamble, before the copyist settled on Le Campbell.

<sup>31</sup> Personal name, equivalent to "Bostonese" or Bostonian—of or pertaining to Boston, Mass. For the implication of the term, see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 188. Compare also Bostonnais Pangman of note <sup>9</sup>, p. 269.

baggage. In this and the three which left yesterday, there were:<sup>22</sup>

*First Canoe.* 1. Joseph Durand, bowman; 2. M. Caron, steersman; 3. Baptiste Deau, midman; 4. La Jeunesse, midman; 5. Hamel, midman; 6. Batoche, midman. With my baggage, 1 keg of pure high wine,  $\frac{1}{2}$  keg of sugar, 1 bag of balls—in all equal to 13 pieces.

*Second Canoe.* 7. Moineau, bowman; 8. Lamoureux, steersman; 9. Berger, midman; 10. Coté, midman; 11. J. Cardinal, midman. With Mr. Bethune's bed and 2 cassettes,

<sup>22</sup> Several of the names in this list have appeared in previous ones: see June 3d, 1810, p. 603, and Oct. 20th, 1809, p. 553. For the rest I note:

2. M. Caron not found elsewhere.—Eustache Caron is listed as *voyageur contre-maître* N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—François Caron, as *voyageur* N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804.—Jean Nicolas Caron, as the same, Fort des Prairies, 1804. One Carron is named by Thompson as leaving the Rocky Mt. house Oct. 26th, 1806; probably the J. N. Caron here in mention.—Thomas Caron, as the same, Fond du Lac, 1804.—The name varies to Carron, but is to be distinguished from Carrière.

3. Deau, varying to Dean, Deaw, and D'Eau.—B. D'Eau, full name probably Jean Baptiste D'Eau, of the N. W. Co., went with Thompson from Boggy Hall into the Athabaskan Rocky mts. this fall; deserted from Canoe camp on the Columbia, Jan. 26th, 1811.

7. Moineau is a correctly formed F. word, meaning "sparrow," but I cannot find it, or anything much like it, as a personal name in any other than the present instance: possibly it stands for Mousseau.

8. Lamoureux went with Thompson from Boggy Hall into the Athabaskan Rocky mts. this fall. On Sept. 25th, 1811, he was sent down the Columbia from Canoe r. to meet Mr. Finan McDonald. He is no doubt the Jean Baptiste Lamoureux, *voyageur* N. W. Co., who is found on the Columbia in 1814; left Fort George (Astoria) Aug. 5th, 1814, with the Ross Cox party, and was killed by Indians Aug. 8th or 9th.

10. The above is Joseph Coté, who was with Thompson in 1810-11.

11. "J." Cardinal might be either Joseph or Jacko: see both previous lists.

14. Cartier is of course the most historic name in Canadian annals (Jacques Cartier, from St. Malo, Apr. 20th, 1534, to Newfoundland, May 10th, 1534), here first occurring in our text. There were many of the name in the fur-trade.—"Mr." Cartier was interpreter N. W. Co. under McGillivray in 1786, called by (Sir) A. McKenzie "garçon insinuant et très intelligent"; this is no doubt the "Mons." Cartier who, Thompson says, left Cumberland House June 24th, 1797, and the Joseph Cartier who was of the N. W. Co. on upper English r. in 1799. Joseph Cartier was left by Thompson in Sept., 1804, in charge of the N. W. house on or near Cranberry l., to winter 1804-05 with Toussaint Bois-

Batoche's cassette,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bale of carrot tobacco,  $\frac{1}{2}$  bale of O. C. kettles,  $\frac{3}{4}$  keg of spirits, 1 keg of high wine, 1 keg of sugar, 1 bag of flour, 1 bag of balls, 1 case of guns, 1 case of irons—say equal to 13 pieces.

*Third Canoe.* 12. Beauvois, bowman; 13. Le Blanc, steersman; 14. Cartier, midman; 15. David, midman; 16. Laberge, midman. With 3 rolls of tobacco, 3 kegs of high wine, 1 keg of sugar, 1 keg of powder, 1 case of guns, 1 case of iron, 1 bag of balls, 1 bag of flour, 1 bale of goods—13 pieces.

*Fourth Canoe.* 17. Dunord, bowman; 18. Languedoc, steersman; 19. Pairé [?], midman; 20. Gervais, midman; 21. Brunelle, midman. With 3 rolls of tobacco, 2 kegs of high wine,  $\frac{3}{4}$  keg of shrub, 1 keg of sugar, 1 keg of powder, 1 keg of salt,  $\frac{1}{2}$  bag of flour,  $\frac{1}{2}$  bag of shot, 1 bag of balls, 1 case of irons, 1 bale of goods, and 1 cassette of goods—say equal to 13 pieces.

And to be embarked on the Upper Terre Blanche canoes, for the Rocky Mountain house: 1 bale of carrot tobacco, 2 kegs of high wine, and 1 keg of powder—4 pieces.

verd, Gabriel Perrault, François Dubois, and Ignace Cartier; and on June 22d, 1805, was sent by Thompson from Cumberland House to Kaministiquia with one Morren. Joseph Cartier again, probably same person, was met by Thompson on Lake Superior, Aug. 21st, 1812.—One Cartier, first name not given, of the N. W. Co., arrived at the Rocky Mt. house on the Saskatchewan, Nov. 24th, 1806.—Ignace Cartier has just been said; no more of him found.—Claude Cartier is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Rat River country, 1804.—M. Cartier, as the same, English r., 1804.

15. David. The only person of this name I have found is Basile David, listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fond du Lac, 1804.

16. Laberge looks like a clerical error for the Roberge whom we have had before, but probably is not.—Louis La Berge is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804. This name is identifiable with that of one Le Berge or Le Roberge who was with Thompson on Winnipeg r. in Aug., 1804, and at Musquawegun l. (as Thompson calls it) Oct. 13th, 1804.

19. "Pairé" here is apparently another of the interminable forms of an unidentifiable name—capital *P* with an *r* in combination with *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* in incessant permutation, there being no letter with a long stroke of the pen to help us in conjecture.

21. Brunelle. Baptiste Brunelle is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Rat r.—Louis Brunell, as the same, Upper Red r.



Recapitulation of pieces for the Rocky Mountain house (exclusive of personal baggage): 2 bales of goods; 1 cassette of goods;  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bags of flour;  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kegs of sugar; 1 keg of pure high wine;  $\frac{3}{4}$  keg of spirits;  $\frac{3}{4}$  keg of shrub; 8 kegs of high wines; 3 kegs of powder; 1 keg of salt; 6 rolls of tobacco;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bale of carrot tobacco;  $\frac{1}{2}$  bale of O. C. kettles; 2 cases of guns; 2 cases of irons; 4 bags of balls;  $\frac{1}{2}$  bag of shot. Total, 40 pieces (exclusive of 16 pieces of personal baggage).

At Upper Terre Blanche the canoes were obliged to leave 4 kegs of high wine, 1 keg of sugar, 1 keg of powder, 1 bag of flour, 1 bag of balls, and 3 rolls of tobacco, which reduced them by 11 pieces; and even with that load they had great trouble to get up to the Rocky Mountain house, the water being extraordinarily low.

At eleven o'clock Dumont, Batoche, and their families set off with horses for the Rocky Mountain house. Campbell returned, but did not bring the required number of horses. Parenteau arrived in the evening with some of them; Mr. Rowand's were still wanting.

*Sept. 25th.* Delayed my departure, waiting for the horses. The two other canoes off for Upper Terre Blanche, deeply loaded with 13 pieces each, four men, and their baggage.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### OVERLAND FROM WHITE EARTH TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE: 1810.

**W**EDNESDAY, Sept. 26th. At nine o'clock I set off on horseback with Messrs. Bethune and Rowand; Clément and Tom went with us to tend the horses. Overtook Batailleur and family—one of my hunters for the ensuing winter; both he and his old wife complained sadly of being sick, which well might be the case, as they have been drinking continually since the 16th inst. At one o'clock we came to Parenteau's tent, who takes care of part of our horses; here were also four tents of Crees, my hunters of the summer, etc. Got a leather tent from Soldier, borrowed a horse from Parenteau, exchanged some others, and set off from Rivière des Quatre Poteaux [Four Posts river, note <sup>25</sup>, p. 624]. At Sucker [or Carp] river passed the Upper Terre Blanche canoes; and as it was sunset when we arrived at another of our horse-keepers' tents, John Ward's, we stopped there for the night.

*Sept. 27th.* Rain and a cold wind prevented us from proceeding, having two women and four children with us. I erected my own tent, Ward's being too small for us all.

*Sept. 28th.* At daybreak the wind came from the N. E., with a fall of snow; however, I could remain no longer; time was precious, as I was apprehensive that the canoes would be waiting for me at Fort Augustus. At ten o'clock we were ready, having had much trouble to collect the horses we take at this place; many of them had not been caught since last year, and were as wild as deer. At Vermillion river<sup>1</sup> we met two freemen, La Gimondière and

<sup>1</sup> Present Red Water or Paint cr.: see note <sup>9</sup>, p. 565.

Challifoux, with their families, beaver hunting; saw the H. B. horse-keepers there also. At sunset we reached Fort Augustus, where my canoes had arrived at noon. We took up our lodgings at the old houses.

*Sept. 29th.* A severe white frost this morning, which made the ground as hard as bricks. We embarked a case of tools, gave all hands a dram, and at eight o'clock crossed the Saskatchewan to the S. side, leaving Mr. Rowand to proceed on the N. side to his winter-quarters at Upper Terre Blanche.<sup>2</sup> Along with him went my two hunters, Batailleur and Baptiste Pruneau; the latter we had overtaken here. They were in too great dread of the Slaves to go up with us on the S. side, where the country is open and the road good. They prefer the route along the river, through the thick woods, where no Slave penetrates. Having got our horses and baggage over, I sent on the canoes, remaining to go by land with Mr. Bethune and Mr. Clément.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Upper Terre Blanche, or Upper White Earth house, or "old" White Mud fort, where Mr. Rowand was to winter, stood on the N. side of the Saskatchewan at the E. side of the entrance of the small stream which falls in about 2 m. below present White Lake cr., and thus in the N. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Tp. 51, R. 2, W. of the 5th init. merid. The situation is about half way between Fort Augustus (Edmonton) and that Boggy Hall of which mention has been made before, and of which we shall hear more. White lake discharges by the creek of that name through the present Alexis Indian reserve, past a place called Palliser, and falls into the Saskatchewan in the N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the next township; it is also known as Wabano l.

<sup>3</sup> This overland trip from Fort Augustus is identical with one made by Thompson in Mar. and Apr., 1800, and we will follow the trail of both travelers simultaneously. It leaves the Saskatchewan altogether, strikes little W. of S. to Battle r., and to some extent is coincident with the present railroad from Calgary to Edmonton. It then bears S. W., and finally about W. to the Rocky Mountain house. Crossing the Saskatchewan, Henry goes from present (North) Edmonton to South Edmonton, and thus gets at once on the line of the railroad.

The reader will observe that Henry spoke yesterday of taking up his lodgings in the "old" houses at Fort Augustus; and this may occasion some doubt which fort is meant. But Henry is now at Edmonton, and thus at that Fort Augustus which was "new" when we first heard of it; for any post was called "old" as soon as it had been abandoned. For the *original* "old" Fort Augustus, near Sturgeon r., see note <sup>11</sup>, p. 566.

At nine o'clock we mounted and left the river, directing our course S., and soon overtaking Batoche and Dumont with their families, who were waiting for us at the Little lake. Here we dried our leather tent, which was still wet and heavy from the rain of the 27th. At noon we set off. The country is open and pleasant, with many small lakes and spots of wood. The western end of Beaver hills is seen on our left, but here the country is level, with very few hills, and none of any height. We crossed Terre Blanche creek, which runs from S. to N.,<sup>4</sup> and proceeded on to another rivulet, where we camped. The women soon pitched the tents, and we found ourselves very comfortable. We shot a few fat ducks during the day, and with the addition of a jumping-deer ["cabbrie," antelope], which Gabriel Dumont's son brought us, we had sufficient provisions for the present. We brought none with us, depending entirely upon what we kill. Vestiges of beaver were frequent along Terre Blanche creek, which we followed for some time.

*Sunday, Sept. 30th.* Trouble in following the old route, as no Indians had passed this summer; the grass nearly covered the path, and in the spots of wood through which we went, fallen trees stopped the way. We crossed some delightful spots of plain, sufficiently large to chase buffalo over, and at ten o'clock perceived a moose, which Gabriel pursued. Gabriel and Batoche's son soon overtook us; they had killed two buck moose, one still in good order. It requires little precaution to kill them at this season, when they are rutting, and frequently mistake a horse for a doe.

<sup>4</sup> Into the Saskatchewan above Edmonton. Distinguish this Terre Blanche cr. from any other called "White Earth" or "White Mud." Present nomenclature is White Mud cr., joined by Black Mud cr., close to Rabbit hill, and thence flowing a short distance N. into the Saskatchewan, in the township next S. W. of Edmonton. Rabbit hill rises W. of the stream, on or near W. border of the Papaschase Indian reserve, through which the railroad runs from Otaskan sta. on Black Mud cr. Thompson was here April 1st, 1800, with Lagassé and others; he found "White Mud brook" 6 yards wide and without water, and proceeded on to "a brook from the S. E."—the next rivulet, on which Henry now camps: see Thompson's map.

We passed the spot where the Crees last summer ambushed and killed three Piegans; it was well situated for the purpose, amidst willows and brushwood. The remains of the deceased, covered with a shelter of wood and brush, and the bones of one of their horses, were still to be seen. We soon came to Rivière au Calumet,<sup>5</sup> and pitched our tent at an early hour on a pretty, level plain near this river. The water comes from the N. and runs S. to empty into Battle river. Here were great vestiges of beavers, and Batoche set four traps in hopes of taking some; but the wind blew the smoke from camp directly toward them, which of course prevented success.

*Oct. 1st.* Batoche took up his traps early; but the beavers had not left their cabins during the night. We saddled and were soon on our way; we crossed another small river<sup>6</sup> about as wide as Rivière au Calumet and on the same course. Soon after we came to Grosses Buttes,<sup>7</sup> in a beautiful situation, from the top of which we had an extensive view southward, with a low plain between us and the Bear<sup>8</sup> hills. Near Grosses Buttes are a number of small

<sup>5</sup> Pipe Stone r., Thompson, Apr. 2d, on a course nearly S. from his last camp. Henry is following the railroad, approx., if not exactly; he has passed Leduc (old Edmonton) sta., and strikes Pipestone cr. near Millet sta. The creek is joined by Bigstone cr., a little lower down, receives further on the discharge of Long l. from the N., and falls into Battle r. at or near the discharge of Bittern l., also from the N.; its mouth is about the center of Tp. 6, R. xxii, W. of the 4th init. merid., 10 m. due E. of Wetaskiwin.

<sup>6</sup> Present Bigstone cr., branch of Pipestone cr., as noted by Thompson Apr. 2d. It flows from the W., from the vicinity of that Pigeon l. where the Wesleyan mission stands, and joins Pipestone cr. a little below the place where the railroad crosses.

<sup>7</sup> Present Peace hills, a short distance due W. of Wetaskiwin sta., where a mounted police station is now or was lately maintained. The N. base of these hills is skirted by Bigstone cr.

<sup>8</sup> Copy has "Beaver" hills by an obvious slip of the original, or error of transcription, which I correct. Thompson notes Bear's hill Apr. 3d, as something remarkable, and says that "we take almost the very E. point of it." This elevation is a little W. of the railroad, opp. Hobbema sta., in the Ermine Skin reserve; there is a place on the railroad also called Bear's Hill, at the E. border of the reserve said.

lakes, well stocked with ducks of various kinds; we found also a few on Battle river and the high lands that surround Lac à la Biche.<sup>9</sup> Our course from this [*i. e.*, Grosses Buttes] lies about S. S. W., directly for the E. end of the Bear hills, which run about S. E. to N. W., and are well wooded. We saw two buffalo; Gabriel chased them, but they escaped in the hills among the thick wood before he could get a shot. At noon we came to Battle river,<sup>10</sup> when we fell upon a large road, coming from below, and proceeding southward. This, we supposed, must have been made by the whole tribe of Sarcees, whom we had desired to go above and winter about the Rocky Mountain house, in hopes of killing more beaver than elsewhere. They appeared to have followed the old route, which presents a well-beaten track, as broad as a wagon-road. We soon after crossed Battle river on a ridge of stones, where there was but little water. Beavers appear to be very numerous in this river; vestiges are seen every moment. We proceeded to another small river,<sup>11</sup> where beaver appear to be in a very advantageous situation for setting traps. We stopped here for the night, and Batoche set his traps. At 8 p. m. it began to snow, and continued during the night.

*Oct. 2d.* The snow ceased. Batoche found in his traps one large and one small beaver. It was ten o'clock before

<sup>9</sup> Present Red Deer l., a good way off Henry's trail, to the E., in the vicinity of Battle l., and S. of Todd's crossing of Battle r.

<sup>10</sup> See note <sup>61</sup>, p. 499. Henry has come along the railroad through Ermine Skin and Samson reserves, and strikes Battle r. in the Bobtail reserve, at the place now called Leavings. He proceeds up the W. or left bank, past the place called Holbrook or Hollbroke, and crosses the river in the vicinity of present Ponoka sta., but a little W. of that, about on the E. border of the Sharp Head reserve, as the road was not exactly coincident with the present railway along here. When Thompson came by he went 9 m. S. S. W. from the point where he struck Battle r. to the crossing-place, Apr. 4th.

<sup>11</sup> Present Wolf cr., a branch of Battle r. which falls in a little above Henry's crossing-place, in the Sharp Head reserve. This small stream comes N. into Battle r.; distinguish it from the Wolf r. presently mentioned as a branch of Red Deer r. Thompson calls it Wolf brook, and speaks of certain Wolf Track meadows in that vicinity.

we left camp; our tents were perfectly wet and required time to dry, being too weighty to pack in that state; moreover, they would heat and spoil. We came to the pretty plain, where we found that the Sarcees had separated; a part had passed by the *chemin du large* [plains road] to avoid the strong wood, while the others had continued to follow the Rocky mountain route. Our road here became crooked, winding among small plains and pieces of thick woods, mostly aspen. At two o'clock we came to Gull lake<sup>12</sup> and passed along its E. end. Here we found a lame horse, which we supposed had been left by the Sarcees. This lake is about nine miles long and from one to two broad, with a low sandy beach, along which we passed, where the W. wind made a swell break at our feet. The water is very clear. Buffalo have been numerous here lately, but the Indians have driven them off. Our route along this lake lay through a beautiful plain of short grass, adjoining the sandy beach. We soon came to Wolf river,<sup>13</sup> where we pitched our tents.

*Oct. 3d.* Early this morning I went to see the spot where the Piegans murdered the Crees last year, to avenge their

<sup>12</sup> Present name. Henry went up Wolf cr. some distance between that and the railroad, past Moneta and Morningside sta., but sheered off westward before passing by Lacombe, and at Gull l. is some 10 m. W. of the track. His "pretty plain" is probably what Thompson calls Wolf Track Meadows, *i. e.*, on the trail to the usual crossing of Wolf r. His "*chemin du large*," literally road of the wide open plains, is this trail, which separates from the other road nearly coincident with the railroad. He is now heading W., Gull l. being about 40 m. E. of his destination. The lake discharges by a very short stream into Wolf r. from the N.

<sup>13</sup> Still so called on some modern maps, but more frequently Blindman or Blind Man's r. It is a considerable stream which comes from the N. W., receives various tributaries besides the discharge of Gull l., and falls into Red Deer r. from the W. on the E. border of Tp. 39, R. 27, W. of the 4th init. merid.; the railroad crosses it about 3 m. up, between Waghorn and Blackfalds. When Thompson came to Wolf r., Apr. 5th, he struck it much too low down, at a place where it was 12 yards wide, having taken the road which Henry avoided; he crossed it, found he was on "the wrong road," as he says, recrossed it a little higher and went up it 11 m. N. W. to the proper crossing-place, where Henry is now camped.

countrymen who had been murdered at Rivière au Calumet. Batoche was present when the affair took place, and had a narrow escape for his life. He was obliged to fly during the night and secrete himself and family in the thick woods, by which means he reached Fort Augustus, with the loss of some of his horses, all his ammunition, and a few other articles. At eight o'clock we were ready to decamp. Batoche and family remained to hunt beaver, of which there appeared to be many. Having crossed Wolf river, which falls into Rivière la Biche, we found great roads and vestiges of buffalo, and soon came to another small river, where the Sarcees had worked the beaver. We crossed this and ascended the Wolf hills,<sup>14</sup> which run E. and W. and are well wooded. At noon we got over them, and, on coming to a small plain with open country ahead, we had a glimpse of the Rocky mountains, which appeared in many places covered with snow. We soon came to Rivière de la Loge de Médecine<sup>15</sup> where we found still burning the fires of the Sarcees, who left the spot this morning—25 tents. They must have made a good hunt here in beaver, bear, moose, red deer, and buffalo, as a great quantity of bones lay about their camp. Here we had a grand view of the Rocky mountains southward, apparently running E. and W. The valley through which the Saskatchewan winds appears to form a great gap in the mountains, about S. S. W. from this spot. Having smoked a pipe, we mounted and soon crossed a small river<sup>16</sup> running from N. W. to S. E., which falls into the Rivière de la Loge de Médecine. Our track took us along the latter river [Horse Pound creek], which we did

<sup>14</sup> Now known as Medicine Lodge hills. The "small river" which Henry crossed is a branch of Wolf or Blind Man's r., which drains from these hills and falls in a little below the place where he crossed the main stream. The plain which Henry mentions is called by Thompson Pikenow, *i. e.*, Piegan plains; and he speaks of sighting the Rocky mts. here, Apr. 6th.

<sup>15</sup> Medicine Lodge or Medicine r. of present maps, a large branch of Red Deer r. which comes from the N. W. and falls into the latter in the S. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Tp. 36 of R. 1, W. of the 5th init. merid., about 10 m. W. of Antler hill.

<sup>16</sup> Horse Pound cr., composed of three or four tributaries which Henry will



not cross, but continued up its [left] bank. Here we found the Sarcees had separated into several parties, only a few following our track. At two it began to snow and blow hard, and soon afterward we came upon a camp of five tents. They proved to be Bloods and Sarcees, who insisted upon our stopping with them for the night. We accordingly pitched our tents. They were very civil, and treated us with dried berries, etc. They had 60 beaver skins.

*Oct. 4th.* Snow continued; however, as the Indians were troublesome in begging tobacco and ammunition, I preferred to travel in the storm. At eleven we set off, still up the small [Horse Pound] river until we crossed it, when we immediately entered the strong woods, and continued through an ugly, gloomy country, covered with pine, aspen, poplar, willow, and long grass, with a crooked path to avoid the several masquegues [muskegs]. At four we pitched our tent near a small meadow and pond, the last we shall find for some distance. It was too late for us to reach the Rocky Mountain house this day.

*Oct. 5th.* At eight o'clock we mounted and entered the strong wood. This must be a horrid road in a wet season, as appears by the deep ruts and boggy places we pass over. We had scarcely left camp when we fell in with a herd of strong wood buffalo. Gabriel chased them on foot and killed a fat cow and a young bull, both of which we cut up and laid on our horses. Shortly afterward we found the fresh tracks of a grizzly bear; the prints of his feet on the snow were enormous, measuring 14 inches long and 7 broad. After passing a thick wood for several miles we came out into the small plain where lies the Big Stone, and soon fell upon the old Piegan road which leads to the establishment. Our course then turned S. W. and W., through small

cross, and falling into Medicine r. a few miles below the place where he struck it. Thompson notes three such, besides the creek itself, Apr. 6th and 7th. These are the last of the streams flowing to Henry's left in the Red Deer River watershed, and thus toward the S. Saskatchewan. He is rapidly nearing the N. Saskatchewan at the mouth of Clearwater r.

prairies and pieces of thick woods, mostly of the Rocky Mountain pine. We soon crossed Rivière à L'Eau Claire,<sup>17</sup> which is here 80 yards wide and has a strong current. The water is so clear that I was deceived in its depth, and narrowly escaped getting wet. Here we perceived some

<sup>17</sup> Clearwater r., the large branch of the N. Saskatchewan which falls in from the S. a little below the site of that Rocky Mountain house which was Henry's destination. Thompson arrived there Apr. 8th, and Henry followed exactly his trail. This was a little S. of the present road, which strikes the Saskatchewan below the mouth of the Clearwater r., after crossing four heads of Horse Pound cr. and traversing the rest of the intervening distance. Clearwater r. arises in the mountains about Glacier l., not far from the pass by which the railroad crosses the divide, and thus very near the head of Bow r., but takes the opposite direction from the latter and thus has a general N. E. course in the plains to its easternmost point, where it is deflected about N. N. W. to the Saskatchewan. It is joined by Prairie cr. at Muskeg hill, a little above its mouth. As Henry goes N. down the left or W. bank, he crosses Prairie cr. to reach his post.

"Rocky Mountain House," like "Fort des Prairies," was in Henry's time a generic term designating a number of different establishments which require to be carefully distinguished :

1. The Rocky Mt. house which Henry has just reached, stood on the left bank of the N. Saskatchewan,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. above the mouth of the Clearwater r., and 3 m. below Pangman's tree, so called from the inscription made upon it by Peter Pangman when he first sighted the mountains in 1790. Its site is known with entire precision, and we shall hear much about it. This is the only one of the lot which seems never to have had another name—or, at any rate, another name that came into general use, though Thompson once or twice calls it the Clearwater house, or Rivière l'Eau Claire house, from its position close to that river. It was built by John McDonald of Garth in 1802; Thompson had charge of it and it was his headquarters for some time, as well as a point of departure for various journeys he made; his "Journal of Rocky Mt. House Occurrence, 1806-07," occupies his Bk. No. 18 of Vol. VIII. of his MSS., and besides this we have various other records of his regarding the place where he stayed or passed so often in his voyaging. It was the uppermost permanent post the N. W. Co. ever had on the Saskatchewan, and thus always the main point of departure for the crossing of the mountains by any of the passes about the sources of this great river. Thompson's observations placed this house in lat.  $52^{\circ} 22' 15''$  N., long.  $115^{\circ} 07' 00''$  W.

2. The next most notable Rocky Mountain house was near the sources of the Athabasca, and bore a relation to those headwaters and to the Yellowhead and Athabasca passes like that which the other house maintained to Saskatchewan waters and the Howse pass. This is generally known as the Jasper house, built about 1800, and noted by Franchère in 1814 as having been established

fresh horse tracks, coming and going, which led us to suppose that the natives had been at the old house to see if we had arrived; for we gave them to understand last spring that people should winter here for the Piegans. The track led down Rivière à l'Eau Claire, among small prairies and

in woods, on the shore of a small lake, surrounded by high rocks, except on the lakeside; it was in charge of Mr. Decoigne when Franchère passed that year. His words are, p. 233 of the orig. ed., 1820: "Le poste des Montagnes de Roches, en Anglais, *Rocky Mountains House*, est situé sur le bord du petit lac dont je viens de parler, au milieu d'un bois, et est presque partout environné de rochers escarpés, [*sic*] qui ne sont fréquentés que par l'ibex [mountain sheep, *Ovis montana*] et le mouton blanc [mountain goat, *Haplocerus montanus*]. On y aperçoit à l'Ouest la chaîne des Montagnes de Roches, dont les cimes sont couvertes de nièges perpétuelles. Du lac, le Rocher à Miette, . . . qui est très élevé, représente le portail d'un église, vu de côté. Cet établissement était sous la conduite d'un Mr. Decoigne." This Rocher de Miette becomes "Millet's rock" in Franchère's English ed., 1854, p. 296 and p. 298. Ross Cox, in 1817, went over le Rocher de Miette, having observed above its S. point a lake 3 m. long and 2 m. broad into which Athabasca r. opened, and came "a few miles below" the N. end of this rock to another lake of nearly the same dimensions. Here he notes, p. 254, "Rocky Mountain House, which is built on the western shore of the second lake. . . This building was a ~~miscible~~ concern of rough logs, with only three apartments, but scrupulously clean inside. An old clerk, Mr. Jasper Hawes, was in charge, and had under his command two Canadians, two Iroquois, and three hunters. Its lat. is 53° 18' 40" N." This Rocky Mountain or Jasper house is marked on four different modern maps at *about* the latitude said, but in decidedly varying positions with reference to the river and the two lakes into which the Athabasca expands, though all agree on the left or W. side. The best map I have sets it square on the left bank of the river, below Jasper l., above Burnt l., and a little way above the mouth of a certain Moose cr. which falls in from the W. about half-way between the two lakes; this same small stream being called Fiddle cr. on another map before me. "Jasper House" seems to involve a curious pun on a personal name, or, at any rate, has been more than once mixed up with the name of its founder, Jasper Hawes, whom Thompson calls "Josp. Howes" in 1803, and "Jasper Haws" in 1804, and whose surname also appears as Hawse, Howse, House, etc.

3. Higher upon Athabaskan headwaters there was once a Rocky Mountain house concerning which little has ever appeared in print, but of which the record stands in Thompson's MSS. and elsewhere, and which is still marked on some modern maps as the Henry house; it has nothing to do with our author, but was built by his cousin, *William Henry*, already frequently mentioned in this work (and to be distinguished from that other William Henry of the N. W. Co. who starved to death in the fort on McKenzie's r., under Wentzel, winter

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another Howes  
apparently referred  
to in  
Ross's two houses  
vol 2, p. 9.  
Palliser's "Fiddle  
River" "25"  
1860 p. 29. 20.  
A

pinces, to the Saskatchewan. Upon coming in sight of the old fort, we were surprised to see some people standing at the gate, and smoke arising from within the stockades; on nearer approach our surprise increased when we observed them to be whites and Indians. The current was too swift to cross opposite the house, where there is a strong rapid; we therefore passed about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile above, to the head of the rapid, where we crossed with ease. On coming down to the fort we found the Columbia brigade had been in possession since the 24th ult.

of 1810-11). William, the cousin of Alexander, was in charge of goods at a camp or outpost on Athabaskan headwaters, winter of 1810-11; on Oct. 4th, 1811, Thompson makes "Wm. Henry's camp" to be in lat.  $52^{\circ} 53' 24''$  N., and on May 12th, 1812, makes "Wm. Henry's house" to be in lat.  $52^{\circ} 55' 16''$  N. These indications point precisely to the confluence of Miette r. with the Athabasca, and I find "Henry Ho." set on one map on the right or E. bank of the main river, directly opp. the mouth of Miette r., which comes E. from Yellowhead pass on a short and pretty straight course. This appears to be the house noted both by Franchère and by Cox, 1814 and 1817, before reaching the Jasper house in going N. down river. Thus the former says, p. 230: *Nous parvînmes tous à une vieille maison que la Compagnie du N. O. avait fait construire autrefois, mais qu'elle avait abandonnée depuis quatre ou cinq ans,*" and describes the site as "charming," surrounded with prairie and woodland. Cox speaks of coming to an uninhabited house, and says, p. 252: "This place is called the 'Old Fort,' and was built several years before as a hunting-lodge for trappers; but owing to the scarcity of provisions it was subsequently abandoned; its lat. is  $52^{\circ} 53' 10''$  N." This seems to have been the uppermost (southernmost) house on the Athabasca in those days, besides being in special relation with the Yellowhead pass, and so with certain sources of the S. fork of Fraser's r. Much above this Henry house, the Athabasca divides into two main branches, the western one of which conducts to the lake latterly known as the Committee's Punch Bowl, and thus to the Athabasca pass which leads to Canoe r.

4. A fourth Rocky Mountain house is that more distinctively known as Hudson's Hope, below the cañon of Peace r. (distinguish from Hudson's house on the Saskatchewan: note<sup>52</sup>, p. 489). The post on Peace r. which Thompson visited Mar. 6th and 7th, 1804, as recorded in his journals, Art. K of Bk. 15 of Vol. VI., "Journey from Forks of Peace R. to the Rocky Mountain House," is located by him in lat.  $56^{\circ} 12' 54''$  N., long.  $120^{\circ} 38' 03''$  W.

5. A fifth is that built in 1800 by John Thomson on McKenzie's r. below Fort Simpson, N. of lat.  $62^{\circ}$  and somewhere about long.  $123^{\circ}$ , in view of the mountains. It was abandoned in or before 1805: see note<sup>18</sup>, p. 612.

There have been, of course, many other houses in the Rocky mts., but these five are those which were called by the name of the mountains in Henry's time.

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE: 1810-11.

THIS brigade had been stopped by the Piegans, who, having been severely defeated last summer by the Flat Heads, were determined to cut off the latter's supplies of arms and ammunition, and had kept a strict watch for that purpose. Mr. Thompson had not been seen by his people since he left Upper Terre Blanche on the 15th of September, nor did they know whether he and his party were above or below.<sup>1</sup> The people tell me they have been strictly watched since they appeared here; but no insult has been offered them. We found one of the principal Piegans, a brother of Black Bear, named Big Throat, who seemed happy to see us. Soon after our arrival, the Piegan chief, Le Borgne, came in with three others, bringing four fresh beavers, and also seemed well pleased to see us. One of the Iroquois came from hunting; he had killed a red deer. This evening I gave the Piegans rum; they were not very troublesome, but drank quietly and soon went to sleep.

*Oct. 6th.* The Piegans set off early; two of the Columbia men brought in the meat of a moose. Two Bloods arrived with a few beavers, and soon after them came three Piegans, with the same. I was obliged to break open the Columbia goods, to satisfy the demands of these people, whom I wished to keep ignorant of the real destination of our canoes, and did not despair of finding a favorable moment for sending them on their voyage, though I was

<sup>1</sup> He was below, at or near Boggy Hall, fitting out for his adventurous tour into the mountains at the sources of the Athabasca. Henry's mention of Sept. 15th for his departure from old White Earth house fortunately supplies a date missing from Thompson's own journals.

sadly perplexed to know whether Mr. Thompson was above or below. I broke open a keg of powder, a keg of high wine, a roll of tobacco, and a bag of balls, which are the principal articles these people require. I gave them some liquor, took an account of baggage, and laid aside 20 pieces to keep here, as the water is too low for canoes to proceed with full loads; 10 pieces each is as much as they can carry to the Kootenay plains at present, and perhaps even that is too much. The Indians appear suspicious of our motions, and talk secretly among themselves; unfortunately, I have no person who understands their language well enough to learn their ideas about the business. However, they gave us to understand that the Flat Heads had killed 16 Piegans; that all the relations of the deceased were crying in the plains; that no Crees should go there in future, to take them arms and ammunition; and that, to crown all, four tents of Piegans were camped on the river at the first ridge of the mountains, one day's ride hence, to prevent supplies from going across. This was a sad piece of intelligence, as I knew not how to avoid them.

*Sunday, Oct. 7th.* The men gummed and repaired the canoes, having previously told the Indians that the low water had obliged us to leave below a part of our loadings for which the canoes were to return soon. I set a party at work taking off the rotten old covering of the houses. On looking about we found the Piegans had uncovered the bodies of two Crees, buried here some years ago, and had dispersed the bones. The graves were left open—an omen of their bad intentions. They have not forgotten the murder of their countrymen at Rivière au Calumet. The villains had also opened the grave of the deceased daughter of Willy Flat [William Flett]; but, finding the coffin, perceived their mistake, and molested the corpse no further. This open grave, with the remnants of the deceased's dress, and her bones half-eaten by wolves, was a melancholy sight.

At noon the Indians left us, and we made every prepara-

tion to send off the Columbia canoes this night. But they were scarcely out of sight when Black Bear, his brother, and six others arrived, with a few fresh beavers. It was this chief who had stopped these canoes. He told me that, as this was the time when he expected us, he had come with his brother to see if we had arrived. On crossing the river he observed footsteps that proceeded upward (they were those of our people, hauling with the line); he followed them accordingly, and overtook the party next day, above the Loge de Médecine, while they were gumming. He suspected they were the Columbia canoes, although our people told him they were going to winter here, and that I had merely sent them ahead to search for a convenient place for building above the Ocean house. He replied that there was no place so convenient as the old fort; that he desired them to return accordingly and await me there; that if they proceeded upward, there were four tents on the river that would send them back, for we should not be allowed to take any further supplies to the Flat Heads, etc. He then left them and returned to his camp, in order, as he said, to inform his countrymen of our arrival. Our people remained for two days at the spot where Black Bear had overtaken them, and kept watch day and night; they saw nobody during that time, but observed they were watched by the Indians, as they daily saw fresh tracks about their camp. This convinced them it would be folly to attempt to proceed on their voyage at present; they therefore returned down river to await me here. I gave Black Bear and his band a large keg of liquor as a present, and sent him to his camp, which was not far off, on the S. side.

We now flattered ourselves the coast was clear, and that we might get the canoes off this night. But about sunset another band of Piegans arrived, which proved to be the four tents that had been watching the Columbia canoes at the first ridge of the mountains. We noticed among their horses one which we knew belonged to Mr. Thompson; this convinced us he was above. The Indians said they

found him three days ago on the river, and had also seen the camp and tracks of a party of whites, but could not find them out, a heavy fall of snow having covered their tracks. They also showed me a pair of blue cloth leggings which they had found at the camp, and which I knew belonged to my cousin [William Henry]. I was convinced that Mr. Thompson and his party were above, and supposed him to be waiting for his canoes at the Kootenay plain. I was therefore anxious to get them off; but this could not be done while any Indians were at the fort, as they were suspicious of our every movement. However, I kept everything in readiness, until a favorable opportunity should present.

*Oct. 8th.* Traded with the Indians for what few trifles they had, and purchased six horses from them very cheap—one fathom of tobacco and 30 balls and powder. Got from them what intelligence we could concerning our people above, without letting them know who they were, but telling them they were a party of freemen hunting beaver in that quarter, whom I expected here shortly. These Piegans had the fresh hide of a bull they had killed at the foot of the Rocky mountains. This was really a curiosity; the hair on the back was dirty white, the long hair under the throat and fore legs iron gray, and the sides and belly were yellow. I wished to purchase it, but the owner would not part with it on any consideration. They had also an extraordinarily small horse, three feet seven inches high, and four feet four inches from ear to tail. He was a stallion about six years old, stout for his size, of a cream color, with a white mane and tail. At three o'clock eight mounted young Piegans came on a visit. These fellows torment us for ammunition, and desire to come in with their families to trade; but that would not answer my purpose, as I am anxious to get the Columbia canoes off. I am under some extra expenses to prevent Indians from coming in at present.

*Oct. 9th.* The eight young men set off, and the people



of the four tents also; the latter stole three of our horses on going away. At two o'clock five Bloods arrived, one of them a good old man, who gave us a great deal of information concerning the Piegans; he slept here with his son only, having sent the others away. He informed us who had stolen our horses, and promised they should be sent back. This old man drinks no rum; he will only taste a little shrub or wine, is the most quiet Indian I ever met anywhere, and an excellent hunter for beaver. This afternoon arrived Charlo<sup>2</sup> the Iroquois and Cotté [Joseph Coté], two of the Columbia men, whom Vallé had sent down to Upper Terre Blanche, before my arrival here, to see what had become of Mr. Thompson; they had heard nothing of him or his party. They left my canoes at Sturgeon river, the water being exceedingly low.

*Oct. 10th.* Indians all off early. The coast being clear, I proposed to the Columbia men to set off; but to my great surprise they all declined to embark unless either myself or Mr. Bethune accompanied them. This was an unexpected demand for which I was not provided; for, having told so many falsehoods to the Indians concerning those canoes, should they perceive that either Mr. Bethune or myself were gone above, the consequences might prove serious to this establishment. While I was reflecting upon this affair, Black Bear returned with a few others, who brought back two of our stolen horses. Flat Ham, with his band, came in to sell horses, and I purchased two

<sup>2</sup> "Charlo" or Charles frequently appears in Thompson's MS. of 1810-11; he was engaged by Thompson May 4th, 1811, at 600 livres and equipments, as foreman for the voyage to the Pacific. Charles and another Iroquois named Ignace started down the Columbia from Ilthkoyape (Kettle) falls July 3d, 1811. This was Thompson's final start for Astoria. There were eight men in the party—himself, Michel Bordeaux, Pierre Pareil, Joseph Coté, Michel Boulard, François Gregoire, Charles, and Ignace; besides whom two Simpoil Indians also started, but did not continue through the voyage. Thompson returned to the spot at 1 p. m. Tuesday, Aug. 20th, 1811; he made it lat. 48° 38' N. We shall hear much more about this voyage in the opening of Part III. of the present work.

mares; but soon after the bargain had been made and paid for, some Piegans arrived, one of whom went directly to the fellow who had sold me the mares and jerked his horse from him, saying something we did not understand. He then informed me that the mares belonged to him; that his countrymen had stolen them from him; but that, as I had paid for them, they were mine, and he would settle with the thieves for payment. Mousseau<sup>3</sup> and Pierre, an Iroquois, set out on foot for the Kootenay plains to find Mr. Thompson and inform him how matters stood.

*Oct. 11th.* Black Bear and others off; I gave them ammunition to kill buffalo for us. The coast being once more clear, I proposed to Mr. Bethune that he should remain in charge for the present and that I would accompany the Columbia canoes until I found Mr. Thompson. To this proposal he objected; alleging that the charge was too great, situated as we were, with every reason to suppose the natives would wreak their vengeance on us, should they discover that those canoes had gone up river. I therefore proposed that he should go along with them, and I would remain here alone, although I had scarcely ever seen a Piegan before, did not understand a word of their language, and had no interpreter who understood Saulteur—Cree being the only tongue in vogue here, of which I understand a little. However, rather than detain the canoes, I consented to remain alone, and Mr. Bethune agreed to go for a few days with them, as the men would not stir without one of us. Everything being settled, at three o'clock the canoes were put into the water, and the men's baggage was taken down to the river, ready to embark; the goods only remained in the fort, to be taken out at dark. This had scarcely been done when a long string of

<sup>3</sup> Louis Mousseau is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—One Mousseau, the one Henry means, first name nowhere appearing, was long with Thompson in the Rocky mts. and elsewhere; Rocky Mt. house one winter, 1806-07; Kootenay house, summer, 1808; to Athabaskan headwaters from Bogy Hall, Oct. 29th, 1810; from Canoe r., Sept. 25th, 1811, sent down the Columbia to meet Mr. Finan McDonald; at Saleesh house, Nov. 19th, 1811.

horsemen appeared on the beach below, coming up. Our plan was thus again deranged; my only resource was to put the baggage on board, and send the four canoes down river, as if I intended to fetch up the remainder of our goods, as I had informed the Indians I should do; but directing them to pass up with the towing-line about midnight, when whatever Indians might arrive I would keep dead drunk until the goods were conveyed above the rapids and there embarked. So down the stream they went, while the arrivals stood gazing at them from the opposite side, surprised to find my canoes had reached this place so soon—for who should the string of horsemen prove to be but the H. B. people from Terre Blanche, coming to winter alongside me here. They had scarcely got over when a Sarcee came with some beavers to trade for liquor; and about dusk three Bloods arrived, who were tented with four others and their families at the entrance of Clearwater river, on their way hither. This was a sad affair for us; however, I gave them a gallon of high wine and sent them back to their tents to drink. I also sent a man to inform the canoes of this unexpected arrival, and to tell them not to pass this camp until they were convinced all hands were drunk. Having settled things thus far I soon made the Sarcee beastly drunk and put him to sleep. I then waited anxiously until 11 p. m., when I saw the canoes coming up along shore with a line. The night was clear and the moon favorable for our undertaking. They passed unperceived, although the H. B. tents were near the river, and they had a number of dogs; but fatigue seemed to have overcome both men and beasts. The canoes had scarcely rounded the point when we heard the singing of the Bloods, who were coming up along shore; they soon reached the house, knocked at the gates, and demanded liquor; but I would not allow them to enter. At 1 a. m. I saw the crews lurking at a distance, not daring to approach for fear of being discovered. I was obliged to open the gates and bring the Indians in; I gave them a good dram and put them fast

asleep in my tent. No time was to be lost in getting the goods away. I called the men, who were concealed below the bank, hastily loaded them each with two pieces and sent them off through the woods to the canoes, about a mile above us. At 2 a. m. I was clear of them, and the Indians were all dead drunk.

*Oct. 12th.* Early this morning I went up river to efface any marks our people might have made during the night; I found many, even several pounds of provisions lying on the rocks where the men had embarked. They certainly are a careless set of fellows. The Bloods came to trade 25 beavers, some dried provisions, and other trash, berries, turnips, etc. At noon I got them off; soon after their departure two Piegans arrived for tobacco, and at sunset my cousin, William Henry, arrived with three of my canoes. I was astonished to hear that he came from below, and had left Mr. Thompson near the North branch<sup>4</sup> waiting for his people. He informed me that on their way up they followed an old route which they hoped would bring them to the Saskatchewan, about this place, where he expected to use his canoes; but, instead of that, they had sighted the river near the first ridge of mountains, at Jacquos brook,<sup>5</sup> where they fell in with the horses belonging to the four tents of Piegans. This alarmed them and made Mr. Thompson suppose he was watched by the Indians, and that his canoes had been stopped below; he therefore sent an express to

<sup>4</sup> The North branch or fork of the North Saskatchewan—that is, Brazeau r., the large tributary of the river which falls in from the W. in Tp. 24 of R. ix, W. of the 5th init. merid. Thompson was then camped below the mouth of the North fork, near Boggy Hall, having been headed off from his intended voyage up the Saskatchewan by the Piegans, as Henry proceeds to relate. Boggy Hall stood on the left or W. bank of the Saskatchewan, at the mouth of a small creek from the W., about on the border between Tps. 46 and 47 of R. just said, and thus a little above present Blue rapids.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic*—meaning Jacques', Jaco's, Jacco's, or Jacko's cr., a small branch of the Saskatchewan, in the mountains above the Rocky Mt. house and below the Kootenay plains. We shall hear more of it when Henry goes by it, on his way to the Continental Divide. This creek was named for the half-breed, Jacques Cardinal, commonly called by various perversions of his given name.

Bercier, at the Kootenay plains, telling him to come down with the horses and follow him quickly to the North branch by the interior route. At dusk Mr. Bethune returned, having left the canoes near the Loge de Médecine, the men having consented to proceed alone. I immediately sent Clément on foot to stop the canoes until further orders from Mr. Thompson.

*Oct. 13th.* I gave all hands a dram, and at eight embarked in a light canoe that was returning to Terre Blanche. The wind kept us back, and at 11 a. m. we put ashore to gum at Baptiste's<sup>6</sup> river. Notwithstanding the extremely low water, the current is very strong, and in many places runs with extraordinary velocity over a bed of round white and gray stones. The beach is broad, and consists of either such stones or of sand. In almost every bend, on the S.,<sup>7</sup> the water washes the foot of a stupendous whitish rock, in some places upward of 300 feet high. On the other side the points are low, bound in by a range of high land which in some places approaches the river, but does not present a face of rocks as upon the opposite side, and is generally wooded. There are many shoals and islands; some are wooded, and on these are great vestiges of beaver. The country on both sides is dreary; thick woods and burnt tracts occur in many places, with a few small spots of plains at intervals. At noon we embarked, and at 4 p. m. reached Mr. Thompson's camp, on the N. [rather W.] side, on top of a hill 300 feet above the water, where tall pines stood so thickly that I could not see his tent until I came within 10 yards of it. He was starving, and waiting

<sup>6</sup> Present name of the principal tributary of the Saskatchewan between the confluence of the Clearwater and that of the Brazeau; it falls in from the W., rather nearer the latter than the former, in Tp. 42, R. viii, W. of the 5th init. merid.

<sup>7</sup> Rather on the E., Henry's right going down stream, as the Saskatchewan is here running nearly N.—if anything, a little W. of N. The "stupendous" rocks of which Henry speaks are the formations which thus deflect the river for a long distance before it sweeps about to resume the eastward course it has on issuing from the mountains.

for his people—both his own canoes and those men who were coming down with his horses. His canoes having been stopped by Piegans induced him to alter his route and endeavor to open a new road from North branch by Buffalo Dung lake<sup>8</sup> to Athabasca river, and thence across the mountains to the Columbia—a route by which a party of Nepisangués [Nipissings] and freemen passed a few years ago. By this route we should never be subject to the control of the Slaves, but should avoid their country and warlands entirely; for it lies far N., in a rugged country, which those Meadow Indians never enter. It was therefore determined that the canoes should be ordered to return below as privately as possible, to avoid any misunderstanding with the natives.

*Sunday, Oct. 14th.* Snow all night; but it ceased, and we had fine weather. A young *Saulteur*<sup>9</sup> who was with Mr. Thompson went out early hunting. At 7 a. m. I was on horseback and bade Mr. Thompson farewell. I took Berger with me, and Durand for my guide. The pines were loaded with snow, and at a least touch it poured down on us by shovelfuls. We followed an Assiniboine track of this year—it must be observed that those Canoe Assiniboines have no horses, and keep in the strong woods. The country is over-

<sup>8</sup> Also called Buffalo Chip l., Dirt l., and Lobstick l., discharging by Lobstick r. into Pembina r., br. of the Athabasca: see note <sup>20</sup>, p. 573, and note <sup>8</sup>, p. 585. The Piegans entailed untold hardships and sufferings upon the resolute explorer, but the result was a piece of his most important and notable pioneering—the authentic discovery of the Athabasca pass over the Continental Divide, which soon became a regularly traveled route. We possess Thompson's precious journal of this expedition, in Bk. 25 of Vol. XI., which I have already cited several times; though it does not include this interesting conference with Henry, because it begins at Boggy Hali, Oct. 29th, and thus 15 days afterward, yet it speaks of Henry with reference to various arrangements for the outfit that were made in part at Henry's house. With regard to Henry's statement that some Nipissings and freemen had gone before Thompson, I may add that the latter's journal mentions traces of them he found on his route.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the one called Pembrook or Pembook in various places in Thompson's MS. But the Indian who guided Thompson through the Athabasca pass was an Iroquois known as Thomas. Compare note <sup>10</sup>, p. 655.

grown with large and small pines of several kinds, so close together that a horse can scarcely force his way through, although the Indians have taken great pains to cut away the cross-wood and open a path. The ground in many places is swampy, and our horses had great difficulty in the bogs. What few little creeks we crossed were very bad, with generally a miry bottom. Our guide soon went on the track of a moose, and we were left in the thick wood to find our own way. We frequently lost the track, and narrowly escaped getting astray. Vestiges of grizzly bears were numerous, and we every moment expected to encounter some of these beasts. It was 2 p. m. when we reached Baptiste's creek, down which we went, and at four o'clock arrived at its entrance into the Saskatchewan, happy to escape from the thick woods, where neither my man nor myself had been before. We continued up river, cutting off the points, until dark, when we camped at a pond of stagnant water, where we found grass for our horses. We smoked a pipe and lay down to sleep, having nothing to eat whatever.

*Oct. 15th.* At dawn we were on horseback; the road was through burnt woods and cross-sticks, which gave us a deal of misery. We crossed the Saskatchewan several times, and kept along the beach. Tracks of buffalo, moose, red deer, cabbrie, and grizzly bear were numerous. At noon we met a party of H. B. people with horses, going down to meet their boats with a view to lighten them. At 1 p. m. we arrived at the fort.

I sent Wm. Henry and Dumont on horseback to desire the Columbia canoes to return to Mr. Thompson. Clément returned, having overtaken them above the Loge de Médecine. Two men, who had been for meat to Black Bear's tent on Clearwater river, brought in four buffalo. I found myself much inclined to eat, having fasted since I left this place on the 13th. At 4 p. m. a band of Indians—five Bloods and two Sarcees—came with their families to trade. I presented them liquor, which they drank during the night; they also traded some trash for rum; all were very quiet.

*Oct. 16th.* The Indians traded what they had left, and set off. Black Bear and band soon arrived and camped with their families—nine principal men; made them the usual present of rum—a quart to each man. Black Bear having given me 10 large beavers, I gave him a chief's coat and hat, with which he was highly pleased, and they began to drink. Mr. Wm. Henry and Dumont returned, having left the canoes at hand, as I intended they should pass down during the night, unknown to strangers, so that my trick of sending them above may remain a secret both to the Indians and the H. B. people. I sent men to take some pieces out of the Columbia canoes, to replace the same number which Mr. Thompson had kept; they soon returned with the goods, the canoes immediately passed down the rapids, and took on board the rest of the cargoes that had been left here when they went up. The night was dark, with a few drops of rain, and thus favorable to our undertaking. As the Piegans were roaring drunk, the canoes got away unperceived, and my cousin went with them. I was happy to get clear of those canoes, that had caused me so much trouble and anxiety ever since my arrival.

*Oct. 17th.* Early I sent off some of the Columbia men with the horses which they had purchased here from the Indians, and one of my own men to guide them. I found myself unpleasantly situated for want of an interpreter for the Piegans. The Indians traded, but did not decamp. Le Borgne and other Piegans arrived, but I gave them no liquor. My people prefer to purchase fat dogs from the Indians to eat rather than to live upon lean buffalo meat.

*Oct. 18th.* This afternoon the H. B. boat arrived; these poor fellows have suffered much in the cold water, snow, and ice, having had to track [cordel] continually. Their boats are not constructed for pulling up the current as our canoes are. Thirteen mounted Bloods came to trade, but I forbade any of that tribe to come to this establishment in future, as we did not come here to deal with them; they must go to Terre Blanche for their necessaries. We are



here merely for the Piegans, Fall Indians, and Sarcees. The scoundrels plagued us a long time for liquor, to open a drinking-match, but I was determined they should have none. About dusk Middle Bear, a Sarcee chief, and two others arrived; they also tormented me for liquor, but to no purpose. This evening we had trouble to clear the fort of the young men, some of whom were insolent; one fellow menaced us with his gun.

*Oct. 19th.* I complained to Black Bear of the unruly behavior of the young men; he immediately made a long speech to them, in both fort and camp, and promised me that nothing of the kind should happen again. The Bloods traded what few things they had. Black Bear and his brother were troublesome in demanding liquor; the latter was inclined to quarrel, but I thought it prudent to avoid coming to extremities. Notwithstanding the speech and promises of Black Bear, I was obliged to turn one of the young men, Shaved Head, out of the fort, much against his inclination. They are very troublesome, and frequently complain of our having supplied the Flat Heads with arms and ammunition to kill Piegans.

*Oct. 20th.* The Bloods set off and a few of the Piegans also. I sent two men up river for clay to whitewash our houses. Our repairs go on slowly; the rotten old buildings are falling to pieces, and the men extremely lazy. Four Piegans from the large camp on Bow river came for tobacco and to learn the news.

*Sunday, Oct. 21st.* Traded with two Piegans. The H. B. sent two men with letters for Terre Blanche. I wrote to Mr. Hughes. Men were searching for their horses, and putting them in the muskoke [muskeg]. Bégin [or Bégér] returned from below. I received a letter from Mr. Thompson, who had deprived me of Baptiste Pruneau,<sup>10</sup> my last hunter, and kept him for himself. The other is much

<sup>10</sup> Or Bruneau, or Prunoe, in Thompson, whose MS. of Oct. 29th, 1810, says: "We have two professed hunters in Bap. Bruneau and the Yellow Bird, and Thomas the Iroquois for our guide," etc.

burnt [scared?], and it is doubtful whether he will come up, being afraid of the Piegans.

*Oct. 22d.* One of Mr. Thompson's canoes arrived here light, for a supply of dried provisions, etc. Another band of Piegans came to trade. Those people are all affected with the bad colds and ugly coughs which prevail here; several of my people are also attacked—men, women, and children. Mawkoose, a Cree, came on board the canoe in search of his family, who had accompanied the H. B. people to this place. He has just come across the mountains, having gone with the H. B. people to the old Kootenay house, where he left Mr. House and party with the free-men, together with Messrs. McMillan and Montour; these had been prevented from descending further by the Piegans and Fall Indians, who were watching our people on McGilivray's [present Kootenay] river. He had killed a red deer, which was a very seasonable supply for us, being destitute of fresh meat. He informed the Piegans that Mr. Thompson was below and did not intend to come up. This was agreeable intelligence, and they appeared much pleased to think that their enemies would receive no supplies this year. I gave them liquor, and they drank noisily all night, but were not troublesome. We perceived the plains afire on the S. side, and were told it proceeded from the carelessness of the Fall Indians when decamping.

*Oct. 23d.* Sent two men in search of one of my hunters, to endeavor to bring him up, but particularly not to allow him to come to the fort while the Piegans were here. Indians traded, but none decamped; Mawkoose and family went below. Apistiscouse and seven other Sarcees arrive with beavers to trade; they brought also five cows, which were of great service. Black Bear came into the house and gave the Sarcee chief a welcome kiss upon the mouth, telling him he was happy to see him. I gave them liquor: all the camp got drunk and were troublesome during the night. The fire continued to rage.

*Oct. 24th.* The Sarcees traded and set off; they are

a beggarly tribe, never satisfied. Little Iron and other Piegians arrived with a flag; this gave rise to jealousy between them and the Sarcees, who view each other with an anxious eye.

*Oct. 25th.* Piegians traded; one Fall Indian, Chies, and a Piegian soon arrived; gave them liquor, and another drinking match commenced. Le Borgne and other Piegians decamped. More young men came in for tobacco for a band that were on their way. They swarm in like mosquitoes, and are in no hurry to leave.

*Oct. 26th.* Haranguer and nine other Piegians arrived; soon after them came Flesh Eater and eight other Fall Indians. Gave them liquor and traded with those who arrived yesterday. All were troublesome in their demands for rum. My room being finished, I removed from my leather tent, happy to get clear from that smoky dwelling, which I gave up to the men for their residence.

*Oct. 27th.* The Fall Indians traded and set off; they brought but little. Their principal trade was in horses, which they sold very cheap—about one carrot of tobacco each. More Piegians arrived, and soon afterward three Sarcees, drinking, begging, and plaguing us out of all patience. I asked Haranguer to prevail on the Piegians to decamp; as for Black Bear, he seemed determined to remain with us.

*Sunday, Oct. 28th.* Haranguer made a long speech, telling the Piegians to decamp, and immediately set off himself. Black Bear spoke to the same purpose, and most of the tents were soon struck, but he remained, being very ill with a cold. A band of ten principal Piegians arrived, and soon after them came Middle Bear and seven other Sarcees, with a flag. He laid down 20 large beavers, for which I gave him a complete clothing and a large keg; three others laid down ten beavers and a horse, and demanded the same. We had much trouble to settle with them; they were exorbitant in their demands, and it was dark before we could get clear of them. To crown all, Béger arrived with Batail-

leur, his wife, and Little Assiniboine; however, I got the fort clear and the gates shut, to prevent any accident to the Cree during the night. I had him narrowly watched, and did not allow him to stir out or drink any liquor.

*Oct. 29th.* I traded with the Piegans, during which time Batailleur got out of the fort and went to the Sarcees' tents; before I could find him it was quite dark. Having got him into the house, he was very unruly, demanded rum, and threatened to kill the Piegans, who had said nothing to him until then. But finding themselves insulted soon raised their savage blood, and they talked of killing him. The Sarcees interfered and took part with the Cree; all was bustle and confusion. Willy Flat came to inform us he had heard that the Piegans were determined to murder the Cree. I was anxious to get the fellow off, but he was drunk and insensible to danger. However, he was taken away by some of my people, whom I had sent to his tent for meat. A Sarcee conducted him, and the danger was then over, as we had pacified the Piegans who were the most bent on mischief, by giving them a small keg of rum and a bit of tobacco. It was this man's relations that were killed by the Crees last year, and a surly dog he is; but had he been killed, the consequences would have proved serious to us. The Sarcees and Piegans would have fought immediately; the former would have remained in the fort and demanded our assistance, but even then we should have been few in number to oppose the fury of the Piegans, who could have called in a great re-enforcement in a few hours. To abandon our fort would have been impossible, the water being too low and we having but two canoes; it would have required at least six to embark us all; we therefore should have been obliged to defend ourselves to the last man. All this, through the imprudence of that stupid brute Béger, and the still greater folly of the Cree in coming to a place where he knew the natives were badly inclined toward his countrymen.

At noon I sent off Mr. Thompson's canoe<sup>11</sup> with all the dried provisions I could spare, and sent also two men with Bobbishaw down to Upper Terre Blanche for a few pieces of high wine and tobacco, of which we were short. A number of Piegans decamped; there remained only Black Bear's tent at my house, and White Buffalo Robe's at the H. B. Those men seem to remain with us as a guard to prevent any disturbance when their countrymen come in. The Sarcees plagued us for liquor, but sobered up and traded. After a most turbulent, troublesome day, we had a quiet evening—only Dumont's wife was drunk.

*Oct. 30th.* The Sarcees set off, having plagued us a long time for liquor and debt. The Piegans who arrived last night traded this morning. There soon arrived a band of six principal men, to whom I gave liquor, and a drinking-match commenced. White Buffalo Robe was very ill with a cold at the H. B. house; Black Bear struck his tent and pitched it at my neighbor's, to assist his relative and others. Baptiste Desjarlaix and Little Assiniboine went below to join my hunter. At dusk another band of Sarcees came to trade. Gabriel, whose horse was stolen by a young Sarcee a few days ago, and who had gone with Middle Bear to recover him, returned, saying the danger was too great; he might be murdered, as his horse was a good one, and the thief would probably not give him up.

*Oct. 31st.* Piegans and Sarcees traded; the latter set off,

<sup>11</sup> This canoe went down to Boggy Hall, but Thompson had gone when it arrived. On Oct. 31st he came to Pembina r., and his journal notes that there Pichette and Coté reached him from the Rocky Mt. house with letters and some provisions from Mr. Henry; other provisions having been left in charge of Pareil and St. Pierre. He says that Mr. Henry wanted a certain horse, and had been given a large roan belonging to the N. W. Co., which left Thompson with 4 pieces more than he had horses to carry; however, the cut-tailed red horse would do for meat, to replace one of the horses, and in place of the roan he would buy a stout red horse from Brure (?) for 34 skins, in goods, etc. Next day, Nov. 1st, he wrote to Mr. Henry and sent off Pichette, Coté, and Baptiste Deleon; the former to take back Mr. Henry's horses, and Deleon and Coté to return to him with provisions, together with Pareil; for which purpose of fetching the provisions from the Saskatchewan these men took with them 5 horses.

but the former remained, on purpose to offer their women to my people, which is very common amongst the Slaves; a mere trifle is sufficient payment. But the Fall Indians are the most lavish of such favors, and actually a nuisance in offering their women; anything satisfies them.

*Nov. 1st.* The Piegans set off, having had several customers for their ladies during the night. Fox Head and others arrived; gave them liquor, and they began to drink. Middle Bear arrived with a horse and a few beavers, for which he demanded a large keg of liquor. Men did not work to-day [All Saints' Day]. *2d.* Middle Bear and others set off; Piegans traded and also left. Two Sarcees came for ammunition and tobacco; these fellows plagued me much for liquor. We have mild, clear weather; no snow is to be seen, except on the Rocky mountains, which are in full view from the W. gate, apparently running E. and W. *3d.* Clear, cold, with severe frost; ice drifting. A Black-foot informed us that Gros Blanc, chief of the Cold band, died a few days ago of the prevalent disease. All the Indians in the plains are affected with it.

*Sunday, Nov. 4th.* Much ice drifting. We have in store 720 beavers, 33 grizzly bears, 20 buffalo robes, 300 muskrats, 100 lynxes. A small band arrived—four principal men; gave them liquor as usual, and they drank very quietly. Béger arrived with a young bull from the hunter's tent, near which Batailleur had killed five buffaloes, but grizzly bears were so numerous that they devoured three before Béger could convey them to the tent. Strong wood buffaloes are numerous below, but as wild as moose. Mawkoose, the Cree who is camped with my hunter, killed a large grizzly which he found feeding on the buffalo.

*Nov. 5th.* The Fall Indians traded and set off; they are the easiest tribe we have to deal with, accepting what is offered, and not dunning us like the Sarcees and Piegans. Six principal Piegans came to my house, and as many to my neighbor's, which is the first time since our arrival that he has had an equal share of the natives; three-fourths have

generally come to me. I gave them liquor as usual, and they began to drink. *6th.* My people finished the necessary repairs of the old buildings and a length of 20 feet for a hen yard. Much ice is floating down the river. *7th.* The Piegans began to decamp early, but it was 11 a. m. before we got clear of them all. Black Bear has at last left us, and there remains but one young Piegan, who complains of being lame, and has no horse. This is the first real quiet day we have had since our arrival. Weather cloudy, excepting in the S. W., directly over the Rocky mountains, where I have observed the sky to be perfectly clear for many days past, while every other part of the heavens is overcast with thick black clouds, particularly northward, where there is every appearance of snow.

At 11 a. m. Pichette and Pierre arrived with three horses from Mr. Thompson's camp.<sup>12</sup> They had left him on Panbian river, with all his property, on his way to the Columbia, cutting his road through a wretched, thick, woody country, over mountains and gloomy muskagues, and nearly starving, animals being very scarce in that quarter. His hunter, Baptiste Pruneau [or Bruneau], could only find a chance wood buffalo, upon which to subsist; when that failed they

<sup>12</sup> At present date of Nov. 7th, Thompson had worked his way some distance along Pembina r., and at some old tent-poles he found, perhaps of the Nipissings and freemen already mentioned, had turned off N. 40° W., and was camped 5 m. S. of a brook four yards wide, 6 m. S. of a river 30 to 40 yards wide, supposed to be a branch of the Pembina; Buffalo Dung l. bearing N. 5° W. about 50 m. The story Pichette and Pierre told Henry of Thompson's difficulties and privations was not in the least exaggerated.

The "Pierre" of the above text is the "St." Pierre of Thompson's MS. of equal date and of my last note, probably to be distinguished from any La Pierre of Henry, as well as from the person with the enigmatical name like Pierre; but can hardly be identified. It was not rare for a Pierre or La Pierre to reappear with the canonical prefix; thus, Pierre Gauthier, Sieur de la Verendrye, is sometimes St. Pierre, just as he himself made St. Charles the name of the river he called after his friend Charles de Beauharnois.—One St. Pierre was in the N. W. Co. on Mouse r. in 1794.—Baptiste St. Pierre appears as voyageur of the N. W. Co., Rat r., 1804.—Jean Baptiste St. Pierre, as the same, Lower Red r., 1804.—Louis St. Pierre, as the same, Upper Red r., 1804.—Compare La Pierre of a previous note.

had recourse to what flour and other douceurs Mr. Thompson had—in fact, their case is pitiful.

We got our property into the shop and storehouse, and everything in good order. The men began to repair their own houses, which are in a wretched state and require to be almost entirely renewed. *8th.* I passed an uncomfortable night, with a cold and sore throat. Mr. Bethune put the horses safely in the muskague. Men worked at their own dwellings. Three Piegans arrived; I gave them liquor, one quart per man; which having drunk, they plagued us for more, but would buy none, as usual with these fellows.

*Nov. 9th.* I rode up river about three miles to a rising ground on the N. side, where Mr. [Peter] Pangman cut his name on a pine in 1790. This spot was then the utmost extent of discoveries on the Saskatchewan toward the Rocky mountains, of which indeed we had a tolerable view from this hill. The winding course of the river is seen until it enters the gap of the mountains; a little E. of which appears another gap, through which I am told flows a south branch that empties into the Saskatchewan some miles above this place. The mountains appear at no great distance, all covered with snow, while we have none. This is the spot where we get the clay to whitewash our houses, the best I have seen in the country; it is taken out of a miry place, whence issues a spring of good water. At two o'clock I returned, and found my two men from below had arrived; they brought six pieces on three horses—a heavy load through such a rugged country. This is their eighth day from Mr. Rowand's; they tell me there is a foot of snow at that place, and they had snow all the way to Baptiste's river, where it ceased. The Piegans, with whom we had traded and settled this morning, were off before my return, and with them went also the fellow that has been on our hands since Oct. 15th; so we are entirely clear of Indians, excepting Bobbishaw, who accompanied my two men up here as guide. At three o'clock three H. B. people



from Lower Terre Blanche arrived with letters from Mr. Hughes; Mr. Bird had arrived there Oct. 30th. No extraordinary news, excepting the Act of Parliament prohibiting spirituous liquors among the Indians. This law may ease the trader, but will not enrich him. We hear the French and Americans are at war.

*Nov. 10th.* Two Bloods and their families brought in 14 fresh beavers—the meat, but no skins; these they preserve to enhance the value of the wolves they may kill this winter.<sup>13</sup> Traded with them, and as they brought no tents, allowed them to remain in the Indian hall. *11th.* Long before daybreak snow began to fall, with a strong N. W. wind, which detained the Indians; for the storm continued all day. *12th.* Snow ceased, but the wind continued. The river below the rapids was stopped with ice, which caused the water to rise opposite the fort; soon the rapid was also choked with drift ice and all frozen solid. At eleven o'clock, the water having risen three feet perpendicular, the ice below the rapid suddenly gave way, and in a few moments the water fell to its usual stand, leaving broken ice on the shore three feet deep. The channel soon ran clear of ice in the rapid, but toward evening all was once more fast both above and below, without further effect upon the rise of the water. *13th.* The river appears to be closed for the season, above and below, as far as the rapid directly opposite the house. I am told this remains free from ice the whole winter. I saw a duck in the open space, though wild fowl are scarce here; indeed, the bed and rapid current of the river are not adapted to them. In my trip to Mr. Thompson's last month I did not see a fowl of any kind. About ten days ago we observed great numbers passing very high from N. to S. This afternoon the ice suddenly moved and the water began to rise fast; the current

<sup>13</sup> Apparently meaning that the Indians reserve the skins of the beavers to bring them in later with wolfskins they would then have, and thus receive a price for the latter which the trader would only allow in consideration of the former.

increased astonishingly, forming eddies along the shore on both sides, where the waves and ice reached the height of three feet, running with great force upon the shore, until the water entirely covered the dry shoals and washed the foot of the high banks. This sudden and violent commotion continued for about twenty minutes, during which the water rose upward of four feet perpendicular, when the current appeared to cease and the channel was blocked with broken ice. Soon afterward the water appeared to force a passage along shore, pouring over the ice and along the bank until it reached the firm body of ice below, which was soon observed to be in motion; this gave a small vent at the foot of the rapid, which was instantly cleared of ice. When the water had fallen one foot the ice below appeared to stop, and the river remained covered with a thick bed of broken ice, except a small space at the foot of the rapid.

*Nov. 14th.* Batoche and family arrived from hunting beaver toward the Bois Planter [?] and other creeks near Lac du Mâle [?] adjoining the Saskatchewan. He brought 80 beavers, and would have killed as many more had not the Sarcees been there before him. He crossed the ice with his loaded horses below the fort. Soon after his arrival Mawkoose came to the H. B. house from my hunter's tent, and Béger arrived with two bulls. The two Crees drinking at the H. B. house. *15th.* Sent off Béger with four horses for two buffaloes at the hunter's tent, and sent La Marche<sup>14</sup> to remain there with four horses to bring home meat; Mawkoose went with them. Batoche was busy making his bed in the Indian hall, Dumont's family finished their house, and Bobbishaw went to join the hunters. *16th.* Before daybreak it began to snow, and continued all day. Crow and son arrived at the H. B. house for their supplies, having been hired at Terre Blanche as hunters for this place; they settled and went back to their tents on foot.

*Nov. 17th.* The storm continued, but the snowfall was

<sup>14</sup> The only one of this name I have noted elsewhere is Charles Lamarche, who appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804.

not so heavy as yesterday. Le Blanc and Doyen [?] finished their houses. We now for the first time got the fort cleared of the chips, wood, dirt, and snow that had accumulated since our arrival. Baptiste Desjarlaix, with Batard le Claire's young son, arrived from the hunter's tent. The former had a narrow escape for his life from Little Assiniboine. Jealousy was the cause, and the liquor I sent on the 15th nearly occasioned murder among them; several battles were fought. In a word, Batailleur and Little Assiniboine are two notorious scoundrels.

*Nov. 18th.*<sup>15</sup> The third and last of our men's houses was finished and entered; all hands are now under cover. *19th.* A thick vapor from the open space of water below the rapid spread a heavy rime or fog that was not dispersed before ten o'clock. *20th.* B. Desjarlaix hunting; seven men out to raise dog trains: four laying up canoes and cleaning the fort; one making a wood train; one off for meat, one cutting wood, one carting, one making kegs. Our canoes are much split by the frost, and four of our large axes broke to-day, being nearly as brittle as glass. Desjarlaix killed nothing, as the animals about the fort have all been roused by men going for trains, searching for horses, etc. *21st.* About sunset suddenly we had a S. W. gale, and the thermometer rose from 32° to 40° in a few moments. *23d.* Sawed plank for gates; made trains for a journey to Terre Blanche. Two Sarcees arrived from near Wolf river, where buffalo are numerous; they brought a few beavers. *24th.* Willy Flat's boy is very ill; this is the sixth day since he has tasted anything excepting chocolate. He desired to shift his berth. *25th.* A roof-stick fell last

<sup>15</sup> At this date the copy continues unbroken by dates, but in the entirely different form of a meteorological register, ruled off for formal entries of such data, and what appears here of the daily journal is simply the "Remarks" entered in a column made for that purpose. The style of locution is different from what has preceded; very likely the entries were made by Henry's clerk. This kind of matter runs folios 1211-39 of my copy, to date of Feb. 2d, 1811. I omit the meteorological tables, and condense the rest of the entries to the utmost degree that seems consistent with keeping up the record.

night, and the boy ate for the first time. *26th.* Began to make our fort gates and took down the flag-staff to arrange the haulyard. *27th.* Seven men set off with dog trains for Lower Terre Blanche to bring up goods. A gale prevented us from erecting our flag-staff. A small herd of cows was found among our horses near the fort. *28th.* A Piegan and three Fall Indians arrived with dog travailles. They informed us that a Piegan had been murdered at Terre Blanche by the Crees, that a war-party of Piegans and Fall Indians had just returned with 60 horses stolen from the Flat Heads, that a fresh party were off for the same purpose; also, that a Fall Indian woman, taken prisoner last summer, had escaped from the Flat Heads, with whom she said our people were camped. If this report be true, Mr. Finan McDonald must have abandoned his house.

*Dec. 1st.* Pichette finished the fort gates, and the bastions were put in order, but they are wretched buildings for defense. *4th.* Nine young Fall Indians arrived, each with a dog travaille and a few bad wolfskins, for which they wanted tobacco. *5th.* Fall Indians off with most of their wolves, as we took only the best. Every chimney in the fort smokes, which renders our houses very disagreeable. *6th.* I took a long walk on the S. side of the river, but did not see a moving thing—not even a squirrel. This quarter appears destitute of small animals; partridges are very scarce, and rabbits few. *9th.* Six men hauling snow out of the fort from 8 a. m. to 10 p. m. *13th.* A heavy fall of snow. At 7 p. m. David and Brunelle from Upper Terre Blanche arrived with two pieces of goods; they left Mr. Rowand on the 7th inst. *15th.* Cardinal went above in search of a proper place for our horses, the snow being too deep for them to live in the swamps where they have been since our arrival. *16th.* Cardinal with Desjarlaix and Antoine off to take our horses above the Medicine Tent. *17th.* The H. B. hunters passed up on the S. side to join ours at Jolies Prairies. *18th, 19th.* Men making snowshoes. *20th.* Cardinal returned, having taken the horses out of the

swamp and placed them at Medicine Tent, where the grass is tolerably good. It was full time, as the snow prevented them from filling their bellies with that small goosegrass,<sup>16</sup> which is the only thing for them in these swamps, and they were getting lean fast. *24th.* At 3 p. m. five men from Lower Terre Blanche arrived with 1½ pack per train; they had come away with two packs each, but the snow obliged them to leave half a pack each at Sturgeon river. *25th.* We kept Christmas at our neighbor's. *26th.* Sent for meat; two men to remain at the hunter's tent. *27th.* Men returned with two cows. Our hunter had killed a large grizzly bear, very lean, and, as usual with them in that state, very wicked. He narrowly escaped being devoured. They seldom den for the winter as black bears do, but wander about in search of prey. *28th.* We white-washed and repaired our houses for the approaching new year. Jacques carted firewood. *29th.* Two H. B. men set off for White Mud lake.

*Sunday, Dec. 30th.* At 5 p. m. seven men arrived from Mr. Thompson and one [Turcotte<sup>17</sup>] of Mr. Rowand's. It is 17 days since they left Mr. Thompson<sup>18</sup> on Athabasca

<sup>16</sup> Goosegrass is properly *Polygonum aviculare* and other species of the same genus, but what Henry means is the equisetaceous plant known to the voyageurs as *prêle*, a name he uses beyond for horsetails of the genus *Equisetum*.

<sup>17</sup> "Mr." Turcot (not the above) was sent by Duncan Cameron beyond Nid du Corbeau and Lac du Pichou, 1793.—Aimable Turcotte, steersman N. W. Co., 1819, was one of the two companions who shared all but the final tragedy of B. Frobisher; Joseph Lepine was the other. These three had been captured at Grand Rapid and were confined in York Factory, but effected their escape. The two men survived, but Frobisher perished miserably (see Frobisher, B., in Index or elsewhere).—Jean Baptiste Turcotte is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Jean Baptiste Turcotte, or Turcot, was an overland Astorian; was left on Snake r., Idaho, Dec., 1811, with André La Chapelle and François Landry; was recovered in 1812; died, probably killed, with John Reed's party on Snake r., winter of 1813-14 (most likely in fall of 1813): more about him beyond, where Astorian matters come up.

<sup>18</sup> On Dec. 5th, 1810, Thompson had reached a point on Athabasca r. which he gives as lat. 53° 23' 37", mean long. 117° 44' 15". He there built a hut for his goods, and a meat shed; sent men hunting and others in search of birch for sleds and snowshoes; thermom. minus 4°. From this place, on

river at the foot of the mountains. On their way here they ate an old horse and five dogs, but had been some time without food and were worn out with fatigue and hunger. They met this morning the two H. B. men who left yesterday, and got from them a mouthful of provisions, which enabled them to reach this place. These people came for provisions, dogs, and horses, of all of which they were entirely destitute. We have no more meat in store than will answer for eight days' rations, and of other provisions not a mouthful. Our hunters are lazy; and when we shall see an Indian to bring a supply, God knows.

*Tuesday, Jan. 1st, 1811.* Andrew Spencer's son, aged about

Friday, Dec. 14th, he despatched Bourré, guide, with La Fortune, Mousseau, B. Delcour, Desersiers? (Desrosiers?), La Course?, and Canada, with letters to Mr. Henry at the Rocky Mountain house, asking for pemmican and other supplies. These are the seven men whom Henry mentions at present date. Thompson was in dire extremities, and his men were disaffected to the verge of mutiny by the suffering they shared with him. On the 15th the thermom. was minus 30°, and on the 18th, 36° below zero. On Saturday, the 29th, thermom. minus 31°, he started; each sled with two dogs—those of B. d'Eau, Coté, Forcier, and Lamoureux carried 120 lbs.; those with one dog, of Vallade, Pareil, Batoche, and Du Nord carried 70 lbs. apiece; four horses carried 208 lbs. of pemmican, 35 lbs. of grease, and 60 lbs. of flour, in care of Villiard and Vaudette; Baptiste was hunter, and Thomas the Iroquois was guide. On New Year's Day, 1811, thermom. minus 24°, the dogs were unable to move with their loads; a cache was made, and the two-dog sleds reduced to 80 lbs., the single-dog sleds to 50 lbs., except Vallade's, which had 70 lbs. Thompson struggled on, with ever-increasing difficulty and danger; but there was no alternative. Jan. 4th, he came to "a bold defile," whence issued the main Athabasca r., "the canoe road to pass to the W. side of the mts.," having passed a brook 20 yards  $\infty$  "where the hunters formerly made a hut for the winter"—probably the party of freemen and Indians of whom Henry has told us. Jan. 7th, snow two feet deep; "the dogs may be said to swim in the road beat by the snowshoes" of Thomas, Batoche, and Vaudette, while the rest followed as best they could; held *up* the rivulet. Jan. 8th, the brook, still seemingly the main stream, dwindling away; mts. about 1 m. apart, 2,000 to 3,000 feet high; a dog beaten to death by Du Nord and thrown aside with his sled. Jan. 10th, Thursday, crossed the Height of Land—the Athabasca pass—lat. made 52° 08' N., long. 118° 16' 38" W., Du Nord was ordered out of camp for mutinous behavior, but Thompson relented. Jan. 11th, held *down* a brook; Thomas killed two moose, "thank heaven for this supply"; in the last 36 hours the men had eaten 56 lbs. of pemmican, "the

one month, died this morning at the H. B. Co. house. A dance at our house in the evening, which did not break up until two o'clock, when I gave our people a treat of liquor, one pint per man, and they began to drink. *2d.* Men drunk all day, and went to sleep. *3d.* Sent three men to bring up  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pieces they had left on their way from Upper Terre Blanche. Turcotte also goes with them; they take one of Mr. Thompson's letters to Terre Blanche. The old women now enjoying their cups in their turn. *4th.* Mr. Thompson's men off to raise trains and snowshoes. *5th.* Columbia men returned from raising trains for themselves.

most improvident, thoughtless men I ever saw." Jan. 12th, rested and fed heartily; "as my situation does not permit me to write to the partners on paper, I wrote them and Mr. Henry on boards, to be copied by Mr. William Henry and forwarded." Jan. 13th, sent back to the Height of Land for some things left there, but wolverenes had destroyed everything except 5 lbs. of balls. Jan. 14th, dogs could no longer haul their loads, owing to the depth and softness of the snow; reduced all baggage to a weight of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pieces, and abandoned everything not absolutely necessary, including his tent; courage of the men sinking fast, though the snow was only 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, and they were told it was no matter if it was 20 feet deep, provided they could get over it; "but when men are in a strange country, fear gathers in them from every object." Jan. 15th, sighted mountains on other side of the Columbia. Jan. 16th, open ground of the river seen. Jan. 17th, down the river. Jan. 18th, camped within a short mile of the Columbia; snow  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Jan. 19th, 20th, in camp, lat.  $52^{\circ} 08' 35'' N.$  Jan. 21st, down to the Columbia. Jan. 22d, down the Columbia 1 m. to a bold brook, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. to a cedar point. F. d. P. men dispirited, "useless as old women"; Thompson "heartily tired of such worthless fellows," and poorly equipped for such a long journey as was still before him; and so "I determined to return to the junction of the River Flat Heart and Canoe River with the Kootenae [*i. e.*, the Columbia] River," wait for men, goods, and provisions, and build canoes. Thus was reached what soon became and long continued to be one of the most notable places on the upper Columbia, at the very northernmost point of the great river, where it doubles on itself and turns S. from the N. N. W. course it holds from its source to the mouth of Canoe r. Thompson discovered this Athabasca pass, and discovered and named Canoe r. Where he sat down to wait became known as Canoe camp; and "Boat Encampment" is a legend of the spot on maps of to-day, signaling the terrible journey I have thus outlined from the orig. MS. Thompson wintered there till Wednesday, Apr. 17th, 1811, when with René Vallade, steersman, Pierre Pareil and Joseph Coté, midmen, and himself bowman, in one canoe, he started up the Columbia.

*Sunday, Jan. 6th.* Eleven young Fall Indians arrived from Bow river with a few wolves to trade for tobacco and ammunition. *7th.* Indians traded and set off at noon. Mr. Thompson's men raised trains and snowshoes. Three of our horses crossed the river and we suppose them stolen by the Fall Indians. *8th.* Jacques brought back our three horses, which had crossed in search of good grass. *9th.* Batoche off to hunters' tent to see what they are doing and make them exert themselves, as we have only one day's rations in store. *10th.* Our hunters are tented near Meadow river<sup>19</sup> with La Corneille, the H. B. Co. hunter. *11th.* Our three men arrived from Upper Terre Blanche with the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  packs. Mr. Rowand was at Terre Blanche for New Year's Day and F. Marion in charge at Terre Blanche.

*Sunday, Jan. 13th.* Jacques went to see our horses at Loge de Médecine, and found they could not be left there any longer, good grass being very scarce and the plain small. *14th.* Nine men off with dog sleds to the Piegans for buffalo meat, and the H. B. Co. off with as many horses. Jacques went to shift our horses to a point below where they were. Batoche and others were employed in making snowshoes and trains for Mr. Thompson's men. *15th.* Languedoc went with letters to be forwarded by the winter express from Lower Terre Blanche. *16th.* Two young Piegans, who came for tobacco for their countrymen who are coming in to-morrow, had been told by Black Bear to inform us that he had made a pound near Red Deer river for the purpose of supplying us with buffalo. They say that the Piegans and Fall Indians are still on Bow river. *17th.* The young men off. Grosse Gorge and one Fall Indian came in ahead for rum. *18th.* Indians arrived and pitched their tents, three here and six at the H. B. Co., all drinking. *19th.* Indians traded and set off with Dumont and Clément to collect meat at the pound. A warm gale, and snow melting fast; thermometer  $58^{\circ}$ .

<sup>19</sup> Merely another name for Prairie cr., br. of the Clearwater, near the fort.



*Sunday, Jan. 20th.* Two Piegans and three Fall Indians arrived to trade. *21st.* They traded and left; we bought three horses for from six to seven skins. Dumont's men returned with meat, but could not bring all, the road being choked with mud and fallen wood in the gale of the 19th. *22d.* Three of Mr. Thompson's men off to North Branch to cache the pemmican I expect from Terre Blanche. *23d.* Le Blanc and La Course<sup>20</sup> off for meat. Two young Piegans in for tobacco; the rest soon arrived, four to us and four to the H. B. Co. I gave them liquor. *24th.* Piegans traded very little—wolves and provisions; they said that all the Slave tribes had been starving. The plains being burned, buffalo are to be found only at a great distance beyond Bow river, which has been the cause of their not coming in as usual. *25th.* Moineau off to remain with the hunter. Le Blanc went with him to inquire into some reports we had heard that they intended to watch and murder a Piegan now at the house, which would be attended with serious consequences to us here, and indeed to the whole river. At two o'clock the Piegans set off, and at the same time our seven men, who have been with Le Borgne since the 14th, arrived with 3½ buffaloes. They had met the Fall Indians who left on the 21st. The latter were insolent and pillaged a blanket from Berger, besides some meat. White Head, a Piegan, was also so insolent that I complained of his behavior to the Piegans here, who seemed highly offended. *26th.* At four o'clock Messrs. McMillan and Montour<sup>21</sup> arrived from Flat Head lake,<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> So copy. This is that man of Thompson's whose name begins similarly, but is hardly decipherable at its end. I find no other record of any La Course.

<sup>21</sup> Copy defective here, having "Millan and Mont—" without finishing the latter name, and with hiatus where the word "arrived" should be. Mending this broken place, we find that Mr. McMillan and Mr. Montour arrived. Both these gentlemen have been heretofore noted. They were two of Thompson's clerks at the time, and Mr. Montour was placed by Thompson in charge of a house some time in 1811. The house on so-called "Flat Head" l. from which they came was the one which Thompson had built on Pend d'Oreille l. in Sept., 1809: see next note.

<sup>22</sup> Flat Head l. of Henry's text is Pend d'Oreille l., through which Clark's

which they left Dec. 12th, and where the H. B. Co. are also settled.

Fork of the Columbia flows in Idaho; and thereby hangs a tale which has never been told in print, and can only be found in full in Thompson's MSS. of 1809-10. The synonymy of all those large rivers and lakes is much involved by Thompson's use of names for them which are never used now, and by his use of different names for the same river, lake, or house. For example:

1. Thompson's *Kootanae* r. is the COLUMBIA above Canoe r.
2. Thompson's *Kootanae* lakes are the UPPER and LOWER COLUMBIA lakes (the lower one also now called WINDERMERE l.).
3. Thompson's *Kootanae House* was on the Columbia just below Lower Columbia l., where he wintered 1807-08, and again 1808-09.
4. Thompson's *McGillivray's* or *Flat Bow* r. is KOOTENAY r.
5. Thompson's *Kootanae* or *Flat Bow* l. is KOOTENAY l.
6. Thompson's *Saleesh* or *Flat Head* r. is CLARK'S FORK of the Columbia.
7. Thompson's *Saleesh* or *Flat Head* l. is PEND D'OREILLE l., Idaho.
8. Thompson's *Kullyspell* l. is also PEND D'OREILLE l.
9. Thompson's *Kullyspell House* was built on PEND D'OREILLE l. in Sept., 1809.
10. Thompson's *Saleesh House* was built on CLARK'S FORK, in Nov., 1809, in Montana, where he wintered 1809-10.

11. Thompson was never on present FLAT HEAD l., which is that large one through which present FLAT HEAD r. runs in Montana to join Clark's Fork; but he went some little way up present Flat Head r., above its junction with Clark's Fork, and to that extent his *Saleesh* or *Flat Head* r. is FLAT HEAD r., and his *South Branch* of the same is CLARK'S FORK above their confluence.

12. Thompson's *Skeetshoo* r. is SPOKANE r., which flows through CŒUR D'ALÈNE l., Idaho.

Premising thus far regarding names, Thompson's movements in 1809-10 may be here outlined, in so far as they relate to the "Flat Head" l. of our text:

At 11.30 a. m., on Tuesday, Aug. 29th, 1809, Thompson reached a point on present Kootenay r. where what he calls the "Great Road of the Flat Heads" left that river for "Flat Head" r., *i. e.*; for Clark's Fork. The position of this camp he gives as lat.  $48^{\circ} 42' 45''$  N., long.  $116^{\circ} 00' 08''$  W., which should be in Idaho, very near the border of Montana. Having procured horses, Sept. 6th, he started nearly S. to cross the Cabinet range, which separates the watershed of Kootenay r. from that of Clark's Fork. Sept. 8th, he descended a rivulet, apparently present Pack cr., to "the lake," to wit, Pend d'Oreille l. Sept. 9th, arrived "Thank God at the mouth of the river," *sc.*, entrance of Clark's Fork into Pend d'Oreille l., at 2 p. m., and smoked with 54 Flat Heads, 23 Pointed Hearts (Cœur d'Alènes), and 4 Kootenays. Looking about for a place to build, he pitched upon the peninsula which runs out from the E. side of the lake. He gives the position of the house he built as  $48^{\circ} 12' 14''$ , and says the peninsula was about a four hours' walk around. In his language he thus founded the Kullyspell house on Kullyspell, Saleesh, or Flat Head l., near the mouth

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*Sunday, Jan. 27th.* Sakanakee and his son, with Bonhomme and a Courte Oreille, arrived, having slept at our hunter's

of Saleesh or Flat Head r. In our terms he built on Pend d'Oreille l., near the entrance of Clark's Fork, on Hodgkin's pt., between Pope's ldg. and Amelia bay; nearest stations Ellisport and Hope, N. P. R. R., which skirts the lake. The journal for the foregoing data will be found in Bk. 23 of Vol. X., running to Tuesday, Sept. 26th, 1809, while he stayed where he was. The journal continues directly in Bk. 22 of Vol. X. (and on the last folio of that book, the sheets of which are all disarranged, and have to be read backward, forward, and upside down to pick out consecutive dates—it includes even some folios relating to Fort George on the Saskatchewan, mixed in with the rest). At noon of Wednesday, Sept. 27th, 1809, he set off with Beaulieu and an Indian, and 4 horses, on an exploration of the country below, to see if he could not find a route out of that region less open to hostile Meadow Indians than that by which he had come. Sept. 28th, about noon, he reached the "head of the river," *sc.*, exit of Clark's Fork from Pend d'Oreille l. Sept. 29th—Oct. 2d, he held on down river, past falls, etc., past present Priest, Vermilion, or Kanisku r., out of Idaho and some distance into Washington; Oct. 2d, started back up river; Oct. 5th, was at 11 a. m. directly opposite the "Skeetshoo road," to wit, by which natives passed S. from Clark's Fork to Spokane r.; Oct. 6th, regained his house on the lake. At 10.30 a. m., Wednesday, Oct. 11th, he started up Clark's Fork, about S. E. on an average, to Oct. 14th, during which four days he went from Idaho some distance into Montana, along the "Saleesh road to buffalo"; he then swung away to the left from Clark's Fork, and made over to the Kootenay r., on courses averaging about N. This cut across country is not very clear in his journal, nor are our best maps quite reliable in details; but he speaks of "plains" and "lakes" and "good road"; from which expressions and other indications he seems to have been up Clark's Fork at least to present Thompson cr.; to have followed this creek up to the divide between Clark's Fork and Kootenay r. (vicinity of Hunting L.), and then to have gone down present Fisher cr.; if so, he struck the Kootenay at Jennings. In any event, on Oct. 20th, Friday, at 1 p. m., he went a mile and "Thank God came to the river," *i. e.*, the Kootenay, Oct. 21st; held on down to Kootenay falls, Oct. 22d, and below these, Oct. 23d, to the N. end of the "Lake Indian Road," which is the same as his "Great Road of the Flat Heads." Here he wrote to Finan McDonald (who meanwhile had built an outpost and wintered, 1808-09, on Kootenay r. lower down), rested Oct. 24th-27th, traveled S. Oct. 28th, and reached Kullyspell house on Pend d'Oreille l. at 2.30 p. m., Sunday, Oct. 29th. On Thursday, Nov. 2d, Thompson started up Clark's Fork again; Nov. 3d, camped at Herring rapids, on the border of Montana, lat. scarcely over 48°, and long. 116° exactly by modern observations; for I suppose that modern "Heron" rapids and Heron sta. on the N. P. R. R. are the original Herring rapids. Nov. 4th-9th, he held up river, precisely as the railroad said now goes, to a position rendered by a mean of 50 observations as lat. 47° 34' 35" and of 15 observations as long. 115° 22' 51". This determines

tent; these people accompanied Messrs. M. and M. [McMillan and Montour] from the old Kootenay house [on the

a place near Thompson sta. of the N. P. R. R., between Eddy and Belknap stations, close to mouth of Ashley cr., nearly opp. mouth of Prospect cr., and not far down river from mouth of Thompson cr. Here is where he built what he called the Saleesh house, sometimes Flat Head house, which we now see has nothing to do with our Salish or Flat Head r., or our Salish or Flat Head l., or his Saleesh or Flat Head l., but was on his Saleesh or Flat Head r., *i. e.*, our Clark's Fork, in Montana. Mr. McMillan of Henry's text above was with him, and the first thing he did was to blow off two fingers by accidental discharge of his gun. At this Saleesh house Thompson wintered to Apr. 19th, 1810, but meanwhile he made three round trips. (1) One of these, Feb. 23d to Mar. 6th, 1810, was to find rind for canoes, to trade, etc. Mousseau, Forcier, Boulard, and two Indians went with him. On this trip he learned of the death of Mr. Courter? Coaster? at Saleesh *camp* (not at Saleesh *house*), and went to that camp to see about it. There he paid each chasseur—Michel Bordeaux, François Sans Façon, François Gregoire, and Registre Bellaire—for services rendered to property of the deceased, 7½ seasoned beaver skins on demand; paid Lagassé 6 skins for hire of 3 horses; paid René 6 skins for 2 days' attendance and loss of hunt; paid an old Kootenay chief 1 skin for loan of a horse; paid La Barbue or Le Barbé 5 skins for rescuing and interring body of deceased, and Le Muet? 2 skins for helping the burial; called on La Breche, who arrived with some of the deceased's skins (*sic*) to deliver them up, which La Breche did on being paid one-third of them for his trouble. All the merchandise of the deceased had been pillaged by the Indians, and Thompson was glad to save what he could of the skins; but he does not say clearly how the man died. (2) Having arrived at the Saleesh house Mar. 6th, he set off again Mar. 8th, up Clark's Fork to the Saleesh camp Mar. 9th, and so on. On this trip he went some little way above where the "South Branch" of "Saleesh r." falls in, *i. e.*, junction of our Flat Head r. with Missoula r. to compose Clark's Fork, at N. P. R. R. station Paradise; returned to Saleesh house 5.30 p. m. Wednesday, Mar. 14th. (3) His third trip was like the last, to Saleesh camp, etc., to bring down furs, etc. He was gone Mar. 17th–25th, returning to Saleesh house. There, Apr. 6th, he sent Lagassé, Crepaud, Beaulieu, Delcour, Mousseau, and Buonaparte, with 10 packs and 50 lbs. gum down to Lake Kullyspell (=Pend d'Oreille); and at 4 p. m. Thursday, Apr. 19th, left Saleesh house himself with 10 packs and 5 parcels of provisions, went down Saleesh r. (=Clark's Fork) and reached Kullyspell house 7.15 p. m. Saturday, Apr. 21st. He continued his journey Apr. 24th, and after various movements in May, transporting packs, etc., reached McGillivray's portage June 9th, descended the Columbia, went up Blueberry cr., made Height of Land (Howse Pass) June 18th, and was thus brought to the Saskatchewan—where we have found him before on this very trip: see note <sup>5</sup>, p. 606.

The present note may seem intricate, but can easily be followed if the reader will examine Thompson's map, published herewith. (1) Observe his "N. W.

Columbia], which they left 18 days ago. *30th.* Delcour's party returned from below North Branch [Brazeau river], but had seen nobody, although they waited three days after the appointed time. They brought up the balls and tobacco which had been sent from Mr. Rowand's for Mr. Thompson. The keg of high wine is at the north branch. *31st.* Petit Nepisangue and others set off for the Kootenay house with some ammunition and tobacco for themselves and others there. I sent Côté and Desjarlais with them to hunt at Mr. Thompson's campment above the first ridge of mountains.

*Friday, Feb. 1st.* Batoche, Dumont, and Clément returned from the Piegans' pound near the Bow hills. Ten young men arrived at the H. B. house. Parisien and Tom came from Mr. Rowand's with letters from Lower Terre Blanche. David came in. *2d.* Three young Piegans came in for tobacco; they remain to-night and do not intend to go till Monday morning, having left Black Bear and others beyond Red Deer river, who are coming slowly, with lean horses loaded with fresh meat.

I made preparations for my intended jaunt in the Rocky mountains to the Height of Land, where the waters of [Blueberry creek] a branch of the Columbia arise within a very short distance of the Saskatchewan.

□ Co.,” on left bank of the Columbia, due E. of “Mt. Nelson”: this is the Kootenay house. (2) Observe “Carry 2 miles”: this is his McGillivray's portage, now Canal Flat (Grohman). (3) Observe “□ N. W. Co.” on “McGillivray's River”: this is Finan McDonald's house, from near which “Lake Indian Road” runs to “Kullyspel Lake,” with “□ N. W. Co.” on the peninsula on its E. side. (4) Observe “□ N. W. Co.” high up on “Saleesh River”: this is the Saleesh house, whence “Kootenae Road” runs nearly N. to Kootenay r. (5) Finally, observe “□ N. W. Co.” on “Skeetshoo River”: this is the Spokane house. There is thus not the slightest trouble in making out all the main features of Thompson's map, and identifying them in the terms of modern geography. The best map for comparison I have handled is that of British Columbia compiled under the direction of Hon. G. B. Martin, Chief Comm. Lands and Works, Victoria, B. C., 1895: see also latest editions of Idaho and Montana, General Land Office, Washington, D. C.

## CHAPTER XXI.

OVER THE GREAT DIVIDE: 1811.

**S**UNDAY, Feb. 3d, 1811. Clear and calm; thermometer  $12^{\circ}$  below zero. At 5.30 a. m. I set out on my journey, accompanied by two men, each of us with a sled and dogs. There being some Piegans at my house, I gave them to understand I was going to my establishment below. We took that track accordingly, and having proceeded about a mile, turned off from the road and made a circuit behind the fort, to avoid giving any suspicion that we were going above. Those people are so jealous of any movement toward the Rocky mountains that it would require but a trifle to make them troublesome. Having passed the fort and fallen upon the track leading above, we drove on briskly until sunrise, which found us at the bas fond [river-bottom] where our horses are wintered. The noise of our bells, and the cries of the men and dogs, so alarmed the gang of horses that we saw only the smoke and snow that arose in their flight from the river; they appeared as shy as a herd of wild animals, and disappeared in the woods at full speed. Jacques Cardinal, my horse-keeper, had been since yesterday collecting them that I might see them; but in this I was disappointed. I gave him a hearty dram, and sent him in pursuit of them, while I continued my journey on the smooth ice, covered with three inches of snow. From the fort to this place our track was by land, as the vast piles of broken ice, which formed on the closing of the river last fall, were too rough for sleds. The same is also the case for some miles below the house, where the ice has been tossed up in piles 15 feet high. Such interruptions are frequent, and some winters so great as to prevent a sled

from running on the river for several leagues, especially at places where the current is strong, forming rapids at low water. We found the track on the ice well beaten by the party of five whom I sent off on the 31st ult. Three of these were on their return across the mountains to the old Kootenay house<sup>1</sup>; the others were one of my own men and a hunter I had sent ahead to procure provisions for ourselves and our dogs. The road which lay before us could be traveled with expedition, having hardy, able-bodied men, and sleds not too heavily loaded, with three stout, active dogs to each. My own was a kind of cariole made by stretching a wet parchment of mooseskins over a few timbers, to which it was well secured with a line. This forms a comfortable voiture, prevents the snow from gathering in the sled, and keeps a person snug and warm, wrapped in a buffalo robe. I was rather surprised to find the ascent scarcely perceptible upon the ice; upon the water the case is evidently different, for every rapid or swift water appears then several feet high. No open spaces were to be seen in the ice, though frequently in this part of the river ponds a mile long occur at this season; but the cold has been so severe this winter that all has become a solid mass of ice.

At nine o'clock we passed the Bas Fond de la Loge de Médecine on the N. side of the river. This is the last bottom or flat point where grass fit for horses is found along the river, on this side of the mountains. A thick woody country then presents itself, where pine, aspen, and poplar extend down to the beach; among these trees there grows only a long, coarse grass. At eleven o'clock we came to Swallow Rock, the spot whence our Columbia canoes turned back on the 16th of last October. From this spot a long reach up river opens to the view, with a grand sight of the mountains ahead, covered with snow. Here

<sup>1</sup> The one that Thompson built in July, 1807, on the Columbia (his Kootenay r.) near the foot of Lower Columbia or Windermere l., as stated in a former note. Thompson went over Henry's present route several times, and we shall be able to check our text by his itineraries.

the green pines on both sides of the river seem to end, and all above appears to be one continuous dreary waste, destroyed by fire some years ago. The ground is covered with immense piles of fallen trees lying across one another, which gives a gloomy appearance to the country, while towering summits of the mountains strike the mind with awe. In many of the bends the banks are steep and even perpendicular rocks, 100 to 200 feet high, some yellowish and others gray and generally of a sandy nature; the flat points are thickly covered with pines and willows. At eleven o'clock we passed the South or Ram river,<sup>2</sup> which comes in on the S. side, having taken its rise in the mountains. Here we found the carcass of a fallow deer that had been killed by wolves. We soon passed the camp of our people who set off on the 31st ult. We passed several places where the water had overflowed the ice, but it was frozen hard and presented a smooth surface, over which our dogs went at a brisk trot. At 3.30 p. m. we stopped for the night. There was so little snow on the ground that we had no occasion to clear a spot for camp, and took our station under some large spreading pines which had escaped the ravages of the fire.

In the course of the day I observed only one opening in the ice, a few feet long, at the foot of a very strong rapid. The ice acquires immense thickness during the winter by the frequent overflows, which are instantly congealed, one layer over another, till they become too thick to be pierced with an ax. One of my men worked hard this evening for an hour before he could spring any water. From camp we had a grand view of the mountains, which seemed to be not more than one hour's walk from us; but, owing to their great height, the apparent distance is very deceiving.

*Feb. 4th.* At 4.30 a. m. we were on our march. The

<sup>2</sup> See Thompson's map, on which this stream is shown, lettered as above. Ram r. is evidently so named from the mountain sheep of which we shall hear presently.



track being still hard and good, our dogs went on briskly. Just as the sun rose we found ourselves at Jacques' brook,<sup>3</sup> at the entrance of which the water had overflowed so much that we had some difficulty to avoid getting our feet wet. Our sleds got into the water, and were instantly covered with ice, which fatigued our dogs very much. Here we stopped to lay up some provisions for our return, which was done by cutting a large hole in the ice to contain them, and then piercing a small hole to let the water rise and cover them. This affair took us nearly two hours, during which time I breakfasted. This small river comes in from the N., having taken its rise in the mountains. It is here that the road by land leaves the Saskatchewan and follows up this brook; it being impossible for horses to proceed further along the main river. The banks here begin to close in on the river on both sides, presenting faces of perpendicular rocks, much higher than those below, and covered with immense piles of wind-fallen wood. The surface is also intersected by deep valleys. The river is 50 yards wide from bank to bank, but the water is not more than half that breadth. I observed in one of the bends on the N. side a bank of yellow clay, on which there appeared several horizontal veins of pure coal, of the best quality I have seen along this river. Shortly after leaving this place I was suddenly taken with a colic, which made me weak and faint for some time; but fortunately I had some peppermint drops, a good dose of which relieved me. At 11 a. m. we reached the entrance of the mountains, where the river is 60 yards wide; we found several openings in the ice, where the current appeared to run swiftly over a bed of

<sup>3</sup> Commonly Jaco's, Jacco's, or Jacko's brook, in Thompson, 1807-11, also called by him North brook, from the direction in which it enters the Saskatchewan. He has but two named places, beyond Pangman's tree, before reaching this brook—first, Round plain; second, Long plain. May 11th, 1807, he made Round plain lat.  $50^{\circ} 24' 13''$ , and next day Long plain lat.  $52^{\circ} 31' 32''$ ; the "head" of Jaco's brook, up which he went, lat.  $52^{\circ} 35' 56''$  long.  $115^{\circ} 42' 41''$ . But canoes did not ascend this; they went about S.  $72^{\circ}$  W., through two mountains some 6 or 8 m. Compare note <sup>5</sup>, p. 650.

stones and gravel, but with no great depth. The gap in the mountains does not seem to be more than half a mile wide. On the S. the rocks are nearly washed by the stream, while on the N. lies a small piece of level ground covered with pines, about 60 yards wide, extending to the foot of the rocks. Both sides rise to an immense height of solid, barren rocks, with a few stunted pines scattered at the base, and thence about halfway up. The tops appear to be each one solid mass of grayish stone, in some places smooth, and in others craggy, with strata of different thicknesses, obliquely declining toward the river. The mountain on the S. appears more destitute of wood and verdure than the other, and its summit more wild and craggy. In the face of this mountain, several hundred feet above the river, appears the mouth of a large cave, nearly of an oval form. I observed the tracks of several animals, which seemed to reach the cave down a winding passage among the rocks, but no track appeared to descend below it. These are the gray sheep [bighorns, *Ovis montana*], which have been seen about this place, and which delight to dwell among precipices and caverns, where they feed on a peculiar sort of clay [?]. At the entrance of these mountains the ravages of fire seem to have ceased in some degree, the country being not so much divested of its verdure as it is below. Wherever there is any soil the ground is well covered with pines. From the hard state in which we yesterday found the snow had drifted upon the river, it was evident there must have been a strong wind between those mountains for some time, while we had fine, calm weather below. After we had passed the cave about an hour the river opened suddenly before us, to the width of nearly a mile from bank to bank; the channels became numerous, winding their several courses among banks and shoals of gravel and stones, and some large islands covered with stunted pines, willows, and long, coarse grass. The ridge of the mountains just passed appeared to form only one chain, running about N. N. W. and S. S. E. The land on both sides is here high and thickly wooded,

mostly with pine and some spots of aspen, poplar, etc. In some places spots of grass are to be seen, particularly on the N. side. We were in full view of the mountains, and a grand sight it was—the main body of the Rocky mountains ahead of us, upheaved in all shapes and directions. At one o'clock we passed another camp, where our people had slept on an island. The channels here became more numerous, some of them entirely clear of ice, others overflowed with water. Upon the gravel banks there was scarcely any snow, the wind having blown it away, and there the bare stones injured our sleds and fatigued our dogs. At 3.30 p. m., finding myself very unwell, I put up for the night on an island directly opposite the point where the land track on the N. side comes again to the river, having made a long circuit in a gap in the mountains. It hence continues up river along the N. side. About where this track comes out appear several spots of meadow on the rising grounds. The grass is stout, but excellent for horses. Buffalo are frequently seen here; we noticed the tracks of a few which had passed lately.

*Feb. 5th.* At five o'clock we left camp and drove on briskly, although much of the road was over bare stones, and at times we were in danger of falling into the water, where the track led near open spaces in the several channels. Our course, since leaving the fort, has been usually about W., sometimes S. of W. But soon after leaving camp this morning, the river turned S. and so continued until seven o'clock, when we overtook our people who had set off on the 31st. They were not yet stirring; but the noise of our bells awoke them. They had been here since the 3d inst., during which time they had killed three sheep and three cows; the former were on a stage in camp, but the latter were still in the woods. This obliged me to stop for the day, to send for the meat. Very weak indeed I found myself, and in urgent need of a day's rest, having been obliged to run on foot the greater part of the way since I entered the mountains, as there was not snow enough on the stones to enable my

dogs to draw me. I sent one of my men up river to secure two buffalo that had been killed above, and to wait there for me; for wolves were numerous, and I feared the meat might be devoured by those animals. I also sent two men for the buffalo that were on the N. side, and three others to hunt sheep, being desirous of getting the entire skin of an old ram, with a pair of the enormous horns. Opposite our present camp are some very high steep banks of whitish clay, where the sheep continually resort to feed upon the clay and a sort of moss and grass which grow there. The mountains here do not close in on the river, as a range of hills covered with thick wood lies between. The bed of the river continues wide, intersected by gravel- and sand-banks, with a number of winding channels, the same as yesterday. Buffalo seem to be numerous; we saw the tracks of several herds which had crossed on the ice. These are the strong wood kind, and as wild as moose; they never resort to the plains, but delight in mountain valleys, where they feed on a short grass which seems to be of an excellent quality, as horses soon get fat on it. We had a cold gale from the S. all day, with a terrible drift of snow, while the weather was fine and clear overhead. At noon the two men returned, having been unable to reach the meat with their sleds and dogs. The country is too rough, and the woods are too strong, to go any distance into the interior. The hunter, however, soon returned with a heavy load of the choicest pieces; the back fat was nearly two inches thick, and the flesh more interlarded than I have ever observed that of the meadow buffalo to be. The other hunters returned about dark, but brought nothing; they had seen many sheep, but not one old ram, such as I wanted. One of them had seen the track of a white goat [*Haplocerus montanus*], but the day was too far advanced to pursue it. Porcupines [*Erethizon epixanthus*] are very numerous, but when alarmed by the hunters they creep into holes and crevices among the rocks, whence it is impossible to get them out. This evening I continued unwell and weak,

with a total loss of appetite. I gave the Indians some liquor, which I had brought on purpose for them; they were noisy all night, but not troublesome.

*Feb. 6th.* At daybreak my people arranged some meat, and other things it was necessary to leave, upon a stage, to prevent the wolves and crows from destroying them. At sunrise we left camp; course about S.; wind strong ahead, and very cold. It has been remarked by those who have crossed these mountains in winter that almost every day there is a strong gale which draws either directly up or down the river. S. W. winds prevail at this season. We went about two miles, when the river suddenly became narrow and winding, occasioned by the lower mountains closing in almost perpendicularly. Upon the adjacent hills and crags appeared many tracks of the gray sheep. It is astonishing to see the places those animals climb along the steep rocks and precipices, where there seems scarcely sufficient hold for their hoofs, and should they make one false step, or a loose stone or a lump of clay give way, they would be dashed to pieces below. Along this narrow, winding pass the current is very strong, and the ice opens for long spaces; at the upper end is the strongest rapid, called by our people Buffalo rapid, above which the river again spreads into shoals, numerous channels, and some few islands. At nine o'clock we came to a small river<sup>4</sup> on the S., upon which my hunter had killed two buffalo, and here we stopped for the day. I sent four men with dogs and sleds for the meat. At this place the mountains, on both sides, close in near the river, and at some points their bases reach down to the water's edge; but they do not rise abruptly, generally having a gradual slope, covered with soil and loose rocks, for a few hundred feet upward, before the perpendicular rocks commence. At other places are ranges of hills, covered with pines,

<sup>4</sup>On May 19th, 1807, Thompson camped at noon in this vicinity, "at the last Loge de Médecine or War-tent," "where the Nahathaways formerly entrenched themselves."

aspens, and other wood, intersected by small spots of meadow, where the buffalo appear to rest. In summer, when those hills are covered with verdure, they must form a pleasing contrast to the adjacent mountains, which are very high and craggy, consisting of solid rocks, destitute of verdure or soil. These are of all shapes, with some of the strata or veins horizontal, some perpendicular, others oblique, others again winding and bending in lines which correspond with the shape of the mountain. The rocks are in general gray, but with some yellowish veins, which latter appear to be less solid and compact. These mountains do not appear to have any particular trend, being thrown together in confusion. At 2 p. m. the men returned with the meat of the two cows, and we again laid up some meat for our return; making a small square with heavy logs, putting the meat in, and covering it with another range of logs, to prevent wolves or other animals from destroying it. The tracks of sheep were numerous, and the snow on the hills was beaten hard by their frequent passing. I still found myself unwell, and could scarcely crawl about camp; sleep was a stranger, and my appetite gone.

*Feb. 7th.* At dawn I sent three hunters ahead to kill sheep, and at sunrise left camp with the others. The weather was clear and calm; but soon after getting upon the ice I observed some thick clouds to rise in the N. E., which in a short time enveloped the mountain tops in obscurity. By degrees the clouds appeared to descend to within 300 feet above our heads, and there hovered for some time, while the upper part of the mountain became visible; there the sky was perfectly clear, and the rays of the rising sun shone with their usual luster, while we below were in the clouds. This lasted for an hour, when the wind sprang up from the N. E., soon dispersed the clouds, and gave us clear weather. Shortly after leaving camp we saw a herd of about 30 rams feeding among the rocks on the N. side. They did not seem to be shy, though the noise of our bells and dogs was sufficient to have alarmed a

herd of buffalo two miles off. The rams stood for some time gazing at us, and did not retreat until some people with dogs climbed up to fire at them, when they set off at full speed, directing their course up the mountain. I was astonished to see with what agility they scaled the cliffs and crags. At one time I supposed them hemmed in by rocks so steep and smooth that it seemed impossible for any animal to escape being dashed to pieces below; but the whole herd passed this place on a narrow horizontal ledge without a single misstep, and were soon out of sight. The bed of the river continued wide; the gravel banks and islands frequently had very little snow upon them. The water seemed to have overflowed very much, and to do so daily, making the ice of immense thickness in some places, but leaving in the main channel long open spaces. I observed several flocks of birds [dippers, *Cinclus mexicanus*], hovering about those ponds; they alighted upon the edge of the ice, and instantly hopped into the water, where they plunged and frisked about for some time before they flew away. These birds were very small, of a brownish color, with short, erect tails. We found the ice in many places so smooth and slippery, in consequence of the daily overflow, that it was tedious traveling; every moment some of us were sprawling on the ice, at the risk of breaking our heads; even our dogs could scarcely keep their feet, and had no purchase to haul the sleds.

At eleven o'clock we passed the entrance of Rivière du Meurleton,<sup>5</sup> which falls in on the N. Its course can be seen to wind for a long distance westward. Along this river I observed a high, steep mountain of singular shape, like a wall surrounded by a moat and ramparts, with an elevated central summit resembling a citadel, the whole having

<sup>5</sup> The same name repeatedly occurs in Thompson, 1807-11, where we may read Merleton, Mirleton, or Muleton, both for the river Henry mentions and for certain plains adjacent which Thompson notices. Both appear to be named for the mountain whose remarkable shape Henry describes, and I presume the correct form of the word is Mirliton.

the appearance of a commanding fortress. The wall-like part is perpendicular; the snow cannot lodge there, and the different strata strikingly resemble the courses of an artificial stone wall. The ditch or moat appears more sloping, and is covered with snow; immediately below this runs a regular chain of perpendicular rocks in strata, about one-tenth part of the breadth of the upper wall; below that the mountain slopes down in a regular manner until it reaches the water's edge. This extraordinary mountain is one solid mass of rock, without verdure except near the base. Buffalo seem to be numerous about the mouth of this little river, where appear some small spots of meadow [Mirliton plains]. We fired at a ram that was standing on a high cliff on the S. side, but he escaped. Soon afterward we found on the ice the remains of another ram which had been run down by wolves and devoured.

At ten we came to the lower end of Kootenay plains,<sup>6</sup> and continued along on the ice, which was the best road for our dogs. We soon found on the ice, properly secured, a ram and an ewe, killed and left there by my hunters for us to take on our sleds, which was done accordingly. The ewes are in tolerably good order; the one we found had about half an inch of fat on the rump. The rams are lean, but still make excellent meat. This mutton is more juicy than any other kind of meat in this country. Buffalo are very numerous on this plain; their tracks showed that the point of meadow here was covered with them when my hunter arrived, but his firing upon the sheep drove them all away. They seemed all to have crossed eastward. At 4 p. m. we camped at the upper end of Kootenay plains. This meadow is low and level; it lies on the N. side of the river, and is about two hours' walk in length and nearly a mile wide; the other side is bounded by a range of steep

<sup>6</sup> One of the most notable places on this route in the Thompson MSS., commonly called by him Kootanae plains; copy above has Kootones, but that is a mere clerical variant which I change to the usual form, Kootenay. Thompson made the position to be lat. 52° 02' 06" N.



rocks adjoining the foot of the mountains, which is encompassed by a bend of the river. On this small plain are some spots of meadow with a sandy soil, covered with a very short grass; there are also some pleasant groves of small pines and aspens. In the summer this must be a delightful situation in comparison with the wild and barren mountains which surround the whole. At this time there was not more than two inches of snow, and in many places the snow was entirely eaten up by the buffalo. I observed near the foot of the rocks behind the plain the remains of an old Kootenay camp, where the wood of the tents was still standing. Some of these were constructed with poles, like those of our Plains Indians, and I presume had been covered with leather in the same manner; but the greater part were built to be covered with pine branches and grass, and some were made of split wood thatched with grass. Opposite this plain, on the S. side of the river, are the remains of several more camps, where all the huts or tents were formed of split wood, thatched with grass and branches. Formerly that nation frequented this place to make dried provisions, for which purpose it must have been very convenient, as buffalo and sheep are always more numerous than in any other place. Moose and red deer are also plenty; jumping deer, grizzly bears, and other animals peculiar to this country are also found here. We saw a flock of upward of 100 white partridges [ptarmigan, *Lagopus leucurus*] on this plain. They are very beautiful birds, and very good eating.

The sheep are of a gray or leaden color; the rump and the inner side of the legs are white; the hoofs black, about one inch long. The hair is rather soft, and at the roots is mixed with exceedingly fine white wool, which seems to grow only in certain patches. The neck is relatively much thicker than that of other animals of the same size; the legs and hoofs are also strongly built, like the neck. The horns of the female are comparatively small, flat, and have only a small bend backward; they are of a dirty yellowish white,

and grow in closely connected ridges to the very end. The legs are brown, as are also the ends of the hairs about the neck; the hoofs are black. A ewe will weigh about 100 lbs. when in full flesh, with only the entrails taken out. The head bears every resemblance to that of our European sheep. The color of the males is nearly the same as that of the females, only rather browner; they are much larger and more strongly built, with a pair of enormous horns, which incline backward. As they grow they bend downward, and in the course of time form a complete curve and project forward. At the root the horns are nearly three inches square, the flat sides opposite; they grow in closely connected ridges and end in a tapering flat point.

I observed here no less than seven different sorts of pine: *épinette blanche*, *épinette rouge*, *sapin*, *cypress*, *Rocky Mountain pine*, *white pine*, and *prush* [*sic*, for *pruce* or *prusse*, *i. e.*, *spruce*]; the two latter trees are peculiar to these mountains. The white pine bears a near resemblance to our Canadian pine, but cannot be the same. It is here low, thick, and crooked. The *prush* has an extraordinarily thick, heavy bark, and sometimes grows to a great size.

*Feb. 8th.* About an inch of snow fell during the night. As the people who were acquainted with the route gave me to understand we should be three days hence to the Height of Land, I determined to leave one of my men to procure meat for our return; animals will be scarcer as we advance in the mountains. At sunrise we set off. The river, immediately upon leaving the Kootenay plains, bends to the W. and becomes more contracted than below, the channel being only 15 yards wide. On leaving camp we saw on the rocks two herds of sheep, which we did not molest. At eight the depth of snow increased so much, even on the ice, as to oblige us to use snowshoes. A party went ahead to beat the road for the dogs. The face of the country altered; we had more than a foot of snow on the ice, and scarcely was the track of an animal to be seen. The mountain was covered with vast bodies of snow, and the whole

scene was dreary. At eleven o'clock we came to the forks,<sup>7</sup> where the river spread to about half a mile wide, free from islands; but, as usual in such places, the bed was choked with shoals and bars of sand and gravel. Here a branch of the Saskatchewan comes in from the N. opposite a smaller branch from the S.; both appear contracted, winding their courses through mountains. The main channel, up which our course lay, is still wide, and comes from the W. At the junction of these forks we had a grand view of the mountains, more elevated and craggy than any we had before seen. The upper parts of some of them are curiously formed; some closely resemble citadels, round towers, and pinnacles, rising to a great height, with perpendicular summits, so steep that no human being could ascend them. Some of the highest remained all day enveloped in clouds, which were not dispersed for several hours after the wind arose, and even then hovered upon the summits and as if loath to leave, until torn away by the violence of the wind, which increased to a gale from the W. Upon the top of a mountain N. W. of us, whose summit appeared level, I observed an immense field of snow, of which a part seemed lately to have separated and fallen down. This frequently happens during winter, when vast quantities of snow accumulate till the mass projects beyond the rocks and then gives way. The noise occasioned by the fall of such a body of snow equals an explosion of thunder, and the avalanche sweeps away everything movable in its course to the valleys. On the sides of some mountains S. of us, where the rays of

<sup>7</sup> Where the two streams which compose the Saskatchewan come together, and notable as the point beyond which canoes were not taken up river. The main stream coming from the N. W. was here left, and the voyageur proceeded up the other one, on a course little W. of S. Thompson determined these forks to be in lat.  $51^{\circ} 50' 31''$  N. A bold brook falls in from the S. E. about a mile below the forks. Both forks flow from lakes called Glacier. Two of the outlying ranges Henry has surmounted thus far are those known as Palliser and Sawback. The highest peak he has come by is Mt. Murchison, on his left, between two small branches of the Saskatchewan, now called respectively Siffleur and Little Fork r., both from the S. The Howse pass for which he is heading is situated between Mt. Balfour on the left and Mt. Forbes on the right.

the sun never reach, are vast beds of eternal snow, or, more properly, bodies of ice. Their bluish color plainly distinguishes them from the snows of this season; some parts have recently given way and fallen into the valleys, while the remainder presents a perpendicular face of ice in strata of different thicknesses. Here we saw the tracks of several herds of buffalo, which had crossed the river.

We continued for about six miles, with a very strong and excessively cold head wind, to where the river formed a bend to the S. At this elbow is the entrance of another small branch, which rises in a little lake at no great distance. The gale increased, and though we versed our course from W. to S. and even at times S. E., still we had the wind in our teeth. The river-bed continued wide, and covered with one sheet of ice, with water upon it in some places almost knee-deep, continually overflowing from springs dispersed throughout the channel; the channel itself being shallow and trifling in summer. Canoes never have been known to ascend higher than the forks, and even to reach these they must be entirely emptied of their cargoes. Canoes are generally laid up in the fall at the Kootenay plains, whence horses are employed to carry the loads across the portage to the waters of the Columbia.

At 3 p. m. we stopped for the night at Kootenay Parc,<sup>8</sup> where the river is narrowed by an island and a presqu'isle. Here we found nearly two feet of snow; it took us some time to clear a space for camp, but when this had been done, and we were surrounded by a high bank of snow, we found ourselves by far more comfortable than we should have been with no snow. Kootenay Parc, on the N. side of the river, is nothing more than a narrow slope of soil, covered with some small wood and grass, running obliquely up the acclivity of the mountain for about one-fourth of a mile, where it ends at a precipice. Over this the Kootenay

<sup>8</sup>Or Kootenay Park, a place called by Thompson Kootanae Pound, to reach which he passed by a point he named Redberry. Compare Rivière aux Parcs or Park r., note <sup>6</sup>, p. 89, so called because Indians there impounded buffalo.

nays used to drive animals, after enticing them upon this narrow strip of soil. The place appears perfectly well adapted for this purpose ; for no animal could avoid being killed by the fall, or at least so maimed as to prevent escape. Nearly facing the parc, on the S. side of the river, stands one of the roughest crags I have ever seen, whose rugged pinnacles remained enveloped with clouds all day, notwithstanding the violence of the wind. I suppose this to be one of the highest mountains whose base is washed by the Saskatchewan. On shoveling away the snow we found buffalo dung in abundance, but it seems these animals come up thus far only in summer, as we have not seen a track of any animal whatever since leaving the forks. The distance across the river, between the two mountain ranges, is not more than half a mile. At this camp the pines were loaded with snow. We used a species of sapin or silver pine for firewood, but found it troublesome fuel, perpetually throwing out large sparks and setting fire to our coverings. My guides had given me to understand it would take two days to come to this place ; but the slowness with which our people are accustomed to travel among these mountains leads them to suppose the distance to be much greater than it really is.

*Feb. 9th.* We were ready to start at dawn, but I found the bottom of my sled entirely worn out. The Indians who were going across to the old Kootenay house left their sleds here, as the country hence is scarcely fit for sleds to pass. Leaving a man to repair my sled with laths taken from those the Indians abandoned, I set off on snowshoes with one man, who brought on a sled and dogs, and the Indians. Desjarlaix, my hunter, I left behind to kill a white goat, as it is here they are most numerous, particularly in summer. There are no sheep here, nor have we seen the track of one since we left Kootenay plain. Near camp the river opens into a lake about three miles long, running southerly for about half its length, then turning more westward, and seeming to end between two moun-

tains, where a body of ice appeared to proceed from the water falling over rocks, which in summer must produce a sloping fall or cataract of some height, but little depth. About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile from camp we left the wide channel to our right, and went up a small winding one, closely hemmed in by rocks. Our course was about S. E., and soon the river opened a little. Along this narrow pass I observed some perpendicular flint rocks, and from some of the dry branches and stumps of the pines I collected a particular kind of bright yellow moss which is used by the women of this country for dyeing porcupine quills. It is found hanging to the limbs, bark, and stumps of dry pines that have been long deprived of their verdure by fire or otherwise. The river soon ends between two mountains, as does the branch we have just left; this, I presume, is the highest source of the Saskatchewan. The width of the stream I could not observe, owing to the quantity of snow which covered its bed; it cannot be more than a small brook. When we came within about half a mile of the end of the river, we left it to our right, and entered the thick forest of pines, whose branches and tops were heavily loaded with snow. We went on about two miles through these thick woods, and at nine o'clock came to a small opening, where three small streams of Columbian<sup>9</sup> waters join. The principal one comes from the W., and is divided from Saskatchewan waters only by a ridge. The one appears to issue from the S. and the other from the N. side of this mountain. One of the other small streams takes its rise from the E. in a valley that appears to our left. At the junction of these

<sup>9</sup>Henry has made the Howse pass, which Thompson first crossed Monday, June 22d, 1807, to a rill "whose current descends to the Pacific Ocean—may God in his mercy give me to see where its waters flow into the ocean and return in safety." On that day he had gone ahead of his party with one man, named Bercier, and returned to camp, where he stayed June 23d. Next day, Finan McDonald and men arrived, and June 25th the whole party camped on the Height of Land, in a position which Thompson determined to be lat.  $51^{\circ} 48' 27''$  N. The rill thus reached is Blaeberry or Blueberry cr., which runs S. W. directly into the Columbia a little below Moberly, and in

three brooks the stream was perfectly free from ice, and the snow on either side five feet deep; the pines were surprisingly loaded with caps of snow. I measured one, which stood halfway over the neck of land we had just crossed, between the waters of the Saskatchewan and those of the Columbia, where the snow lay on the ground  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep. It was an *épinette blanche*, about 12 feet high, upon the top of which lay a cap of snow 36 feet in circumference at the base and six feet in diameter in the center; between this cap of snow and the snow on the ground was a distance of two feet. It was elegantly shaped, in the form of an inverted bowl, as smooth as if done by art. I observed many others, which I suppose were nearly of the same size, but did not stop to measure them. At this spot we found the snow so firm as to support our weight, and indeed we had some difficulty in piercing the crust with a pole. This packing of the snow was due to the heavy rain-fall in the mountains about the 19th or 20th of last January, since which time there had fallen about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot of snow, which lay loose upon the hard crust. The vast quantities on this height of land cannot in my opinion proceed from its confined situation, or from any accumulation of snow blown off the adjacent mountains, as these are at some distance asunder. It appears rather to be the natural snow-fall upon this elevated ridge. One thing I observed here which I thought rather singular. It was evident from the loose state in which the piles of snow lay upon the pines, that the wind never blows here in winter with any violence, though only two hours' walk down the Saskatchewan, where gales are incessant, no snow is to be seen on

the same township—Tp. 28, R. 22, W. of the 5th init. merid. On his return across the Height of Land, next year to a day, June 21st, 1808, Thompson speaks of this creek as Portage r. He was camped on it June 18th, and while ascending it next day he says: "One of my horses nearly crushing my children to death from his load being badly put on, which I mistook for being vicious, I shot him on the spot and rescued my little ones." Next day he missed his little daughter, who had strayed off, but was soon found; and the day after that he came to the rivulets of the Saskatchewan.

the pines. The only track we saw after leaving camp this morning was that of a straggling wolverene [*Gulo luscus*]. This place appears destitute of animals of all kinds, and presents a dreary appearance. The stream which lay before us is always free from ice; the water is clear, running over a bed of gravel to the S. E. The descent appears very great, and the hills below the mountain immediately close in on the stream, so that it is only with great difficulty that sleds can pass; the stream being always open, we are obliged to force our way through the thick woods along the steep mountain sides. We could plainly distinguish the valleys of two other streams which empty into this one from the E., about a mile below us; and a third appeared, about the same distance beyond these two, coming from the E. also. This last is by far the largest stream, and the one into which the others I have mentioned empty. The river bed then spreads to a considerable width, where it is full of shoals and banks of sand or gravel; but frequently the rocks close in upon it, forming narrow, rapid passages. The water never freezes, which renders this portage very tedious in winter, as the only known route follows down the stream; which must be crossed and recrossed several times a day in water knee-deep. On snowshoes it takes three days to walk across the portage from this spot to where this stream [Blueberry creek] discharges into Kootenay river, or the Columbia;<sup>10</sup> but in summer a man may go afoot in one day. This has often been done on horseback, though the traveling is very bad for horses, through thick woods and over sharp rocks and loose stones along the banks.

After staying here about an hour I gave a hearty dram to the Indians who were going across to the old Kootenay

<sup>10</sup> This singular alternative nomenclature was of course due to the influence of Thompson, who for some years after 1807 had no other name than Kootanae for the Columbia itself above Canoe r. (all that portion of its course which flows rather northerly than southerly); and who had in 1807 named the present Kootenay r. for his friend McGillivray. Nevertheless, he corrected the error himself after a while, for the right name appears on his map.

Went at night to  
 3 mi. down  
 which is the  
 60 miles long



house. This party consisted of five men—two Nepi-sangues, one Courte Oreille, and two half-breeds by Cree women. Their route was along the little river which lay before us, and we lost sight of them in the narrow pass.

At 10 a. m. I bade farewell to the waters of the Columbia. I got on my sled, sent my men ahead on snowshoes, and at noon arrived at camp, where I found the man had finished repairing my sled. Soon afterward my hunter came in and told me that he had seen three large white goats on the mountains directly over Kootenay Parc, where he had been trying since daybreak to get a shot at them. He was almost exhausted, the snow being up to his middle and the mountain so steep as not to admit of snowshoes. He had worked about one-fourth way up the mountain, but been obliged to abandon the attempt to reach the animals. They did not appear the least shy, but stood gazing at him and cropping stunted shrubs and blades of long grass which grew in crevices in places where the wind had blown the snow off. As I desired to obtain the skin of one of those animals, I gave him dry mittens and trousers to put on, went with him to the foot of the mountain, and I pointed out a place where I supposed it was possible to reach them. We could perceive all three, still standing abreast upon the edge of a precipice, looking down upon us; but they were at a great height. He once more undertook the arduous task of climbing up in pursuit of them, while I returned to camp. A hunter in these mountains requires many pairs of shoes; the rocks are so rough and sharp that a pair of good, strong, moose leather shoes are soon torn to pieces. The white goat is [not] larger than the gray sheep, thickly covered with long, pure white wool, and has short, black, nearly erect horns. These animals seldom leave the mountain-tops. Winter and summer they prefer the highest regions. Late in the evening my hunter returned, exhausted and covered with ice, having labored in the snow till his clothes became all wet, and, soon after, stiff with ice. He had ascended halfway when the sun set, which obliged him to

return. Although we had not a mouthful of provisions, I was unwilling to leave this place without procuring one of those animals.

*Sunday, Feb. 10th.* At daybreak we found a light snow had fallen during the night. I awoke my hunter, but he complained of severe pain in his knees, proceeding from excessive fatigue. I found both his knees much swollen, and as I was convinced that it would be impossible for him to procure a white goat, I was obliged to start homeward. At 6 a. m. we set off, much to the satisfaction of my three men, who did not relish the idea of remaining here with nothing to eat. The wind was so piercing cold that we could scarcely keep our faces from freezing. We had no other method of warming ourselves than by running and driving our dogs. The water had overflowed in many places since we passed, and we had much trouble to avoid wet feet, which might have been attended with serious consequences in such excessive cold. We came on with great expedition, and at half-past eleven o'clock reached our camp on Kootenay plains. My men were absent. The wolves had destroyed a fat sheep which had been left here to take home with us, but my men had killed another. They had also killed a large black wolf and a loup-cervier. I determined to take home the sheep entire. We lay down and slept the rest of the day. Toward sunset the men arrived with loads on their backs, having killed a young bull near the lower end of the plain, but brought merely the offals, intended for their own suppers, not expecting to find us here so soon. This was divided among us all, and answered for ourselves, but not for our dogs, which had been three days without eating. I roasted the meat of the wolf and the loup-cervier for them to eat, but they would not touch it. I then had it boiled and broiled, but to no purpose; some of them would take the meat into their mouths, and, having begun to chew it, would instantly throw it out. My man had seen many sheep and buffalo, but been unlucky either in approaching or in firing at them; indeed, he was no great

hunter, otherwise he might have killed plenty of animals. On the bare rocks near camp I observed a certain frozen substance, in patches several feet square and one or two inches thick. At first I supposed it to be pitch from the pine trees which might have stood near the place, but upon examining the rocks I could perceive no spot where it was possible for a tree of any kind to spring from. This substance was snuff-colored, porous, and brittle. It had not the smell of gum, but rather of asafetida.

*Feb. 11th.* At dawn we left camp, and in two hours' reached the lower end of Kootenay plains, where we took up the buffalo meat killed yesterday and gave a small repast to our dogs, but did not allow them to eat their bellies full, as they would not have been able to travel. The road on the ice being tolerably good, we came on briskly, running the whole way. At Rivière du Meurleton [Mirliton] we saw a herd of rams on the rocks and tried to get a shot; but one of my men, being some distance ahead and not observing them, continued to drive on, which alarmed and drove them up the mountain. I regretted this very much, as the herd consisted of old rams with enormous horns; one of them appeared to be very lean, with extraordinarily heavy horns, whose weight he seemed scarcely able to support. When the horns grow to such a great length, forming a complete curve, the ends project on both sides of the head so far as to prevent the animal from feeding; which, with their great weight, causes the sheep to dwindle to a mere skeleton and die. We soon afterward saw a herd of buffalo on the hills near the river, but on hearing the sound of the bells they ran away, and appeared much more shy than the sheep. By noon we were at our cache of buffalo meat at the little river; we took it up and continued with great expedition. We soon afterward saw another herd of sheep; but as these were all females, feeding on crags, which would have required some time to ascend, we did not stop to fire at them. When we arrived at the camp where we had overtaken the people on our way up, we found

our stage in good order. Although the wolves and crows were in numbers around it, yet they dare not attack it, so well had we arranged pieces of skin to frighten them. Crows are bolder than wolves and will attack everything that comes in their way; the only means of preventing their depredations is to cover the cache with a heavy pile of wood. Here we stopped for the night, as both men and dogs were very much in need of refreshment.

*Feb. 12th.* At 3 a. m. we left camp. It was so dark that one of my men, in passing near an open space in the river, fell in up to his middle, which obliged us to stop to allow him time to shift his clothes and shoes. Daylight brought a fall of snow, which looked like continuing all day. About sunrise our foremost sled, in crossing a channel, fell through the ice and the three dogs had hard work to swim across; fortunately there was scarcely any current, otherwise the dogs and sled must have been carried under the ice. It was some time before they could haul the sled out, as the ice was too weak for us to assist them. We stopped to make a fire to dry the sled and lading, which consisted of blankets and robes; during this operation I breakfasted, and we soon set off again. The storm continued, but we drove on with speed, as the gravel banks were sufficiently covered with snow for our sleds to run easily. At eleven we passed the cave in the first range of mountains. In this narrow pass the gale blew such a continual whirl of snow upon the river that we could scarcely see ten yards ahead. When we arrived at Jacques' brook we found the wolves had followed up our track and fallen upon our cache of meat in the ice before the water had frozen over it; of course they had destroyed the whole, which deprived our dogs of their supper. At and below Jacques' brook the water had overflowed a foot deep on the ice, and this gave us some trouble to avoid getting wet; however, by passing along the beach and at times upon the sands, we reached firm ice. At three o'clock I found our dogs so fatigued that it was necessary to stop for the night, though we were

only about three miles beyond Jacques' brook. Judging from the appearance of the snow, it does not seem to have blown here to-day, which is further proof that the violent winds which prevail throughout the winter in the mountains seldom extend far from them.

*Feb. 13th.* At 11 p. m. last night I awoke my men to prepare for departure, but as they had not slept more than two hours, fatigue was still heavy upon them. Their motions were therefore slow; but what grieved them most was having nothing to eat before starting. This made them surly; they first quarreled among themselves and then gave full vent to their ill humor upon the poor dogs, which they beat most cruelly. It was 2 a. m. before we left camp. We found six inches of snow on the ice, and as our old track was filled up we had recourse to snowshoes to beat a new one for the dogs. I sent two men ahead on snowshoes, while the other man drove the dogs; the road was so heavy that we could not go faster than a walk. At sunrise we passed Ram river; the cold was so severe, and the wind so piercing, that it was only with great exertion we could keep from freezing. I have always observed, when traveling in this country in winter, that we feel the cold most between daybreak and sunrise. At nine we left the brûlés and came to green wood at Swallow Rock. At noon we passed the Bas fond de la Loge de Médecine. Here Desjarlaix found the pain in his knees so great that he could proceed no further; I therefore left him with some necessaries for the night, intending to send a man with a sled for him to-morrow. As we approached home both men and dogs seemed to acquire fresh vigor; we drove at full speed, and at 2.30 p. m. reached the fort.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY.

THE Rocky Mountain house is situated in latitude  $52^{\circ} 22'$  N., longitude  $115^{\circ} 17'$  W. The country about the house is in general wooded, with small prairions at intervals for a mile or more, when large, open swamps are found. The wood is principally pine of several kinds, aspen, willow, and birch. What we call Rocky Mountain pine grows tall and straight; the bark resembles that of cypress; the leaves are like those of the common white pine, and bear similar knobs. The wood is soft and easy to work; when split into boards and well seasoned it acquires a yellowish hue, and will take a smooth, glossy surface. In the swamps grows the juniper or *épinette rouge*, but seldom to any great height; in many places below, these swamps are only covered with long, coarse grass and low willows. Among the pines grows a particular kind of goose-grass, four inches high and very thin, of which the horses are very fond, and on which they soon fatten; but it does not answer for them in winter, as it becomes so brittle that when the horses scrape away the snow with their hoofs they break the grass into small pieces, and can get very little of it. The snow that continually falls upon them from the pines injures them; we are therefore obliged to keep them in the small prairions along the Saskatchewan. But those flat points do not extend above Medicine Lodge, where both banks become more bold and encroach upon the river, covered with thick wood and willows. Some few spots of grass are seen, but it is of poor quality, long and coarse. The soil in general is sand, covered with thin black mold which I do not suppose would answer for agriculture. Gardens have

been made at this place, but have never produced anything worth the trouble. Potatoes are the only things that come to maturity. The climate is too inconstant for gardening. In the daytime the heat is excessive, but no sooner has the sun set than the weather becomes chilly, with a white frost almost throughout the summer.

Our establishment stands on a high bank on the N. side of the river; the situation is well adapted for defense, as the blockhouses command the fort for some distance. This spot was formerly covered with aspen and pine, which have been cut down for the use of the place, leaving a large open space. Frequent fires have aided much in clearing away the wood and brush, so that we now have a grand view of the Rocky mountains, lying nearly S. W., and apparently running from W. N. W. to S. S. E. Opposite the fort the river is 180 yards wide, while the distance from the bank on which the fort stands to the opposite bank is 250 yards; at high water the whole of this space is covered, and flows with a strong, rapid current. The channel in its ordinary state, as it was when we arrived last fall, was only 30 yards wide, and interrupted by a strong rapid, where the water rushes among some large stones, forming a cascade whose perpetual roaring makes it a dismal neighbor in this solitary spot. This rapid is the first interruption of any consequence in approaching the mountains. There are many below this which cannot properly be termed rapids, being merely pitches of the river, where the water runs over sloping beds of rocks and gravel. Above this establishment rapids are frequent and navigation is tedious, as the water becomes too shallow for a canoe to pass with more than half a cargo, although it can proceed with the same load to Kootenay plains. Canoes have even reached the forks in summer when the water was high, but it has been found more expeditious to put the property on horseback at the lower end of Kootenay plains, where we generally lay up our canoes for the winter.

About 300 yards below the fort on the same side, where

the river forms a bend at the base of the bank, which is of a yellowish earth, clay, sand, and stones, a quantity of coal is tumbling into the water, as the current washes away the earth underneath. Here the river is only 100 yards wide from bank to bank. This coal abounds along the Saskatchewan, in some places forming solid beds several feet thick for several acres, which are washed by the river. It is always overlaid with a thick bed of soil, and sometimes mixed with earth, clay, and stones, running in horizontal veins. In its pure state our smiths use it for the forge with equal proportions of charcoal made of birch or aspen, which answers every purpose for making and repairing our axes and other tools. Half a mile from the fort the river-bed is 100 yards wide, while the channel is only 50 yards across; a little above this, where there is a chain of cascades, the channel is not more than 20 yards wide, though the bed of the river continues as wide as below. Both sides are rocky, and the current is very strong where, rushing among the large stones, it forms several cascades. The stone is light gray, some of it inclining to whitish and yellowish. It is excellent for sharpening axes and other tools; when found of a proper shape it answers for grindstones, nearly as good as those from Europe.

About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile, or as I measured it, 23 minutes' walk on the ice, below the fort, on the S. side, is the entrance of Clearwater river, 86 yards wide from bank to bank; there the Saskatchewan itself is only 76 yards wide, but it contains the greatest body of water, and is without doubt the main channel. Clearwater river, or Rivière à l'Eau Claire, derives its name from its extremely transparent water. It rises in the Rocky mountains, and in its winding course receives several small streams, such as Rivière de la Jolie Prairie and Rivière du Port. The current runs with astonishing velocity over a bed of loose round stones and gravel. The country on both sides of the Clearwater is wooded, with a few small spots of meadow intersected by willows. Near the foot of the mountains it is divided from Red



Deer river by a tract of thick woods, not more than six miles across. Red Deer river also rises near the source of the Clearwater, and after running parallel with that river for some distance below the mountains, through thick woods, turns eastward; on entering the plains it bends to the S. E. until it joins Bow river to form the South Branch of the Saskatchewan.<sup>1</sup>

Along the Clearwater, and near the foot of the mountains, are still to be seen the remains of some of the dwellings of the Kootenays, built of wood, straw, and pine branches. The same are observed along Rivière de la jolie Prairie and Ram river. This gives us every reason to suppose that nation formerly dwelt along the foot of these mountains, and even as far down as our present establishment, near which the remains of some of their lodges are still to be seen.<sup>2</sup> About the time the Kootenays were in possession

<sup>1</sup> Henry's geography is good—remarkably so for the times, showing what a real knowledge of the country those Northmen had at the beginning of this century: compare previous notes on the Clearwater, Red Deer, and Bow rivers, where further details are given. The most remarkable hydrographic feature of the streams named, and of the N. Saskatchewan, is the origin of the whole of them in a very limited area N. W. of the present National Park, N. and N. W. of the place where the railroad crosses the divide, and E., N., and N. W. of that Howse pass from which Henry has just returned. There arise the two pairs of rivers—the N. Saskatchewan and its main mountain tributary, the Clearwater, sweeping in one direction; while Bow river and its main affluent, Red Deer r., take another course. These pairs separate to enclose the vast pear-shaped inter-Saskatchewan area, whose thick end rests upon the Rockies, and whose width diminishes to the far eastward point where the two great branches join to form one main Saskatchewan.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is confirmed by Thompson, whose MSS. include two notable itineraries of which little has been known, now preserved in Bk. 13 of Vol. VI.—Art. A. of this book opens with a "Journey to the Kootenae Rocky Mt. 1800." For this trip Thompson started from the Rocky Mt. house at 8 a. m. on Sunday, Oct. 5th, 1800. His men were: Lagassé, Beauchamp, Norrin, Boulard, and Pierre Daniel; He Dog, a Cree, and Old Bear, the Pikenow guide; all on horseback and carrying goods to the value of 300 skins. The party crossed the Clearwater and continued S. E. Oct. 6th to 13th, not traveling continuously, he crossed several tributaries (present James r., Raven r., and Bearberry cr.) of Red Deer r., struck the main river, and ascended this to a little above the mouth of present Williams cr., where he learned that the

of this part of the country, the Snare Indians dwelt on the Kootenay or Columbia. But the former, being driven into the mountains by the different tribes who lived E. of them, with whom they were perpetually at war, in their turn waged war upon their harmless neighbors on the W., the

Kootenays would be on the mountain height the morrow. Oct. 14th he went W. about 22 m. further, and at 2.30 p. m. met the Kootenay chief with 26 men, 7 women, and 11 horses, at the foot of a high cliff. Oct. 15th, he followed the Indians to their camp, traveling all day over a bad road. Oct. 15th-17th in camp, where trading on his part went on with gambling and horse-stealing on the part of his customers. He prevailed on some of the Kootenays to follow him back to his fort, which he reached Oct. 20th. There the trade amounted to 110½ beavers, 10 bears, 2 wolverenes, and 5 fishers. He conversed with the Kootenays on geography, asked them to come again to guide him into their country W. of the divide, fitted out Lagassé and Le Blanc to winter with them, and they left next day, 22d. On the 23d he started after them, overtook them, left Lagassé and Le Blanc to keep on with them, and himself returned to the Rocky Mountain house.—Art. B. of the same Bk. and Vol. is headed "Journey to Bow River and R. Mts. in Nov. 1800." At 11 a. m. Monday, Nov. 17th, he set off from the same house, with Duncan McGillivray, Michel Boulard, Charron, Dumond (or Dumont), and Baptiste Regnier. As in his former journey, he went to Red Deer r., but instead of turning up this, he continued little E. of S. on to Bow r., which he struck at or near present Calgary, Nov. 21st. Down Bow r. he continued, crossed it, and struck Spitchie (present Highwood) r., Nov. 22d, about 2½ m. above its mouth, at a point he gives as lat. 50° 46' 38" N. He crossed it and came to a Pikenow camp, where he stayed Nov. 23d, and spoke to the Indians of bringing "Seauteaux" and Iroquois into their country. Next day he set out for another Pikenow camp higher up the Spitchie, probably about the mouth of Tongue Flag cr. Here he heard it was only 10 days over to the Mississourie. He stayed Nov. 25th, and started on his return next day; went in general N. W., and camped Nov. 27th about 20 m. short of Bow r., perhaps in the present limits of the Sarcee reserve. On Nov. 28th, having meanwhile crossed the several streams now known as Sheep cr. (br. of Highwood r.), Pine cr., Elbow r., and Jumping Pound r. (all branches of Bow r. from the W.), he camped at a spring close to Bow r., in a position he makes lat. 51° 13' 57", long. 114° 48' 22", and if so, a little above the mouth of Ghost r. (br. of Bow r. from the N.). Leaving Boulard in charge of this camp, Nov. 29th, he set off for the mountains, up Bow r.; Nov. 29th-30th he continued in the mountains to a point he made lat. 51° 03' 04", long. 115° 21', probably about the place now called the Gap. The last day he left the horses, went up river on foot to a place "we thought practicable," *i. e.*, the Gap, and surmounted this, where he had a boundless view to the E. and on the W. a sea of hills and peaks, etc. On this trip from the vicinity of Ghost r. to the Gap he traversed the present

Snare Indians, and soon drove them off the land the Kootenays now inhabit. This is on the upper part of the Columbia, and on Ram [*sic*] river, a little S. of it, now called McGillivray's [after Thompson, 1807, being the true Kootenay] river, but formerly termed by the natives Flat Bow

Stony Indian reserve, passing the present Morley settlement or Morleyville, the mouth of Chiniquy's cr. from the S., mouth of Bow Fort cr. from the N., and site of present Kananaskis, at the mouth of Kananaskis or Rapid r., from the S. Thompson returned to his horses, and went down Bow r. to his camp of the 28th. Thence he started straight for home Dec. 1st, and reached the Rocky Mt. house at 4 p. m. Wednesday, Dec. 3d. (Compare the summary of these two trips on pp. 13, 14, of J. B. Tyrrell's admirable paper, read before the Canadian Institute Mar. 3d, 1888; pub. Toronto, 1888.)

The relation of this trip to the old Bow Fort is not established clearly by the record, but the connection is close. The date of old Bow Fort is said to be "about 1802." Thompson seems either to have left some men in this vicinity or to have soon sent some there to start a trading camp or post. The little Bow Fort cr., which makes into Bow r. from Broken Leg l. and other sources on the N., preserves in its name the original location of old Bow Fort, which stood at its mouth on the N. bank of Bow r., at or near long. 115°, and on or near the boundary between Ranges vii and viii, W. of the 5th merid. (Tps. 25).

As to the men named in this note, several have been mentioned before. I note further:—Jacques Beauchamp or Beauchamps was one of the six voyageurs who started May 9th, 1793, with (Sir) A. McKenzie from the place where they had wintered on Peace r., 1792-93; he was killed, with Livingston and others, by Eskimo in 1802; Tassé, I. p. xxv, calls him Jacques Beauchemin, and McKenzie, p. 145, spells his first name Jaques.—Jean Baptiste Beauchamps is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; probably Thompson's man.—Of Norrin, nothing further.—Michel Boulard, listed M. Boulard, voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, first appears with Thompson on the upper Saskatchewan in Apr., 1800; he wintered, 1806-07, at the Rocky Mt. house; went with Thompson to the Kootenays in May, 1807; wintered in the Rocky mts. 1807-08, 1808-09, 1809-10, 1810-11, the latter season with Finan McDonald; and was one of the seven men who went with Thompson down the Columbia to the Pacific, leaving Ilthkoyape (Kettle) falls July 3d, 1811.—Pierre Daniel, whom Thompson calls also Peter Daniel, is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; he wintered at the Rocky Mt. house 1806-07; went thence on two journeys with Finan McDonald, Feb. 9th and 19th, 1807, last to Fort Augustus.—Joseph Daniel, listed as voyageur N. W. Co., was at the Rocky Mt. house in Oct., 1806, and went with Mr. Quesnel into the mts. Nov. 3d-19th, 1806.—Of Charron, no further.—Dumond reappears at the Rocky Mt. house in 1806; most probably the Jean Baptiste Dumond who is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Baptiste Regnier is also Regnie in Thompson; no further found about him.

river, from a tribe of Indians [of the Kitunahan family, note <sup>2</sup>, p. 550], who then inhabited the lower part of it. This river,<sup>3</sup> after making a great bend S. E., returns and empties into the Columbia, far above the place where the latter receives the [Snake] river down which Captains Lewis and Clark proceeded on their way to the Pacific. The Snare Indians, it seems, retired northward to an uninhabited part of the Rocky mountains, where they continue to wander, a most wretched and defenseless people, who never war upon any of their neighbors. But so blood-thirsty is the nature of savages that Strong Wood Crees of the Saskatchewan and Swampy Ground Assiniboines frequently make long excursions in quest of them, during which they suffer very much with hunger, and often narrowly escape starving to death, as that part of the mountains which the Snare Indians inhabit seems destitute of animals. But when the latter are discovered, generally in small camps of two or three tents, they become an easy

<sup>3</sup> The Kootenay, Flat Bow, or McGillivray's r. is a very large one, with a remarkable course, even for a river in that region where some reverse their courses for long distances, and parallel ones often run in opposite directions. Its sources are N. of 51°, that tributary known as Vermilion r. being apparently the northernmost, in the Bow range of the Continental Divide which separates it from Bow r. in the Blue range, which continues the Bow range southward, and in the Vermilion range, from both sides of which it gathers water. Vermilion r. receives Simpson r. from Simpson pass on the divide, runs through the gorge between the Vermilion range and the Mitchell range, receives the tributary from the W. side of Vermilion, and thus is the Kootenay r. composed. It runs little E. of S. for a long distance, separated by the Brisco and Stanford ranges from the Columbia, which is along here flowing little W. of N. In this portion of its course the Kootenay is joined by Palliser r. from the Continental Divide, and continues past both the Columbia lakes, coming by the head of Upper Columbia l. so closely that a canal now joins the two great streams there, at Canal Flat—McGillivray's or Flat Bow portage of Thompson, 1807. From this most remarkable place the Kootenay continues southward with little trend eastward through British Columbia, between long. 115° and 116°, to lat. 49°, thus entering the United States, in long. 115° 12'. In this course from 50° to 49° it is re-enforced by many tributaries from both sides, the principal ones being Skookumchuck cr., W., Sheep cr., E., St. Mary's r., W. (the Torrent r. of Thompson), Bull r., E., and Elk r., E. (the Stag r. of Thompson). In the U. S. the river makes a great loop through the

prey, as these helpless people have no fire-arms, the bow and arrow being their only weapon of defense. Having no intercourse with traders, they exist in a rude state of nature; fish is their principal food, though they contrive to snare chance animals in the narrow confines of the mountains. Their numbers are few, and even these are obliged to disperse for the purpose of procuring food. The Kootenays have the reputation of a brave and warlike nation, though the whole tribe does not exceed 50 families. They are always at peace with their neighbors to the S. and W. The Flat Heads and others frequently mix with them, and join their excursions southward in search of buffalo. These people are mild to their women, and particularly attached to their children. They are generally in amity with the Piegans, who are their nearest neighbors on the E. They have fought many desperate battles, but the Piegans now consider it their own interest to be at peace with

N. W. corner of Montana, N. W. of Flat Head l., and through the adjoining N. E. corner of Idaho, N. of Lake Pend d' Oreille and of Clark's Fork of the Columbia. Its entrance into Montana is through the Tobacco plains, where Thompson was trading in 1808, and where a Kootenay trading-house is marked on late maps: Tobacco r., which there comes in from the E., is what Thompson called Fine Meadow r. In Montana the Kootenay also receives Masula r., from the S., and close to the Idaho boundary Yauk, Yaak, Yahk, or Yohkh r. falls in from the N. In Montana also, between the two tributaries last named, are the Kootenay falls, where Thompson was May 6th, 1808 (above Bonner's ferry). In the corner of Idaho the Kootenay receives Moyie or Mooyie r., which appears as Mooyic r. on the late G. L. O. map, and which Thompson called McDonald's r., in 1808, after Finan McDonald; two other names of it are Choecoos r. and R. Grande Quête. The Kootenay runs N. out of Idaho at Bedlington, a place on lat.  $49^{\circ}$  and about long.  $116^{\circ} 35'$ , and soon loses itself in the great Kootenay l., so peculiar in form and general hydrographic relations. For this is a dilation of the river which lies nearly N. and S. through more than a degree of latitude—to beyond  $50^{\circ}$ ; and the Kootenay does not issue from the end opposite to the one it enters, but from about the middle of the W. side, whence it flows on a general S. W. course into the Columbia, having received Slocan r., the discharge of Slocan l., from the N. The mouth of the Kootenay is about lat.  $49^{\circ} 20'$ ; this river being thus the next great branch of the Columbia above Clark's Fork, which falls in at  $49^{\circ}$ . There are probably no other large rivers in North America whose interrelations are more peculiar than those which compose the system of upper Columbia waters.

them, to be better enabled to encounter the Flat Heads, from whom they plunder the vast number of horses they possess—the Kootenays being stationed upon the frontiers, and having but few horses, as their country will not admit of the use of those animals further N. than the headwaters of Kootenay river. The animals in which their country abounds are red and fallow deer, moose, gray sheep, and white goats, while of the fur kinds beaver, bear, otter, and other valuable skins abound. Wild horses are also common, and frequently seen in large gangs. They are caught in winter, when the snow is deep, by running them down with relays of fresh horses, or driving them up the mountains in the deepest snow, or into some narrow mountain pass. A noose is thrown about their neck; they are taken exhausted, instantly mounted, and broken immediately to the saddle. Their respiration through the nostrils is much louder than would be imagined; when surprised they can be heard at the distance of 400 or 500 yards. Some of them are exceedingly swift, well-proportioned, and handsome beasts, but they seldom attain the docility of our horses. In summer and fall Kootenay river contains shoals of salmon, some of which are very large; but most of them are wretchedly lean, and such poor eating that the worst meat is far preferable. The vast distance whence these fish come to this river reduces them to mere skeletons before they reach the Kootenay house.

With the several different tribes of Indians S. and W. of the Kootenays we are just beginning to be acquainted. Those with whom we actually trade at present are the following:<sup>4</sup> Flat Bow or Lake Indians; Saleeish or Flat

<sup>4</sup> Belonging to three different linguistic families, as follows :

1. Flat Bow or Lake Indians are Lower Kootenays, or Akoklako, of the Kitunahan family : see note <sup>8</sup>, p. 550.

2. " Flat Head " is a term which is so vaguely used that identification is not easy ; but Henry's use of the term Saleeish would imply that he does not mean the Flat Head Kootenays (Kitunahan family), but a tribe of the Salishan family. At Henry's date of 1811, Saleesh was the name which Thompson had given in 1807 or 1808 to certain Indians, and to the river upon which they lived.

Heads; Kullyspell or Earbob [Pend d'Oreille] Indians; Skeetshues [Skitsuish] or Pointed Hearts [Cœur d'Alènes]; Spokanes; Simpoils; and Sapetens [Shahaptans] or Nez Percés. We hear of many other tribes to the S. and W. of these, but as yet have had no dealings with them. We are given to understand that the further we advance, the more numerous the natives are.

The Flat Bow, or, as some call them, Lake Indians, dwell

This river is in part the one we now call Flat Head, and in part Clark's Fork of the Columbia, of which Flat Head r. is a main branch; for Thompson considered these two together to be the main course of the one he called Saleesh. He is the man whose operations Henry means in saying "we actually trade at present"; and the Indians with whom Thompson was then in commercial relations were the Flat Heads of Flat Head r., or the Salish tribe of the Salishan family, precisely as Henry says. These are the Salish or Flat Heads of Galatin, 1846, said by him to reside "on the most southern branch of Clark's River, or the most northern branch of Lewis's River," the former supposition being correct (Powell, Seventh Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol., 1891, p. 103). Thompson was all through that country between 1807 and 1811, and we have only to turn to his manuscripts for the exact import of what Henry here says.

3. Kullyspel or Kullyspell is Thompson's name of the large lake through which Clark's Fork flows to the Columbia, of the Indians who lived thereabouts, and of the house he built there to trade with them. The lake is the one in Idaho now called Pend d'Oreille l.; and the Earbob Indians are those now called Pend d'Oreilles, a principal tribe of the Salishan family. Kullyspell is spelled in many ways; it is now commonly Kalispel, the form of the name of the town in Montana through which the Great Northern Ry. runs—not on Pend d'Oreille l., however, but on the N. side of Salish or Flat Head l. Kalispelm is also found, as are Kuttelspelm, Calispel, etc.

4. Henry's Skeetshues are the Skitsuish, as the name is now commonly written, and the principal Salishan tribe who lived on or about the large lake in Idaho now known as Cœur d'Alène l., through which Spokane r. flows on its way to the Columbia.

5. The Spokanes are another tribe of the Salishan family, who dwelt upon the river of their name. Thompson calls this Skeetshoo or Skeetshoe r., a name rendered "Sheetshoa" in Tyrrell's paper; the Spokane house which he built upon it he gives as in lat.  $47^{\circ} 47' 02''$  or  $06''$  N., long.  $117^{\circ} 29'$  or  $30'$  W.

6. The Simpoils are yet another tribe of the Salishan family, now called Sans Puells—bogus French for Snpuelish or Snpoiliqiq.

7. Finally, the Sapetens are entirely different Indians from any of the foregoing, belonging to the Shahaptian family. The name is rendered in a profusion of forms. They are the Chopunnish of Lewis and Clark: see L. and C., ed. 1893, note <sup>38</sup>, p. 605.

on the borders of the large [Kootenay] lake, into which McGillivray's [the Kootenay] river empties in its course to the Columbia. They frequently come up the former river as far as the falls [in Idaho], but seldom attempt to proceed higher. These people are but little known to us. The country they inhabit does not appear to abound in animals of the larger kinds; neither are beavers very plenty, nor other skins of value. Salmon and other fish seem to be their principal food. These people have no horses, as their lands will not admit of using these animals, the country being covered with wood, and the mountains steep, and intersected by lakes and rivers. They generally use canoes made of pine bark, which are very weak, slender vessels.

The numerous Saleeish, or Flat Head Indians, dwell further S., along Saleeish [Clark's Fork + Flat Head] river, where the open country permits the use of horses, of which they have great numbers. Buffalo are numerous upon the plains toward the S., which quarter they frequent at particular seasons to make provisions. There they generally encounter the Piegans, and fight desperately when attacked. They never attempt war themselves, and have the character of a brave and virtuous people, not in the least addicted to those vices so common among savages who have had long intercourse with Europeans. Chastity is particularly esteemed, and no woman will barter her favors, even with the whites, upon any mercenary consideration. She may be easily prevailed upon to reside with a white man as his wife, according to the custom of the country, but prostitution is out of the question—she will listen to no proposals of that nature. Their morals have not yet been sufficiently debauched and corrupted by an intercourse with people who call themselves Christians, but whose licentious and lecherous manners are far worse than those of savages. A striking example is to be seen throughout the N. W. country of the depravity and wretchedness of the natives; but, as one advances into the interior parts, vice and debauchery become less frequent. Happy



those who have the least connection with us, for most of their present depravity is easily traced to its origin in their intercourse with the whites. That baneful source of all evils, spirituous liquor, has not yet been introduced among the natives of the Columbia. To the introduction of that subtle poison among the savage tribes may be mainly attributed their miserable and wretched condition.

The Kullyspell [Pend d'Oreille] or Earbob Indians are also a tribe of the Flat Heads [*i. e.*, of the Salishan family], and speak the same language. They dwell on and about Kullyspell [Pend d'Oreille] lake, and frequently accompany the Saleeish to the plains to procure buffalo meat. These people are abundantly provided with horses.

The Skeetshue [Skitsuish] or Pointed Heart [Cœur d'Alène] Indians dwell further southward, about Skeetshue [Cœur d'Alène] lake and [Spokane] river; they are a distinct nation [Salishan tribe], and have a different language from the Flat Heads. They are very numerous and warlike, and have vast numbers of horses, as their country is open and admits of breeding them in great abundance.

The Spokanes are a tribe of the Flat Heads [*i. e.*, of the Salishan family], speaking nearly the same language. They dwell along Spokane river, but seldom, if ever, go to the meadows in search of buffalo, being content to live on the produce of their own lands. Red and fallow deer are their principal food, with a variety of roots peculiar to the country W. of the Rocky mountains; some of these roots have an excellent flavor, and are very good when boiled. One kind, when dried and pounded, resembles fine flour. There is another kind, which, when boiled, acquires a palatable, sweetish taste. Both these roots are shaped like an onion, but not larger than a halfpenny.

The Simpoils, or, as they call themselves, Spoil-Ehiehs, are also a tribe of Flat Heads [*i. e.*, of the Salishan family], and speak nearly the same language. They live somewhat further westward on the river that falls into the Columbia, and is noted for its salmon fisheries. Our people settled

an establishment on this river in the summer of 1810, where they met many Indians who came to them from the S. and W., bringing beavers, bears, otters, and other valuable skins to trade, and telling us that their own country abounded with those animals. They also brought many horses, on which they appeared to set no great value. The character of those strangers did not appear so mild and docile as that of the other Flat Head tribes. Their behavior was more haughty and independent, though in the main they were peaceable and favorably inclined toward us. The Simpoils seldom leave their own country and, like their neighbors, the Spokanes, live upon the produce of their lands and the vast quantities of fat, well-flavored salmon which they take in their river. There are three principal fisheries in this river, where salmon enough could be procured for any number of people who might trade with the natives in this quarter.

The Sapatens [Shahaptans] or Nez Percés, or, as some call them, the Green Wood or Blue Earth Indians, are a numerous, distinct tribe [of a different linguistic family], having a peculiar language of their own. They dwell further S., along the [Snake or Lewis] river down which Captains Lewis and Clark went before they reached the Columbia on their way to the Pacific. These people are well provided with horses, like all their neighbors, and frequently resort to the plains in search of buffalo.

All the tribes I have mentioned seem to live in peace and amity with one another, and heartily join in opposing the depredations of the Slaves, who perpetually harass them, even in the heart of their own country.

Formerly, all those tribes became an easy prey to their enemies, having no other weapon than the bow and arrows. But within a few years they have learned the use of fire-arms and acquired supplies of arms and ammunition from us, thus becoming formidable enemies whom the Slaves can no longer attack with impunity; though the latter still steal the former's horses in great numbers. The first severe

check the Piegans ever received from the nations on the waters of the Columbia was in the summer of 1810, when they met the Flat Heads and others marching to the plains in search of buffalo. The meeting was so sudden and unexpected that the Piegans could not avoid giving battle. They fought with great courage nearly all day, until the Piegans had expended their ammunition and been reduced to defend themselves with stones. A small rising ground which divided the two contending parties enabled them to come to close quarters. At last the Piegans were obliged to retreat, leaving 16 of their warriors dead upon the field. This defeat exasperated the Piegans against us, for strengthening their enemies by supplying them with arms and ammunition. They fain would wreak their vengeance upon us, but dread the consequences, as it would deprive them in future of arms and ammunition, tobacco, and, above all, their favorite liquor, high wine, to which they are now nearly as much addicted as those miserable tribes eastward.

The bows used by the natives W. of the mountains are neatly made, and of three kinds—the horn, the red cedar, and the plain wooden bow. The horn bow is made of a slip of ram's horn. The outside is left undressed, but overlaid with several successive layers of sinew glued to the thickness of one-third of an inch, and then covered with rattlesnake skin. The inside is smoothly polished, and displays the several ridges of the horn. These neat bows are about three feet long, and throw an arrow an amazing distance. The red cedar bow is made of a slip of that wood, overlaid with sinew and glue like the horn bow, and also well polished inside; it is nearly four feet long, and throws an arrow a great distance. The plain wooden bow is of cedar, willow, or ash; the outside is untouched, except that the bark is removed. It is well smoothed, but not so much esteemed by the natives as either kind of sinew bows. These people make the handsomest bows I have ever seen—always preferred by other Indians. I have known a Piegan

to give a gun or a horse for one of those made of sinew. Their preservation demands great care and attention, as in hot weather the sinew becomes too much braced, and in moist weather too much relaxed, being seldom so justly proportioned to the strength of the horn or wood as to prevent warping; but the simple wooden bow requires no particular care, and is always ready for use. The arrows are much longer than those of our Indians E. of the mountains, being nearly three feet, very neatly made, slim-pointed, and well feathered; they are usually tipped with flint, but of late years iron has been procured for that purpose, which saves an immense deal of trouble in working flint to the proper shape and size.

*Specimen of the Flat Head Language:*

ENGLISH.	FLAT HEAD.
One	En koo
Two	Es sane
Three	Kel thliz
Four	Moose
Five	Chilt ks
Six	Tah kun
Seven	Sees pil
Eight	A a nim
Nine	Agh noot
Ten	Oopin opinks
Man	Skul ta mu
Woman	Smae en
Child	Slooe e noo mintin
Sun	Speh kun ne
Moon	Speh kun ne
To-day	Ya tilth wae
To-night	Koo koo actz, <i>or</i> oil koo mosk
Morrow	Ahl leep
Snow	Smae koot, <i>or</i> athk loo snoo koot
Cold	Eth kee moos eem
Water	Sou olth
Fire	Sol e sheet ztin
Lake	Kilth kul e
River	Mee she ate, <i>or</i> en togh et too goo
Wind	Snae oat
Bad	Ti yae

ENGLISH.	FLAT HEAD.
Good	A hest
Road	See see elth
Where	A kane
You	An noo we
Me	Koo e yae
Come here	Choo ee
Go away	Test a cha iz
How many?	Koo yintz
Give	Itz quane
House	Choat too
Talk	Qual e qua lem
Great	Koo tooset
Little	Ilth kook i you nes
Him	Tu ul um
The other	Te ool um
Enough	Hoy
Yes	Ah ah
No	Tah am
Fall of water	Sklar ate
Beaver	Skul lou
Bear	Sim ah i a kin
Muskrat	Kil outh
Otter	Il te koo
Fisher	Chups
Fox	Ai lin
Wolf	Tin kil apen
Horse	Chiltz altz kar
Chevreuil, cabbrie, <i>or</i> fallow deer	Choo ool le
Red deer	Tae yetz a
Doe	Snae chiltz un
Cow buffalo	Es stum alt e
Bull buffalo	Chooth lim
Dog	Ahgk a cheen
Fish	Swou ailth
Net	Hoy yape
Goose	E bo
Fresh meat	Kul lel che
Grease	Esko
Dried meat	Etz tazs
Shoes	Ka shin
That	Sha
Which	Letz chane
Mountain	Es mau koo
Rocks, etc.	Sha entz
Trade <i>or</i> barter	Es too mah te

ENGLISH.	FLAT HEAD.
Canoe	Kle a
Feathers	Skoo poos ilks
Small Feathers	Stonk eh
Gun	Ihoo loo la min
Knife	In chim in skit a moose
Beads	Ilth qu on a quane
Powder	In poak a meen
Balls	Tahp a meen
Cloth	Quol quilt
Blanket	Stox ke, <i>or</i> straka
Coat	Snartz kane
Ax <i>or</i> hatchet	Skil a meen
Kettle	Ilth kape
Awl	Kilth ko men
File	In kar koost
Flint	Chil lun stin
Looking-glass	Actz un
Hat	Spiltz kane
Spoon	Ik loo min
Shoes	Sin kake ane
Leggings	Slact te
Thread	Taen ne
Fire Steel	In cheek a tin
Vermilion	E ootch min
Tent	Cheet too
Frenchman	Sa ner
Kootanae	Skultz sore a quoi
Flat Head Indian	Sa lees
Ea. bob Indian	Kully spel
Snake Indian	Snoo eh
Nez Percé <i>or</i> Green Wood Indian	Sa ah pe tinne
Crow Mountain Indian	Stem che
Piegan	Etch e qui sine
What do you want?	Stah am
Dead	Th la il
To smoke	Tah kaw
Pipe	Is min oot in
Pipestem	Ta pa pit in
Great many	Oo ate
Mother	Skoo e
Father	Lak how la ows
Brother	En kahtsh jan chars
Sister	Ens chopes-in te ta marn
Mine	Koo e ya
Yours	In chu thloo ate

ENGLISH.	FLAT HEAD.
Yesterday	Miz chalt
When	Thle kane
Go	Oo e
Come	Chooe
It is done	Kus su
Eat	Eeth lint
Drink	Shoos tin
Stop	It leeltz
Your brother	Ar sin koo see
Your sister	Ar soo smaem
My parents	Stem aelt
Your parents	Ars stem aelt
His parents	Cha stem aelt
I am cold	Char chacolt
Make haste	Wa ate la lesh
Have a little kindness	Oo annowe I hest arst poost
You are a fool	Quar a koot
Will you smoke?	Tar me koks main
Go a-hunting?	Eoaks kil pim me
When do you depart?	La chane koo oo e
Stretch it, beaver	Charltz see annowe
Will you go with me?	Kool em tea skuloo
Will he go with me?	Cle ootz tin sale oo annowe koo e ya
I see it	Tar am arch e mis tin tea etz oo e
I shall see it	l ussa a wee chil sa
I did not see it	Annowe ars poos see we chil tin ar
Did you see it?	Tars wee chil tin
Shall you see it?	Wee chil tin ar
I shall see it not	Coon ta arks weet chil
Wet it	Tars wee chilt
It is wet	La outh koo et toon
It is dry	Enars
Can you make it?	Chees tars
Are there any?	Lee os te ar
I will pay you	We tar shul ou
It is angry	Wee shilt
I am hungry	Sha se eemnt
Are you hungry?	Tin cum ma
He is hungry	Tar mer skum ma
I shall be hungry	Es skum me tea
You will be hungry	War tim skum ma
Will you eat?	Wart skum ma annowe
I hear	Se eith lint ar
You hear	Sa win
You have no ears	Ai hest ar sa win

ENGLISH.	FLAT HEAD.
It is mine	Annowe I hest arst poost
It is yours	U koo eya
It is his	Arn oo wee neeltz
What do you say?	Stem soon annouer
What is said?	E cheent
Where is my horse?	Chane sin chits arks kar
Where did you see him?	La chane weet chil too
Where is your horse?	Chane nan nark il chun
Where is my knife?	El chane nin chim in
Where is it?	La chane es to ko
Not that one, the other one.	I ar am sha su kote
Give me	Itch quaint
Give him	Weet chil te a as tea
Give it to him	Wee chilt sha, or annour wee chilt
You lie	Se awk ist
He lies	Se awk ist te sha
I speak the truth	Oa na uf
You speak the truth	Oa na kula quaint
He speaks the truth	Oa na kul a quaint sha oo na
Where are you going?	Et chin oo e
Where is he going?	La che chen oo e
When will you return?	Queench se e tish etzoo
How many?	Queench
Take care of it	Art tin te sha
You have lost it	Host a
I have lost it	Too na host
He has lost it	Host sha

Let us now return to our winter-quarters at the Rocky Mountain house, from which we have pursued the course of the Saskatchewan until we left that river, and then in imagination crossed the mountains into the Flat Head country.

On my return from the Height of Land, Feb. 13th, I intended to take a trip S. to Bow river, to visit the different Piegan camps and ascertain their exact numbers. I was only awaiting the expected arrival of a band with whom I proposed to depart for the plains. We had already been informed that the Fall Indians contemplated some designs against us, but from the known envy and jealousy of the Slaves, I supposed the story fabricated to get a few inches of tobacco from us. However, about this time a Piegan came



to my house to trade. He had three wives, two of his own tribe, the third a Cree who had been for several years with the Piegiens and was considered one of their own people. Having a misunderstanding with this woman, he went off in a pet, and left her at my house. As it would have been instant death for her to follow him, I sent her to remain with my Cree hunters, who were her distant relations. During her stay there she confirmed the report of the bad intentions of the Fall Indians toward us, and said she supposed them to be actually coming in for some evil purpose. Of this I was instantly informed, but could not believe that people whom I had always treated so well could be such villains as to meditate mischief. But fresh arrivals confirmed the report, while others who were in the plot, and as great scoundrels as the Fall Indians, sternly denied that there was any truth in the story. However, I imagined it would be imprudent to leave my fort in that state of affairs, and all my people were much against my going, as I should inevitably fall into hostile hands if those Indians were on their way in. Shortly after I had given up my intended jaunt, there came in a small party of Piegiens, among whom was one of our particular friends, an old man called White Buffalo Robe, one of the first of his countrymen who had ever come to our establishments. He came in for no other purpose than to warn us of the danger, and sincerely hoped we would keep on our guard. He said that not long since, while he was camped with his countrymen, they were surprised to see the Fall Indians assemble from the plains in one camp, directly on the route to this house, at a time when they had nothing to trade and were actually starving. When the cause of this rendezvous was inquired into by the Piegiens, they were given to understand by the Fall Indians that it was the ill treatment they had received of late years from the traders at Fort Augustus; for they had not received the same supplies as the other Meadow Indians, and when they took in wolves to trade, one-half, or three-fourths,

and sometimes even the whole of the skins were kicked out of the fort, and they got nothing for their trouble in killing them ; while as for guns and ammunition, they could get none from the traders. All this chagrined them much and made their hearts bad toward the whites. To crown their misery and render their insecure situation still more precarious, a party of them had just returned from war upon the Crows, with whom they had fought a battle on the Yellow Stone river, where they had seen a fort which they supposed to be occupied by Americans. One of their chiefs had been killed and several wounded ; of the enemy they knew not how many had been killed, but they had taken some prisoners. In the heat of battle, the Crows called out that in future they would save the Fall Indians the trouble of coming to war, for next summer the Crows, in company with Americans, would go to war on the Saskatchewan. This information caused no little commotion and uneasiness among the Fall Indians. They knew their enemies were numerous and brave, and, if headed by Americans, would carry all before them. Retreat would be in vain ; the strong woods could not furnish animals enough for their support ; the Crees and the Assiniboines were not their friends ; and destruction stared them in the face. They had but one resource—to enter our forts under pretense of trade, take us unawares, murder us, and steal our property ; which having done, they would be enabled to defend themselves against their enemies. Their plan was known by the Piegans to be for the whole tribe of Fall Indians to come in to our fort in one body, pick a quarrel with us, kill every white man, loot the place, and make off with the plunder. Though this plan did not suit the ideas of a majority of the Piegans, some of them would willingly join the Fall Indians in its execution. The principal Piegans assembled, made several smoking-matches and feasts, gave the Fall Indians all the dried provisions they needed, and represented to them the fatal consequences of such an affair ; for surely never more would they see any traders in

their lands, and where then could they get arms, ammunition, tobacco, and liquor? They would then be miserable indeed. The Piegans advised them to make buffalo robes with which to purchase ammunition to defend themselves, and promised to assemble for the summer with them, to watch the motions of the Crows. To all this the Fall Indians were deaf; they would not listen to reason, but said they were pitiful; they had no guns; we had plenty; our hearts were bad; therefore they would take advantage of the situation and help themselves to all we had. The Piegans, seeing them fully bent on mischief, and knowing that they themselves would be the greatest sufferers in the sequel, as they stood in absolute need of us, and that it was on their own account that we had established the Rocky Mountain house, considered themselves as the party most concerned, and thought that they ought to assist us. They so informed the Fall Indians; telling them that, if they fought with us, they must fight the Piegans also, as all the latter would assemble at that place, and there await the return of the Fall Indians from the fort; when, if any mischief had been done, they should be made to suffer severely for it. This harangue from the Piegans kept the peace. The Fall Indians agreed to disperse into four camps, make buffalo robes, and trade them with us peaceably. But White Buffalo Robe told us to be on our guard and keep a watchful eye when any of them came to the fort.

Having such convincing proofs of their bad intentions, I prepared to fight in case they were insolent. I repaired the bastions, and made a number of loopholes in the shop and garret bearing directly upon the Indian hall, where, if there should be any quarrel, it would of course begin. We should thus be able to destroy a good many before they could get out of the house, and then the guard in the bastions could take them in their retreat toward the gates, where also the bastions bore full upon them, and many could be killed as they crowded through. Furthermore, the bastions would

bear upon those who should get out of the fort until they retreated beyond the reach of our guns. All this was well enough planned, but I doubted the courage of my men, as I had frequently suffered in consequence of their cowardly behavior on such occasions, when, at the first fire from Indians, three out of four men ran to hide themselves, leaving me in the lurch to defend myself and property as best I could. Such dastardly actions are usual among the lower class of Canadians, though they are noisy, dashing fellows when they apprehend no real danger.

The Piegans, though the same people as the Blackfeet and Bloods, imagine themselves to be a superior race, braver and more virtuous than their own countrymen, whom they always seem to despise for their vicious habits and treacherous conduct. They are proud and haughty, and studiously avoid the company of their allies further than is necessary for their own safety in guarding against their common enemies. They have frequent quarrels, which may end in bloodshed and death. These quarrels are generally occasioned by debauching their women; for, though they are lavish in offering their women to the whites, from whom they always expect remuneration, they are exceedingly jealous among themselves. These quarrels, however, seldom last long, nor do they affect the whole tribe; the woman being killed, reconciliation is immediate, and all are friends again. About 20 years ago the Piegans amounted to only 150 tents, so much had smallpox reduced that once numerous tribe; but their numbers are now increasing fast. They have always had the reputation of being more brave and virtuous than any of their neighbors; indeed they are obliged to be so, surrounded as they are by enemies with whom they are always at war. They are too busy in this way, and in providing for their families, to have leisure to indulge the grosser vices or to arrogate to themselves the attributes of supreme beings; though all the nations eastward, who have just as much war as they choose and no more, are in general vicious and vainglorious in proportion

to their immunity from danger. But how far the Piegans deserve their reputation is a matter of doubt with me. That power for all evil, spirituous liquor, now seems to dominate them, and has taken such hold upon them that they are no longer the quiet people they were. They appear fully as much addicted to liquor as the Crees, though, unlike the latter, they will not purchase it. They cannot be made to comprehend that anything of value should be paid for what they term "water." This is the cause of all our misunderstandings with them; they will not pay for drinks, and will absolutely insist upon our treating them with their favorite liquor. They are arrant beggars, whose haughty souls cannot brook the idea of refusal. Aside from this, they resent our supplying the Columbia Indians with arms and ammunition, and have thus become fully as troublesome and turbulent at our houses as any other tribe. Still, they boast of never having murdered one of us, or stolen any of our horses. Whether they will have such forbearance to brag about much longer is doubtful, as they seem likely to commit as many depredations as their neighbors.

The country which the Piegans call their own, and which they have been known to inhabit since their first intercourse with traders on the Saskatchewan, is, as I have already observed, along the foot of the Rocky mountains, on Bow river, and even as far S. as the Missouri. The buffalo regulates their movements over this vast extent of prairie throughout the year, as they must keep near these animals to obtain food. In summer they are obliged to assemble in large camps of from 100 to 200 tents, the better to defend themselves from enemies. In winter, when there is not so much danger, they disperse in small camps of 10 to 20 tents, make pounds for buffalo, and hunt wolves and kits [*Vulpes velox*]. There are 30 or 40 tents who seldom resort to the plains, either in summer or winter, unless scarcity of animals or some other circumstance obliges them to join their countrymen. This small band generally inhabit the thick, woody country along the foot of the mountains, where they kill a

few beavers, and, being industrious, they are of course better provided for than those Piegans who dwell in the plains. The latter despise labor, and will not kill a beaver or any other fur animal to enable them to purchase an ax or other European utensil, though beaver are numerous in every stream throughout their country. When we ask why they do not kill beaver, they say the ground is too hard for their hands to work in; and their women are too lazy to make buffalo robes or provisions. In a word, they frankly avow that war, women, liquor, and horses are all their delight. Many families are still destitute of either a kettle or an ax. The women, who are mere slaves, have much difficulty in collecting firewood. Those who have no axes fasten together the ends of two long poles, which two women then hook over dry limbs of large trees, and thus break them off. They also use lines for the same purpose; a woman throws a line seven or eight fathoms long over a dry limb, and jerks it until the limb breaks off. Others again set fire to the roots of large trees, which having burned down, the branches supply a good stock of fuel. The trunk is seldom attacked by those who have axes, as chopping blisters their hands. Axes broken in two pieces are still used by putting the fractured ends together and stretching over them the green gut of a buffalo, which, when dry, binds the pieces tightly. As such repairing soon wears loose, a fresh gut is put on. Kettles are very scarce, particularly among those who dwell in the plains. They generally roast their meat on a wooden spit before the fire or broil it on coals. The paunch of the buffalo or other animal serves to contain water. They are not nice or clean in their cooking. They have no particular hour for meals; all day meat of some kind is on the fire. Their culinary utensils are few and very rough. Wooden dishes of different dimensions are made of aspen or poplar knots; spoons are formed of the same material, or more commonly of buffalo's or ram's horn. Some of the latter are very large, holding about two quarts, and answer as both dish and

spoon. They are seldom entirely out of food, for they keep a stock of dried provisions on hand for emergencies, as buffalo sometimes disappear, and it may be several days before they can get a fresh supply. When they are reduced to dried provisions they call it starving. So much do these people abhor work that, to avoid the trouble of making proper pounds, they seek some precipice along the bank of the river, to which they extend their ranks and drive the buffalo headlong over it. If not killed or entirely disabled from the fall, the animals are generally so much bruised as to be easily dispatched with the bow and arrow. But this method sometimes proves dangerous; for if the leading buffalo, on coming to the edge of the precipice, is not entirely exhausted, she may refuse to make the leap, suddenly turn about, and break through the ranks, followed by the whole herd, carrying before them everything which offers to obstruct their progress. No effort of man suffices to arrest a herd in full career after the cow that leads them; and thus lives are sometimes lost, as the natives standing near the precipice, to form the ranks and see the buffalo tumble down, have no time to get out of the way.

The ordinary dress of these people is plain and simple, like that of all other Meadow Indians; plain leather shoes, leather leggings reaching up to the hip, and a robe over all, constitutes their usual summer dress, though occasionally they wear an open leather shirt, which reaches down to the thigh. Their winter dress differs little from that of the summer; their shoes are then made of buffalo hide dressed in the hair, and sometimes a leather shirt and a strip of buffalo or wolf skin is tied around the head. They never wear mittens. I have frequently seen them come in to our houses after a 10 or 15 days' march over the plains, in the depth of winter, with the thermometer 30 to 40 degrees below zero, dressed with only shoes, leggings, and a robe—nothing else to screen them from the cold. At the Rocky Mountain house, in January, 1811, when the snow was knee-deep and no track yet beaten, during the severest cold

we experienced that winter, a party of Fall Indians arrived with a few wolves to trade. They had slept ten nights on their way in. Among them was a young man who had become perfectly blind from smallpox, which raged among them about 16 years ago. He was dressed in the above manner, without either shirt, cap, or mitts. The young men have a more elegant dress which they put on occasionally, the shirt and leggings being trimmed with human hair and ornamented with fringe and quill work; the hair is always obtained from the head of an enemy. Young Piegans are not so much addicted to fineries as the Blackfeet, their only ambition being for war; their manners, however, are the same. The gun which they carry in their arms, and the powder-horn and shot-pouch slung on their backs, are necessary appendages to the full dress of a young Slave. The bow and quiver of arrows are also slung across the back at all times and seasons, except that, when the Indian is sleeping or setting his tent, these weapons are hung on a pole within reach.

War seems to be the Piegans' sole delight; their discourse always turns upon that subject; one war-party no sooner arrives than another sets off. Horses are the principal plunder to be obtained from their enemies on the W. Formerly the Flat Heads and other tribes became an easy prey, and were either killed or driven away like sheep, but within a few years they have acquired firearms and become formidable. The severe defeat the Piegans sustained last summer did not discourage them from renewed enterprises of the same nature. They are always the aggressors; there never has an instance been known of a native coming to war from the W. side of the mountains. The Crows are the only nation that sometimes venture northward in search of the Slaves. The Snakes are a miserable, defenseless nation, who never venture abroad. The Piegans call them old women, whom they can kill with sticks and stones. They take great delight in relating their adventures in war, and are so vivid in rehearsing every detail of the fray that



they seem to be fighting the battle over again. A Piegan takes as much pleasure in the particulars of the excursion in which he engaged as a Saulteur does in relating a grand drinking match—how many nights they were drunk and how many kegs of liquor they consumed.

The Slaves, indeed, all the Meadow tribes which I have seen, are much given to gusts of passion; a mere trifle irritates them and makes a great commotion, which a stranger would suppose must result in bloodshed. But the matter is soon adjusted, and their passion as quickly subsides. They are fickle and changeable; no confidence can be placed in them; the most trifling circumstance will change their minds. In smoking there is more ceremony among the Piegans than I observed in any other tribe. Some of them will not smoke while there is an old pair of shoes hanging up in the tent; some of them must rest the pipe upon a piece of meat; others upon a buffalo's tongue. Some will smoke only their own pipe, which they themselves must light; others, again, must have somebody to light it for them, and then it must be lighted by flame only; no live coal must touch it, nor must the coal be blown into a blaze. No person must pass between the lighted pipe and the fire, particularly when in a tent. The first whiff from the pipe is blown toward the earth, while the stem is pointed up; the second whiff is blown up, and the stem is pointed down, or sometimes to the rising sun; the midday and setting sun may also receive their share of attention. Those ceremonies being over, the pipe is handed around, as usual. I once observed a fellow who would not smoke in our houses, but having been given a bit of tobacco, he took his own pipe, went out of doors, and made a hole in the ground in which to rest the bowl while he smoked. Such proceedings are tedious and often troublesome to us in our business when a large band comes in, as the whole performance is slow and serious. They are superstitious to the utmost in various other things; some must have a person to cut their meat into small pieces ready to eat;

others always eat and drink out of one particular bowl or dish, which they carry for that purpose; some never taste wild fowl or fish; some never eat particular kinds of flesh, or allow their victuals to be cooked in a kettle used for such viands. Every movement of the Slaves is a parade. When coming in to trade, young men are sent on ahead to inform us of their approach and demand a bit of tobacco for each principal man or head of a family. Six inches of our twist tobacco is commonly sent, neatly done up in paper, to which is tied a small piece of vermilion, both being considered tokens of friendship. The young men are treated to a glass of liquor, four inches of tobacco, and a small paper of vermilion, with which they immediately return to their friends. The tobacco is delivered, and a smoking-match takes place, while the messengers relate the news of the place, and give an account of their reception. This ceremony being concluded, they move on their journey in one long string. On the day of their arrival the men assemble at a convenient spot in sight of the fort, where they make a fire and smoke; during which time the women and children come to the fort and erect their tents near the stockades. Observing that business to be nearly completed, the men rise and move toward the fort in Indian file, the principal chief taking the lead, the others falling in according to rank or precedence, derived from the number of scalps taken in war. The master of the place is always expected to go out and shake hands with them at a short distance from the gates, and the further he goes to meet them, the greater the compliment. This ceremony over, he walks at their head, and thus conducts them to the Indian hall. There he desires the principal chief to take the seat of honor, in the most conspicuous place; the others sit according to rank around the room on benches provided for that purpose. The pipe is then lighted and presented to the chief, who, having performed the usual ceremonies, takes a few whiffs and passes it to the next person on the right, always in rotation, with the course of

the sun. All having taken a few whiffs of the trader's pipe, the principal chief produces his own, which he fills and presents to the trader, who must take a few whiffs before it is sent around. The compliment is greater if the chief presents the pipe to the trader to light. If the Indians are numerous their own pipes are then demanded, filled by us, and presented to them, each one lighting according to his own particular notions of ceremony; but we must always have people to hand them fire, as their consequential impertinence does not permit them to rise for that purpose. The more pipes there are in circulation at once, the greater is the compliment. After the first round we give them each half a gill of Indian liquor, beginning always with the principal chief, who is about as ceremonious in taking a drink as he is in smoking. He dips his finger into the liquor and lets a few drops fall to the ground; then a few drops are offered above; but he drinks the rest without further delay. Each chief has some particular ceremony to perform before tasting the first glass, but after that he gets drunk as fast as possible. Smoking continues till the room is filled with smoke, and in half an hour another glass is served, and soon after that we present each man with a one-quart keg of Indian liquor; a dram then finishes the business, and all are ordered to retire to their tents to enjoy their liquor. Should the party exceed 15 or 20 heads of families, we give them their quantum in one large keg; this they prefer, as one gallon in a large keg looks bigger to them than double that quantity in several small kegs. Such is the common method of receiving them when no person of distinction bears a flag. In this case the flag-bearer walks ahead, though he may not be the principal man; precedence being allowed him, on such occasions, out of respect for the flag. The trader meets them as before, receives the flag, and carries it into the house, where the ceremonies already described are performed. The principal chief frequently advances, leading a horse by a line, which he delivers to the trader after

shaking hands. This is considered as a present, and sometimes the horse has a small parcel of furs or skins on his back to enhance the value of the gift. The owner often wears a handsomely painted robe, which he takes off his own back to cover the trader. His dressed fox-skin cap may be added, and this he must be allowed to adjust upon the trader's head. His ceremonies being over, if there be any other individuals inclined to make a present, they rise up and cover the trader with their robes, and if they have a fox-skin worth presenting, it is adjusted on the top of the first one. Thus, when a large party arrives, the trader often finds himself covered with eight or ten heavy robes, and wears on his head as many fox-skins. All this he must endure, and sit with a serious countenance until the principal smoking ceremonies are over, when he is at liberty to order the robes and skins into the storehouse. It is always expected, however, that these presents will be paid for, even to double their value. After the Indians have retired to their tents and drank up all their liquor, if they are inclined to purchase any more, they bring some bits of meat, tongues, or other trash, which we must buy with liquor, which Piegans will not consent to pay for in skins or furs. The drinking-match continues all day and until about midnight, when they all fall asleep, and next morning finds them sober; for a drinking-match among the Slaves seldom lasts over night. The next day, when they trade, we pay them for their previous presents. But if what we offer for the horse does not answer the owner's expectations, he demands the horse, and it must be delivered up to him. Altercation is useless, for he gets sullen, and walks away with his horse. But a present of skins and furs is never demanded to be returned; whatever is offered for it being accepted. If a flag has been brought in, it is returned to the owner on his departure, tied up with a few yards of gartering, to which is attached a foot of tobacco. They seldom remain longer than one day at our forts. The women are all sent off first, while the men remain to smoke with the

trader, and put him out of all patience by begging. The women being all gone, each man gets four or five balls and powder, about four inches of tobacco, and a dram; but they never set off till they have so pestered us for different articles that we are heartily tired of our customers. While drinking at our houses almost every man is provided with a rattle, to keep chorus with his rude singing. These rattles are made of raw hide, sewed and stretched in the shape of a calabash, and stuffed with sand until they are dry, when they are emptied and small pebbles put into them. The Piegans are noisy when drinking, but not insolent. Singing and bellowing seem to be their pleasure, while the men and women all drink together. They are not so much given to thieving at our houses as the Blackfeet and Bloods. The greatest oath a Slave can possibly utter is that the earth and the sun hear him speak; this they consider sacred and inviolable in all their transactions. The Piegans are less given to gaudy dress than any other tribe on the plains, as I have already observed; warlike exploits are their great pride. The ten different colors of earth and clay they use in painting and daubing their garments, bodies, and faces are: a dark red, nearly a Spanish brown; a red, inclining to pale vermillion; a deep yellow; a light yellow; a dark blue; a light or sky-colored blue; a shining and glossy lead color; a green; a white; and charcoal. Medicines they have few or none, except some simples they use to cure wounds. They are perfectly ignorant of internal applications, and seem to have no medicines for the relief of any inward complaint. Notwithstanding their own ignorance in quackery, they are perpetually begging medicine from us, and place the greatest confidence in whatever we give them, imagining that everything medical which comes from the trader must be a sovereign remedy for all diseases. I have often done wonders by giving them a smell of eau de Luce<sup>5</sup>, as something warranted to cure all

<sup>5</sup> "Liquide laiteux, d'une odeur forte, d'une saveur âcre et caustique, que l'on emploie dans les évanouissements, en aspiration par le nez, ou à l'intérieur

kinds of internal maladies. Next morning after drinking they generally swarm into the house for medicine to relieve the effects of the liquor, and we often have some diversion by assuming a solemn countenance, and letting them taste or smell some kind of trash; and the more poignant the application, the greater faith they put in its efficacy. Their dreams are much attended to. If a Piegan dreams something particular, on awakening, he instantly rouses his wife, makes a speech about his dream, and begins to sing, accompanied by his woman, and sometimes all his wives join in chorus. If he dreams of having drunk liquor, he gets up, relates the circumstances, sings for a long time with his women, and then, if not too far from the fort, comes in to have his dream accomplished. During my short stay here I have frequently been awakened by such speeches and songs in the dead of night. Early in March [1811] a party of Piegans came in, some of whom had just returned from war upon the Crows. They had crossed the Missourie to the southward, where they saw a fort inhabited by white people; they found a camp of the enemy, whom they immediately attacked, and say they drove from the field of battle, but got no scalps; they found some plunder in the abandoned camp, but the enemy had carried off everything of value. Only one Piegan was wounded; he received a ball in the arm, which broke the bone near the wrist and tore the flesh. He sadly wanted some medicine from me to cure the wound, which, however, was then in a fair way of recovery by their method of splinting the fracture and applying some simples to the external wound. The Piegans wear necklaces formed by several strings of minoique root, which they have in great abundance. This has an agreeable smell, and is frequently used by Indians to the E. as a medicine, or mixed with

(quelques gouttes dans un verre d'eau sucrée)," Littré, *s. v.* Luce is the name of the inventor of this compound, also known as aqua Lucizæ and spiritus ammonizæ succinatus; the basis is aqua ammonizæ, in alcohol, with lavender, amber, and mastic.

their weed and tobacco for smoking. The joints of this root are from half an inch to an inch long, and two inches in circumference, bearing a great resemblance to the jointed backbone of a fish. They tell us they collect this root southward on their war excursions, as they also do several kinds of earth and clay which they use in their toilets.

The Fall Indians I have already mentioned formerly inhabited the tract of land between the North and South branches of the Saskatchewan. They always had the reputation of a brave and warlike nation—indeed, their turbulent disposition was the principal cause of their abandoning their former lands. They were then very numerous, but the smallpox carried off most of them. They are now augmenting in number very fast, and more so, I believe, than any other tribe. I have always observed a greater proportion of young men than among their neighbors. I have not been able to ascertain the exact number, but am fully confident they exceed 100 tents. They are no doubt from the same stock as the Big Bellies of the Missouri and the Crows.<sup>6</sup> Their dress, manners, and customs are the same throughout. In their language there is some difference; still they comprehend each other perfectly well. The Fall Indians are notorious for their vicious and bloodthirsty disposition toward their foes. They are the only nation

<sup>6</sup> This is a mistake of Henry's. The "Big Bellies of the Missouri" and the Crows are both of Siouan stock; but the Fall Indians are the Atsina tribe of Algonquian stock who formerly lived on the Saskatchewan. They became known as Fall Indians after Umfreville, 1790; were also called Rapid Indians by various authors; by others again Gros Ventres of the Falls, Gros Ventres of the Prairie, and Gros Ventres of the Plains. This double use of "Big Bellies" or "Gros Ventres" seems to have led to the confusion of the Algonquian Atsinas with the Siouan Minnetarees or Hidatsas, who are the Gros Ventres proper. The following occurs in Dr. James' edition of Tanner's Narr., 1830, p. 63: "—the Bahwetego-weninnewug, the Fall Indians . . . live near the Rocky Mountains, and wander much with the Black Feet; their language being unlike that of both the Sioux and the Ojibbeways. These last, and the Crees, are more friendly with the Black Feet than they are with the Fall Indians. The little Bahwetig girl," etc. This girl is called the Bowwetig on p. 83. Compare note <sup>6</sup>, p. 530.

of Slaves who have actually attacked our establishments on the Saskatchewan. In both of two instances they succeeded in plundering the forts and murdering the servants of the H. B. Co., but were repulsed by the persons in charge of the N. W. Co. forts, who obliged them to retire with the loss of some of their principal men. Since then they have thrown off the mask and committed depredations, pillage, and murder wherever opportunity offered. Their cruelty to a party of Iroquois and whites, whom they murdered on Bow river a few years ago, was horrid—cutting the bodies open, tearing out the still quivering hearts, and devouring them with the ferocity of tigers in the presence of our people, whose fate it was to winter in that quarter, and who could not attempt to save that party, as it was only with the utmost difficulty that they secured peace for themselves through the winter. Yet the Fall Indians at our forts, when they perceive we are on our guard, are the most peaceable of any in the country and the easiest people to trade with, nowise troublesome or beggarly. They take whatever we offer them in exchange for their produce, without demanding a higher price. They are excessively fond of liquor, and always purchase that article without asking us for even one glass gratis. This extraordinary docility may be attributed to the depredations they commit upon the whites. Of course they are dubious of a kind reception, being convinced in their own minds that they deserve no lenity from us. Their principal trade consists of buffalo robes, in dressing which they have a particular method of their own, far superior to that of other Meadow tribes. They also kill some wolves, foxes, grizzly bears, etc., and make dried provisions. They are more industrious than the Piegans. The Fall Indians are fond of keeping their robes and other coverings white by frequent application of white earth; when they use red, it is always of a light color, inclining to pale vermillion. The dark red or Spanish brown, so much in vogue among the other Meadow tribes, does not suit their taste. In offering their women



they surpass all other nations I have ever seen. They appear to be destitute or ignorant of all shame or modesty. In their visits to our establishments women are articles of temporary barter with our men. For a few inches of twist tobacco a Gros Ventre will barter the person of a wife or daughter with as much sangfroid as he would bargain for a horse. He has no equal in such an affair, though the Blackfoot, Blood, or Piegan is now nearly as bad—in fact, all those tribes are a nuisance when they come to the forts with their women. They intrude upon every room and cabin in the place, followed by their women, and even though the trader may have a family of his own, they insist upon his doing them the charity of accepting of the company of at least one woman for the night. It is sometimes with the greatest difficulty that we can get the fort clear of them in the evening and shut the gates; they hide in every corner, and all for the sake of gain, not from any regard for us, though some of the men tell us it is with a view of having a white child—which frequently is the case. While on a war excursion, last summer, these people fell upon a party of Americans or freemen from the Illinois, whom they confess they murdered and robbed of considerable booty in utensils, beaver skins, etc. Some of the beaver skins I observed were marked Valley and Jnumell,<sup>7</sup> with different numbers—8, 15, etc. I purchased from a Fall Indian a stout black dog, of a breed between a hound and Newfoundland, which he had taken on that occasion. I was

<sup>7</sup> So copy. I imagine the name stands thus for Armell, Emill, Emmel, Emmill, Immell, or Emmette, a person of the Missouri Fur Co., who with one Jones led a party from St. Louis to the Yellowstone in 1819, and was massacred with Jones and others in 1823: see *Cont. Montana Hist. Soc.*, II. 1896, p. 154 and p. 227, and compare L. and C., ed. 1893, note <sup>20</sup>, p. 1158, for the branch of the Yellowstone named for this trader. Whether this shot of mine in the dark be a hit or a miss, the above passage in Henry throws a side light on an obscure point in Montana history. The difference in date is not necessarily a bar to the possible identification, for this "Jnumell" may easily have been in that country in 1810, and not been killed at the time skins marked with his name and Valley's were procured by massacring some party with which he was connected.

surprised at the docility of this poor animal. He would not allow himself to be attached to a sled to haul any weight on their way, and therefore came in perfectly light and free. He entered my house without any ceremony, looked about, jumped and fawned upon us, and would not return to the Indian tents. His master had to take him away with a line, and keep him tied to a tentpole, where a wolfskin was spread for him to lie upon. On their going away I purchased him for a fathom of tobacco and a scalper, and the poor beast was rejoiced to remain with us.

The Bloods were at war on the Missourie about the same time as the Fall Indians. They fell upon a party of Americans, murdered them all, and brought away considerable booty in goods of various kinds, such as fine cotton shirts, beaver traps, hats, knives, dirks, handkerchiefs, Russia sheeting tents, and a number of banknotes, some signed New Jersey and Trenton Banking Company. From the description the Bloods gave of the dress and behavior of one whom they murdered, he must have been an officer or a trader; they said he killed two Bloods before he fell. This exasperated them, and I have reason to suppose they butchered him in a horrible manner and then ate him, partly raw and partly broiled. They said his skin was exceedingly white and tattooed from the hips to the feet.

The Bloods in general bear fully as bad a reputation as the Fall Indians; they are equally vicious, bloodthirsty, and turbulent, but, I believe, not so brave. At our forts they are very troublesome, beggarly, difficult to trade with, and always inclined to mischief. They are notorious thieves; every movable piece of metal must be put out of their sight and reach, as they will steal all they can lay hands upon. Idiotism is rather uncommon among the Slaves; but I knew a full-grown Blackfoot of Painted Feather's band who was deaf and dumb from infancy, yet frequently accompanied his countrymen to war; and they said he was brave and fool-hardy, never wishing to retreat.

Blindness is rare, except from accident or old age. The Slaves generally appear to be the most independent and happy people of all the tribes E. of the Rocky mountains. War, women, horses, and buffalo are their delights, and all these they have at command.

The Sarcees, who all traded at this post in the winter of 1810-11, were excellent beaver hunters while on the N. side of the Saskatchewan, but from intercourse with the Slaves have become fully as lazy and indolent. A quarrel which they had last summer with the Assiniboines has caused them to remain near the mountains for the present; the environs of the Beaver Hills are generally their station. These people have the reputation of being the bravest tribe in all the plains, who dare face ten times their own numbers; and of this I have had convincing proof during my residence in this country. They are more civilized and more closely attached to us than the Slaves, and have on several occasions offered to fight the others in our defense. None of their neighbors can injure them with impunity; death is instantly the consequence. I have already mentioned their [Athapascan] origin. Their manners and customs are nearly the same as those of all the other Meadow Indians. They are a hard people to deal with; the most arrant beggars known. A refusal makes them sullen and stubborn; for being, as they term themselves, our real friends, they imagine we should refuse them nothing. Most of them have a smattering of the Cree language, which they display in clamorous and discordant strains, without rule or reason. Their own language is so difficult to acquire that none of our people have ever learned it.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

DOWN THE SASKATCHEWAN: 1811.

**S**UNDAY, May 12th, 1811. At 10.30 a. m. I embarked on board a boat with six men, and left the Rocky Mountain house. The water was still high, although it had been falling fast for several days; the current was strong, without any rapids. We saw some red deer, but our boat was too large and unmanageable in such a current to get a chance to kill any animals. In  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours' rowing we came to Baptiste's creek, whence we took four hours to the junction of the North branch [Brazeau river]. This, at its mouth, is much wider than the main stream down which we came, and runs with a strong current; it is not so navigable as the other, from the interruptions of rapids, islands, and banks of gravel; both sides are covered with pines and willows. Here the Saskatchewan becomes much broader, and is intersected by small islands and banks of gravel, with an amazingly swift current, but no rapids. In half an hour we came from the forks to Boggy Hall, where we camped. At this place we had an establishment, a few years ago, for the Swampy Ground Assiniboines and the Strong Wood Crees; but beaver getting scarce, we abandoned the place in the fall of 1808. The remains of the buildings stand on a small plain on the N., about half a mile from the river, through thick woods which must have made it tedious to get water in winter. The situation is pleasant, having a beautiful meadow on one side large enough for a horse-race; the whole is shut in by tall poplars, aspens, and pines. I expected to meet a party from the Athabasca, whom I had desired to be here on the 9th inst., but from their non-appearance I fear some accident has happened in

crossing Panbian river. We were much tormented by the mosquitoes.

*May 13th.* At 4 a. m. we embarked. The piles of ice are not so high here as at and above the Rocky Mountain house, but the snow is still deeper in the thick woods than it is above. The country on both sides is thickly covered with wood, mostly pine. A head wind, with some light rain, prevented our boat from making any great expedition, but at nine we passed Wolf creek,<sup>1</sup> which comes in on the S. and communicates with that Wolf river which we crossed last autumn on our way above; a lake of some considerable length lies on the height of land between them. A little below Wolf creek we saw a huge grizzly bear on the upper bank; I ordered the men to pull ashore to pursue him, but the current carried us some distance below him before we could land. A herd of buffalo below us on the other side was a greater temptation than the bear, and we pulled for the opposite shore; but before we could land, the buffalo became alarmed and disappeared in the woods. I pursued them nearly a mile before I was obliged to desist, as they had gone off at full speed. These strong wood buffalo must have been numerous here all winter, judging from the piles of dung I saw; and moose dung was to be seen at every few paces. I returned to the boat and pushed off. Seeing a flock of outardes I attempted to shoot, but my piece would not give fire, and I found she needed to be fresh charged and have the flint repaired. How happy it was for me that I did not engage the grizzly bear! I had the utmost confidence in this gun, and the consequence might have been fatal to me, as those animals seldom hesitate to attack a man.

<sup>1</sup>A stream which I think has not been noted before. Henry has passed Blue rapids, where the Saskatchewan turns from N. to E. quite sharply, and come about 10 m. to the mouth of Wolf cr., near the E. border of Tp. 47, R. viii, W. of the 5th init. merid. The sources of this stream are in close relation with those of present Medicine r. and its branch, Horse Pond cr., but less so with that Wolf r., present Blind Man's r., of which the text here speaks. All of these Henry crossed Oct. 3d, 1810: see notes at that date.

At 9.30 a. m. we passed old Fort Maskake [Muskeg] or Quagmire Hall,<sup>2</sup> an establishment of ours on the N. side, which has been abandoned for several years, the situation being improper for trade; the remains of the house are still standing. This place is surrounded by a deep swamp; even near the house it is boggy and dangerous for horses—on the whole, the most inconvenient spot for an establishment along the river. The country below on both sides presents almost continuous brûlés and renversés, where the wind-fallen wood lies in every direction for some depth, and makes a dreary appearance. Spots of green pine, poplars, and willows are seen only at intervals, near the waterside. At Gooseberry point<sup>3</sup> is the first bas fond below Boggy Hall; this is only a short distance below the old houses, and would have been a pleasant situation for an establishment on the N. side, with meadows, beautiful groves of aspen, and pine in the rear. Opposite this point stands a high cliff of rocks on the S., of the same yellowish color as those below the Rocky Mountain house; it forms a bend of the river, and its base is washed by the stream. Among those rocks a number of outardes had their nests, about 200 feet from the water. It must be a

<sup>2</sup> Fort Muskeg, Muskake, or Muskako seems to be little known, aside from the present notice. It was probably in the vicinity of present Rocky rapids, but Henry gives no mileages or other exact indicia of its position. Thompson repeatedly speaks of Boggy Hall, and also of a place he calls Swampy house; and it might be inferred that the latter is the Quagmire Hall of Henry. But Thompson's MSS. repeatedly speaks of the latter as Fort Muskake. Thus, he passed Muskake fort, going down, June 26th, 1808; going up again, he passed Muskake fort Oct. 1st, and reached Boggy Hall Oct. 3d, 1808; going down in June, 1809, he went from Boggy Hall to Wolf cr. in an hour, and thence to Muskake fort in 3½ hours; going up, July 20th, 1809, he camped "in sight of the large low point below the Muskake," and went next day to near Wolf brook. The position of Boggy Hall is known with perfect precision: see previous notes, especially on p. 650.

<sup>3</sup> Probably meant for Goose point, so named from the breeding of outardes or geese (*Bernicla canadensis*) on the high rocks opposite, which Henry proceeds to remark upon. The place is found on Tyrrell's Alberta map of 1887, by the name of Goose Encampment; it is a little above the seam of coal (which Henry notices) in Tp. 50, R. iv, W. of the 5th init. merid.

tedious business for the mother bird to carry her young ones from such a height to the water; she does it by taking them on her back, assisted by the male, who always attends to her while hatching. Soon after passing this place we saw several banks of pure coal on the S., some about 60 feet high, half of which was one solid black bed of coal; the base is washed by the stream, the top being covered with a bed of yellowish earth and clay. Banks and veins of coal are become very frequent. At one we passed Sturgeon river,<sup>4</sup> which comes in on the S.; the entrance cannot be seen in passing down the main channel, as there are several islands opposite it. The Saskatchewan is here very broad, but much interrupted by islands and gravel banks, which makes the navigation crooked. At 4 p. m. we reached Little [or Upper] White Mud,<sup>5</sup> where I found Mr. Rowand awaiting my arrival. This is a pretty situation for an establishment, on an elevated level plain covered with short grass and scattered aspens, with a range of hills in the rear. This is the first meadow country seen along the Saskatchewan on the way down, and even this is due to the frequent fires that have ravaged the country and destroyed the wood, as is evident from the straggling stumps still to be seen. A soil covered with aspen and birch is in a few years converted by fire into beautiful meadow land; but where pine and willow grow, it requires a much longer time to alter the face of the country. On each side of our houses here runs a small creek; the two are called White Mud creek, and take their waters from

<sup>4</sup> Or Sturgeon cr., now better known as Buck Lake cr., flowing N. from Buck l. (also called Bull l.), to empty into the right bank of the Saskatchewan in Tp. 50 of R. v, and thus in the next township above Goose point—not below the latter, as the order in which the two are named in the text would suggest.

<sup>5</sup> This is the place which has been frequently mentioned in this work as Upper Terre Blanche, Upper White Earth, etc. As already noted, the position is close to present White Lake cr., which flows through the Alexis Indian reserve from White l., and the latter is the one "of considerable size," which Henry presently notices as famous for its whitefish.

a lake of considerable size, about half a day's journey northward, where is an excellent fishery in the autumn, when vast numbers of whitefish are caught for the use of this post. They are large, fat, and excellent eating. This place was established by us last autumn for the purpose of trading with Swampy Ground Assiniboines and the few Crees who resort here. Mr. Rowand sent his men a few days ago to Lower Terre Blanche, to have their canoes renewed by the guide. He has made 45 packs, mostly good furs. I found tented here a band of Assiniboines, whose chief is called "He that speaks Cree." The dress, manners, and customs of these people resemble those of the Maskegon Indians. They have no horses and very few dogs, are excellent hunters for strong wood animals and beavers, and the most notorious drunkards in the Northwest—as bad as the Saulteurs. The H. B. Co. have a place alongside of us. Their trade is a mere trifle. I agreed with one of these Assiniboines to go to the Athabasca and hunt all summer for our people, who are in that quarter endeavoring to find a road for our horses to pass with loads across the mountains to the Columbia. I gave him a nine-gallon keg of liquor on the bargain, which is to pay him three skins for every large animal he kills, furnish him ammunition and tobacco during the whole time, and give him 10 pints of liquor for every 10 animals he kills.

*May 14th.* At 7 a. m. I embarked, and Mr. Rowand got on board a canoe which he had kept for that purpose. We left an interpreter with one man to summer here. The strong N. E. wind was directly ahead on leaving the Upper Terre Blanche, and the Saskatchewan soon bends around eastward. I observed great quantities of coal in the face of some steep banks on the N. This coal is not so pure as that above, but runs with earth and clay in horizontal veins of different thicknesses, frequently in smaller masses mixed with earth, and crumbling as the river washes away the bank. The coal banks we passed yesterday are solid and firm, with a black, glossy surface. As we proceed, coal is



seen in the banks on both sides, and the country assumes a different appearance. Knolls covered with strong grass and a few stunted aspens frequently appear; the country opens with a range of high hills on each side running parallel with the river, which at every bend forms a flat, thickly wooded bottom, in which we frequently saw red deer. The river-bed has become more contracted (but still wide), and is free from banks of gravel and sand; islands are few; the channel is bold, with a swift current. Not many years ago all this country was thickly wooded, and scarcely a spot of prairie could be found; but the ravages of frequent fires have nearly destroyed the woods on the high ground. I have no doubt that, in a few years, the country from Upper White Mud downward will be a continuous plain. At noon rain fell so heavily that we camped, and pitched our tent in a thick cluster of pines on an elevated station where the ground has become dry since the snow melted, though snowbanks are still seen on both sides where there is wood or willow. The boat was covered with a large leather tent, to keep all dry underneath, by means of a triangle set up with three poles in each end to support a ridgepole extending her length; small poles being then laid from the ridge to the gunnels, and the tent stretched over all.

*May 15th.* Rain continued, with a strong N. E. wind, directly in our teeth; but having finished our provisions, hunger obliged us to proceed, and we embarked at noon. The rain soaked through the tent, and the continual dripping wet us nearly as much as if we had been fully exposed; however, we had the comfort of a screen from the cold wind. The country and river were nearly the same as yesterday, except that the channel became less interrupted by islands and gravel banks. We saw some red deer, but alarmed them before we could fire—a long-boat is an awkward craft to approach animals in such a swift current. At 5.30 p. m. we passed Terre Blanche<sup>6</sup> creek on the S., which

<sup>6</sup> See note at date of Sept. 29th, 1810. Before coming to *this* Terre Blanche or White Earth or White Mud cr., Henry passes unnoticed the two from the S.

I crossed last autumn on my way up to the Rocky mountain house. At six we arrived at Fort Augustus [Edmonton], where I crossed the Saskatchewan on that same journey. We pitched our tent inside the old house; rain continued all night, but we found ourselves comfortably sheltered.

*May 16th.* The storm continued, a strong E. wind and frequent falls of sleet, hail, and snow. Incessant rain has raised the water three feet, and it continues to rise very fast; quantities of driftwood are passing, like great rafts. Banks exposed to the sun have been clear of snow for some time, and grass is springing up; a delightful verdure on the hills in the rear forms a striking contrast to the snow still seen in the woods and willows, especially on the S. At 4 p. m., when the rain had moderated a little, hunger induced us to embark. The water had risen  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot since this morning, making  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet perpendicular in the course of 24 hours. I ordered two men to watch, one to steer, and the other to look out ahead, and to relieve each other during the night, as I proposed to drift down; there was no danger, excepting that of fouling an embarras or pile of driftwood, which might be avoided by keeping a good lookout. At 9 p. m. we were at Sturgeon river, below old Fort Augustus, where I found Jack Ward, our horse-keeper; we put ashore to take him and his two boys down to Lower Terre Blanche, to bring up our horses. At Vermillion [Red Water or Paint] creek we found an embarras at the upper end of the island, but not having a heavy load, got off without accident, though the darkness, rain, and storm made it gloomy to be fast on an embarras, with women and children on board.

*May 17th.* Break of day found us a little below Carp [or Sucker] creek; rain continued, with a head wind. The

now known as Strawberry cr. and Weed cr., about 3 m. apart, and a third, Conjuring cr., some 6 m. below Weed cr. Opposite Strawberry cr., on the N., there is or was a place called Siksika, in Tp. 51, R. 1, W. of the 5th merid.; and between this creek and Weed cr. is the position of the old C. P. Ry. crossing, nearly on the meridian said.

river was covered with driftwood and great cakes of ice, which were forced on the banks at the time the river opened, but now set afloat. On approaching the Lower Terre Blanche<sup>7</sup> I found that spring was not nearly so far advanced as at Fort Augustus; the hills were still destitute of verdure, and in many places snow lay on the banks, although exposed to the sun on the N. side. But this place is at the northernmost bend of the Saskatchewan, and on this river a few miles N. or S. make a very material alteration in the face of the country, especially in depth of snow. The piles of ice are immense here on both sides, forming a wall nearly as high as at the Rocky Mountain house when I left that place. At 8.30 we sighted the S. W. bastion of our fort, and at the same time saw the chimney of my two-story house. The current very soon drove us opposite, but the ice prevented our landing until we had drifted down to where one of the H. B. Co. boats was lying. I fetched up, but the velocity of the current drove

<sup>7</sup> This is the place which, as the reader will remember, was founded by Henry and Mr. Hughes during the summer of 1810, upon the simultaneous abandonment by Henry of Fort Vermilion and by Mr. Hughes of new Fort Augustus: see back, chap. xviii, pp. 602-31, where the operations of the post are given in detail, June 1st-Sept. 25th, 1810.

Upon Henry's arrival at Lower White Earth house we find that we have accompanied his adventurous journeying over every foot of the course of the sinuous Saskatchewan. Thus, we entered its mouth from Lake Winnipeg, came with him up to Fort Vermilion, and by another stage reached the present locality. We also went with him from this place to Edmonton, and then cut across country to the Rocky Mountain house. From the latter we made a round trip to a source of the river in the Continental Divide; and lastly, we have come down river from the Rocky mountains to the Lower Terre Blanche, thus completing a survey of the stream in its entirety. It is fitting, therefore, that we take leave of him at this point, in so far as his Saskatchewan experiences are concerned—strange chapters, indeed, of long-written history which has never before come to light. And if our leave-taking seem abrupt, in the midst of his busy preparations for further voyaging, it is nevertheless not for long that we lose sight of this remarkable man. He passes about two years and a half amid such scenes as these upon which the curtain now falls; and after this interval we find him transferred to an entirely new field of action, upon the shore of the Pacific ocean, where his pen never tires till it falls from his hand forever.

my boat heavily against that of the H. B. Co., thus starting one of the planks of the latter, and she came near sinking with some horses that were on board to be conveyed across the river. Having grappled fast to her, we landed among huge cakes of ice.

Our people were briskly renewing their canoes for the outgoing, and had nearly finished 14; others were making packs. But the incessant rain has set them back, and no gardening has been done this spring. They have suffered much with hunger, having been reduced to eat meat without an ounce of grease. I found a number of Strong Wood Crees who had been starving for some time, and were thinking of decamping; nothing but hunger could drive them away from our establishments.

END OF PART II.

## Part III.

### THE COLUMBIA.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

ASTORIA: 1813.

**M**ONDAY, Nov. 15th, 1813. Arrived at Astoria, as per Journal from Fort William.<sup>1</sup>

*Nov. 16th.* We walked down the beach to see the Dolly,

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Henry's Journal from Fort William to Astoria—Kaministiquia to the mouth of the Columbia—has not reached us. It may be extant; but there is no sign of it in the MS. we are using, which skips from May 17th, 1811, when we left Henry at Lower White Earth house on the Saskatchewan, to the above date of his arrival at Astoria, Nov. 15th, 1813. This last date is confirmed by Franchère, orig. ed. 1820, p. 146 (E. trans. 1854, p. 195): "Le 15 Novembre, MM. Alex. Stuart et Alex. Henry, tous deux propriétaires dans la Compagnie du N. O. arrivèrent à l'Etablissement, dans deux canots d'écorce conduits par seize hommes. Ces messieurs étaient partis du *Fort William* sur le Lac Supérieur, dans le mois de Juillet." Franchère was on the spot to welcome our author and Mr. A. Stuart, who, we thus see, left Fort William in July and came overland, no doubt via the Saskatchewan and the Columbia—that transcontinental waterway which David Thompson had been the first of white men to traverse in its whole extent; he having reached Astoria at 1 p. m. on Monday, July 15th, 1811, and the place having been christened "Astoria" only on May 18th of that year.

X — Part III. of our work, being Henry's Columbia Journal, exists in two forms, inexactly duplicate. One of these runs folios 1287-1364 of the MS. in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa; this is an editorial version, presumably penned by George Coventry, Montreal, 1824. It uses the first personal pronoun plural, for the most part, but opens with some account of exploration on the N. W. coast, etc., and closes with religious reflections on our author's death. Folios 1365-1373 continue with some extracts from the logbook of John McDonald of Garth, on his voyage from England to the Columbia, Mar. 25th-Nov. 30th, 1813, and other matters. Then come folios 1374-1634 of a copy of Henry's own Journal, running Nov. 15th, 1813, to May 21st, 1814, the day

a small vessel of 10 tons, built at this place by the late Pacific Fur Company, with timber brought from New York.

before he was drowned. Of course I print from the latter; and if I have occasion to collate the other on any point, I will indicate it as "Coventry copy."

Henry now comes upon a scene forever memorable as the wintering-ground of Lewis and Clark, 1805-06, practically unchanged in 1813-14. I must refer the reader to the 1893 ed. of L. and C. for much of the commentary I should otherwise put upon this portion of Henry's Journal. But Gabriel Franchère is the author most intimately connected with Henry, besides being a main source of inspiration of Washington Irving's Astoria. Franchère's MS. is preserved in the Public Library of Toronto, where I have examined it. I prefer to cite his original French, though it has become a rare book, and most readers will find Franchère more conveniently accessible in the excellent English translation of J. V. Huntington, New York, 1854. The original of a "Voyage to the Mouth of the Columbia by the grace of God by D. Thompson & 7 men on the part of the N W Company," running July 3d, 1811-Apr. 28th, 1812, occupies Bk. No. 27 of Vol. XI. of the D. T. MSS. in the archives of the Crown Lands Department, Surveys Branch, at Toronto. The reader must remember that Thompson, discoverer of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca passes over the Continental Divide, discoverer and explorer of the sources of the Columbia and all the country of its headwaters and main upper tributaries, was the first white man who ever descended the great river to the confluence of Lewis' fork or Snake r.; though at this point he of course struck the trail of Lewis and Clark, who in 1805 preceded him thence to the sea. The object of this enterprising voyage is well known; but it is not so well understood that, on arrival at the mouth of Lewis r., Thompson took formal possession of all that country in the name of the British Crown. In examining his original manuscripts I find the following curious entry, which I copy literally, as I think it has never appeared in print before: "July 9, Tuesday [1811]. . . ½ a mile to the Junction of the Shawpatin [Snake] River with this the Columbia, here I erected a small Pole, with a half Sheet of Paper well tied about it, with these words on it—Know hereby that this country is claimed by Great Britain as part of its Territories, & that the N W Company of Merchants from Canada, finding the Factory for this People inconvenient for them, do hereby intend to erect a Factory in this Place for the Commerce of the Country around. D. Thompson. . ." This paper weathered the winds for some time; for we read in A. Ross as follows, p. 128: "On the 14th [of August, 1811], early in the morning, what did we see waving triumphantly in the air at the confluence of the two great branches, but a British flag, hoisted in the middle of the Indian camp, planted there by Mr. Thompson as he passed, with a written paper, laying claim to the country north of the forks, as British territory. . . Thompson's name among these Indians was Koo-Koo-Sint."

Ross Cox and Alexander Ross are two other writers at first hand whom the discerning reader will wish to consult on Astorian and Columbian matters during Henry's and some preceding and following years. Ross Cox's Adventures

She is laid up and dismasted, there being no use for her at present.<sup>2</sup>

In the cabin of this vessel we found a Chinook woman alone with the usual covering—a kind of petticoat of cedar fibers, reaching nearly down to the knee, and a small robe of wood rat skins.<sup>3</sup> She had just been bathing in the river, and was by no means shy. We also visited a small camp of Chinooks, situated on the point,<sup>4</sup> about half a mile below

on the Columbia River, etc., was pub. London, 1831, 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 368 and 400, and repub. New York, 1832, 1 vol., 8vo, pp. 335; it covers six years, 1811-17, during which the author went up the Columbia nine times and down it eight times, and finished with a transcontinental journey; it is highly entertaining and full of details found nowhere else, which were a main reliance to Irving—for that inimitable raconteur based his Astoria largely on Franchère and Cox. Alexander Ross, like Ross Cox, was first clerk P. F. Co., then clerk N. W. Co., whose *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River: being a Narrative of the Expedition fitted out by John Jacob Astor, to establish the "Pacific Fur Company,"* etc., London, 1849, small 8vo, pp. xvi, 352, map, makes an admirable concordance with Franchère, Cox, and Henry. The book is vividly written and very readable; it tells much truth in plain English, and is more accurate in names and dates than reminiscential writings usually are. Ross must have had his original notes before him when he penned it; the preface is dated Red River Settlement, Rupert's Land, Aug. 1st, 1846. The map is very slight, but has one or two points about it.

<sup>2</sup> John Jacob Astor's company founded Astoria in April, 1811, and its activities were protracted beyond the date on which Henry calls it "the late" P. F. Co. Details of the founding in full in Franchère: see also L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 728. As to the *Dolly*: "Nous débarquâmes le bois de construction que nous avons apporté tout taillé dans le vaisseau [the *Tonquin*], et à la fin du mois, nous posâmes la quille d'une goëlette du port d'environ 30 tonneaux," Franchère, p. 78. The keel of the coasting schooner was thus laid by the end of April, 1811; the ship carpenters were John Weeks and Johann Koaster, who had come from New York in the *Tonquin*; she "fut enfin lancée le 2 d'Octobre, et nommée la *Dolly*, avec les cérémonies ordinaires en pareil cas," Franchère, p. 98. But the *Dolly* was not up to the mark as a coaster, and never used except on the river. She was named for Mr. Astor's wife, and subsequently rechristened the *Jane*, in compliment to Donald McTavish's and our author's English courtesan, as we shall see further on.

<sup>3</sup> The wood rat of this region is *Neotoma occidentalis*; but Henry probably means the show'l or sewellel, *Taplodon rufus*, much used by the natives for robes: see L. and C., p. 861, and my Monogr. N. Amer. Rodentia, 4to, 1877, pp. 549-600, pl. vi.

<sup>4</sup> Smith's pt. is the W. end of the large peninsula known as Point George.

the fort. These people appear to be a very filthy race, so surrounded by fish offals and excrements that it demands the utmost precaution in walking to avoid them. They had some fresh salmon and sturgeon. Their canoes are many, and of various dimensions; one for the sea, one for the river, and the smaller kind for fishing. We observed some men playing a certain game, which is very common among them. While at this camp we saw a large sea canoe coming from the opposite side of the Columbia, which proved to be that of Comcomly,<sup>5</sup> chief of the Chinooks, who was himself seated in the middle, alongside one of his favorite women, La Blanche. This canoe was paddled by six men, one at each end, and the other four two abreast; they kept regular time in paddling. Their manner of loading is stern foremost; this is with a view to preserve the sharp stem of the canoe, and at the same time to break the surf, and prevent the canoe from filling with water. Comcomly brought to trade about 100 fresh salmon,<sup>6</sup> weighing from 5 to 18 pounds each, and some blubber of a whale which was cast ashore a few days ago between this place and Gray's harbor.

*Nov. 17th.* We had intended to go down to Cape Disap- on the N. side of which Astoria was started. This headland delimits Meriwether's (present Young's) bay, into the head of which empties Kilhowanaket or Klaskanine (present Young's) r., and on the S. side of which is the mouth of Netul (present Lewis and Clark's) r., up which a little way was Fort Clatsop, where L. and C. wintered, 1805-06: ed. 1893, p. 727.

<sup>5</sup> Comcommoly, L. and C., p. 716; as above in Irving; as above and also Comcomlé in Franchère; Comecomly in Ross; Concomly in McDonald; the "shrewd savage," the "one-eyed potentate," etc., of Irving, who describes the marriage of this chieftain's daughter to Duncan McDougall, the "Mephistopheles of Astoria," and how this son-in-law was managed by his still more astute beau-père. The Chinook eri's name has perhaps something to do with salmon; for a map before me letters "Conconully or White Salmon" on a certain creek.

<sup>6</sup> The Columbia salmon is understood to be *Oncorhynchus chavicha* (or *quinnat*), when not specified as one of the four other species of the genus—*O. nerka*, *O. kisutch*, *O. keta*, and *O. gorbuscha*. The quinnat is much the largest of these, averaging probably 20 pounds, sometimes running up to 100 pounds; the others range from 3 to 6 or 8 pounds.



pointment, but the chief told us the surf was too high to land anywhere near the cape; indeed, the white foaming billows, which we could distinctly see from the fort with the naked eye, and the roaring of the breakers, indicated as much. We therefore determined to visit Point Adams, which is less exposed to the surf. We embarked on board two canoes with eight men each, taking advantage of the ebb tide. Wind fresh from the S. W., nearly ahead; off at 1.20 p. m., and at 2.10 we had passed the [Smith's] point and were standing out on a heavy, rolling swell, which did not break until we neared the bar adjoining Point Adams, whence we had a full view out to sea, and of the coast southward as far as Cape Disappointment.<sup>7</sup> Here we remained a few minutes, during which time I became convinced that our birch-rind canoes were not seaworthy. We then thought prudent to return to Point Adams, where we ran ashore on a beautiful beach of hard sand, and hauled up our canoes with care. Near this place stood a [Clatsop] village, when the P. F. Co. first landed here; but wearing away of the point has obliged them to shift their habitations some distance up the bay toward Young's river, and the spot on which the village then stood appears no more, having been entirely washed away by the sea. We saw several canoes containing dead bodies. We walked along the beach, gathering shells of various kinds. We observed three small islands to the S., opposite the cape, which, at first view, bore no faint resemblance to three ships. On the one nearest land appear two singular rocks, in the regular form of sugar-loaves. I measured the sandy beach at low water, and found it to be 400 paces from the breakers to high-water mark, on fine hard sand, and then 350 paces on loose uneven sand to the foot of the sand-banks, on which grow

<sup>7</sup>This cannot be, as Cape Disappointment bears about N. W. from Point Adams. Coventry copy substitutes Clark's Point of Observation, meaning thereby the bold headland to the S. which was named Clark's Point of View (L. and C., p. 714 and p. 749), and is rendered l'Observatoire de Clarke in the French ed. of Gass, p. 281.

coarse grass, prêle [horsetail, *Equisetum telmateia*], rose-bushes, etc. There were numerous tracks of biches, both fresh and old. We saw swans [*Olor buccinator* or *O. columbianus*], white and gray geese [*Chen hyperboreus* and *Anser albifrons gambeli*], outardes, gulls, etc., in abundance, and a great number of crabshells cast up on the beach. On embarking to return, a swell broke over my canoe and wet me to the skin. We passed the remains of the old Clatsop village, now abandoned, and also saw the smoke of their present residence on the bay. At sunset we arrived at the fort, where we found one of our canoes from Willamette river, sent by Mr. William Henry,<sup>8</sup> with letters and seven biches. William seems to suspect there is something bad in agitation among the natives, but, having no person with him who understands the language, he cannot ascertain the truth. Comcomly was off; other Indians had arrived with fresh salmon and sturgeon [*Acipenser transmontanus*].

*Nov. 18th.* Fine and clear weather; at intervals calm, and then light, shifting breezes; still, we could see the surf dashing on Cape Disappointment to a great height. At 3 p. m. Mr. Wallace<sup>9</sup> set off with two wooden canoes and

<sup>8</sup> The author's cousin, who had a post on Willamette or Multnomah r., which we shall visit in due course: see note <sup>5</sup>, p. 253. William Henry remained in the Columbia Dept. after the transfer of the P. F. Co. to the N. W. Co., till 1816; he left Fort George Apr. 16th, 1816, and left Okanagan about May 1st, with J. G. McTavish, Joseph Larocque, and others, on the transcontinental journey to Fort William. At date of the latest mem. I have about him, Aug. 7th, 1817, he left Rainy Lake house for Lesser Slave l.—Observe that the "Mr." Henry of Cox, p. 61, is neither William nor Alexander, but the Missouri trader, Andrew Henry, who built Fort Henry on Henry's fork of Snake r.

<sup>9</sup> William Wallace, Canadian Astorian, clerk P. F. Co., on the Tonquin from N. Y. Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811. Left Astoria Nov. 23d, 1812, with J. C. Halsey and 14 men, to winter on the Willamette ("MM. Halsey et Wallace étant partis le 23, avec 14 hommes, pour aller hiverner sur le Wolamat," Franchère, p. 123). Returned to Astoria May 25th, 1813, with Mr. Halsey, 17 packs of furs and peltries, and 32 bales of dried meat; left about Sept. 1st for the interior, with Donald McKenzie and Alfred Seton; returned soon; off again as above; returned; finally left Astoria (then Fort George) Apr. 4th, 1814 (Monday morning), with the overland party of about 90 persons, of whom Franchère was one: see the date beyond.

ten men for the Willamette post, as a re-enforcement to that place.

*Nov. 19th.* Comcomly came over to visit the Willamette chief, to settle their own affairs. Indians from the Clatsop village came to trade biche meat, sturgeon, salmon, cranberries [*Vaccinium macrocarpon*], and a large beaver in the meat. Large blue China beads seem to be the principal article in demand. Salmon are taken in seines about 50 feet long, made with twine of domestic manufacture; the materials used are nettles procured from the natives above. Sturgeon are taken in short seines or drag-nets operated by two men in one canoe. We had an instance of the great value these people set on their sea shells. Mr. McDonald [*sic*—read Duncan McDougall], having accidentally broken one belonging to his beau-père Comcomly, paid him 40 grains of large China beads, which did not seem to please the chief. The best quality are two inches long.<sup>10</sup> One fathom of these shells is valued at three blankets of 2½ points. They are gathered northward, somewhere about Woody point, N. of Nootka, in the sand, at low water.

*Nov. 20th.* Comcomly went home; he is a troublesome beggar. His son had a robe of two sea otters [*Enhydra marina*], for which he demanded 48 beavers. Indians brought some very large sturgeon; they are all of the escargot<sup>11</sup> kind and excellent; also, a kind of hurtleberries [*Vaccinium ovatum*?], grapes, and cranberries, all very good. The surf on the bar made a great noise all night.

*Sunday, Nov. 21st.* At 11 a. m. we embarked in two canoes and started for the opposite shore with the flood

<sup>10</sup> This is the kind of tooth-shell, *Dentalium indianorum*, and no doubt also *D. pretiosum*, noted as a favorite wampum in L. and C., p. 778. It is the higua of Ross, and the haiqua or hyaquau of Cox, p. 69 and p. 158.

<sup>11</sup> *Escargot* is properly the F. name of a sort of limaçon or slug, also applied to the edible snail of Europe, *Helix pomatia*. What Henry means is simply that the sturgeon were plated, as if with shells: compare his mention of sturgeon of the "rough, scaly sort," p. 192. The large Columbia sturgeon are all of the species already named as *Acipenser transmontanus*; the small green ones are *A. medirostris*, of little or no commercial value.

tide; the sea ran high and at some places broke, which at times made us think our situation dangerous. After 50 minutes' paddling we landed on Chinook point,<sup>12</sup> through very high surf which we avoided by landing near a point of rocks above the villages, where we hauled up our canoes, and then proceeded to view the bar from the top of Chinook hill. On our way we saw many crabs, cast on the beach by the surf. We passed three villages, or the remains of such; the houses being mostly empty and out of repair, as the season had not yet arrived for the owners' return. Fleas abound in these villages. I measured an inhabited house and found it to be 70 feet long by 25 feet wide; the entrance in the gable end, as usual, cut through a plank 5½ feet wide, and nearly oval. A board suspended on the outside answered for a door; on the other side of the broad plank was rudely carved a large painted figure of a man, between whose legs was the passage. These houses were exceedingly filthy, sturgeon and salmon being strewn about in every direction. They offered us hurtleberries to eat. The men seemed brutes, and the women devoid of shame or decency. We saw here one of their drag-nets for sturgeon, nearly in the form of a bag, with a small bunch of feathers tied to the lower end. Their line is somewhat thicker than a common cod-line. We saw some small green frogs. Immense quantities of driftwood lay on the beach, in general of extraordinary size. We observed many of their dead; some lying on the ground covered with mats, and a canoe over all; others, again, raised on stages, covered with mats, and then a canoe over the whole; they all seemed much neglected by the living. The wind having blown one of the canoes off the body, which lay near the foot-path, it was suffered to remain in that state, covered only with mats.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Present name; Point Open-slope of Gass; point of the general projection which separates Gray's bay from Baker's bay, on the N. side of the Columbia: L. and C., p. 709 and following. Immediately back of the beach is the height which Henry calls Chinook hill.

<sup>13</sup> How much the Coventry copy already mentioned "exploits" our author,

We ascended the Chinook hill, or Red Patch, from the top of which we had an extensive view. Cape Foulweather" to the S.; Point Adams and Young's bay and river, with their broken shores intersected by low marshy lands, well adapted to the resort of wild fowl; and beyond that a mountainous country extending southward; Cape Disappointment, Baker's bay, and the ocean beyond; the narrow neck of land within the cape, the channel, and bar—all very distinctly seen. On the bar the water seemed to be one entire body of foam, leaving the main channel only, which appeared narrow, though sufficiently wide and smooth to admit ships safely; we saw it at high water. We had also a view of the [Gray's] bay N. E. of Chinook point; it appeared flat and sandy. The hill, which measured 1,000 paces, is covered with coarse grass, weeds, and ferns; which, being now dry, give rise to the name of Red Patch, as seen at sea. This vegetation apparently covers a bed of loose rocks or rather lava, being of a light, porous substance. At 3 p. m. we embarked; ebb tide making fast; wind moderate, and but little sea. Found a dry sand-bank about mid-channel, and at four reached the fort.

*Nov. 22d.* Walked down to Point George; collected a few pebbles, and some petrifications bearing the prints of small fishes. Found driftwood of enormous size; saw some wrens [*Troglodytes hiemalis pacificus*], and other birds. Natives were coming and going, trading fish, beaver, etc.

forgetting the good advice couched in the phrase *ne quid nimis*, may be inferred from the following ornamentation of the above simple statement: "The mortal remains of the Chinooks are in general grossly neglected by the Living; for very near the footpath, along which we proceeded, we were presented with the melancholy spectacle of a naked body, from which the winds had driven its coverings and on which the Fowls of the air were enjoying a banquet unmoled," fol. 1296. This is the sort of literary elegance which some call "guff."

<sup>14</sup> Not so—Cape Foulweather is about a degree and a half of latitude S. of Henry's present position. Perhaps he could see, on the coast, Tillamook Head, 1,280 ft. high; or Mt. Neahkahna, 1,350 ft.; or Cape Falcon, 2,775 ft.; or in the interior, and nearer than any of these, Saddle mt., 3,300 ft. The first rise of Chinook hill, just off the beach, is only about 300 ft.; much further back, however, elevations of about 1,000 ft. are attained.

*Nov. 23d.* Indians came in with sturgeon, salmon, geese, and ducks. Great numbers of crows [*Corvus caurinus*] here. I observed in the hands of a fellow from toward Gray's harbor a musket of Russian manufacture. Our Clatsop hunter came to get his gun put in order.

*Nov. 24th.* Indians trading geese, mats, berries, etc. During a light W. wind we can distinctly hear the roaring of the breakers on the bar between Cape Disappointment and Point Adams, especially at flood tide.

*Nov. 25th.* Walked to Point George, which took half an hour; there is a good view of the sea, Cape Disappointment, Young's bay and river, and even up toward Captain Lewis' winter quarters, 1805-06. Found on the beach a flounder and a mullet. We had this evening for supper some taroo<sup>15</sup> root, made into excellent pancakes. Common potatoes at this place, this autumn, weighed 3½ pounds.

*Nov. 26th.* The house intended for us being ready, after having undergone some repairs, we moved into it this afternoon—Messrs. S., B., and H. [Stuart, Bethune, and Henry], with Dick, a Sandwich Islander,<sup>16</sup> as our Mr. Dimo [*sic*—read major-domo]; we are thus in our winter quarters.

*Nov. 27th.* Our stock of fresh provisions being all gone, we are reduced to salt salmon and salt pork and biche meat, with cakes of Indian corn, etc. The chief's son came over with 11 white geese [*Chen hyperboreus*]. A canoe, with five women aboard, upset in attempting to cross the river, the canoe having filled, but nothing serious happened;

<sup>15</sup> Or taro, the root of the well-known araceous plant, *Colocasia antiquorum* and its variety *esculenta*, of the East Indies, very widely cultivated and prepared for food in many different ways. Some of its other names, in different countries or as variously used, are *kalo*, *yutao*, *sato imo*, *oto*, *tanya*, *cocco* or *cocoe*, and *eddoes*, *edders*, or *eddas*.

<sup>16</sup> Many of these Polynesian people, commonly called Kanakas, were brought to Astoria at different times; they made hardy and skillful watermen, whether as sailors or voyageurs, and were found very useful both by the Astorians and the Georgians. Cox, p. 72, says the Tonquin brought 15, the Beaver, 16; and of the 31 there were left at Astoria 11, on June 28th, 1812, when the remaining 20 started with a party for the interior. Henry gives a list of their names beyond, date of Apr. 4th, 1814.

accidents of this kind frequently occur, but seldom any lives are lost.

*Sunday, Nov. 28th.* Heavy rain all day.

*Nov. 29th.*<sup>17</sup> A canoe arrived from Willamette river with Montour<sup>18</sup> and Jocquot's son and a Sandwich Islander; they brought letters from Mr. William Henry, seven shamoys,<sup>19</sup> weighing from 50 to 80 pounds each, three biches, and a number of wild fowl; they were six days in coming from the falls.

*Nov. 30th.*<sup>20</sup> At twelve o'clock, being about half tide,

<sup>17</sup> Henry has no important entry to-day, but this is the date given by Ross, p. 256, for the appearance of the Raccoon on the scene: "On the 29th of November, Comecomly arrived in great haste at Astoria, with a report that a sail had been seen off the Cape. . . The moment Comecomly left Astoria, Laframboise, the interpreter, was called in, decked and painted in full Chinook costume, and dispatched to Cape Disappointment to report whether the vessel was to be seen, and if so, whether British or American. In the meantime M'Dougall prepared to start the instant a ship was seen. Laframboise had scarcely reached the Cape when the ship hove in sight, and soon afterwards came dashing over the bar in fine style, and anchored in Baker's Bay, within the Cape. Laframboise immediately returned, and on his way back met M'Dougall, in a boat well manned, going to the ship," etc. These are the events which Henry agrees with Franchère in giving to-morrow, as occurring at date of arrival.

<sup>18</sup> As this name is not "mistered" in copy, it is probably that of a voyageur, of whom nothing further appears.—Refer to note <sup>5</sup>, p. 443, for several Montours, and add, for the younger Nicolas Montour there said to have fought with F. B. Pillet: This Mr. Montour of the N. W. Co. passed several years on Columbian waters, chiefly in the mountains. In the fall of 1812 he had the post among the Kootenays, where he was opposed by F. B. Pillet, P. F. Co. Mr. Montour arrived at Fort George Nov. 8th, 1814, and left it Nov. 18th, 1814, with Cox and others; reached Okanagan Dec. 12th, and left 13th for Spokane; summered 1815 at Spokane; left Oct. 26th, arrived Fort George Nov. 8th; left Nov. 19th, and was icebound on the Columbia for some weeks, 1815-16; on Jan. 28th, 1816, reached Okanagan with James Keith, and in Apr., 1816, was sent from Okanagan to Spokane, with Mr. A. McMillan.

<sup>19</sup> So copy, probably intended for *chamois*, but in any event meaning the Rocky Mountain goat, *Haplocerus montanus*, which in those years was common in the Cascade and Coast ranges of Oregon and Washington: see L. and C., p. 850 and *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> The most fateful single day in the history of Astoria was that on which the Raccoon arrived; Captain Black captured the place, and it passed from American to British rule, after Duncan McDougall had connived with

a large ship appeared in sight, standing in over the bar with all sail spread, under a light breeze from the N. E. We could observe no flag flying. We fired three shots

others to defraud Mr. Astor of most of the property for which they were responsible to him. Our author is now added to the two principal witnesses we have hitherto had of the appearance of the Raccoon on the scene. Franchère has, p. 147: "Le 30 au matin, nous aperçûmes un bâtiment qui doublait le Cap Disappointment, et qui mouilla bientôt après dans la baie de Baker. Ignorant si c'était un vaisseau ami ou ennemi, nous crûmes prudent d'y envoyer Mr. M'Dougall dans un canot, avec ceux des hommes qui avaient été au service de la ci-devant P. F. C. avec l'injonction de se dire Américains, si le vaisseau était Américain, et Anglais, dans le cas contraire. Tandis qu'ils étaient en route, Mr. M'Tavish fit embarquer toutes les pelleteries qui étaient marquées au nom de la Compagnie du N. O. sur deux barges qui se trouvaient au Fort, et remonta la rivière jusqu'à Tongue Point, où il devait attendre un signal convenu. Vers minuit, Mr. Halsey, qui avait accompagné Mr. M'Dougall au vaisseau, revint au Fort, et nous annonça que c'était la corvette Britannique *Raccoon*, de 26 pièces de canon, et de 120 hommes d'équipage, commandée par le Capitaine Black. Mr. John M'Donald [of Garth], propriétaire dans la Compagnie du N. O. était venu passer dans le *Raccoon*, accompagné de cinq engagés." The same subject occurs in chap. lx. of Irving (different pages in the several eds. of Astoria). Irving's preceding chapter shows how, on Oct. 16th, 1813, Duncan McDougall had arranged with J. G. McTavish to sell Mr. Astor out at about 40 cents on the dollar (\$40,000 for upward of \$100,000 on hand). This nefarious transaction went into effect Oct. 23d, 1813, according to the most ostensible date, though Ross says (p. 254) that Astoria was delivered over by final signing of certain papers at 11 a. m. of Nov. 12th, 1813; the P. F. Co. was virtually given over to the N. W. Co., and on the date of its accomplishment the former became for Franchère "la ci-devant P. F. C.," and for our author "the late P. F. Co." "The Americans," says Irving, "looked on with indignation and impatience. They considered M'Dougal as acting, if not a perfidious, certainly a craven part." When the Raccoon hove in sight, and showed the Union Jack, old Comcomly "offered to kill every one of King George's men that should attempt to land," and could have done it easily enough with the force at his command. But he was balked in his benevolent intention of defending his American friends; "he no longer prided himself upon his white son-in-law, but, whenever he was asked about him, shook his head, and replied, that his daughter had made a mistake, and, instead of getting a great warrior for a husband, had married a squaw." Even the mild and naïf Franchère calls him "the crafty M'Dougall." Ross styles him the "great pasha," p. 75, and acquits him of dishonesty, but pronounces him "a man of but ordinary capacity, with an irritable, peevish temper, the most unfit man in the world to head an expedition or command men," p. 70.



from a four-pounder, but received no answer. At half-past twelve she came to anchor in Baker's bay, within Cape Disappointment. At one Mr. McDougall<sup>21</sup> and Mr. Halsey<sup>22</sup> left in a birch canoe, with six men, to go on board, while we prepared for flight, should she prove to be an enemy. At three I observed a white flag flying at her fore—our signal; but Joseph Ashton tells us the American

<sup>21</sup> Duncan McDougall left the N. W. Co. to enter Mr. Astor's service in 1810; New York Sept. 6th, in the *Tonquin*, to the *Columbia* Mar. 22d, 1811, as senior of the Astorian partners, P. F. Co.; was in charge of the establishment at Astoria and thereabouts 1811-14; rejoined N. W. Co. as partner Dec. 23d, 1813; remained on the *Columbia* till Apr. 16th, 1817, when he finally left Fort George with the Cox party overland to Fort William; on English r. he forged ahead with Angus Bethune in a light canoe, reached Fort William a little in advance of the main party, and was met by the latter on the Kaministiquia route Aug. 14th, 1817, returning with Bethune to the interior. He died a miserable death at Bas de la Rivière, date not ascertained.—Some other persons of same surname are: Alexander McDougall of N. W. Co. signed Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attorneys.—James McDougall, N. W. Co., was in Athabasca, 1799; had wintered 1808-09 at a post in New Caledonia, when with Simon Fraser he passed Fort Dunvegan on Peace r. May 11th, 1809, en route for Rainy l.; was on McLeod's l., Stuart's l., and in that region about headwaters Peace r. 1811-16.—George McDougall came from Canada with Lord Selkirk's party: was at Fort Vermilion on Peace r. summer of 1815; visited his brother James at Stuart l. in New Caledonia Apr., 1816; intended to go to Canada that summer; came from Fraser's l. to Stuart's l. Feb. 28th, 1819, to remain there some time.—The following are unidentified memoranda: "Young Mr." McDougal left Grand Portage for Athabasca July 10th, 1798, with Mr. McLeod, Roderic McKenzie, and James McKenzie.—"Mr." McDougal arrived May 7th, 1803, at Forks of Peace r. with Rocky Mountain canoes (doubtless from Jasper house, where he had wintered 1802-03), and left for the Rocky mts. with three men July 4th, 1803.—One McDougal, with Mr. Clarke and another person, brought in the Athabasca brigade of 33 canoes in July, 1810. (Surname in every case varies in all the ways of writing M', Mc, or Mac, and has one l or two.)

<sup>22</sup> J. C. Halsey, clerk P. F. Co., came from New York Oct. 10th, 1811, in the *Beaver*, Captain Cornelius Sowle and Sowles, to Astoria May 12th, 1812. Halsey was one of five clerks who came on the *Beaver* under Mr. John Clarke, partner P. F. Co. He was sent from Astoria Nov. 23d, 1812, with William Wallace and 14 men to establish a post on Willamette r.; returned May 25th, 1813; finally left Fort George in brig *Pedlar* Apr. 2d, 1814, and was landed at Sitka when the brig went on. (Coventry copy has "Henry" in the above passage, instead of Halsey.)

ships on the N. W. coast have the same signal—in short, we were at a loss what to think. At five, Mr. Thompson [*sic*]<sup>23</sup> embarked with all our packs, 92 in number, and a stock of arms, ammunition, and provisions, in one large boat and two canoes. At six, Mr. [Donald] McKenzie<sup>24</sup> set off in another boat with our baggage, etc. The night was uncommonly dark, and our situation nowise enviable. Messrs. S., B., and self remained, to see the result of matters. At 9.30 p. m., we heard singing on the water, and soon afterward the noise of a canoe; this proved to be

<sup>23</sup>So copy, and I think correctly; for, though Franchère expressly says at this date that it was Mr. J. G. McTavish who hustled the goods up to Tongue point, where he was to await a concerted signal regarding the character of the strange ship, and Irving repeats the statement, both Mr. McTavish and Mr. Thompson may easily have had a hand in the same business. Henry repeatedly mentions this Mr. Thompson, but neither Franchère, nor Ross, nor Cox, has a word to say about him, and who he was seems uncertain, except that he was *not* David Thompson. I think very probably he was the John Thompson or Thomson of my note<sup>13</sup>, p. 612, as I have no record of any other that suits the case at all. One further record I have found is of "Mr. J. Thompson" on the Kaminstiquia route for the interior, with J. G. McTavish, in Aug., 1817.—The numerous McTavishes whom our author will name are noted beyond.

<sup>24</sup>See note<sup>18</sup>, p. 216. Donald McKenzie is easily disengaged from the many of the same surname. He had been in the N. W. Co. when, in 1810, he entered J. J. Astor's service, at the same time that Alex. McKay, Duncan McDougall, David Stuart, and Robert Stuart did. The four last-named went together, as partners P. F. Co., in the Tonquin, from N. Y. to Astoria; but Donald McKenzie joined Wilson Price Hunt for the overland journey, and these two of the partners P. F. Co. had charge of this important expedition. In July, 1810, they were in Montreal recruiting engagés, and July 22d at Mackinaw on the same business. Here they were joined by Ramsay Crooks; and left Aug. 12th, going by the Fox-Wisconsin route and down the Mississippi to St. Louis, Sept. 3d, 1810. Of that terrible overland journey it is not for me to speak here; suffice it, that McKenzie reached Astoria on the evening of Jan. 18th, 1812, with Mr. Robert McLellan (another overland partner), John Reed (clerk P. F. Co.), and eight engagés, in two canoes: "je reconnus parmi eux Mr. Donald M'Kenzie, le même qui était parti de Montréal, avec Mr. W. P. Hunt, dans le mois de juillet, 1810," says Franchère, p. 109. On Mar. 30th or Apr. 1st, 1812, McKenzie left Astoria with W. W. Matthews, clerk P. F. Co., and five or six men, for Willamette r. Having soon returned, he left Astoria June 29th or 30th, 1812, as one of a party of 62 persons bound for various places in the interior. McKenzie's detachment went up the Columbia to Wallawalla, and thence ascended Snake or Lewis r. to found a

Mr. Halsey, who returned to give us the welcome news that the ship was His Majesty's sloop-of-war Raccoon [Capt. Black]. The men were all intoxicated with wine given them on board, and had shipped much water in the canoe; in any squall of wind, they must inevitably have perished. We fired the signal shot at ten, whereupon Mr. Thompson returned. Night exceedingly dark. I sent back for the people, who did not arrive until daybreak.

*Wednesday, Dec. 1st.* Before sunrise all the packs and baggages were safely lodged again in the storehouse. At

post on its banks; Alfred Seton, clerk P. F. Co., was among those with him on this trip. (This post is probably the one which became known as Fort Boisé, marked on Ross' map about the mouth of Reed's r., present Payette r.) McKenzie returned to Astoria Jan. 15th, 1813; left again for his post on Snake r. Mar. 31st, 1813. He returned to Astoria June 11th (Cox), 12th, or 14th (Ross), in company with John Clarke and David Stuart, this party bringing in 140 packs of furs as returns for two years of the Okanagan post, and one year of the post on Spokane r. McKenzie left again in September or October, with Mr. William Wallace and Alfred Seton, to carry supplies into the interior; but returned in a few days, Oct. 7th, in company with J. G. McTavish and Angus Bethune, in advance of a brigade of eight canoes which John Stuart and Mr. A. McMillan were bringing in. McKenzie, according to Cox, made one of the party which included John Stuart, Joseph McGillivray, Joseph Larocque, John Reed, Mr. McDonald, and Cox, and 55 men, which left Astoria Oct. 29th, 1813, and had a fight with natives at the rapids. Having been pillaged by them McKenzie decided to remain at Astoria, and occupied himself in amassing a store of sun-dried salmon, for which purpose he made numerous round trips up and down the Columbia, to the date of the above text. We hear more of him from our author; but I may add that he formed one of the large overland party which left Fort George Apr. 4th, 1814. At Kettle falls on the Columbia he forged ahead of the main party, and with John McDonald of Garth and John Stuart reached the Rocky Mountain house on the Athabasca May 17th; passed Pembina r. June 1st; went up this river for Fort Augustus; went down the Saskatchewan and so on to Fort William, on Lake Superior, in July, 1814. We find him again at Fort William in 1816; that year he returned to the Columbia, and was at Fort George Sept. 30th, 1816; Okanagan and Spokane the same year; Spokane Feb. 12th, 1817; went in to Fort George, and was ascending Columbia and Snake r. in Apr. and May, 1817. Having entered the H. B. Co. on fusion therewith of the N. W. Co. in 1821, McKenzie established Chesterfield house on La Fourche aux Gros Ventres (Bow r.) in 1822; was chief factor at Fort Garry on Red r. in 1823; governor of Assiniboia about eight years; settled at Mayville, N. Y., in 1833; and died in 1851.

10 a. m., Mr. McDougall,<sup>26</sup> Mr. Thompson, and myself, with three men, embarked in a large boat; wind light, S. E. and E. At Chinook point the wind shifted to the S. W. and W., and rose to a gale, making a high swell; we scudded on at a great rate, but the wind being too close for us to gain the ship, we ran down Baker's bay as far as the breakers would permit, when we took in our sails and came around to the ship, which we reached in 2½ hours from the fort. We were received by Mr. McDougall, and soon afterward Captain Black came on board, having been on the cape with Mr. M.<sup>25</sup> to examine the bar. Much noise and bustle on board, with anchors, cables, etc.

*Dec. 2d.* Heavy sea, which almost made me sick; however, a cup of tea relieved me. Weather squally; much bustle again in moving the anchors and hauling nearer

<sup>25</sup> This is impossible; for, as we have seen, Mr. McDougall was already on board the *Raccoon*, having boarded her with Mr. Halsey, and probably been too drunk to get home again when Mr. Halsey returned; besides, we presently find that Mr. McDougall "receives" our author's party on the ship. But we have no means of knowing who this person was that went with Mr. Thompson and Henry.

<sup>26</sup> McDonald—John McDonald of Garth, who thus reached Astoria from England, a passenger on the *Raccoon*: see note <sup>20</sup>, p. 279. "Le 1er Décembre, la barge de la corvette [*Raccoon*] vint au Fort avec Mr. *M'Donald* et le 1er lieutenant, nommé Mr. *Sheriff*," Franchère, p. 149; and Huntington's E. trans., p. 199, says: "On the 1st of December the *Raccoon's* gig came up to the fort, bringing Mr. McDonald (surnamed *Bras Croche*, or crooked arm), and the first lieutenant, Mr. *Sheriff*." Cox agrees on Dec. 1st as date of arrival, p. 132. The Coventry copy has extracts from Mr. McDonald's logbook, which I will epitomize here, in continuation of my note on p. 279: *Mar. 25th, 1813.* Sailed from Portsmouth on the *Isaac Todd*, the *Phœbe* in company, Capt. Hillyard [or Hillyer, Hillier, etc.], 36 guns, as convoy. *Mar. 30th.* The *Phœbe* took a French prize, lat. 49° N., long. 70° 16' W., with the British sloop-of-war *Unicorn* and *Stag*. *Mar. 31st.* Spoke the sloop-of-war *Orestes*. *Apr. 11th.* Made Santa Cruz; about 50 sail anchored there, Indians and Brazilians. *Apr. 26th.* Cape Verde Isls. *May 15th.* Crossed the equator. *June 11th.* Rio de Janeiro. *July 9th.* Got off, under convoy of the *Phœbe*, *Raccoon*, and *Cherub*. Many men lost by desertion at Rio who had received three months' pay at Gravesend; cash disbursements at Rio about £800, exchanged against us @ 15 per cent. Many changes in officers and men. *July 10th.* Capt. H. opened his sealed orders from Admiral Dixon, and sent for Mr. McDonald to board the *Phœbe*. *July 20th.* Heavy gale; near losing

shore; boats continually going and coming for wood and water. At 10 a. m. we went ashore to see the cape. Here were a party waiting at the old spot. The many letters engraved on trees near the spring gave us reason to suppose that this harbor had been much frequented by American vessels. Some names still legible were: H. Thompson, ship Guatimozin of Boston, Feb. 20th, 1804; ship Caroline of Boston, May 21st, 1804. There were several other inscriptions which, from the bark having overgrown the letters, and fire having passed, we were unable to make out. We walked to the top of the cape, whence we had an extensive view of the two channels, the bar, and the ocean. The S. channel, by which the Raccoon came in, is the best; the other is the smaller one, by which the Beaver<sup>27</sup> entered in 1812, and is narrow and apparently shallow.

sight of the Isaac Todd, she having drifted to leeward; Raccoon and Cherub damaged. *July 23d.* Spoke the Isaac Todd; all well. *July 29th.* Lat. 43° 57' S., long. 54° 44' W. Cherub only in sight; no sign of the Isaac Todd. *July 30th.* Lost hopes of joining the Isaac Todd. *Aug. 10th.* Made for E. end of Statenland. *Aug. 21st.* San Diego. *Sept. 11th.* Juan Fernandez. Raccoon and Cherub still in company. *Sept. 18th.* Went on board the Raccoon, Capt. Black. *Oct. 2d.* Phoebe and Cherub parted company. Away for Guayaquil. *Oct. 7th.* Island of Cocos. *Oct. 20th.* Dreadful explosion on the Raccoon, from an accident during scaling of the guns; 21 persons injured, of whom 7 died, among the killed being the Canadian blacksmith, J. Flete, Flett, or Flatt; Mr. McDonald and Lieut. Sheriff were both severe sufferers. *Nov. 30th.* Cast anchor inside Cape Disappointment, entrance of the Columbia r. Pieces of goods landed from the Raccoon at Astoria: bales of blankets, 7; strouds, 11; sundries, 2; guns, 8; powder, 14; ball and shot, 17; tobacco, 11; Brazil tobacco, 1; kettles, 10; shirts, etc., 2; flints, etc., 2; beads, etc., 2; in all, 87 pieces, besides 3 casks of beef belonging to the Isaac Todd. Mr. McDonald's reminiscential account of this voyage, not so good for dates as the above, but better for incidents, occupies Masson, II. 1890, pp. 43-50.

<sup>27</sup> The Beaver, 480 or 490 tons, Capt. Cornelius Sowle or Sowles, was Mr. Astor's vessel, sent with supplies for the Astorians from New York on Thursday, Oct. 10th, 1811, and anchored in Baker's bay at 2 p. m., May 9th, 1812. It is curious that Cox, who was on the Beaver, opens his book with the statement that she sailed on Thursday, Oct. 17th; for all others agree on Oct. 10th. Now, Thursday is both the 10th and 17th of Oct., 1811; but it so happens that we can decide upon the 10th against Cox himself. For Ross, who agrees to May 9th, 1812, as date of arrival, says the voyage took 212 days, and as February had 29 days in 1812, it is exactly 212 days from Oct. 10th,

The soil on the cape is a very deep rich black mold, covered with long, coarse grass and weeds, all at this season perfectly green. Biche and chevreuil [Columbian black-tailed deer, *Cariacus columbianus*] tracks were very numerous, and an old beaver dam was seen. We extended our walk to the second cape, where the surf broke before us and we saw the remains of a small shark on the beach.

We then returned to the ship, where we took a hearty meal with the officers in the gunroom, and embarked in our boat, accompanied by the first lieutenant [Sheriff], the second master, Hill, a seaman, Messrs. Thompson, McDougall, and 10 men; wind N. W., tide nearly out. We hoisted sail and steered directly toward Point Adams, so as to avoid some very high breakers on our left. We passed within a quarter of a mile of Cape Disappointment,

1811, to May 9th, 1812. The Beaver brought the following: Mr. John Clarke of Canada, late N. W. Co., wintering partner P. F. Co.; George Ehninger (nephew of Mr. Astor), Alfred Seton, J. C. Halsey, C. A. Nichols, B. Clapp, and Ross Cox, 6 clerks P. F. Co.; about 5 Canadian and 7 American engagés, as boatmen, mechanics, etc., and 16 Kanakas. Cox, p. 26, says: "Our cabin passengers were Messrs. Clarke, Clapp, Halsey, Nicolls, Seton, Ehninger, and self; with Captain Sowles, and Messrs. Rhodes, Champenois, and Dean, officers of the ship." Cox adds that they sighted the Columbia May 5th, stood off and on to the 8th inclusive, and ran in on the 9th; that they found at Astoria 5 proprietors, 9 clerks, and 90 men, who, with 36 persons by the Beaver, made a total of 140. Captain Sowle had been instructed to place himself under the orders of Mr. W. P. Hunt upon the arrival at Astoria of the Beaver. This arrival confirmed the reports of the total loss of the Tonquin, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, most of those on board having been massacred, and all the rest meeting death at the blowing up of the ship, or at the hands of the natives soon afterward; not a white man lived to tell the tale of this horrible disaster. Partly on account of this, partly from commercial considerations, Mr. Hunt determined to take the Beaver on a coasting voyage northward to the Russian posts at Sitka and elsewhere. The Beaver had discharged, and Mr. Hunt went aboard July 1st; but the ship did not get off till Aug. 4th, 1812. She was expected to return the following October, but did not come. Instead of that, she was at New Archangel from Aug. 19th to Oct. 4th; cruised to St. Paul's isl. Oct. 31st; got a rich cargo of sealskins and took them to Canton; Mr. Hunt returned from Canton to Astoria in the Albatross, Capt. Smith, Aug. 4th, 1813, bringing among other supplies 9 tierces of rice, 35 barrels of salt pork and beef, and a great quantity of the taro root, which Henry has told us he enjoyed in the form of pancakes.

and on entering the main channel found that with both sails and oars we could scarcely stem the tide. This alarmed us somewhat; however, the swell rolling in from the sea, and the wind increasing, we made some little headway, and after a few moments of anxiety found ourselves safe. At 6 p. m. we arrived at the fort.

*Dec. 3d.* Our Clatsop hunter came in with the meat of a biche—413 pounds; Indians from Willamette river traded geese, etc.

*Dec. 4th.* Made preparations for taking out the Dolly at 11 a. m., being high water, but failed, as she would not float. The Willamette Indians had robes made of foxskins, and some bowls and spoons of ramshorns; the workmanship coarse, but neatly carved on the bottoms and sides. At noon Mr. H[alsey] embarked in our boat with six men and Hill for the Raccoon. Mr. McDougall also went with private letters, 2 pigs, 4 bags of cranberries, some fresh meat, and half a dozen bottles of mustard for the captain and officers. The lieutenant [Sheriff] remained with us, being an invalid.<sup>28</sup> Indians traded geese and an avoilot [?] beaver in meat. At 10 p. m. all hands, excepting Mr. Cameron,<sup>29</sup> went to the Dolly in hopes of getting her off at high water, which was at eleven; but a strong E. wind kept the tide from rising as high as it did this morning; thus we were again disappointed, and returned at midnight.

*Sunday, Dec. 5th.* A storm of rain, with a strong S. W. wind, caused an uncommonly high tide, which at 10 a. m. set the Dolly afloat; she was hauled out with ease and brought to the wharf to rig. The Indians heard the report of cannon last evening toward the cape, and we feared the

<sup>28</sup> Still suffering from the burns received during the explosion on the Raccoon. "M<sup>m</sup>. M'Donald et Sheriff avaient eu beaucoup de mal: on avait eu bien de la peine à leur ôter leurs habits, et lorsque le lieutenant débarqua il ne pouvait pas encore se servir de ses mains, tant elles étaient brûlées," Franchère, p. 149.

<sup>29</sup> No clew. No Cameron appears in Henry again, or anywhere else in Astorian annals that I can discover, and I therefore presume the name is an error of the copy in this instance.

Raccoon was in distress from the violence of the storm, although the lieutenant said there was no danger, the harbor and anchorage being very good. It would be entirely out of our power to send any assistance.

*Dec. 6th.* Indians brought a few salmon. Hunters that had been up to Young's river since the 1st inst. returned unsuccessful. Joseph Ashton and Bell<sup>30</sup> the cooper, busily employed in rigging the Dolly; the masts were stepped, everything got in great forwardness. Weather prevented our boat from returning from the Raccoon.

*Dec. 7th.* At 11.30 a. m. our boat returned, bringing Mr. McDonald [John of Garth] with Mr. H[alsey]. We saluted him<sup>31</sup> with five guns and our flag. We put stone ballast and firewood on board the Dolly, and finished rigging her. At sunset she was ready to sail to the cape for the goods.

*Dec. 8th.* At 11 a. m. the Dolly weighed anchor and sailed under a S. E. breeze, with our new flag at her main-top; Mr. Sheriff and three seamen, Mr. A. J. [read A. Stuart], Mr. Clarke,<sup>32</sup> three of our own people, the old

<sup>30</sup> George Bell, of New York, cooper on the Tonquin from N. Y. Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811.—Henry's Joseph Ashton, whose name has already occurred, I can find nowhere outside of these MSS. There was on the Tonquin a person, not of the crew, but one of the Astorians, whom Franchère names as Job Aikin, maître caboteur, and whom Franchère's translator presents as Job Aitken, rigger and calker. *Item*, Franchère speaks of "Mr." Aiken of the Tonquin, and Cox of "Mr. Aikin, one of the officers" of the Tonquin, both agreeing that this one was drowned Mar. 25th, 1811, with John Coles, sailmaker. Franchère has no Mr. Aikin in his list of the ship's officers. Now, if there were two persons named Aikin on the Tonquin, one the officer who was drowned, and the other Job Aikin, not of the ship's crew and not drowned, the latter would be just the one we should expect to find rigging the Dolly, he being a rigger and calker; and the similarity between "Job Aikin" or "Aitken" and "Jos. Ashton," is marked enough to make an error of copying manuscript easy.

<sup>31</sup> "I was senior Partner at Astoria and in command," says Mr. McDonald in Masson, II. 1890, p. 51. "There were here also: John George McTavish, Alexander Henry, John Stewart, Alexander Stewart, North-West partners, with some clerks and men; and of Astor's party: John Clark, Mr. McDougal, Mr. [David] Stuart, Donald McKenzie, partners, and several clerks and men."

<sup>32</sup> John Clarke, who had a long and vicissitudinous career in the fur trade—first, N. W. Co.; next, P. F. Co.; then N. W. Co. again; and finally, H. B. Co.



Nepisangue, the Willamette chief and his brother, Thorbeun [?], J. T. Sar [?], and others on board. We fired three guns on seeing her under way; and in  $2\frac{3}{4}$  hours observed her with the glass to anchor near the Raccoon.

The old Clatsop chief arrived with some excellent salmon

We find him in the former company at Fort Vermilion on Peace r. May 2d, 1804. About that date Mr. Clarke deposed that Louis Duplein had entered his (Clarke's) tent and forcibly taken 30 bearskins, etc. Duplein was inveigled to breakfast, arrested, ironed, and threatened with death on confession; "so much for the orders of Mr. Robert Henry to this unfortunate man," adds David Thompson, in telling the story. In July, 1810, Mr. Clarke came in with 33 canoes (Athabasca brigade), having passed Fort Dunvegan May 15th, en route from Fort St. John's to Rainy l. Entering the P. F. Co., Mr. Clarke came in the Beaver from N. Y. Oct. 10th, 1811, to the Columbia May 9th, 1812. He left Astoria June 29th or 30th, 1812, at the same time that D. Stuart, R. Stuart, D. McKenzie, and other persons to the number of 87 left; his own party consisting, besides himself, of F. B. Pillet, Donald McLennan, Russell Farnham, and Ross Cox, with 21 Canadians, 6 Islanders, and one Indian guide. All these persons were at the mouth of Snake r. July 31st-Aug. 2d, and from Aug. 3d continued up Snake r. to Aug. 15th, when Clarke and his own people struck N. overland, and proceeded to found Spokane house on Spokane r. at mouth of Cœur d'Alène r., there opposing Mr. McMillan, N. W. Co.; Pillet, Cox, and Farnham were sent to different outposts; Cox returned to Spokane Jan. 1st, 1813; Pillet and Farnham returned early in May, 1813. Having thus wintered at Spokane, Clarke started for Astoria May 25th, 1813, and having reached Snake r. May 30th, he then and there hanged an Indian at mouth of Pavilion or Pavillion r. (Drewyer's r. of Lewis and Clark, p. 630; Flag r. of Wilkes; present Palouse r.). The Indian was clearly guilty of theft of Clarke's silver goblet, but the injudicious execution had far-reaching disastrous consequences, and cost the lives of a party of whites soon afterward. He reached Astoria June 11th or 12th, bringing Cox and Farnham, and accompanied by D. Stuart from Okanagan and D. McKenzie from Fort Bois . He left Astoria June 29th (Irving) or July 7th (Franch re), 1813, soon returned, and is found there as per text above. He finally left Fort George Apr. 4th, 1814, with the large overland party; with D. Stuart left the party on the 20th to go to Spokane house for provisions, reached it 24th, and rejoined the party at Kettle falls on the 30th. He reached Fort William in July, 1814. The Selkirk troubles were then brewing, and Clarke soon joined the H. B. Co.; he is found abetting Colin Robertson in these difficulties in 1815, having been sent to look after Lord Selkirk's interests in the Athabasca Dept., where he had served the N. W. Co. some years before; he was at Fort Vermilion on Peace r., 1815-16, and that winter lost 17 or 18 men by starvation on a trip, after all possible horrors, including cannibalism. Mr. Clarke was still living when Cox wrote the book which was pub. in 1831.

See Cox's *Adventures in Columbia*  
River vol. 1, p. 252.

and the meat of a large biche. There came with him a man<sup>33</sup> about 30 years of age, who has extraordinary dark red hair and is much freckled—a supposed offspring of a ship that was wrecked within a few miles of the entrance of this river many years ago. Great quantities of beeswax<sup>34</sup> continue to be dug out of the sand near this spot, and the Indians bring it to trade with us. They also bring bags of beautiful white clay which they collect a few miles S. on the coast. Being found only in the base of a steep bank, the method of obtaining it is necessarily hazardous. To reach it a person is lowered down from the top of the precipice, with a strong cord tied round the body, and hauled up when he has filled his bag. This evening Comcomly's son arrived with 100 salmon, ducks, and geese.

<sup>33</sup> This freckled-faced, red-headed, half-breed "off-spring of a ship" is immortalized as a mirror of ugliness: see L. and C., p. 742, and add: "An Indian, belonging to a small tribe on the coast to the southward of the Clatsops, occasionally visited the fort. He was a perfect *lusus naturæ*, and his history was rather curious. His skin was fair, his face partially freckled, and his hair quite red. He was about five feet ten inches high, was slender, but remarkably well made; his head had not undergone the flattening process, and he was called *Jack Ramsay*, in consequence of that name having been punctured on his left arm. The Indians allege that his father was an English sailor, who had deserted from a trading-vessel, and had lived many years among their tribe, one of whom he married; that when Jack was born he insisted on preserving the child's head in its natural state, and while young had punctured the arm in the above manner. Old Ramsay had died about twenty years before this period; he had several more children, but Jack was the only red-headed one among them," Cox, p. 151.

<sup>34</sup> The supposed "beeswax" has attracted much attention from Henry's time to ours. It is about the only peculiar product of the place which Lewis and Clark seem to have missed. I have lately seen stories floating about that it was genuine beeswax, brought from China in a vessel wrecked on the spot in some indefinite epoch of the past; if so, she must have had great carrying capacity to have dumped in the sand a cargo not yet exhausted. A certain substance of waxy appearance is found in the ground at various points along the Columbia; its nature is still disputed by the wiseacres whom I have read on the subject, but there is no question of its being an indigenous product, perhaps something like *ambergis* or *spermaceti*, from the remains of whales, altered into some sort of *adipocerite* by long inhumation in wet ground. For the argillaceous clay of which Henry speaks, see L. and C., p. 748, describing this earth and the exact locality where it is found.

See also  
Cox's  
Adventures  
in  
Columbia  
River  
vol. 1, p. 252.

*Dec. 9th.* Indians arrived with salmon, which are now indifferent; our men complain of them, and indeed their looks are much against them, being lean, soft, and covered with large red spots. Traded 270 of these fish.

*Dec. 10th.* The flood tide came in so high as to wash over our wharf, which shows a rise of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

*Dec. 11th.* Breakers between here and Cape Disappointment, rolling in on Chinook point like small hills, all afoam. One of our large boats, near the wharf, was driven from her anchorage; the cable broke, and she was found this morning ashore.

*Sunday, Dec. 12th.* At noon we saw the Dolly under full sail, beating up from Baker's bay in a light breeze. At five she anchored in Young's bay. We sent a canoe to bring our gentlemen ashore, but the night was so dark they could not find her; however, they fell in with three men who had landed from her, and returned with word that Captain Black was on the Dolly. We instantly sent a canoe for him, which started at 8 p. m. At 11 p. m.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Henry's relation of the ceremonies about to ensue is more detailed and circumstantial than any which has appeared hitherto. His date of Captain Black's arrival agrees with that given by both Franchère and Röss, Dec. 12th; but Franchère gives no hours, and his account reads as if the conversion of Astoria into Fort George occurred immediately after dinner on the 12th. Franchère has, p. 150: "Comme il y avait sur le Racoon des effets destinés pour la Compagnie, on envoya la goëlette à la baie de Baker, afin de les apporter au Fort; mais le temps fut tellement mauvais, et le vent si violent qu'elle ne revint que le 12 [Décembre], avec ces effets, et le Capitaine Black, un garde-marine, quatre soldats de marine, et quatre matelots. Nous régalâmes nos hôtes le plus splendidement qu'il nous fut possible. Après le dîner, le capitaine" did so and so, and the ceremony was accomplished. Irving is to the identical effect: "On the 12th of December the fate of Astoria was consummated by a regular ceremonial," etc. But in Henry we find that Captain Black did not arrive till 11 p. m. of the 12th, after groping his way along the beach afoot in palpable darkness, no doubt swearing like a pirate every time he slipped on a stone, stepped in a puddle, or stumbled over a stump; that they got supper for him, and made a wet night of it till 2 a. m. before they went to bed. So it was not till the 13th that they "spliced the main brace" for the performance. But they were such "famous fellows for grog," as Henry tells us further on, that it is no wonder the 12th and 13th were all the same to them.

Captain Black, Mr. A. Stuart, and Mr. Clarke arrived by land, having broken the canoe in running ashore at Point George, where she was hauled up and left. The gentlemen and men came here by land, along the beach, in feeling darkness, over slippery stones, through pools of water, and among embarrassments of driftwood. Fortunately for them the tide was out, which favored them with a wide though rugged beach. Having got supper, it was 2 a. m. before we went to bed.

*Dec. 13th.* The Dolly had anchored opposite the fort; before daybreak we got the powder on shore, and at 8 a. m. saluted the captain with seven guns. Mr. Verdier, midshipman, four marines, and three seamen from the Raccoon, came ashore, having hauled the Dolly near the wharf. At 3 p. m. we fired three guns as a signal to the Raccoon, and then hoisted the Union Jack given us by the captain. We collected all our men, armed with muskets; the marines were drawn up in uniform under arms, and the sailors with Quartermaster Hill attended to the guns. The captain, in full uniform, broke a bottle of Madeira on the flagstaff, and took possession of this country and place in the name of His Britannic Majesty, calling this post Fort George. Three cheers were given by us all, and three rounds of musketry were then fired by our men and the marines. One of the latter had a narrow escape from shooting himself in the face, his gun having flashed and then gone off on being grounded. Eleven guns were fired from our four-pounder. We drank His Majesty's health, and a speech to Comcomly's son [was made by Mr. Franchère<sup>36</sup>]. The

<sup>36</sup> Franchère expressly says he was the one who made this speech, p. 150: "Après le diner, le capitaine"—to continue from my last note without break—"fit donner des armes à feu aux serviteurs de la Compagnie; et nous nous rendîmes ainsi armés sur une plateforme, ou l'on avait érigé un mât de pavillon. Là le capitaine prit un pavillon Britannique, qu'il avait apporté à dessein, et le fit hisser au haut du mât: puis, ayant prit une bouteille pleine de vin de Madère, il la cassa sur le mât, en déclarant à haute voix, qu'il prenait possession de l'Etablissement et du pays, au nom de Sa Majesté Britannique; et il changea le nom d'Astoria en celui de *Fort George*. Les chefs sauvages avaient été assemblés pour

ceremony ended by taking a few extra glasses of wine. At five Comcomly arrived, having been on a long trip northward. Saw a gray pelican [*Pelecanus californicus*]; this kind are not so large as those we saw at Tongue point, and more of a light gray, something like a young gull. Received from on board two turkey-cocks and a game-cock.

*Dec. 14th.* Unloaded the Dolly, and soon put the goods in store; she immediately took on board stones as ballast. At 11 a. m. I embarked in a canoe with Captain Black and Mr. McDonald for Young's river.<sup>37</sup> Saw great numbers of ducks, swans, and geese. At noon we entered the river

être témoins de la cérémonie, et je leur expliquai dans leur langue ce dont il s'agissait. On tira trois décharges d'artillerie et de mousqueterie, et l'on but à la santé du Roi, selon l'usage reçu en pareilles occasions." Irving no doubt had this passage before him when he wrote: "Captain Black, attended by his officers, entered the fort, caused the British standard to be erected, broke a bottle of wine, and declared, in a loud voice, that he took possession of the establishment and of the country, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, changing the name of Astoria to that of Fort George. The Indian warriors, who had offered their services to repel the strangers, were present on this occasion. It was explained to them as being a friendly arrangement and transfer." This is the occasion on which Captain Black freed his mind of an exclamation which has become historical. Franchère puts it thus, in French, p. 152: "Quoi! c'est là ce fort que l'on m'avait représenté comme formidable! eh! bon Dieu, je le renverserais en deux heures, avec un pièce de quatre!" Franchère renders this in a footnote of his own: "What! is this the Fort I have heard so much of! Great God! I could batter it down with a four-pounder in two hours!" Franchère's translator turns it thus, p. 202: "What! is this the fort which was represented to me as so formidable! Good God! I could batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder!" Cox, p. 132, puts another touch to the ejaculation: "On looking at the wooden fortifications, Captain Black exclaimed, 'Is this the fort about which I have heard so much? D——n me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder!'" Irving quotes Cox with a new variation: "'Is this the fort,' cried he, 'about which I have heard so much talking? D——n me,'" etc. Finally, Ross assures us, p. 259, that "Captain Black . . . was never once heard to utter an oath or indecorous expression all the time he was in the river"—et c'est ainsi que l'on écrit l'histoire!

<sup>37</sup> Mistake in the name, unless the nomenclature was different then from what it is now and long has been. Henry goes up the Netul r. of Lewis and Clark, to visit their Fort Clatsop. This empties on the S. side of the bay; Young's r. is the other one, opening at the head of the bay, much further W. For various accounts of Fort Clatsop after 1806, see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 904.

and continued up to Fort Clatsop. There we found two houses of Clatsops, busily employed making mats and straw hats; they had an extraordinary number of children. These people are uncommonly filthy about their houses; it requires the greatest precaution in walking to avoid their numerous excrements, and they have no dogs to diminish these piles of ordure. We walked up to see the old American winter quarters of Captains Lewis and Clark in 1805-06, which are in total ruins, the wood having been cut down and destroyed by the Indians; but the remains are still visible. In the fort are already grown up shoots of willows 25 feet high. The situation is the most pleasant I have seen hereabouts, and by far the most eligible, both as to security from the natives and for hunting. The place is deeply shaded with spruce, pine, sapin, etc.; the woods seemed gloomy and dark, the beams of the sun being prevented from reaching the ground through so thick a foliage. Having examined this spot, we returned to our horses, which are left in care of the Indians; there being no grass near the fort, we allow them to graze on the salt marsh along the bay and river. While here we heard two guns fired at the fort, and soon afterward a salute of guns was returned from the Raccoon; the smoke was seen at the fort, but the wind being contrary, the report was not heard. We then embarked and at 2 p. m. reached Fort George. Captain Black took the angles.

*Dec. 15th.* Made arrangements with Captain Black to furnish him with what few necessaries our poor means would afford, and gave Comcomly a clothing. They both embarked on the Dolly, and at 11 a. m. she weighed anchor. We then saluted the captain with five guns, and soon a round was fired on the Raccoon, as we supposed in answer to ours. The Dolly stood toward the cape under a pleasant breeze, the captain's pennant flying at the maintop, and the N. W. Co.'s ensign at the peak. At 12.45 p. m. she anchored near the Raccoon, and was saluted with three guns.

*Dec. 16th.* Last evening and this morning our people

and all the Indians heard guns toward the cape, which gave us some hopes the Isaac Todd was off the bar. At 9 p. m. a boat arrived from the Raccoon, having on board the master [Mr. Stevens], purser, and doctor; a midshipman with six seamen also came to sound the channel across the river toward Chinook point on the N. The shots our people had heard proved to be a morning and evening gun fired by the Raccoon in honor of the Union Jack which had been given us by the captain. The gentlemen and crew of the boat were all intoxicated; they took seven hours to come up.

*Dec. 17th.* After breakfast the master and midshipman went to sound the river. At 3 p. m. they returned; the tide was too far spent for them to return on board to-day. Famous fellows for grog they are!

*Dec. 18th.* At 10 a. m. the cutter set off, taking P. D. Jérémie,<sup>38</sup> boatbuilder, four Sandwich Islanders with their baggage, and five hogs, large and small; she got down in good time. The ship had her topgallant sails loose, which we understood was the signal for sailing; and this being the day appointed by the captain, we every moment expected to see her under way, as the weather served for passing over the bar. This favorable opportunity, however, passed away without their availing themselves of it; they may now be unable to sail for many days. Morning and evening guns continue to be fired by the Raccoon in honor of our Union Jack.

*Sunday, Dec. 19th.* Tremendous surf breaking within the cape, even as far as Chinook point; the cape and the bar covered with foam. Our men returned from Gray's bay with a load of split cedar boards for covering their new house.

*Dec. 20th.* Dice were thrown for sundry articles belong-

<sup>38</sup> Canadian voyageur and Astorian; joined Alex. McKay and Franchère at Whitehall, Washington Co., N. Y., on the S. end of Lake Champlain, July 30th, 1810; on the Tonquin, New York city to the Columbia, Sept. 6th, 1810-Mar. 22d, 1811; deserted from Astoria Nov. 11th, retaken Nov. 22d, 1811; finally shipped as under clerk on the Raccoon, which sailed Dec. 31st, 1813.

ing to Mr. McDonald—a case, a dressing-case, and a brace of pistols—the former won by Mr. McDougall, and the two latter by Mr. Bethune;<sup>39</sup> also, a writing-desk belonging to Mr. Franchère, won by Mr. Bethune.

*Dec. 21st.* A letter was brought by an Indian from the Raccoon addressed to Messrs. C[larke] and McDougall, on the subject of one of our men, Hill, remaining on board, and demanding other hands to bring up the schooner. This fellow was taken from the Isaac Todd, and is a sample of her crew—a set of vagabonds mutinously inclined, who, this very fellow Hill says, will either take possession of the ship before she reaches this place, or leave her on the first favorable opportunity. At 11 a. m. the Raccoon's pinnace arrived, rowed by 10 men; on board were three officers—Captain Clark, the gunner, and a midshipman—who came for a letter belonging to Captain Black, which by mistake had been left in one of Vancouver's volumes sent here from the Raccoon. The letter was an extract from Lieutenant Broughton's journal on board the Chatham. They were four hours coming from the ship; this was the fourth attempt they had made, in one of which, yesterday, they narrowly escaped being lost. One of the large swells, breaking over the boat, nearly filled her; they had just time enough to pull about, and with difficulty escaped some still larger breakers which rolled but a short distance from them, into which the tide would have hurried them in a few moments. At 2 p. m. the boat left for the ship, giving us three cheers on pushing

<sup>39</sup> Angus Bethune, clerk N. W. Co., who reached Astoria overland with J. G. McTavish and others, Sept., 1813: see note <sup>10</sup>, p. 259. At date of May 1st, 1814, beyond, Henry sends him from Fort George with an express party; but either there is some mistake about this, or else Mr. Bethune did not go far, for Henry repeatedly names him as being at Fort George during that same month. After about 3½ years on the Columbia, in various places, he left Fort George Apr. 16th, 1817, with the large overland party which started that day for Fort William. From English r. he forged on ahead in a light canoe with J. G. McTavish, and doubtless reached Fort William in July, as he was met Aug. 14th on the Kaministiquia with McTavish, westward bound from Fort William.



off, as a final adieu from the boat of a ship of war; both men and officers were intoxicated. Our Indian hunters came in with the meat of two biches—a seasonable supply, as we were reduced to salt salmon. A hog was killed this morning, but the flesh has a strong taste of fish, and is by no means palatable.

*Dec. 22d.* At 1 p. m. the Dolly came up under a strong S. W. breeze. Captain Black had sent some sailors to take her through the breakers; notwithstanding which precaution, the sea broke over her from stem to stern. In answer to our letter of yesterday, demanding Hill to be delivered up, Captain Black said that Hill had asked to be protected by the captain, and volunteered to serve His Majesty, having been deceived by the N. W. Co.; and that the captain, not having his complement of men, could not refuse Hill consistently with his duty, etc. Parent,<sup>40</sup> a Canadian seaman and blacksmith, also objected to enter our service. We were informed, however, that Hill had actually been on the Dolly, and intended to come up, but that a midshipman had come aboard, and, after a long conversation with Hill, the latter had proposed to return to the Raccoon.

*Dec. 23d.* A gale during the night which made us uneasy about the Dolly, though she was anchored near the wharf, and moored by a cable made fast to a stump in the bay. We had kept the meat of a biche we got on the 21st inst. to treat our men with on Christmas; but finding it was spoiling, we gave it out to-day. Fresh meat spoiling at this season I thought rather strange, having been heretofore in a country where, long before this time, all being fast in frost and buried in snow, our meat is frozen as hard as a stone. An Indian came in with a few white geese and two swans. Certain proposals were made to Mr. McDougall by Mr. McDonald.

*Dec. 24th.* The almost incessant rain we have had is truly unpleasant, and I fear will have a bad effect on our

<sup>40</sup> One Parent is listed as voyageur N. W. Co. Lower Red r., 1804—probably not the above.

men, who are now building a house for themselves; they are daily exposed to the inclemency of the weather, wet to the skin, tramping through mud and water all day, and at night without other shelter than bars covered with mats, which must be very damp. Even in the garret of our storehouse, which is perfectly tight and stanch, things become moldy and will rot. During the rainy season there is no moving out of doors, except into mud and water. If you step on a stone or billet of wood, ten to one you measure your length on the ground; everything is slippery with green moss; even the stockades and buildings are becoming incrustated. Messrs. S. and K.<sup>41</sup> finished packing the goods to be sent to the interior about the beginning of January. Our Clatsop hunter brought us a biche, for which he received immediate payment, as is customary here. Carter's [Joseph Cartier's] house being finished, Mr. Halsey and Mr. Franchère took up their lodgings with him.

*Dec. 25th, Christmas.* At 11 a. m. Bélair,<sup>42</sup> Thomas McKay,<sup>43</sup> and one man arrived from Willamette river with let-

<sup>41</sup> No doubt standing for Alexander Stuart and James Keith: see Jan. 3d, beyond, at which date these two start for the interior together.

<sup>42</sup> Name in question, both as to its form and the identity of the individual who bore it: compare one "Bellaiei" at date of Apr. 4th, beyond.—One Belair, engagé N. W. Co., wintered 1793-94 at the Pine fort on the Assiniboine.—Baptiste Belaire is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804.—Louis Bélaire, *père*, appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fond du Lac, 1804.—Registre Belaire of the N. W. Co. summered 1809 at the Rocky Mountain house; wintered in the Rocky mts. 1809-10; was thereabouts 1810-11; at Iithkoyape falls in Aug., 1811; and went to Okanagan with Michel Allaire. This person is very likely the above "Bélair."

<sup>43</sup> Or Thomas Mackay, who had been clerk P. F. Co., Astorian by sea on the Tonquin, N. Y. Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811, and soon went to the Willamette post whence we now find him returning. He goes overland with the large party, Apr. 4th, 1814, beyond. This appears to be the Mr. McKay of whom Cox speaks as arriving at Fort George Nov. 8th, and leaving Nov. 18th, 1814, with Cox; and as being met at Grand rapids of the Saskatchewan, en route for the interior, July 15th, 1817, at which date Cox calls him his former "Columbian companion."

The McKays or Mackays were numerous in the fur-trade. The most prominent of them all is Alexander McKay, on account of his ever memorable journey with Sir A. McKenzie to the Pacific, and his violent death in the Tonquin

ters of the 19th inst. from Mr. William Henry. The news from that quarter is that beavers are numerous, but the natives, who are also very numerous, will not hunt them; their sole employment is digging roots, such as commass [*Camassia esculenta*] and waptoe [wappatoo, *Sagittaria variabilis*], and stealing beavers from traps when oppor-

massacre. Sir Alexander and Mr. McKay, with six voyageurs and two Indians, started May 9th, 1793, from the fort near the forks of Peace r., where they had wintered 1792-93. They ascended the river to its uppermost forks, took the Parsnip branch, and made the pass of the Continental Divide at the head of the latter river, which connects with a small stream they named Bad r., tributary to the N. branch of the N. fork of Fraser's r. They descended Fraser's r. somewhat beyond present Blackwater r., and probably to about the site of present Alexandria, so named as being the terminus of the voyage down Fraser's r. Then they retraced their steps to the Blackwater, and went W. up it, calling it West Road r. in consequence of thus following it overland. From about the headwaters of this river they passed across some sources of present Salmon r., and thus got on what they called Salmon r., *i. e.*, present Bellacoola r., which they followed down to an arm of the sea, at present King isl. The furthestmost point was through Labouchere channel to the mouth of Cascade inlet. The date McKenzie painted with vermilion in melted grease on a rock was Monday, July 22d, 1793, accepted ever since as that on which was accomplished the first overland journey ever made from Canada to the Pacific ocean. The intrepid explorers retraced their steps, and reached their point of departure at 4 p. m. on Saturday, Aug. 24th, 1793. In 1797, Mr. McKay was still a clerk N. W. Co., Isle à la Crosse; and in Sept., 1798, Thompson speaks of arranging goods for him there. We also hear of him on upper English r. in 1799. He signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, as a partner N. W. Co. In 1810, having left that service, he entered the P. F. Co., and at once became closely associated with Franchère; they left Montreal July 26th, 1810, to New York Aug. 3d, and both sailed on the Tonquin from New York Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811. The ill-fated Tonquin left Astoria June 5th, 1811, and the next heard of her was news of the massacre and explosion. Mr. McKay seems to have been the first that fell, killed with a war-club. The exact date is unknown, but it was only some weeks after June 5th, 1811, when the vessel had stopped at a place on her way to Nootka, or was actually in Nootka Sound. The scene of the massacre was "Newity or Newitty"; "Nouhity near Noutka," Franchère, p. 136; a "place called Eyuck Whoola, Newcetubay," Ross, p. 159; "a large village named New Whitty, in the vicinity of Nootka," Cox, whose account of the disaster, chap. v, p. 63 *seq.*, is probably the best we have. One account fixes the loss of life at 17 whites and 12 Kanakas; among the former were Captain Jonathan Thorn and Clerk James Lewis. The savages who were exasperated into the commission of this outrage by the outrageous conduct of Captain Thorn were the Nawiti, one of the prin-

tunity offers. Deer are numerous, but of a very small kind [*Caricacus columbianus*]; there are also a few biches, and our people could collect a reasonable quantity of meat, were not the Indians so thievish; when our people kill a deer, if they do not carry it home instantly, it is likely to be stolen by Indians, who are always lurking about like wolves, and are attracted by the report of a gun to the spot.

cipal Haeltzuk tribes of the Wakashan family. I should add that McKenzie praises McKay for courage, fidelity, and fertility of resources; the latter should not be forgotten so long as the former is remembered.

Alexis McKay is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804, and was this year at the Mandans under F. A. Larocque.—Donald McKay of the H. B. Co. is called "Mad McKay" in John McDonnell's journal.—D. McKay is named by Henry beyond, Apr. 1st, 1814.—George McKay, clerk N. W. Co. for Red r. and back countries, was with John McDonnell and Chaboillez in 1797; heard of in that region 1794-99.—"A Mr. Mackay had a trading-establishment in the years 1795 and 1796, which he called Fort Charles," on the Missouri, near the creek on which the Omahas resided, passed by Lewis and Clark Aug. 13th, 1804: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 74; see also "Mr. J. Mackay's Route" traced on Lewis' map.—See also L. and C., p. 790, for one Mackey, of a three-masted vessel on the N. W. coast.—J. A. McKay is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., beyond, Apr. 4th, 1814.—Neill Mackay wintered 1793-94 alongside Mr. Peter Grant at forks of Qu'Appelle r., 5 leagues from Fort Espérance.—Simon Mackay is listed as voyageur contre-maître N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—William McKay of the N. W. Co. wintered 1794-95 at Portage la Prairie; he is named by Thompson at Grand Portage, Saturday, July 22d, 1797, as agent N. W. Co. "for the Muskeiko country"; arrived at Grand Portage from "the Swampy country" July 2d, 1798; was proprietor, Lake Winnipeg, 1799; came with A. Henry by Rainy r. and Kaministiquia route to Fort William in June, 1804; signed Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys.

I have a number of other McKay items, but mostly too dubious or fragmentary to be used. I will, however, note the following: "Mr." McKay (probably Alexander, possibly William) arrived at Duck Portage house on the Missinipi at 10 a. m. on Monday, May 23d, 1796; he is the McKay who built the "old Canadian house" at mouth of Deer l. or head of Deer r., before 1796.—McKay's house is noted by Thompson in 1793 as on Paint l., 7 m. from Chatham house.—Thompson makes an observation of lat. 55° 31' 06" N. on McKay's l., Aug. 21st, 1794.—Thompson speaks of McKay's pt. as a place on the Saskatchewan, 10 hours by boat below the mouth of Bow r.—Tanner's M'Kee or M'Kie is a McKay.

Yet one more McKay, no first name given, appears in the last entry in Henry's journal, May 21st, 1814, as an officer or other person aboard the Isaac Todd.

They are exceedingly fond of meat, for which they barter everything they have; they prefer it to any of our goods.

This afternoon Mr. McDougall accepted the terms offered him by the N. W. Co. We had an excellent dinner—bill of fare: soup, bouilli, salt beef, potatoes, pie, rice pudding, tarts, cheese, and biscuits; with wine, spirits, and porter; 13 at table.

*Sunday, Dec. 26th.* Comcomly arrived in his large canoe with eight men paddling in exact time, with great violence. He brought letters from the Raccoon, still lying in Baker's bay. The contents of one letter were complaints from the purser of our having refused to pay his notes on us for salmon, according to arrangements made when the Raccoon first entered the river, which is really false, as all notes presented to us by the natives for provisions given on board the Raccoon have been duly honored and will continue to be so while she lies here. The trouble must have proceeded from some misunderstanding on board, as they have no interpreter. Another complaint was lodged by the second lieutenant, Hutchison, regarding a letter sent here some time ago addressed to Messrs. McD. and C. [McDougall and Clarke, Dec. 21st], which was returned to Mr. Hutchison on the 24th by an Indian; but how he came in possession of it is unknown. An answer to all their inquiries was written instantly and delivered to the chief to take to the ship. The chief could not agree with us about two sea otters which he has repeatedly offered for sale, but would never accept our terms. The more I see of this great man, the more confirmed I am in my opinion of his being a mean fellow.

*Dec. 27th.* The chief returned to his village with letters for the ship. Distant thunder, which some of us mistook for the noise of cannon fired at sea, gave us hopes of the Isaac Todd; but we could see nothing of that long-expected vessel, although people were sent down to Point George with glasses. A Chinook canoe was overtaken in crossing to this place by a gale that would have sunk any of our best

N. W. Co. canoes in a few moments ; but she landed safe, though the waves seemed to pass over her every moment. Two of our kids died for want of proper shelter.

*Dec. 28th.* Mr. McDonald's room was finished, and he took up his lodgings in it.

*Dec. 29th.* Some Indians arrived with letters from the Raccoon, in answer to ours of yesterday. Scurvy has appeared on board, and there are no fresh provisions. We cannot assist them, having little for ourselves, and that little would not do much good among so many people as there are on board ; we lament that she cannot sail. The captain fears it will be out of his power to go to the Sandwich Islands, for want of provisions. We paid a few notes to the Indians for wild fowl and salmon delivered on the Raccoon ; a few lines were written to the captain and the Indians sent off immediately.

*Dec. 30th.* Bélair set off for the Willamette, with two Canadians and four Sandwich Islanders, to hunt beaver until May 1st, for whose service he pays us 180 lbs. of beaver. All hands busy writing letters to be sent by express across the mountains.

*Dec. 31st.* At 9.30 a. m. we had the pleasure of seeing the Raccoon under way, on a tack within Chinook point ; she soon put about and stood for sea under a heavy press of sail. As she passed the cape we hoisted our Union Jack and fired a salute of seven guns, but could not hear whether she answered. Just as she came on the bar she crowded all sail, and stood out in a majestic manner. We soon lost sight of her behind Point Adams, and then sent a canoe down to the point with a spy-glass to see if she cleared the coast. At 6 p. m. the canoe returned but had not seen the ship, although the weather was perfectly clear ; the Clatsops told them that she had gone out of sight on a S. W. course.

## CHAPTER XXV.

THE COLUMBIA AND WILLAMETTE TOUR: 1814.

**J**ANUARY 1st, 1814. We could scarcely collect liquor enough out of the kegs to give the men each one dram, but issued some rice, salt beef, and swans—all our means could afford. But for ourselves, we still had the wherewithal for a great feast—rice soup, boiled swans, roast wild fowl, roast pork, potatoes, rice pudding, wild fruit pie, cranberry tarts, cheese, and biscuits, with porter, spirits, and two bottles of Madeira; the wine being the last of what Captain Black had given us. Comcomly's two sons came over; we gave them each a clothing, as we had promised when Captain Black took possession of this place; they returned immediately. Ducks of various kinds are always swimming about here near the shore, and old Joe [Ashton], who stays aboard the Dolly, kills some every day. She lies at anchor near the wharf—a snug berth for a small vessel.

*Sunday, Jan. 2d.* Clatsops brought from Young's river some wretched salmon, scabby and of various colors, particularly near the tail; we picked out a few that still had roes.

*Jan. 3d.* At noon our express for Fort William was closed. Two canoes (wooden T. D.) being loaded with 15 persons and 17 packs each, Messrs. Stuart and Keith<sup>1</sup> set off for the Spokane house—Mr. Stuart to remain there, and

<sup>1</sup> "Le 3 Janvier, 1814, on expédia deux canots chargés de marchandises pour l'intérieur, sous la conduite de MM. A. Stuart et J. Keith, avec 15 d'hommes d'équipage," Franchère, p. 153. The full names are Alexander Stuart and James Keith. There were no fewer than four Stuarts at Astoria—enough to "give us an alert," as our author would say, to keep them apart. The Henry copy has Stewart or Stuart in. "fferently; I hold him to *Stuart*, the most used form of the name in these annals.

The quartette of Astorian Stuarts consisted of Alexander Stuart, David Stuart, John Stuart, and Robert Stuart. Robert was David's nephew; these two came in the Tonquin from N. Y. to Astoria. John was the one who went

Mr. Keith to take the express as far as the Kootenay house, whence it was to go on to F. D. P. [Fort des Prairies] with Saganakee, Thobine, Landreville, and Franchemontagne;<sup>2</sup> we hope it will reach Fort Augustus about March 15th.

*Jan. 5th.* Calloph [Coalpo<sup>3</sup>] arrived in a small, hand-

with Simon Fraser to the Pacific in 1808, and came to Astoria overland with J. G. McTavish in Sept. or on Oct. 7th, 1813. Alexander was en route from a post on the N. Saskatchewan to Kaministiquia, with J. Hughes, in June, 1806; he came to Astoria overland with our author Nov. 15th, 1813, having left Fort William (Kaministiquia) the previous July. We hear more of him beyond, where also John, David, and Robert will be more fully noted as their names come up again.

James Keith winters 1813-14 on the Columbia, and we shall hear of him till about the middle of March, 1814, when he leaves Fort George, and goes on an overland tour, details not found. Returning, he left Fort George Aug. 5th, 1814, was at Okanagan Aug. 23d-27th, and went on over the Rocky mts. with dispatches; returning, he reached Fort George Nov. 8th, and left it Nov. 18th, 1814. He appears to have gone into Fort William in the summer of 1815, for he was expected to be met at the Rocky Mt. portage in Sept., 1815, but did not reach that portage till Oct. 15th; arrived at Spokane house Oct. 24th, 1815; left Oct. 26th; arr. Fort George Nov. 8th, 1815, left Nov. 19th; was icebound on the Columbia for some weeks in Jan., 1816; went in to Okanagan with Mr. Montour Jan. 28th; was at Spokane Feb. 10th, 1816; was at Fort George Sept. 30th, 1816.—James is believed to have been a brother of that George Keith of the N. W. Co. who passed most of his life in Athabasca, on McKenzie r., Great Bear l., etc., and after the fusion of 1821 became a chief factor H. B. Co. George retired in 1842, went to Scotland, died, and left a daughter, Mrs. Swanston, who died and left a son, Thomas Swanston, living in 1889 in the N. W. Terr.: see George Keith's Letters to Rod. McKenzie, in Masson, II. pp. 61-132.—Joseph Keith was found by David Thompson June 14th, 1812, on Rapid r., with 7½ packs from Reindeer l., where no doubt he had wintered 1811-12.

<sup>2</sup> As to the above four men: Saganakee is named as J. Bte. Sakanakee, Jan. 9th, beyond, and listed Apr. 4th as Jean Baptiste Sakanakie; he was a Nipissing Indian hunter.—Thobine is listed beyond, Apr. 4th, as F. Thoburn; he seems to be the man called Thorbeun on p. 767.—Landreville is a correct name, unfortunately not in full; but he is, no doubt, the Landreville who stayed on the Columbia to 1817, and left Fort George Apr. 16th with Cox and others, overland to Fort William.—François Franchemontagne is named in full beyond, Apr. 4th.

<sup>3</sup> A Clatsop chief, whose name often occurs in Henry in many variant forms, as Colpo, Calpo, Calpot, Calpok, etc. But it has passed into history as Coalpo, a form which may as well be kept as any other, and to which I hereafter reduce the variants. Henry has also Calpot's pt. and Calpok's pt. for Point Clatsop.



some wooden canoe, loaded with 13 swans and brailards [?], four outardes, two gray geese, and two stock-ducks; this lading, with two Indians, sunk her to the gunnel. These canoes are made for hunting, in the shape of the sea canoes, and are neat, light, and fast. Some Clatsop women came in with hats and baskets to trade.

*Jan. 6th.* At 9 a. m.<sup>4</sup> a canoe arrived from above, with Messrs. David Stuart,<sup>5</sup> John Stuart,<sup>6</sup> and Donald McKenzie,

<sup>4</sup> Franchère says, p. 153, that only John Stuart and Donald McKenzie arrived together, having left David Stuart and John Clarke behind with loaded canoes; he also makes the hour of arrival 6 a. m.

<sup>5</sup> David Stuart, uncle of Robert Stuart, left the N. W. Co. and entered the P. F. Co. in 1810. David and Robert were both Tonquinian Astorians, from New York Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811. On July 23d, 1811, according to Franchère, p. 93, or 11 a. m., July 22d, according to Ross, p. 103, or 1.24 p. m. of Monday, July 22d, according to Thompson's MSS., David Stuart left Astoria with Thompson's party for the interior. Stuart's own party consisted of F. B. Pillet, A. Ross, D. McLennan, Ovide de Montigny, three or four voyageurs, and two Kanakas, or a total, with Thompson's party, of 21 persons, including two ambiguous individuals who turned out to be squaws. Stuart's and Thompson's parties kept together to the Cascades, July 31st, when Thompson pushed on ahead. Stuart reached the Falls Aug. 5th; mouth of Snake r. Aug. 14th; passed and named Priest's rapids (for the Indian haquilaugh, doctor, or priest found there, Ross, p. 134) Aug. 18th, 19th; Pisscows r. Aug. 24th; and reached Okanagan r. Aug. 31st. There Stuart established Fort Okanagan (or Oakinacken, as Ross calls it, p. 141); soon sent Pillet and McLennan back to Astoria, where they arrived Oct. 5th; left Ross alone to winter 1811-12, and with Montigny and two men pushed on up Okanagan r. Having been gone 188 days, Stuart returned to Fort Okanagan; he had ascended that river to its head, some 250 m., crossed over to Camloops or Thompson's r., the main branch of Fraser's r., made arrangements for a post among the Shushwaps or Shuswhaps, and started back Feb. 26th, 1812. Leaving Okanagan soon, he reached Astoria May 11th, or May 12th (Ross); left June 29th (Irving), or 30th, or "31st" (Franchère), with W. W. Matthews, Donald McGillis, and about 60 persons, to return to Okanagan, which he reached Aug. 12th. Leaving this post in charge of Ross, Aug. 25th, he went to winter 1812-13 among the Shushwaps again; returned to Okanagan May 13th, 1813, left it May 23d, and returned to Astoria June 12th; left Astoria July 7th; returned, as per text above, to Fort George. He finally left Fort George Apr. 4th, 1814, with the large overland party; left this party with J. Clarke to go to Spokane for provisions, rejoined it at Kettle falls, and reached Fort William on Lake Superior in July, 1814.

<sup>6</sup> John Stuart appears to have been in the N. W. Co., in the Athabasca

*See Wade  
- Canyon River  
p. 16*

and 12 men. They brought the unpleasant news that Indians had attacked them in camp between Seal falls and Grand rapids [on the Columbia], during the night. They had been warned of the bad intentions of the Indians at Seal falls by Mr. D. F. [?], guide, and of course were on their guard. They had camped opposite a village, and sent over to trade dogs, etc., in a friendly manner; however, it was thought proper to keep watch. At 12.30 a. m.,

Dept., as early as 1799. John Stuart of the N. W. Co. arrived at McLeod's fort on Peace r. Oct. 7th, 1803, with Rocheblave, Leith, and others of the X. Y. Co. Thompson sent John Stuart from the fort at forks of Peace r. to the Horseshoe fort Oct. 17th, 1803, and Mr. Stuart returned to the forks Jan. 21st, 1804. While still a clerk in the N. W. Co., he accompanied Simon Fraser down Fraser's r. almost to the Pacific, in 1808: see Fraser's own narrative of this terrible journey in Masson, I. 1889, pp. 155-221. Fraser named Stuart r. for him (Nechacho r.); Stuart l. was also named for him. He passed several years in New Caledonia (British Columbia); a letter once reached him addressed Fort Estekatatene. He came from his post in New Caledonia to Fort Dunvegan on Peace r. in July, 1809, and returned to his post. He passed Fort Dunvegan May 22d, 1810, en route to Fort William; returning to his post, he reached Fort Dunvegan Oct. 6th, 1810; left next day with Harmon; was at Rocky Mt. portage Oct. 14th, and at McLeod Lake fort Nov. 1st; passed fort on Stuart's l. Nov. 14th to fort on Fraser's l., to winter there 1810-11. Abandoned post Apr. 5th, 1811; was to go to Canada with Quesnel. Arr. McLeod's l. Oct. 28th, 1812; wintered there or thereabouts 1812-13; and on May 13th, 1813, left Stuart's l. to join J. G. McTavish on the Columbia. He appears to have gone in to Kaministiquia that summer; for Cox and Joseph Larocque met him high up on the Columbia Sept. 2d, 1813, en route from Fort William to Astoria, in company with A. Stuart and Joseph McGillivray, partners N. W. Co., and 20 men. Reached Astoria with McTavish, Bethune, and others late in Sept. or on Oct. 7th, 1813. Left Astoria Oct. 29th for interior with the party that had the fight with the Indians at the first rapids—Donald McKenzie, Joseph McGillivray, Joseph Larocque, one McDonald, John Reed, Ross Cox, and 55 men. After this, Henry accounts for him till Apr. 4th, 1814, when he left Fort George with the large overland party; left this party Apr. 20th to go to Spokane house with J. Clarke for provisions; rejoined party at Kettle falls Apr. 30th; went ahead of party with John McDonald of Garth and Donald McKenzie, these three reaching Rocky Mountain house May 17th; wintered 1814-15 about sources of Peace r. and Fraser's r.; was at New Caledonia house Apr. 25th, 1815; at which date McDougall and Harmon were with him in the dept. He remained in the North West country after the coalition of 1821, and in 1828 was chief factor H. B. Co. at Lesser Slave l. He soon afterward went to England, and died in 1841.

1816  
 B. W. C. 1817 P. 10

as Mr. D. Stuart was watching near the tent, some arrows were shot, one of which pierced the ear of a man who was asleep at some distance, having already gone through a double sail and blanket. He bawled out instantly; the alarm was given and a rustling in the grass and brush was heard, as if made by people running away. Six arrows found in camp were recognized as those used by the Fall Indians [of the Columbia], three of them being reeds pointed with wood; the others of plain wood; none were shod with iron or bone; they appeared to be boys' arrows. About two hours before daylight two men were seen skulking near the camp; our people fired at them, but to no effect. After sunrise, seeing no natives, our people embarked; but they were scarcely off before a number of Indians appeared on the beach, coming from the woods. Our people went on a few miles and then camped to dry their packs on a batture [sand bar]. During the night Indians were about, but as our men were on their guard, the natives did not come near camp, though some time before daybreak they made a great whooping and hallooing both above and below. Our people embarked in the morning and saw them no more. At the Grand rapid the Indians seemed friendly; indeed, at every camp where our people had any communication with the natives, the latter appeared friendly; this shows them to be treacherous. They dare not attack us openly in their present naked state, for want of firearms; they dread our guns. They have had war among themselves in the interior, and many have fled to the Columbia for safety and in readiness to escape across the river if pursued by their enemies, who, it seems, have firearms. These villains, we are told, are bent on taking revenge upon us for having furnished firearms to their enemies above: and this is one reason why they are collected along the river in such unusual numbers.

At 10 a. m. we sent Mr. Franchère<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Cartier with

<sup>7</sup> "Je reçus ordre de préparer incontinent un canot et des armes à feu. Le tout fut prêt dans la courte espace de deux heures, et je m'embarquai de suite

10 men in a light canoe to warn Mr. A. Stewart of the danger; Mr. J. Stewart having passed him, without seeing him, yesterday morning in a thick fog below Willamette river.

The gentlemen from above tell us that the snow at the Spokane house was more than three feet deep, which continued so until they came near Chanauegon [*sic*<sup>8</sup>] river, where it was two feet deep; much snow lay on the ground as far down as Shawpetin<sup>9</sup> river, where it diminished, and soon after that very little was seen. A canoe from above brought us four large sturgeon and a few smelt<sup>10</sup>—

avec un guide [Cartier] et six hommes. Nos instructions étaient de faire toute la diligence possible, pour tâcher de rejoindre MM. Stewart [*sic*] et Keith, et les convoyer ensuite jusqu'au haut du dernier portage; ou de redescendre avec les effets, si nous trouvions trop de résistance," Franchère, p. 155. Joseph Cartier's name has already come up, and continues in Henry to the end of this book; but I can make no identification: for many persons of this surname, see note <sup>22</sup>, p. 629.

<sup>8</sup> I preserve Henry's copyist's perversion of the name, thus contributing his mite to the treasury of information we possess concerning the possibilities of permutation in this case: for a list of a few (15) other forms, see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 974. I have yet to find any one author whose printers have confined him to a single spelling of the word, or any two authors who agree upon the name; *item*, any two maps; *item*, anything else in the way of literature, be it P. O. directory, railroad guide, or gazetteer, which is not wrecked on the name of this river. The latest G. L. O. map of Washington has "Okinakane R.," running in "Okanogan" county. I have no cherished convictions on the orthography of the word, but have begged my printers to set Okanagan—or something of that sort. The river itself is all right—one of the great branches of the Columbia, coming S. from over the U. S. border, through the county of the same name, nearly to 48° N., to join the main stream at Fort Okanagan, whose founding by D. Stuart we have witnessed; the river forms the W. border of the present large Colville Indian reservation. I may mention one of the geographical curiosities in this case. When Captain Clark was making his map of 1814, he ran Clark's Fork of the Columbia clear down the Columbia to the Okanagan, instead of stopping it at 49°, as he should have done; consequently the Okanagan appears on his map as the continuation of the Columbia itself. This error is historically interesting, but has no other significance.

<sup>9</sup> Present Snake r., or Lewis' fork of the Columbia: see L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 621, 622. The aboriginal name appears in a moderate crop of variants; in ethnography it is now pretty well fixed in the forms Shahaptian, Shahaptan, and Sahaptin. One unusual form I have found is Chohoptin.

<sup>10</sup> *Stolephorus mordax*, if actually a smelt; otherwise the olthen, uthlecan,

the first of these small fish we have seen this season. They generally appear in February, but the gentlemen who arrived to-day tell us the Indians now take them in abundance about the entrance of Willamette river. One of our cats produced four kittens of a fine breed, commonly called Spanish, striped black and yellow.

*Jan. 7th.* At 8 a. m. arrived the four canoes,<sup>11</sup> loaded with packs in a wretched condition, soaked with rain, the oilcloths being old and torn; but even with the best covering it is almost impossible to preserve packs in the rainy season. Summer is the only time when furs can be safely conveyed from the interior to this place. On board these canoes came as passengers five clerks<sup>12</sup> of the late P. F. Co.,

ulichan, eulachon, or candlefish, *Thaleichthys pacificus*: L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 895. Another name of these "smelts" was fathom-fish, given because they were strung on strings and sold by the fathom.

<sup>11</sup> These canoes were those of David Stuart and John Clarke, bringing packs from Fort Okanagan and elsewhere. Thus Franchère says, p. 153, à propos of the arrival of John Stuart and Donald McKenzie on the 6th inst., "qu'ils avaient laissé derrière MM. D. Stuart et Clarke, avec les canots chargés."

<sup>12</sup> The five clerks are readily identified, as follows:

1. Alexander Ross, Canadian, clerk P. F. Co., from New York Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811, on the Tonquin; left Astoria with D. Stuart July 23d, 1811; returned, left, etc.; entered N. W. Co. on the transfer in 1813; returned to Fort George as above; finally left it Apr. 4th, 1814, with the large overland party. Ross himself says, p. 263, "arrived safe at Fort George on the 7th of January, 1814," from Fort Okanagan, which he had left with John Stuart, Donald McKenzie, and others Dec. 20th, 1813. Ross wintered at Okanagan 1815-16; and Apr. 30th, 1816, when he had been in charge of that place for two years, he was relieved by R. Cox, and sent to Fort George as staff clerk. In the fall of 1816 he went to Kamloops. For this is no other than the Alexander Ross who is the author of the work already cited.

2. Russel (or Russell) Farnham of Massachusetts, clerk P. F. Co., came to Astoria on the Tonquin, as just said. He left Astoria Mar. 30th, 1812, with D. McGillis, a guide, and 8 men, to find a cache the original overland Astorians had made at Caldron Linn on Snake r. (below Andrew Henry's old post on Henry's fork of Snake r.); returned to Astoria May 11th, 1812; left June 29th, 30th, or "31st," 1812, under John Clarke; was at mouth of Snake r. July 31st; up Snake r. Aug. 3d-15th; at Spokane house soon, and sent with R. Cox, Oct. 17th, to oppose Finan McDonald, N. W. Co., among the Flat Heads; was left there with 6 men by Cox Dec. 18th; wintered; returned to Spokane house early in May, and left with all but Pillet for Astoria May 25th, 1813; arrived

Messrs. Ross, Farnham, McGillis, Pattet [*sic*], and Mathews. They met Messrs. A. Stuart and J. Keith yesterday morning at the Willamette, and warned them of the danger before them in passing the falls. The latter intended to make the best of their way on, keep a good lookout, and camp in places where the Indians could not surprise them. The sight of the gun-cases, we fear, may tempt the natives to be troublesome, and even desperate to get possession of

Astoria June 11th, 1813; left soon; returned to Fort George as above; finally left Apr. 2d, 1814, on brig Pedlar, for Sitka, Kamtschatka, etc., and went around the world by land and sea before he landed at New York from the West Indies.

3. Donald McGillis, who is M'Gilles in Irving, has been mentioned before, note <sup>17</sup>, p. 215, where I said he would turn up again. He was a Canadian, clerk P. F. Co., and one of the Tonquinian Astorians. He stayed at Astoria till Dec. 5th, 1811, when he left for the Willamette; returned; left again Mar. 30th, 1812, with R. Farnham, to hunt for the cache just said; returned; left Astoria with D. Stuart, June 29th, 30th, or "31st," 1812; returned to Fort George as above; and finally left it Apr. 4th, 1814, with the other overlanders. Cox found him settled on Ottawa r., below the Long Sault, in 1817.

4. "Pattet" of above text is Francis B. Pillet (often Pillette or Pillot), one of the original Tonquinian Astorians. He left Astoria with D. Stuart July 23d, 1811, for the interior; returned with D. McLennan and a freeman named Bruguère Oct. 5th, 1811; left Dec. 5th, 1811, with R. Stuart, for the Willamette; returned; left June 29th, 30th, or "31st," 1812, with John Clarke's party for the interior; at rapids of Columbia r. was accidentally shot in the leg July 5th; to Snake r. July 31st; up that river to Aug. 15th; Spokane house soon, and at once sent with 6 men to oppose Mr. Montour, N. W. Co., among the Kootenays. Fought a duel with him, pocket pistols, 6 paces, 2 hits, collar of coat and leg of trousers, "and the tailor speedily healed his wounds," Cox, p. 106: see my note <sup>18</sup>, p. 757. Returned to Spokane house early in May, 1813, and was left in charge with 4 men when the rest left for Astoria, May 25th; returned to Fort George as above; will be found at Oak Point on the Columbia in Feb., 1814, back to Fort George in March, and off Apr. 4th, 1814, with the other overlanders. He was settled at Lake of the Two Mountains, Ottawa r., in 1817. In 1854 Mr. Pillet was still living in Canada as one of the four original Astorians who survived at that date, the other three being Ramsay Crooks, Alfred Seton, and Gabriel Franchère.

5. William W. Matthews or Mathews, of New York, clerk P. F. Co., was also a Tonquinian Astorian; left Astoria Mar. 30th, 1812, with D. McKenzie for the Willamette; returned; left again June 29th, 30th, or "31st," 1812, with D. Stuart; returned to Fort George as above; engaged N. W. Co., Jan. 31st, 1814.

them, as they know only fire-arms can put them on a footing with their enemies; plunder seems to be their main object, not blood.

Comcomly came in with a long piece of bar iron, to get it made into arrow-points by our blacksmith; but as we find him a troublesome beggar, we must give him to understand that we are not bound to do so much work for him as heretofore. Trifling jobs we are ready to do for him, but not to work up whole bars of iron. He never brings us a fish, or anything else; he surely is a mean, niggardly fellow.<sup>13</sup>

The great smoke which rises from the three Chinook villages denotes the return of the people, as usual at this period; they will increase in numbers daily, as smelt-fishing is approaching fast; sturgeon-fishing follows, and then salmon-fishing, as spring draws near. The natives from the N. will also bend their course here. Comcomly traded two dressed otter-skins for a blanket and blue H. B. strouds. He took away a number of full and empty boxes, which he had deposited for safety when he moved from his village last summer. Some of these boxes are of Chinook manufacture, neatly made, and set round the sides and edges with sea shells, with which they also adorn their best canoes, placing them in two or more parallel rows. The boxes are of different dimensions, from  $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1 \times 1$  feet to a greater size, and are in a manner double for the purpose of shutting them, which is done by turning one over the other; they close tight, are proof against rain, and require no lock or

<sup>13</sup>In other words, King Comcomly was as good at a trade as some other people, N. W. Co. or P. F. Co. not excepted; and after he had sold his daughter to McDougall, he made the most of the situation that could be expected of any father-in-law who understood the tariff on Chinook brides. The bar-iron business seems to have been peculiarly ironical. Thus Irving, after describing the unctuous nuptials: "From that time forward, Comcomly was a daily visitor at the fort, and was admitted into the most intimate councils of his son-in-law. He took an interest in everything that was going forward, but was particularly frequent in his visits to the blacksmith's shop; tasking the labors of the artificer in iron for every kind of weapon and implement suited to the savage state, insomuch that the necessary business of the factory was often postponed to attend to his requisitions."

key. They contain fishing tackle, twine, and indeed any article of value the natives wish to preserve from the rain or other accidents is deposited in them. I saw in them a few copper coins of Russian money, about the size of a dollar; and a very heavy iron war-club;<sup>14</sup> this was carved in a rude manner, and was a dangerous weapon, as one blow would split a man's head.

*Jan. 8th.* Mr. A. Ross<sup>15</sup> was engaged to the N. W. Co. for three years at £75 Halifax cy. per annum, and a clerk's equipment. Arrangement was made for two canoes to proceed to Grand rapids to bring Mr. A. Stuart, if there; if not, to return, as it would be imprudent to risk any more people in that quarter, in our lame state of affairs. The gentlemen of the late P. F. Co. were given to understand that no proposal could be made to them until Mr. D. T. M. [meaning Donald McTavish] should arrive, or until the time should come for their departure for Canada, about April 1st.

*Sunday, Jan. 9th.* About 7 a. m. we were aroused by the news of two canoes coming from above; this alarmed us, as we imagined that something had happened to our party. Our fears proved true, for our people had been attacked at the rapids, all our property lost, Mr. A. Stuart badly wounded, and J. Bte. Sakanakee killed.<sup>16</sup> At this

<sup>14</sup> This is the weapon, made in many styles and sizes, but always formidable, which is commonly called poggamoggon, as in L. and C., pp. 560, 561, or pogamoggan, as the Century Dictionary has it; it is pautumaugan in Cox, p. 65, pocomagan in Masson. II. p. 332, powmagan in S. Fraser's Journal, etc. Our sling-shot represents the same class of weapon.

<sup>15</sup> Ross himself says, p. 276, date of April 3d, 1814, when W. P. Hunt, J. C. Halsey, A. Seton, B. Clapp, and R. Farnham embarked on the Pedlar, that "Mr. [Donald] M'Lennan, Ross Cox, and myself, entered the North-West service, and I proceeded to resume my former charge at Oakinacken." This discrepancy of date between Jan. 8th and Apr. 3d is explicable as the difference in time between engaging to enter and actually entering the service of the N. W. Co.; or as that, having once engaged, he afterward proceeded to the duties of his engagement.

<sup>16</sup> Date of return, Jan. 9th, agrees with Franchère, who says he got back at sunrise this day, and gives a long account of the attack in which A. Stuart was



information I hurried on my clothes and hastened out of the fort. Near the gate I met Mr. A. Stuart," supported by Mr. J. G. McTavish.<sup>19</sup> He looked almost dead. We

so badly wounded. Franchère does not have it that anybody on our side was killed, but his relation identifies the above "J. Bte. Sakanakee," who Henry says was killed. Thus, p. 158: "La retraite avait pourtant été si précipitée, qu'ils avaient laissé à terre un sauvage du Lac des Deux Montagnes, engagé à la Compagnie comme chasseur. Ce sauvage s'était caché derrière des rochers, voulant, à ce qu'il disait, tuer quelqu'un des voleurs, et n'était pas revenu lors du rembarquement. Mr. Keith le regrettait beaucoup, craignant à juste titre qu'il ne fut découvert, et massacré par les naturels." So this Nipissing Indian hunter had been left behind, and was supposed to have been killed; but he escaped, and reached Fort George later on, in a pitiable condition. See Jan. 12th, beyond; also, the account of the affair in Ross, pp. 265, 266.

<sup>17</sup> Alexander Stuart, often Stewart, as in Henry, Harmon, etc., was a partner of the N. W. Co. I first find him in June, 1806, en route from his post on the N. Saskatchewan to Kaministiquia, with James Hughes. He left Fort William in July, 1813, and came overland with our author, reaching Astoria Nov. 15th, 1813, and thus becoming the third one of the quartette of Astorian or Georgian Stuarts—David, John, Alexander, and Robert. We have just seen that he and J. Keith left Fort George Jan. 3d, in two canoes, with 15 men, and now he is brought back wounded in the affray Henry speaks of. He will remain at Fort George, invalided, till Apr. 4th, 1814, when he is among those who start overland. He is found at Kettle falls on the Columbia, May 2d, on his way to his old post on Lesser Slave L., to fetch his family to the Columbia. Having done so, he was at Spokane house in the fall of 1814, with R. Cox, A. McMillan and others; left Oct. 24th; arrived at Fort George Nov. 8th, left it Nov. 18th, reached Okanagan Dec. 12th, and left next day for Spokane, where he wintered 1814-15. He returned to Fort George Apr. 3d, 1815, left it Apr. 16th, reached Spokane May 12th, summered there, and left early in September, to take charge of the Lesser Slave Lake house. I find him there in the spring of 1817; he went in that summer, and was at Fort Alexander, au Bas de la Rivière, on July 22d, 1817.

<sup>18</sup> John George McTavish, partner N. W. Co., has appeared before in these annals, and will continue in evidence to the end of Henry's journal: see note <sup>20</sup>, p. 279, and add: He embarked from Fort William with Harmon, July 7th, 1808, and wintered 1808-09 at Fort Dunvegan; left May 11th, 1809, for Fort William. He went with John McDonald of Garth into the Rocky mts., and wintered 1809-10, or 1810-11, or both. He was at Fort William in 1812; started overland, and reached Astoria April 11th, 1813, with Joseph Larocque and 19 voyageurs, manning two canoes. He left soon for some place in the interior, but returned unexpectedly late in September or early in October, perhaps Oct. 7th, 1813, with Donald McKenzie and Angus Bethune; had left

took him in and examined his wounds, which had not been attended to since the evening of the 7th, when the affair happened. An arrow, apparently with a very small barb, had deeply pierced the flesh of the left shoulder in a slanting direction. Another had entered his left side. The latter wound did not appear deep, but it gave him more pain than the other, and seriously affected his breathing. Pain extended from this wound across the stomach, giving us reason to suppose either that there was some hard substance in the wound, or that a rib was fractured. The injury to the shoulder was only a flesh wound.

A consultation was held regarding what should be done in this affair. We decided to go to the rapids with as many men and gentlemen as could be spared from this place, and get back our property from the Indians—particularly the guns. Pacific measures were to be taken, and no blood spilt, unless the natives should be the aggressors. The gentlemen of the P. F. Co., H. B. Co., and all the clerks were also invited to give their opinions. They all heartily agreed to accompany us on any expedition, and act in whatever manner we thought proper—war or peace

behind John Stuart and Mr. McMillan with eight canotées of furs. He finally left Fort George Apr. 4th, 1814, with the large overland party. He appears to have returned to Fort George in 1814 or 1815, unless I am mistaken in supposing him to be the Mr. McTavish who was found by Cox at Fort George, in Apr., 1816, when he had been on a N. W. Co.'s schooner to San Francisco and Monterey. He left Fort George Apr. 16th, 1816, and was at Okanagan Apr. 30th, en route for Fort William. We find J. G. McTavish on the Kaministiquia route from Fort William to the interior, with J. Thompson, in Aug., 1817. In 1818 he was to go to Athabasca in place of John McKenzie. In 1819 he was captured with Benjamin Frobisher, John Duncan Campbell, Angus Shaw, and others, imprisoned for some months, and sent with Shaw to England for trial.

This is the McTavish who mainly represented the N. W. Co. in the transaction by which Duncan McDougall turned over the P. F. Co. to the N. W. Co. He is one of the four McTavishes who figure in the annals of Astoria or Fort George. The quartette is made up beyond, on the arrival of the Isaac Todd, which brings Donald McTavish, partner N. W. Co., and J. C. McTavish and A. McTavish, clerks N. W. Co.: for all of whom see dates of Apr. 23d and 24th, 1814, when their names come up in the text.

was the same to them ; they were ready to the last man. The chief of the Oak Point Indians and some of his followers being here, we held a parley with them on the behavior of the natives above. They agreed with us, and said it was right to go up and kill them all ; but we told them that was not our object, as we did not come here to kill natives, but to show them charity. It was our property we wanted ; if it should be refused us, we should take forcible measures to secure it. We sent a canoe of Indians across the river to invite Comcomly to come over, that we might get Chinook opinion on the subject, and also sent Mr. Franchère with an Indian for the Clatsops.

A list of all persons present was made and the roll of those who intended to go above was drawn up ; the total, including gentlemen, amounted to [blank] men to go, and [blank] to remain in charge of the fort. Muskets were given out to be put in order, and replaced in the storehouse until our departure. A canoe loaded with men came over from the Chinook village and informed us that Comcomly was visiting the Clatsops. Mr. Franchère soon returned with the Clatsop chief. This old man [Coalpo] is an inveterate enemy of the natives at the rapids ; he is often at war with them, and it is not many years since he burnt their village. He was, of course, for war, and would certainly join us. Coalpo's wife, a woman of high birth and of some consequence here and above, has several relations up river, even as far as the rapids ; she was sent for and consulted. She was candid in giving her opinion, and willing to accompany us. She gave us much useful information regarding their customs in adjusting any misunderstanding between hostile nations, such as giving a slave, or making some other payment for anyone killed. They seem to have some principles of honor in settling their differences. They do not appear to be bloodthirsty ; they steal as much as they can, but do not wish to kill if booty can be got without murder.

All were busy until a late hour, when everything was ready for our departure.

*Jan. 10th.* At noon we embarked in four birch-rind and two large wooden canoes—51 men and 11 passengers.<sup>19</sup> Coalpo and his wife went with us in their own canoe, paddled by eight of his slaves. She was to act as a mediator. The swell was high for us to double Tongue point—as much as our canoes could stand. I was surprised to see what a surf these Clatsop sea canoes could ride without taking water, although sunk nearly to the gunnels. At 5 p. m. we put ashore for the night at the Green Encampment.

*Jan 11th.* At 6 a. m. we embarked. Soon after leaving camp we met Mr. Wm. Wallace and six men in a wooden canoe, coming down with the ebb tide and wind aft from Willamette river, loaded with three biches and seven chev-reuils for Fort George. We embarked nearly all the meat and four of his men, and continued on our voyage, while he went below. At 9.30 a. m. we put ashore to breakfast below Oak point,<sup>20</sup> opposite the village of Shoshones,<sup>21</sup> on the S. side, at the entrance of a small river. These people dwell generally in the interior, and subsist upon flesh and roots, which they barter with the natives at Oak point for salmon, etc. Our people made a hearty meal on the fresh meat, which, although very lean, was a treat to those who had had nothing better than rancid dried salmon.

At eleven we embarked and passed the village<sup>22</sup> at Oak

<sup>19</sup> Agreeing exactly with Franchère, p. 159: "Ayant fait préparer six canots, nous nous rembarquâmes le 10 [Janvier], au nombre de 62 hommes, armés de pied en cap." Cox agrees in all particulars, p. 134. Ross gives wrong date of Jan. 20th, perhaps by misprint, and makes up a party of "85 picked men and two Chinook interpreters, under six chosen leaders," all commanded by J. G. McTavish, p. 267. His story runs to p. 271; the hostile Indians he calls Cathleyachéyachs there, and Cathleyachéyachs on p. 111.

<sup>20</sup> A well-known place on the Columbia: see Fanny's bottom, Oak point, Nequally and Negisticook creeks, etc., L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 909. More about the original settlement at this point, beyond.

<sup>21</sup> So copy, but no tribe of Shoshones or Snake Indians is known to have lived at the point said. The word is probably to be taken here as a generic epithet, not a specific name. Thus, Ross speaks of various Indians on the Columbia who were styled by other Indians "sho-sho-nez, or inlanders," as a term of reproach, and does not capitalize the word, p. 117.

<sup>22</sup> "The great Whill Whetz village, situated on Oak Point," Ross, p. 104.

point, which stands on the S. side of the river, on an extensive stretch of low land [Fanny's bottom], several miles long and about six miles broad, which in summer is overflowed. The banks are lined with oak, liard, alder, and other wood common to these parts. The dwellings here consist of one long range of houses, parallel with the river. The natives seated on the bank gazed at us as we passed; they appeared numerous, with an uncommon number of children. We did not stop, although invited to do so by the old chief. About two miles above there is a delightful spot of low meadow, thinly shaded by large spreading oaks, in the rear of which lies an extensive marshy meadow. This spot would be an eligible situation for an establishment; far enough from the sea to be safe from ships of war, central for trade and the fisheries, and the natives good, quiet people. Unfortunately, all the low lands are overflowed in summer, and the adjoining high lands are steep and rugged. Captain Whinship<sup>23</sup> of the Albatross came here to build in 1810; but having cut wood and prepared timber, the water rose, obliging him to abandon the place, drift down river, and put to sea.

Having passed the Oaks a few miles, we observed a little snow down to the water's edge; the adjacent high lands were apparently covered, and mountains appeared white in every direction. Mt. St. Helena presented a conspicuous and romantic prospect—an immense cone enveloped in snow, rising from a level country, the base very broad,

<sup>23</sup> So copy, apparently in error, unless the Albatross changed captains in 1810. This ship returned to Astoria Aug. 4th, 1813, bringing Wilson Price Hunt: "le navire se nommait l'Albatross, et était commandé par le Capitaine Smith," Franchère, p. 131. Again, p. 133: "Le Capitaine Smith nous informa qu'en 1810, un an avant la formation du notre Etablissement, il était entré, avec le même navire, dans la rivière, et l'avait remonté jusqu'à la Pointe aux Chênes; qu'il avait tenté de former là un établissement, mais que l'emplacement qu'il avait choisi pour bâtir, et où il avait même commencé un jardin, ayant été submergé par les hautes eaux du mois de Juillet, il avait été contraint de renoncer à son entreprise, et de se rembarquer. Nous avons vu en effet, à la Pointe aux Chênes, quelques vestiges de ce projet d'établissement."

tapering up to a point without any rugged irregularity. Mt. Rainier [*read* Mt. Tacoma] is seen at the same time, also covered with snow, but does not form so regular and conspicuous an object as the other, being more rugged, uneven, and flat on top. We passed Mt. Coffin,<sup>24</sup> on the N. side, and then two villages, also on the N., at the entrance of two small rivers about half a mile apart. We saw many natives fishing for smelt with a scoop net along the shores; they appeared surprised at our force, and inquired our business above; but we did not satisfy them on the subject.

We soon came to a large village at the entrance of a small [Kalama] river on the N. A long range of houses runs parallel with the river, and the natives appear numerous. Opposite this village, on the S., is a point of rocks on which their dead are deposited in wooden canoes; and immediately above this point is a rocky island, on the top of which are also dead bodies in canoes—one apparently that of a great chief, from the manner in which he is arranged. The island is called Coffin Rock.<sup>25</sup> At 6 p. m. one of our bark canoes ran on a rock and stove a large hole in her bottom; she put ashore to repair, while the rest pushed on for Willamette river. At seven, it being very dark, another canoe fouled a stump, broke, and also put ashore to repair; the rest of the brigade got dispersed in the dark, some on the N. and others on the S. side of the river. At nine the only two canoes which were then together landed at the entrance of Willamette river, and we sent Mr. Franchère in

<sup>24</sup> For Mt. Coffin, see L. and C., pp. 698, 699, 910, and compare the following in Franchère, p. 80: "C'est sur ce rocher que la plupart des naturels des villages circonvoisins viennent déposer leurs morts; et c'est le même auquel le Lieutenant Broughton donna le nom de *Mount Coffin*, Mont des Tombeaux, ou des Cercueils." Henry presently passes Cowlitz r., on the N., the Coweliskee of Lewis and Clark, the Kowilitzk of Franchère.

<sup>25</sup> Present name; not to be confounded with Mt. Coffin just said: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 697. Ross distinguishes the two places, but confounds their names, having "Coffin Rock, or Mt. Coffin," for the one on the N., p. 105. A story reaches me from a distinguished army officer, of one or both of these aboriginal sepultures having of late years been turned into strawberry gardens, producing peculiarly large luscious fruit.

one of them, with six men, up this river for the chief of the Willamette tribe, called Carsino or Kiersinno,<sup>26</sup> to accompany us up to the rapids. It was difficult to light a fire, wood being scarce and none dry. In an hour one of our canoes joined us, and in another hour Mr. Franchère returned with the chief. We held a long conference with this man, who appeared interested in our business, though he gave us to understand that the very village on the N. side of the rapids, where the affair took place, contained relatives of his. This circumstance alone shows us the necessity of conciliatory measures, in our proceedings above, to avoid incurring the ill will of the Willamette natives. At midnight Mr. Franchère went down the river in Casino's canoe, manned by six of his slaves, in search of our canoes, and to order them up here, we being anxious to proceed, and Casino desiring to speak with his sister-in-law, Coalpo's wife.

*Jan. 12th.* At 4 a. m. Mr. F. returned with the canoes. One of them had been injured on her way up, and required repair, so that it was five o'clock before we got off. Casino embarked with us, we having given him two blankets, and sent a letter by his slaves up Willamette river, advising William Henry of the unfortunate affair at the rapids, that he might be on his guard.

At one of the villages, this morning, we were told that the old Nepisangue [J. B. Saganakee] had been seen at Quicksand river,<sup>27</sup> on his way down, wounded in the side by an arrow, but still strong enough to make his escape. We wished to find the poor old man, and for that purpose kept within the islands on the S. One of our canoes fouled a stump, and tore two bits of bark from her bottom, about

<sup>26</sup> "Le chef, qui était un jeune homme, se nommait *Klasseno*," Franchère, p. 83. This name is commonly found in English print as Cassino or Casino; Ross has Kiasno, p. 106, and Keyassno, p. 236; it is Kyeassino in Cox, p. 237. Henry's copyist presents about eight different spellings, which I will reduce to Casino hereafter.

<sup>27</sup> Of Lewis and Clark: see ed. 1893, pp. 690, 697, 916, 918, 919. Present Sandy r. For the Nipissing hunter, see note <sup>16</sup>, p. 791.

the size of my hand ; still, by bailing, she was kept afloat for an hour, when we put ashore to repair her, at the remains of an old village on the S., below Seal Rock. We saw two land otters and a number of seals and wild fowl. Here we breakfasted, and at 3 p. m. we put off, passed Seal Rock, and also the small village of Catlipoks on the N., a short distance up a small river,<sup>28</sup> which we did not observe on our way down in November last. We soon passed Quicksand river, on the S., and at 5.30 p. m. put ashore for the night on Point Vancouver, about three miles above Quicksand river.

*Jan. 13th.* At 3 a. m. a violent storm ; the wind so strong as to lay our tents level with the ground, and rain pouring in torrents. But at eleven we set off with a strong head wind, and pushed on until 2 p. m., when we landed on the N. side to put our arms in order and prepare for our arrival at the villages. These are at no great distance from us—the first one about six miles. The high lands we here enter are entirely covered with snow ; from the shore to their rocky summits all is white.

We had another conference with Casino, who knows more on the subject than we imagined. He informed us that the principal instigator of that affair was a chief called Canook, of the Cathlathlaly<sup>29</sup> village on the N. This fellow,

<sup>28</sup> Seal r. of L. and C.: see ed. 1893, pp. 690, 918 ; found in Ross as Washough-ally r., p. 106 ; present Washougal r.

<sup>29</sup> It is not easy to identify the three tribes of the four villages Henry now visits at and near the Cascades of the Columbia. The names he uses are found nowhere else that I can discover. Either his Cathlayackty or his Thlamoooyackoak is the Cathleyacheyach of Ross, but which is which is uncertain ; I am inclined to think the *m* sound intrusive in Thlamoooyackoak, and if for this we read Thlaoooyackoack, the identity with Ross' Cathleyacheyach becomes apparent. Lewis and Clark, going down the Cascades in 1805, name none of the tribes there ; coming up in 1806 they have much to say of Wahcllellahs and Clahcllellahs, as two tribes of their Shahala nation (two other tribes of the same being called Yehuhs and Neerchookioons). In 1806 the Wahcllellahs were found on the N. side in the vicinity of Beacon Rock, and above these were the Clahcllellahs in six houses on the N. side, opposite the lower point of Brant isl. For these Indians, see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 680 *seq.*, p. 940 *seq.*, and



it seems, on seeing our party of two canoes only passing up river, formed a plan to pillage them. He assembled the warriors of the two villages below and made a long speech, telling them that we never traded anything of consequence with them, but took our property further up, to their enemies, the Nez Percés, and that here was a favorable opportunity to better themselves. They agreed, and all went armed up to the Cathlayackty village, where the harangue was repeated. That village also joined the party and crossed over to the Cathlayackty village on the S., where a similar speech was made, and that village also joined. Then they all came down to meet our people at the portage on the S., with Canook as their war chief. Another village, of the Thlamooyackoack tribe, situated a few miles above the portage on the N., was invited down to join, which they soon did. Early in the affair a chief of the latter village and one belonging to the Cathlayackty village were both killed; these two were all that fell.

This afternoon we finished our stock of dried salmon and meat, being thus left without one mouthful for 65 of us and 4 Indians,<sup>30</sup> on the eve of encountering enemies.

*Jan. 14th.* A gale all night. At 6 a. m. we embarked. Our progress was slow; twice my canoe was driven back to our fires, and then crossed the river to the S. side before we could bring her up. We put out the line and towed her along the beach; the other canoes followed our example, by which means we got on slowly. At ten we came nearly abreast of the Soto<sup>31</sup> village, where we saw the natives running into a

p. 1248. Aside from any question of the names of these tribes, we can recognize all the places Henry speaks of about the Cascades, and identify them with perfect precision.

<sup>30</sup> If the expedition started 62 whites + Coalpo and his wife = 64 persons, not counting 8 slaves, and took up 4 whites + Casino, its composition would now be 66 whites + 3 Indians = 69 persons—the total which Henry gives; the factors in the equation different by one person.

<sup>31</sup> Apparently the Shoto of L. and C., pp. 916, 917, 931, 932, 1248, a Chinoookan tribe of which little is known; but if the same, Henry's Sotos were much higher up river than any of the Shotos of L. and C., who were found "back of a pond nearly opposite the entrance of the Multnomah," p. 1248.

low point of wood at the upper end of their village. They seemed to be in great hurry and confusion, and we soon perceived they all wore large white war garments. Directly opposite the village we crossed over to a stony beach about 150 yards from the woods, in which some natives were posted behind trees in a posture of defense, armed with bows and arrows, clubs, and axes—bows bent and arrows across them, ready to let fly; all was still as death. We did not land, but desired Casino to assure them of our pacific disposition. After some time a chief came to the edge of the woods and made a long speech with many gestures, as if violently agitated. Finding that none of them could be induced to leave the woods, we put Casino and Coalpo's wife ashore to go up to the village to demand the guns and kettles. The natives then retired from the woods to the village, where a long parley was held. An old woman was the first person who ventured down to the canoes; but a man soon followed her example. We proposed to trade with them for dogs, to which they readily agreed. For this purpose we dropped down to a sandy beach near the village, and some of us went ashore. We soon secured 16 dogs, and then crossed over to the S., where we made a fire, as by this time we were benumbed with cold. While here we saw two horsemen set off at full speed for the village above, as we presumed, to carry the news of our arrival. Having warmed ourselves we returned to the village, where they delivered to us nine loaded guns; this was all the property we could recover here. They assured us all the rest was in the hands of the natives above. We then assembled them on the beach and presented the pipe, hoping to allay all suspicion by this pacific measure, that we might find the upper villages off their guard and be thus enabled to seize this famous Canook and keep him prisoner until all the property should be returned. For the present we demanded only guns and kettles, without mentioning other goods—the guns being our principal object.

At 1 p. m. we continued our voyage, having counted 30

men bearing arms at this village, which consists of seven houses with the ends toward the river. We soon came in sight of the second village, which is that of the Cathlathlaly tribe, and could see the natives hurrying to the woods with their baggages, while others in their war garments posted themselves behind trees and among rocks. We loaded our guns and put everything in order to pass up the rapids along Strawberry island.<sup>32</sup> On coming abreast of the village we could see the natives stationed on the hill behind trees and rocks, and thence as far up river as we could see along the portage, all armed for defense; but scarcely a soul was seen moving in the village itself, where all was quiet. While we lay here a canoe with six men came down river singing their war song, and landed at the village. An old woman was standing on the bank, singing the same song and dancing. We were given to understand by Coalpo's wife that she was related to one of the Indians that our people had shot at the portage [present Cascade Locks]. Such a menace was more than we expected, considering our pacific measures at the first village; and we feared that, on our pushing over to the village, they would shoot at us in desperation, and thus oblige us to fire upon them—a thing we ardently wished to avoid. However, we could not but go over, which we did after Casino had made a short speech to them. None moved from their lurking places while we were crossing to the N. shore. Casino went up to the village, and soon the natives seemed to leave the woods and

<sup>32</sup> So named by Lewis and Clark, who camped at the head of Strawberry isl., Nov. 1st, 1805: see ed. 1893, pp. 685, 688, 938, 941. If the reader will look at Clark's small map of the "Great Shoot or Rapid," either in the orig. ed. or in mine, he will see Strawberry isl. clearly indicated, just below Brant isl., and the exact positions of several villages marked along the N. bank, up to and somewhat beyond the "Great Shoot" itself. Franchère's name of Strawberry isl. is *Ile aux Fraises*, p. 86. About the head of Strawberry isl. is the position of present town of Cascade, Skamania County, Wash. Cascade Locks is on the Oregon side, at the chute. Thus we see that the affairs now occupying us went on at the Cascades of the Columbia—not to be confounded with the Dalles, Celilo falls, etc., which are some 50 m. higher up river: for the Cascades, see particularly L. and C., pp. 940, 941.

assemble at Canook's house, where a long parley was held, with the result that Casino came back to us with four loaded guns, and 30 armed men accompanied him. None of us left our canoes, but we desired them to be seated on the beach. They did so, but their looks were suspicious, for they had their bows bent and arrows ready to let fly in a twinkling. A pipe was filled for them, and we pretended friendship. Canook smoked and then came to the water's edge, but with the eye of a hawk, watching our every movement. After a long parley we crossed the river to Strawberry island and camped on an open, level spot where formerly a village stood, taking our canoes and baggages to the top of the bank, although it was a rugged, rocky shore. Here we prepared for defense in case of attack. Casino, whom we had left at the village to collect property, soon brought two more guns. Two men and some women, relatives of Casino, came over to see us. Our orders for guard duty were 4 watches of 3 hours each, 14 men and 2 gentlemen, from 7 p. m. to 7 a. m.

*Jan. 15th.* My watch was from 4 to 7 a. m. At eight we loaded our canoes and went over to the village, where we traded nine dogs and one horse for food; the dogs were knocked on the head with an ax, and the horse was shot through the head. Here we lay three hours, exposed to a heavy rain, before we set off with our stock of provisions. At the décharge one of our canoes narrowly escaped being lost; but all at last got up safe, after much loss of time and some chances to be drowned. We then crossed and went to the portage on the S., on approaching which we saw some armed natives in the skirts of the woods; they withdrew on our landing. This portage is 600 paces long at present low water, over an ugly point of huge rocks, to the place where the scuffle took place. We got everything over, excepting one of our birch canoes that had become so crazy she would not carry without breaking amidships. Casino asked permission to go up to the village of his relatives to demand the property, which we granted. At the

E. end of the portage we found the remains of our basket of kettles, hoops, staves, etc., and a quantity of wet powder was strewn on the sand. On the spot where the Indian fell whom Mr. McKay shot some blood was still to be seen. I also traced over the portage many spots of blood, which I presume fell from Mr. Stewart's wounds on his retreat.

At 2 p. m. we went up to the Cathlayackty village by land, the men en canot; there we found on the beach Casino, with seven natives, who delivered to us one gun, a few kettles, and two cotton shirts. This village consisted of only three houses. Nothing more being expected by fair means, we crossed the river to the other Cathlayackty village, consisting of eight houses.<sup>33</sup> The natives were all indoors, except an old woman who was singing, crying, and dancing on the bank; she was a near relation to the other fellow that had been killed. We landed Casino, who parleyed with them while we went in search of a camp on an island about half a mile above the village, telling him to bring the kettles and guns to us there. Having landed on this island and set camp for the night, we fired all our guns and the brass swivel, which we then reloaded. Seeing four loaded canoes cross to the village on the S., we began to suspect Casino's fidelity, fearing that he was acting a double part in sending some of his friends to the village, which he supposed we would not molest on his account; but it would have been imprudent to show any suspicions of him. He soon came to us with 16 natives, who brought five guns, some kettles, balls, and a few trifling articles, besides some dried salmon. Guard was mounted as usual; my watch was from 7 to 10 p. m.

*Sunday, Jan. 16th.* I sent a canoe with eight men to the

<sup>33</sup> "A small village of eight large houses in a bend on the right," L. and C., p. 680: see Clark's small map last cited, place lettered "Village of 8 houses," and precisely that number displayed, on the N. bank, just above "The Great Shoot." L. and C. camped Oct. 30th and 31st, 1805, on the largest one of the several islands at the head of the chute, which Henry portaged on the S. at position of present Cascade Locks, Ore., before crossing the river from S. to N.

village to trade dogs; they returned with nine. Having breakfasted at noon, we embarked and went down to the Cathlayackty village on the N. All was quiet excepting the old woman, who was still singing her doleful ditties, lamenting the death of her relation. The few men stirring were armed. This filthy village is well situated for defense, on rising ground with a pond behind and on one side. We demanded horses to trade, which they sent for; and Canook arrived on horseback with seven others from below. Several armed men on foot appeared from behind the houses; but they kept at a distance, forming a line along one of the largest houses, with Canook at their head. The horses being thus brought in, we all embarked, excepting those who were to trade and butcher the horses. I counted only 20 armed men; but when the first horse we bought was shot, the report of the gun brought to view 50 armed men, who deployed along the house in such a manner that our guns could have done little injury, had we been inclined to fire. Our intention was to seize Canook, but he kept in the crowd and could not be prevailed upon to approach, though he and all the others were invited to come and smoke.

Having bought, butchered, and shipped three horses, we pushed over to the Cathlayackty village on the S., which is situated in the woods, at some distance from the river. The chief, whose house we entered, was a portly old man, who looked more respectable than any other I had seen on the Columbia. He was very civil to us, and spread down near the fire a clean white biche-skin for us to sit upon. The houses appeared in a state of confusion, everything having been removed but a few old wattap cooking utensils.<sup>34</sup> These houses are sunk about three feet under ground; the entrance is at one end by a narrow oval door,

<sup>34</sup> Vessels woven water-tight of strips of bark resembling the fibrous roots with which Henry was so familiar, as lacing for canoes, that he naturally used the word wattap in a rather unusual sense. The Indians used these vessels for cooking by filling them with water, which was then raised to the boiling point with stones previously heated in the fire.

with a knotty log on the inside for a ladder. Next the door and facing it is a plank partition, behind which is the fireplace, about 10 feet square, sunk two feet below the ground floor of the house. At the other end is another partition of planks, behind which a range of beds, raised three feet from the ground, occupies the furthest end of the house and runs round on both sides to opposite the partition near the door. The front planks of the beds are carved and painted in various styles. At the end of each range are some broad upright planks, on which figures are rudely carved, somewhat resembling fluted pillars. At the foot of the chief's bed are planted in the ground at equal distances four figures of human heads, about two feet high, adorned with a kind of crown, and rudely carved and painted. Beside these figures are erected in the ground two large, flat, painted stones. On the side of each partition, facing the fireplace, are carved and painted on the planks uncouth figures of eagles, tortoises, and other animals, some of them four feet long. The colors used are white, red, black, and green; the sculpture, in some instances, is not bad.

We talked with the chief for some time, but to no purpose; no property was produced, and he appeared uneasy in our presence. We then went down to the portage, where we camped for the night on the spot where the scuffle had happened. Shortly afterward Casino brought us a few more kettles which, he said, were all he could get. He asked to be allowed to sleep at the village, under a pretense of getting more property. Strict watch was kept as usual; mine was from 10 p. m. to 1 a. m.

This evening we received information from Coalpo's wife respecting Casino's duplicity. He even tried to bribe her at the last village, this afternoon, by offering her two fathoms of red strouds and other things, but she rejected the offer and upbraided him for his double dealing. Had we known as much on landing at this portage yesterday as we do now, we probably would have recovered every article

there was in both villages ; but we had placed confidence in Casino, whose good behavior at the first village below threw us entirely off our guard.

This afternoon our men regaled themselves on the offals of the horses. Puddings were made of the blood and fat. The guts were boiled or roasted, and the marrowbones cracked—in short, nothing was lost, and had I not seen the horsehides I could have imagined we were just in from a buffalo hunt.

*Jan. 17th.* At 7 a. m. we began to carry over the portage. A few natives came to us, but were shy and cautious, as they had no arms. We bought two horses and one dog, which we killed. The shots caused the Indians to retire to the rocks. We then embarked, and at 11 a. m. came down to the village, where we put Casino ashore and crossed over to our former camp on Strawberry island. At noon Casino came over in a canoe, accompanied by a chief, a boy, and a woman. The former was armed with a bow and a quiver full of arrows, and had his war jacket on. He came to our tent, and we gave him tobacco to smoke with Casino. We determined to take him, having given up hope of getting hold of Canook. Three men, Deslard, O'Connor, and Bell,<sup>35</sup> were ordered to seize him. They did so ; his bow and quiver were taken, and his arms and legs bound. He appeared surprised, but not terrified, and said not a word. Casino, who was sitting near him, started up instantly, but we desired him to explain to the prisoner our intention of keeping him until our property was returned ; that not only the guns and kettles were wanted, but every article they had taken from us ; that we had heretofore been trifling, but were now in earnest, must have our goods, and were ready to fight if necessary. The boy and woman were told the same, and then allowed to go over to the village to communicate our intentions to the natives, while Casino made a long speech to them from our

<sup>35</sup> Pierre Deslard (qu : Delord?) and Patrick O'Connor are both listed beyond, Apr. 4th, and George Bell is the cooper of note <sup>30</sup>, p. 766.



camp. A guard of four Sandwich Islanders was placed over the prisoner, with muskets and fixed bayonets. At the village there was great bawling and hurrying about. We fired the swivel to show them we had such a thing, and at the report the Indians retired into their houses, which were situated on a low spot behind a rising bank, so that only the tops appeared from our camp. We paraded all our people on the field facing the village, fired a round of musketry, and marched and countermarched; Mr. Franchère acting as drill sergeant. We then called out to the Indians that we were ready for peace or war, as they thought fit. Horsemen were dispatched above and below to the several villages, and a large canoe was sent down river with six persons. Two wives of the prisoner soon brought us three guns and 13 kettles, and then all was quiet. Later on, 12 armed men arrived from below, and two canoes also with armed men. The women again came over, with nine guns and a few articles of bale goods. During a long conference between them and the prisoner, both parties appeared much affected, sobbing and crying. He desired them to collect the property quickly, and we told them we would remain two nights to give them time, when, if the goods were not returned, we would take him to the sea with us. Double guard was set this night—three watches of 22 men each. We fired the swivel and sent up two sky-rockets, which must have alarmed natives, who had never seen or heard of anything of the kind.

*Jan. 18th.* I kept no watch last night, but was on guard all day with Messrs. D. Stuart and Franchère and 12 Sandwich Islanders. The same two women, the only persons who would trust themselves among us, brought over a few more bale goods; several harangues were made by the prisoner and Casino, to expedite our business, but the natives answered that all the property in their possession had been given up, and what was deficient must be in the villages above. Messengers were accordingly sent on horseback. We put all hands on an allowance of one meal a

day, as our stock of horseflesh was getting short, and we had no hopes of a further supply from the natives.

*Jan. 19th.* There being no hope of recovering anything more, we prepared to depart. Before embarking we held a sham council on the beach, during which the women came again to ask us to remain one day longer, which we agreed to do. We now determined to send Casino to the village of his relations, to get back what he could from them. We had little hopes of him, as he had deceived us; still, we thought he might do some good, as it was his own wish to go. We promised him that if he brought us the total we would reward him with a bale of goods. This, we hoped, would be a more tempting bribe than anything the natives could offer. We promised the same reward to Coalpo's wife. Having sent Casino off with the women, we embarked the prisoner and drifted to the lower end of Strawberry island, where we camped, to await the results. Some extraordinarily large vultures [*Pseudogryphus californianus*] were hovering over camp. I found on the beach a piece of petrified wood, which bore the marks of having been cut by a beaver in its primitive state. There is much petrified wood along this part of the river.

*Jan. 20th.* We remained all day, during which the women and Casino brought us a few articles; but our hopes of recovering much more are ended. Three seals were shot, but we got only one; the others instantly sank. This seal was opened and smoked all night, being intended for breakfast to-morrow. I had the curiosity to examine the quiver of arrows belonging to the prisoner. It was made of a black bear cub, and held 70 loose arrows, with a parcel of 10 more arrows carefully tied up with cedar bark. These last were examined minutely, and found to be poisoned. Small strips of rattlesnake skin were stuck on the barbs by means of some glutinous substance, which Casino told us was also poison. The arrows were neatly made of cedar, tipped with hard wood or bone for about five inches, sharply barbed with iron, and painted green, red, brown,

and yellow. Some of the barbs are so loosely fixed in their sockets as to be left in the flesh they penetrate when the shaft is pulled out. The bows are made of a coarse-grained wood, well polished and overlaid with sinews.

*Jan. 21st.* The women came over with a few trifles, and told us they could get nothing more; they had even sold a slave to Canook for beads. However, we sent Casino with Mr. Franchère and a party of armed men to harangue the village once more, while we breakfasted on lean horseflesh and fat seal, after which not a mouthful of anything remained for 70 persons, and there was no hope of a supply from the natives. Mr. Franchère returned with their answer, which was that we must be a bad lot, to want all our property back after killing two chiefs, and they would give no more. Canook encouraged his people by telling them we were ———, whom their arrows could kill. This closed the business.<sup>36</sup> We, therefore, dropped down to the Soto village with the prisoner, accompanied by a canoe of his own, in which were his two wives and some other relations. Nobody was stirring; smoke came from only two houses, the others being abandoned and barricaded with logs. We landed Casino and Coalpo's wife, who went up to the houses, and soon saw armed men coming from the woods,

<sup>36</sup> With insult and derision on the part of the river pirates. The fiasco is inexplicable; one would think that with such an outfit as started on the warpath from Fort George the river could have been swept clear of its native freebooters and most of the looted property recovered, had the party been properly officered and handled. They seem to have been a mob, with plenty of horse-play, who got rattled and went home sore-headed and empty-stomached, after all their sound and fury. Ross guys them<sup>m</sup> about it, p. 271: "This warlike expedition was turned into ridicule by the Cath-le-yach-é-yachs, and had a very bad effect on the Indians generally; but the best of it was, on their way back, some turned off towards the Wallamitte to hide their disgrace, others remained for some days at the Cowlitz, and M'Tavish himself reached Fort George in the night; and so ended this inglorious expedition, which promised so much and did so little." They even got a tongue-lashing from Mrs. Coalpo; and to be reviled by a squaw for cowardice is *scandalum magnatum*. The fiasco is inexplicable, I repeat; the Northmen were no cowards, and none knew better than they did how to deal with Indians in peace or war.

where they had been concealed. We attempted to entice some of them down to us, but in vain. Provisions we could get none. Having made a harangue to the prisoner, which was loudly repeated by Casino to the natives on the beach, we gave him two blankets and a few other articles, including a N. W. Co. flag, and then turned him loose, to the joy of his family, who had scarcely expected such lenity. We pushed off, not less pleased to be on our way home than the natives must have been to get rid of such troublesome visitors. We put ashore at our camp of the 13th, to search for two pairs of handcuffs and my umbrella, which had been forgotten there; but neither could be found, as some natives had lately passed. At 5 p. m. we camped at the entrance of a little [Washougal] river on the N., near the Seal rocks. Mr. Franchère went in a canoe with Casino and eight men to the village to buy dogs; he returned with 11 and a few rancid dried salmon, which made a light supper.

*Jan. 22d.* At 6.30 a. m. we embarked, and came down to the upper mouth of Willamette river, where I parted from the other five canoes. They went on to Fort George [where they arrived on the 22d], while I, with Mr. Mathews and eight men, started up the Willamette. The current was slack, owing to low water; the country low, and much broken by ponds and islands. Beyond the junction of the upper and lower channels<sup>37</sup> we passed some pleasant grassy islands, shaded by large, spreading oaks, but, unfortunately, subject to overflow in summer. At four we ran our canoe on a rock and tore a piece out of her bottom, which delayed us an hour for repairs. The channel then contracted, being bound in by high rocks, and we had trouble in ascending some strong rapids. It was dark before we saw the village on the S., near a small but rapid river on our left, called the

<sup>37</sup> That is, the point where the upper end of Willamette slough connects with the main channel of the river. Henry is going up the Willamette or Multnomah, to visit his cousin William, and presently passes St. John, Portland, and other well-known places in Oregon.

Clukemus,<sup>38</sup> from a numerous tribe who dwell up it. They are great rogues, who live in houses, and every summer come down here for the salmon fishery. Shortly after passing this river we came abreast of the village, in hearing of the falls, and saw six lights, which we supposed issued from the same number of doors, the houses apparently running parallel with the river. These Indians, called Clowewallas,<sup>39</sup> are numerous, and tolerably well disposed toward the whites; their chief is a good old man, much respected by his people. We called out to them to bring us dogs to trade, but received no answer. We put ashore on a steep, slippery bank of grass, where we could find no wood fit to make a fire, all of it being wet and green. Mr. Mathews crossed over with four men to purchase dogs and wood, while we groped in vain for something dry to light a fire. We were in utter darkness, drenched, and hungry, until he brought us some dry fuel, five dogs, a little dried salmon, a parcel of smelts, and a few hazelnuts.

*Sunday, Jan. 23d.* At dawn we were ready to start, but a thick mist from the falls prevented our embarking before seven. I roasted some of the small fish on a stick, and I found them excellent, especially those that had roes; but they were all fat and good, and could be eaten whole, the bones were so very slender. We then went up to the falls, which have a wild, romantic appearance; the water rushes over a perpendicular rock in two channels, divided by a narrow rocky island, which at high water must be covered, and the whole fall be united in one channel. I do not believe the descent exceeds 25 or 30 feet. The salmon do not ascend these falls, the rocks being too high and the drop too steep. We unloaded on the right-hand side, and

<sup>38</sup> Clackamas r., as the name is now usually spelled: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 924; and for the Indians on the river, called Clarkamus, see also p. 1253. They are one of the best known among the Upper Chinookan tribes. Henry is on the site of Oregon City, Clackamas Co., Ore.

<sup>39</sup> One of the Upper Chinookan tribes, among the many divisions and subdivisions of the Multnomah Indians of Lewis and Clark; but I have not noticed the name elsewhere.

carried 600 paces over a rugged portage, hemmed in by a range of steep rocks, so close to the river as in some places scarcely to leave a passage, especially near the upper end, where the men found it difficult to get the canoe through.

On arrival there we met a party of seven Indians on their way down, leading a horse loaded with bags of raw commass. They seemed to be an ugly, ill-formed race, and four of them had some defect of the eyes. They were Yamhelas,<sup>40</sup> who dwell in houses on Yellow river, a branch of the Willamette. They are great rogues, but not very numerous. Those we met were wretchedly clothed in deer-skins; their quivers were of deer's heads and necks. Their women had petticoats of fringed leather, like the Chinook women's cedar petticoats, but reaching only halfway down the thighs. They wore small round bonnets of wattap, with a peak three inches high. They were of short stature, and altogether the most miserable, wild, and rascally looking tribe I had seen on this side of the Rocky mountains.

Soon after they joined us, three men arrived from the village below the falls, bringing us a dog, some dried

<sup>40</sup> This brings up an interesting matter. Henry is above the falls of the Willamette, and these falls seem to have always divided Indians of two distinct linguistic stocks. All the Indians below the falls are of the Upper Chinookan family, as are likewise most of those on the Columbia itself below the Willamette. They are all included in the many divisions and subdivisions of the Multnomahs or Wappatoo Indians of Lewis and Clark, and include some others; the principal Upper Chinookan tribes now recognized being the Cathlamet, Cathlapotle, Chilluckquittequaw, Clackama, Cooniac, Echeloot, Multnoma, Wahkiacum, and Wasco, and the Lower Chinookans being represented only by the Chinooks proper and the Clatsops. A. Ross' list of the lower Columbian Indians is as follows, p. 87: Chinooks, Clatsops, Cathlamux, Wakicums, Wacalamus, Cattleputles, Clatscanias, Killimux, Moltnomas, and Chickelis; total about 2,000 warriors of the 10 tribes. But the Indians above the falls are of the Kalapooian family, which seems to have been entirely cut off from the Columbia by Chinookan tribes, but to have extended up most of the Willamette river, and several of its tributaries. Henry's Yamhelas, now called Yamils, are the first tribe of this stock he encounters, and he presently meets another one, the Calapooya. The Pudding River Kalapooians are a third tribe, now called Ahantchuyuk. There are several others; but of the whole family, formerly flourishing, less than 200 survive, all at the Grande Ronde Agency in Oregon.

salmon, and a few smelts. On meeting the strangers, they gave some news which made one of the women set up a yell and all the other women leave. The men appeared uneasy, and looked at us so steadfastly that we seized our arms and hastened to the canoe. Mr. Mathews and myself went by land a little further up river, where the strangers allowed us to push off unmolested. Here were hauled ashore a number of wooden canoes which, I supposed, belonged to the natives we had met at the portage. The cause of their lamentation we supposed to be the news of the death of the old chief of the village below, who, we had been told, died six days ago; or perhaps it was the announcement of the death of those two Indians who had been killed by our people at the rapids, as the fellows eyed us so narrowly on receiving the news.

A little above the portage, on the spot where formerly a village stood, remains of the dead are still seen; this place is bounded by a high range of perpendicular rocks, over which now rushes a considerable fall of water, after the late heavy rains. About a mile above the portage, on the right, a small but rapid stream comes in. We found the Willamette current very strong, and at some ripples we were obliged to put out the line; the banks were rocky, but not high, and the country was less thickly wooded than that toward the seacoast. About five miles above the falls we passed the last rocky islands and shores we saw on this river; one mile higher, we passed a low willow island, where the current became more slack and smooth. As we advanced, the country assumed a still more agreeable aspect. The banks, in general, were pleasant and low, covered with alder, small liard, red willow, soft maple, ferns, weeds, and grass; the soil was a pale reddish earth and sand, without stones.

At 11 a. m. we passed a small stream on the left, called by our people Pudding river.<sup>41</sup> At 2 p. m. we noticed some

<sup>41</sup> Or Pudding cr., from the S., for some distance separating Marion from Clackamas Co., Oregon.

wooden canoes on the left-hand side, at the foot of a bank about 30 feet high, up which was a winding path. We, of course, supposed our people to have built somewhere near this place, though none of us knew exactly where they were. Ascending the hill, and passing through a wood for 300 paces, I came to a delightful prairie, on which I saw the house, 150 paces off. This plain is about two miles long and a quarter mile broad; along the middle runs a rising ground from E. to W., on which the house is situated. Here I found Mr. William Henry in charge, with Mr. Seton,<sup>42</sup> 30 men, and two huts of freemen and Nepisanguas as hunters. The natives of this quarter were also at the house.

They are called Calipuyowes,<sup>43</sup> and appear to be a wretched tribe, diminutive in size and with scarcely any covering, like those met this morning at the portage. This nation is numerous, extending up to the headwaters of the Willamette, and divided into several distinct tribes. They are a wandering race, who have neither horses, tents, nor homes, but live in the open air in fine weather, and under the shelter of large spreading pines and cedars during foul weather. Their country is well adapted to such a roving life as they lead, and their wants are few; deer are numerous, but roots of various kinds, which abound, constitute their principal food. These people preserve their commass much better than any others; they make it up in cakes of

<sup>42</sup> Alfred Seton (Seaton in Ross), clerk P. F. Co., by the Beaver from New York Oct. 10th, 1811, to Astoria May 9th, 1812; left with D. McKenzie June 30th, 1812; returned; went to the Willamette; returned to Astoria Mar. 20th, 1813; went with D. McKenzie into the interior early in Sept., 1813; on Willamette as per text above; returned to Fort George, and finally left on brig Pedlar Apr. 2d, 1814; Sitka; Kamtschatka; San Blas, Cala.; Isthmus of Darien; Carthagenia; Jamaica; New York; there in 1854 as vice president of the Sun Mutual Insurance Company, and at that time one of four survivors of the original Astorians, the others being Ramsay Crooks, Francis B. Pillet, and Gabriel Franchère.

<sup>43</sup> Again entirely different Indians from any on the Columbia, representing the distinct Kalapooian family: see L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 932, 933, and above note <sup>40</sup>. The usual spelling of the tribal name is Calapooya. Ross has Collappohyeass, p. 235.



about 10 pounds' weight, three inches thick, in which state it keeps fresh and moist. One of their chiefs was at the house; he had a wretchedly lean horse I wished to buy for meat, but demanded 12 blankets for him. Indeed, they have no idea of the value of our goods. Blue beads are most esteemed.

*Jan. 24th.* At twelve I crossed the river, in company with Messrs. Wm. Henry, — Stuart, and Mathews to look for a proper place to build about two miles further up river, as the present situation is overflowed at high water, although its level above low water is between 30 and 40 feet. We debarked, passed the range of wood adjoining the river, and came to the open country beyond, where we soon started a number of chevreaux. They were so shy that we could not get a shot, though we continually had some in sight; they are of the very small kind [*Cariacus columbianus*], and in the grass appear no larger than wolves. The country is pleasant, thinly shaded with oak, pine, liard, alder, soft maple, ash, hazel, etc. At a short distance are ranges of grassy hills, where not a stick of wood grows; the prospect is delightful in summer, when blooming and verdant. The weather was hot, and with the exertion of walking our shirts were wringing wet before we reached the spot. This place is commodiously situated on a bank about 100 feet above the river, where level country, thinly shaded by large oaks, extends to the foot of the barren hills about three miles distant. On the one side runs a small stream, which would be about 200 yards from the fort; on the other stands a thicket of tall pine, very proper for building. Stockades are very scarce—indeed, wood of any kind could be got in only with horses. Here the Willamette bends to the S. W., and Yellow river, whose course is visible, runs N. W. High lands and blue hills are seen in both these directions.

We returned by an old Indian path through the woods along the river. The alders [*Alnus rubra* or *A. rhombifolia*, or both] are very large, and there are hazel trees [*Corylus rostrata californica*] as thick as a man's thigh. The oaks

[*Quercus garryana*] are large, but few have tall, straight trunks; they are in general crooked, and spread in an uncommon number of stout, irregular branches, the ends of which are encumbered with tufts of small green leaves [mistletoe, *Phoradendron flavescens villosum*], the size of a crow's nest or larger. The emerise [wild cherry, *Prunus emarginata*] is large here, and in plenty. I observed great plenty of an unknown wood [evidently the madroño tree, *Arbutus menziesii*], which is also seen on the Columbia, below the rapids. It is an evergreen, with a thin, scaly bark of a cinnamon color, which peels off and leaves a smooth, light green coat; the wood is so heavy that it sinks in water, and is quite soft when green. Some of these trees which I measured were a fathom in circumference. The inner green bark, I am told, makes a beautiful dye for porcupine quills; the outer scaly bark, I presume, grows annually and falls off in the fall. There are also cedars here, and many other kinds of wood with which I am unacquainted. In summer, I am told, there are fine large blackberries [probably *Rubus ursinus*], delicious black raspberries, and several other sorts of berries, all of which come to perfection in their season. In the woods the ground is thickly covered with ferns [*Pteris aquilina*] and other weeds, through which deer have paths in every direction. These animals must be very numerous, judging by their tracks and dung. The soil appears good, especially along the river, and would answer well for gardens. We saw many birds of the size and make of the robin, but of a more beautiful plumage [Oregon robin, *Hesperocichla nœvia*]. In three-quarters of an hour's hard walking we reached our canoe and crossed over. Our hunters returned, having killed eight chevreaux.

This evening I was surprised by hearing frogs croaking in ponds near the house. Commass root is now sprouted three inches high in the moist places. Numbers of lizards are seen in the woods, about four inches long, the back dark cinnamon, the belly light yellow. Last autumn our people saw here what is called on the Missouri the serpent, nearly

the color of the rattlesnake, about four feet long, and amazingly swift. There are small tigers [banded wildcats, *Lynx rufus fasciatus*], raccoons [*Procyon hernandezi*], wolves, kitts [*Vulpes velox*], wolverenes, black and brown bears, gray squirrels [probably *Sciurus fossor*], etc.

Some of the wretched natives were here to sell commass; they are not allowed to enter our dwellings, and as no trading-house is built here, they are dealt with out of doors. They generally go in small parties of two or three families, and frequently during the rainy season make huts covered with pine branches. Their principal food is roots, although they prefer deer flesh to any goods we have. Their method of hunting deer is to wear a deer's head with horns complete, which they occasionally rub with a stick they carry, in imitation of the animal's motions, while they keep their bodies concealed, and thus decoy the game.

*Jan. 25th.* I sent for the eight deer killed yesterday. The men brought in seven of them, one having been devoured by the vultures [*Pseudogryphus californianus*]. These birds are uncommonly large and very troublesome to my hunters by destroying the meat, which, though well covered with pine branches, they contrive to uncover and devour. The hunters on their return killed two more deer, which they brought in; some of them are still in good order, but the bucks are lean. Red deer or elk are now scarce near the fort, having been hunted so much during the autumn that they have retired, I presume, toward the coast, as they usually do in winter. Some natives came in with commass, for which they demanded beads. They have no idea of the value of our goods, and seem to care only for blue beads. They cannot be persuaded of the benefit they would reap from working beaver, which are numerous in this quarter, not only along the river but in all the small lakes and ponds.

This afternoon three American freemen arrived from Mr. W[allace's] house<sup>44</sup> of last winter, which they left

<sup>44</sup> Mr. William Wallace, it will be remembered, was sent with Mr. J. C. Halsey and 14 men from Astoria, Nov. 23d, 1812, to establish a post on the

about nine o'clock this morning by land; they have been away from here only about three weeks, and have but six traps; yet they have killed upward of 80 beavers. They say beavers are very numerous, but hard to catch along the river, on account of continual rising and falling of the water after every shower. They therefore confine their hunting to the lakes and ponds. They complain of thefts by the natives, who, however, so dread our fire-arms they only trouble us furtively, and never pillage openly.

The natives on the E. and S. E. seem to live well, being provided with horses and everything necessary for savage life. They generally visit the river every summer to hunt deer, and occasionally murder our natives. They are always mounted, and equipped with bows and arrows, and spears or lances about six feet long, iron-shod. They are well dressed in leather shirts and leggings garnished with porcupine quills; they use much white clay and red ocher, to paint their faces, and their horses also are generally daubed with these colors.

The day before we arrived here, Grand Nepisangué, one of our hunters, was pursued by ten horsemen. He attempted to escape, but being nearly overtaken ran into a thicket, where he took his station behind a large tree and presented his rifle. Seeing him ready to fire, they stopped, and by signs showed they intended no harm. An old man, who seemed to be a chief among them, dismounted and gave him to understand that they did not wish white people to come up this river; that our guns had driven away the deer or made them so wild that they could no longer be killed with bows and arrows; and finally, that if we did not abandon the river, they would drive us away. These people, I suppose, were Scietogas,<sup>45</sup> who

Willamette. The three freemen Henry means must have been some of the late P. F. Co.—perhaps Milligan, Flanagan, and Baker, named Feb. 18th, beyond.

<sup>45</sup> Or Sciatogas or Siatogas—that is, the Camass eaters of the N. W. The word is Paiute (Shoshonean); the terminal element *-toga* is the same as the *-tuka* which occurs so frequently in Comanche tribal names, and the *-rika* of

dwel W. of the Shahaptins, or Nez Percés, are very numerous, and have the name of being hospitable. They have leather tents and buffalo robes, and live like the Meadow Indians on the E. side of the Rocky mountains. The robes they get from the Nez Percés, who go for buffalo every year with the Flat Heads.

*Jan. 26th.* At 8 a. m. we embarked. We heard the noise of the falls about 15 miles off—that is to say, about three miles above Pudding creek, where we met two wooden canoes going up, of the same party we had found at the portage. At eleven we came to the portage, where we met our Yamhelas on their way back, loaded with stinking dried salmon. We proceeded down to the Clowewalla village, where we landed unperceived. We heard dreadful lamentation in that end of the house which had been occupied by the late chief. On learning of our arrival, the noise ceased, and everyone came out on the bank. I desired to measure this range of houses, but the enormous piles of excrements which lay along it deterred me; I supposed it to be at least 300 feet long. The inside, near the fire, where they sit and sleep, was tolerably clean and spread with mats. I observed a trough which contained urine, it being customary to urinate in this trough during the night and wash themselves in it in the morning. Urine is also used in dressing their war garments and other leather. The houses are sunk not more than one foot in the ground. The women appeared to me more comely and fair than any I had seen before in this quarter. The men seemed much affected with sore eyes, and like all the other tribes below the falls of the Columbia, have scabby arms, legs, rumps, and bodies, on account

various northern Shoshonean designations, as *Yamparika*, Yampa eaters, *Tukuarika*, Sheep eaters, etc. We used to hear a good deal about "Sciagetogas," but the term was a loose one, indicating several different tribes of northern Paiutes (Shoshonean family), and also including the Cayuses, who are of Waiilatpuan stock. The name has, therefore, lapsed, as one having no exact classificatory sense. Judging from the context, Henry's Sciagetogas were most likely the Cayuses; but it is impossible to make any exact identification.

of their filthy manner of living, their bad food, and the incessant rain for at least six months in the year. In this village I observed some very stout men, but no tall ones. The dress of the women combines that of all the other tribes—cedar, stout leather fringe, and brailuts [?] I saw several robes of gray squirrel, Virginia fox [*Urocyon cinereo-argentatus*], loup-cervier, and tiger skins. The Yam-helas, it seems, had told these Indians they intended to drive our people from the river, and we were asked if we were all coming down; but we told them not. We bought three dogs, some nuts, and commass, and then set off. Several canoes arrived at the village, some from below and others coming down Clukemus river. At 5 p. m. we put ashore for the night. A wooden canoe with two women and a man passed up, deeply loaded with smelt; they offered to sell for blue beads, which may be considered as cash here. I bought a bushel for the men, who feasted on chevreuil, fat dog, dried salmon, smelt, commass, and nuts. I had embarked three deer to take to Fort George, and two for the men, so that there was no want of provisions.

*Jan. 27th.* At 12.30 a. m. we embarked, and soon met a canoe in which were Messrs. W. Wallace and D. McGillis on their way up the Willamette, to bring down Grand Nepisangué, who is supposed to be skillful in curing wounds—for Mr. A. Stuart's still trouble him very much. Later on we found some natives raising their sturgeon lines; they invited us to go ashore and trade sturgeon, which we did, paying for each according to size, 25, 20, 15, 10, or 5 grains of blue beads of the second size. The insides of these Indians' houses were full of smelt drying, hanging by the heads to poles. Canoes were seen in every direction, and we passed several parties tented on the beach, who had heaps of sturgeon and canotées of smelt. At nine we passed Mt. Coffin, and at eleven Oak point, where we saw several very large sea lions [*Eumetopias stelleri*]; we fired at one, but missed him, although not more than 40

paces off. The number of gulls and other birds that feed on fish was surprising; seals were very numerous also, and we saw a large shoal of sea hogs [porpoises]. About 5 p. m. we arrived at Fort George.

Casino and his suite arrived here yesterday. During our absence Mr. McDonald made excellent arrangements for defense against any attack of the natives, the four iron four-pounders being mounted on a platform, the swivels placed in bastions, and all the small-arms put in order. The wounds in Mr. Stuart's shoulder and side were healed up, but the latter had given him much pain, and formed an abscess which burst this morning, about four inches from the original wound; from the amount of inflammation there is reason to suppose the arrow was poisoned. He feels relieved now, and we hope for his speedy recovery. Poultices of biscuit and water have been and are still applied. The old Nepisangue is here, but very unwell; his suffering has been great. He was finally rescued by the old chief of the large Catlipoh<sup>46</sup> village near the mouth of the Willamette, and by him delivered to our party, on their way down, on the 22d inst. I understand the reason why Comcomly did not come to us, when sent for before our departure for the rapids, was that we sent Mr. Franchère for the old Clatsop chief and no white man for him, which offended him very much. Coalpo's wife has given out here that our pacific measures at the rapids were due more to timidity than to humanity, and says we ought to have killed them all. This reasoning may do very well for her, but would not answer our business ends, and would only have made a bad affair worse.

<sup>46</sup> Quathlapotle of L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 913, 914, etc.; Cattleputles of Ross, p. 87; a Chinookan tribe more commonly called Cathlapotle. Henry has Cathlepuotla beyond, Mar. 27th. Lewis and Clark speak of a considerable village of these Indians, situated behind the lower end of the island they called Quathlapotle, now known as Bachelor's isl. The small river which empties into the Columbia from the N. in this vicinity had the same name, later changed to Lewis r.

*List of Property forwarded from Fort George for the Upper  
Country, Jan. 3d, 1814.*<sup>47</sup>

TOTAL.	ARTICLE.	RECOVERED.	LOST.
40	Large axes.....	7	33
100	Half axes.....	16	84
66	Small do.....	.....	66
1	Square head half ax.....	.....	1
1	do do small ax.....	.....	1
6	Gross Indian awls.....	.....	6
18	Blankets, 3 feet.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$17\frac{1}{2}$
20	do $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.....	3	17
2	do $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, damaged.....	.....	2
4	do $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, do.....	2	2
2	Doz. polished steel tobacco boxes.....	.....	2
2	Doz. octagon do do do.....	.....	2
$\frac{1}{3}$	Doz. horse balls.....	.....	$\frac{1}{3}$
$20\frac{1}{2}$	Gross metal buttons, 354 doz.....	$25\frac{1}{2}$	$328\frac{1}{2}$
$85\frac{2}{3}$	Doz. gunworms.....	$23\frac{2}{3}$	$62\frac{1}{3}$
3,536	Gun flints.....	548	2,988
100	Looking glass plates.....	38	62
$26\frac{1}{3}$	Doz. knife blades.....	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$25\frac{1}{3}$
1,000	Darning needles.....	.....	1,000
2,000	W. C. stamped.....	.....	2,000
15	Gross of plain rings.....	.....	15
3	Pieces of common blue strouds.....	1	2
2	Pieces of do red do.....	.....	2
2	Yds. of do do do.....	.....	2
3	Pieces of H. B. blue do.....	1	2
35	Common shirts.....	18	17
11	Fine do.....	4	7
4	Fine white flannel shirts.....	3	1
13	Common white flannel shirts.....	7	6
18	Fine red flannel shirts.....	7	11
20	Gingham shirts.....	7	13
21	Gross thimbles.....	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$17\frac{3}{4}$
$3\frac{5}{8}$	Doz. steel daggers.....	$\frac{1}{4}$	$31\frac{7}{8}$

<sup>47</sup> This date is given as "July 4th," 1814, by obvious error of copy, which I correct: see back, Jan. 3d, at which date Henry gives the departure of Messrs. A. Stuart and J. Keith; Franchère also makes it Jan. 3d. Henry has told us much about that unlucky expedition, which we had also learned about from Franchère and others. But here we have what was never known before: the itemized invoice of all the property that was taken to the interior and looted by the Indians at the Cascades, with what was recovered on the trip Henry had just made, and consequently what booty remained in the hands of the river pirates. Henry is nothing if not particular in such things, and I print the inventory in full as a curious contribution to hitherto unpublished Columbian history.



TOTAL.	ARTICLE.	RECOVERED.	LOST.
3	Doz. iron daggers.....	$\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{1}{3}$
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Lbs. Canton thread, No. 1.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	.....
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Lbs. do do No. 2.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	.....
$2\frac{2}{3}$	Lbs. do do No. 3.....	$2\frac{2}{3}$	.....
6	Doz. box combs.....	$\frac{1}{3}$	$5\frac{2}{3}$
50	New guns.....	50	.....
198	Lbs. balls.....	46	152
150	Lbs. shot.....	73	77
140	Lbs. gunpowder.....	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$134\frac{1}{2}$
213	Copper kettles, seamed.....	120	93
122	Brass do do.....	21	101
1	Sheet iron tea kettle.....	.....	1
$10\frac{1}{2}$	Lbs. Canton beads, 2d size.....	$10\frac{1}{2}$	.....
$10\frac{3}{4}$	Lbs. do do 3d size.....	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$
25	Cod hooks.....	.....	25
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Doz. P. C. glasses.....	$\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$
5	Bales N. W. tobacco, 475 lbs.....	15	460
15	Lbs. leaf tobacco.....	5	10
5	Lbs. plug tobacco.....	.....	5
20	Lbs. sugar.....	.....	20
4	Lbs. Souchong tea.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$
80	Lbs. rice.....	30	50
2	Kegs salt beef.....	.....	2
1	Gallon coarse salt.....	.....	1
1	Quart fine do.....	.....	1
$\frac{1}{4}$	Lb. sturgeon twine.....	.....	$\frac{1}{4}$
2	Coils Sandwich Islands rope.....	.....	2
1	Pair camp candle-sticks.....	.....	1
2	Bales dried salmon.....	.....	2
2	Canoes and agrets [?].	.....	2
1	Provision basket.....	1	.....
2	Tin dishes.....	.....	2
6	Tin plates.....	.....	6
4	Knives.....	3	1
6	Forks.....	3	3
6	Spoons.....	.....	6
3	Quart bottles of molasses.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
1	Tin tea pot.....	.....	1
4	1-lb. canisters of tea.....	.....	4
1	2-lb. do do.....	1	.....
2	Gallons vinegar.....	.....	2

The above loss is exclusive of the property belonging to the men, which consisted of equipments and advances for the year, there having been only one ballotin [small bale] of their property saved; the remainder fell into the hands of the natives. As for the cassettes, bedding, etc., belonging to Messrs. A. Stuart and J. Keith, they were brought

from the E. end of the portage, at the same time that our canoes were, and arrived safe at Fort George. The articles given Casino and Coalpo's wife, for going up with us to the rapids to recover the above property, were as follows: 3 half axes, 3 blankets of 3 feet, 1 blanket of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. Canton beads, 3d size,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  doz. coat buttons,  $\frac{1}{3}$  doz. P. C. glasses, 4 large knives,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  doz. plain rings,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  yards common blue strouds,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards common red strouds, 1 common cotton shirt,  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. gunpowder, 5 seamed copper kettles, 3 seamed brass kettles, 2 lbs. shot.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

FORT GEORGE: 1814.

**F**RIDAY, Jan. 28th, 1814. An unfortunate accident happened in the blacksmith shop. While Roussel<sup>1</sup> was repairing a double-barreled gun, she went off, and the contents lodged in his right thigh; though the bone was not injured, he suffered much. The flesh was cut open opposite the wound, and the shot and wadding were removed. At noon three canoes set off with Mr. Franchère, Petit [Pillet], and 24 men to trade sturgeon at the villages above, as far as the Willamette; a part of these people to remain employed there in supplying the fort. Casino traded beavers for kettles, etc., for the people who came down here with him.

A long correspondence took place between Messrs. John McDonald, Alex. Stuart, John Stuart, and myself, and Mr. J. G. McTavish, on the subject of Mr. McDonald's right to assume the management of affairs at this place, which he took upon himself during our absence; a long altercation ensued this evening, which ended to the satisfaction of none present.

*Jan. 29th.* Mr. Franchère went to desire Coalpo's family to come and remove and bury the body of their deceased slave girl, lest the hogs should devour it. They did so, but in a barbarous manner, by dragging it perfectly naked down to the water, tying a cord around the neck, and towing it along the beach for some distance; they then squeezed the body into a hole, pushed it down with a pad-

<sup>1</sup>Auguste Roussel or Roussil, Canadian, was the blacksmith of the original Astorians who came on the Tonquin.—One of the Canadian voyageurs on the same ship was named Benjamin Roussel, whom we shall find finally leaving Fort George with the large overland party of Apr. 4th, 1814.

dle, and covered it over with stones and dirt. The poor girl had died in a horrible condition, in the last stage of venereal disease, discolored and swollen, and not the least care was ever taken to conceal the parts from bystanders.

Correspondence was renewed by Mr. McDonald, who formally declined to have anything to say in the management of affairs on this side of the mountains, and gave up the whole charge to Mr. J. G. McTavish; no answer was returned on the subject to-day. The core, accompanied by a great quantity of matter, came from the wound in Mr. Stuart's side, which relieved him much and greatly reduced the swelling. The discharge included many small, flat particles, black and glossy.

*Sunday, Jan. 30th.* A meeting of partners took place, and a long altercation ensued. Mr. McDonald declined the management on the ground that the sense of the concern at Fort Vermillion, last summer, had been to deprive him of it, although certain general letters sufficiently appointed him the representative of Mr. D. McTavish.<sup>2</sup> Acting upon public documents, and setting aside private conversations, I also declined the management; and further, Mr. J. G. McTavish disputed my right to the chief management.

*Jan. 31st.* More smoke arising from the three villages of Chinooks than heretofore indicated a greater number of people collected over the river. A party sent up Young's river in search of beaver, some days ago, returned, having examined the three branches, and found not the least appearance of beaver in any of them.

We paid Casino for accompanying us to the rapids, and made him an annuity as chief. A flag also was given him, and he was spoken to on the subject of our building at the entrance of the Willamette, as well as regarding the behavior of the tribes up that river, who seem badly inclined toward us there; he promised to keep them in order. Mr.

<sup>2</sup> Donald McTavish, to arrive next April in the Isaac Todd, and become governor of Fort George: see a note beyond.

McDonald agreed to continue the management of affairs here, on the strength of our letter to him of the 28th inst. A meeting was held to discuss removal of headquarters; the decision was, to move to the entrance of the Willamette, for various reasons, viz.: Less dangerous and less expensive; fewer men required summer and winter; men would like the place and thus remain on the Columbia, though they are all disgusted with Fort George; more healthy and pleasant there; better gardening; cattle and horses would live better; less labor at the end of three years; good will of the Indians above; property kept in a better state, and more secure from an enemy's ship; place stronger for defense, and more central for trade; ship to winter could be kept in better repair, with less damage to her sails and rigging; we should save the expenses of the fort up the Willamette; and better move now than later. Hired Mr. Mathews as head foreman for two years, at £125 per annum.

At 5 p. m. Mr. Seton and nine men arrived from the Willamette in a canoe which had been sent expressly to bring Grand Nepisangue to attend to Mr. Stuart's wounds; but there is now no need of his services. After I left that place, three of the party that had pursued Grand Nepisangue on the 21st arrived. They said they were of the Wallawalla, Shatasla, and Halthwypum<sup>3</sup> nations; they were very civil, and wished traders to winter among them, where they say beaver are numerous.

*Tuesday, Feb. 1st.* Made arrangements for placing men at the intended new building. Packs and other property get wet here as fast as we dry them; the coverings of our stores are leaky, and we have not oilcloth enough; thus,

<sup>3</sup> The Wallawallas were a principal tribe of the Shahaptian family, including the Shahaptins proper, Chopunnish, or Nez Percés, the Umatillas, Tyighs, Palooses, Klikitats, and others: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 605.—Henry's "Shatasla" is a name I do not recognize.—His Halthwypum being obviously the same as Whulwhaipum, Willetpoos, Wayiletpu, or Waillatpu, he means the Indians now commonly called Cayuses, one of the two principal tribes of the Waillatpuan family: see L. and C., pp. 606, 1038.

notwithstanding every precaution, property gets much damaged before spring.

*Feb. 2d.* Squalls last night, with torrents of rain ; part of the covering of our house was torn off, and the rain poured down on our beds, desks, and tables. This morning the storm continued, which prevented our departure for above, though everything was ready. At noon, when the rain moderated, Messrs. Keith, Mathews, Franchère, and 27 men set off in two large wooden canoes, loaded with building tools and materials. At two o'clock 10 men embarked in a third canoe.

*Feb. 3d.* At 5 a. m. I embarked in my birch canoe with Mr. John Stuart and nine men. We doubled Tongue point with a strong flood tide. At noon passed the Oak Point village, and in half an hour found our people camped at the Oaks, waiting for us. We thought proper to remain for the day, during which we examined this spot. It would be a delightful situation for a fort, were it not, unfortunately, overflowed in summer. As already said [p. 795], this destroyed the establishment of Captain W. of the Albatross. Some of his oak logs are still seen, also the remains of a wharf or landing-place, and an inclosure of picquets near the river, which the Indians tell us was full of hogs.

*Feb. 4th.* At daybreak I sent off a wooden canoe with five Sandwich Islanders, 18 sturgeon, and a quantity of ash hop-poles for Fort George ; sent also two canoes, Mr. Franchère and Mr. Farnham, to trade sturgeon at a fishery on the N. side ; while my own canoe, with the two other wooden ones, went up river, wind and tide ahead. We breakfasted at Mount Coffin. One of the canoes, that contained a corpse, measured five feet broad and four feet high at the stern, made out of one log ; there was also a large, handsome sea canoe, well studded, outside and inside, with sea shells of various kinds, the same as those Captain Cook mistook for human teeth.\*

\* In the Coventry copy this passage reads: " The gunwhales [*sic*] from stem to stern were studded with marine shells, which Captain Cook supposed to be

At 3 p. m. we reached the entrance of the Willamette, where we camped. Mr. Stuart and myself went to examine the ground, which, after a thorough search, we were convinced would not answer our purpose. The place was one bed of rocks, covered only with a meager layer of moss and coarse grass; no proper wood for building was at hand, and to haul it from where it stood would be immense labor and loss of time. Horses could only work in such a rough country with great difficulty. Owing to its rockiness the country is open for two miles below the junction of the Willamette with the Columbia, and up the former stream for about six miles, on the S., to the three Indian villages, only a few scattered oaks and some groups of pines line the banks. We saw several chevreaux and a few horses belonging to the natives. About dark our two canoes arrived and camped.

*Feb. 5th.* We again set out to examine the country more narrowly, particularly below. We walked from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m., but all our trouble was in vain; the more we saw, the more we were convinced of the impropriety of building here. Some very eligible and commanding situations could be found, but neither wood, soil, nor water could be obtained without much labor and difficulty. We therefore

human teeth, but which Sir Alexander Mackenzie represented to be those of the Sea Otter"—the last clause being an editorial interpolation. The passage in McKenzie to which Coventry refers is on p. 335 of the 4to ed., p. 320 of the 8vo, as follows: "This canoe was built of cedar, 45 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 3½ feet in depth. It was painted black and decorated with white figures of fish of different kinds. The gunwale, fore and aft, was inlaid with the teeth of the sea-otter." And a note adds: "As Captain Cook has mentioned, that the people of the sea-coast adorned their canoes with human teeth, I was more particular in my inquiries; the result of which was, the most satisfactory proof, that he was mistaken; but his mistake arose from the very great resemblance there is between human teeth and those of the sea-otter." Sea otter teeth certainly do differ remarkably from those of the common otter and those of all other members of the family *Mustelidæ*: see, for example, plates xix and xx of my *Fur Bearing Animals*, 8vo, Washington, 1877; and in some respects closely resemble human teeth. But we are left to conjecture whether the canoe Henry examined was studded with sea-shells or with teeth of any kind.

determined to seek some other spot, and embarked in two canoes to examine higher up river, leaving the others here, Messrs. Farnham and Franchère having joined us with 24 sturgeon. We had not gone more than a mile when one of our wooden canoes sprung a leak and narrowly escaped sinking; we left her to repair and to return to camp, while Messrs. Stuart, Mathews, and I went on with one canoe till 5 p. m., when we put ashore for the night.

*Sunday, Feb. 6th.* At daybreak we were on the water. Passed the two villages on the S.; none of the natives were up. There appear to be more people here than I saw on my way down last November. At seven we broke our canoe on a stump; nearly half a fathom was torn off her side. We put ashore and patched her with linen well daubed with gum. Embarked, and at nine reached the upper end of Point Vancouver, where we put ashore to examine the ground. The land adjoining the river is a low meadow, mostly overflowed at high water, about 3 miles long and at the widest part  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile in breadth, to the foot of a range of prairie ground rising about 30 feet. On the top of this hill is a delightful situation for a fort, on a prairie two miles long and broad, with good soil and excellent pine in abundance in the rear—in a word, the most eligible situation I have seen on the Columbia. But it is too far from the sea; there is no sturgeon fishery so high up the river, nor is there any stone for chimneys; the current in summer runs very strong between this place and the Willamette; and finally the spot is not adapted for purposes of trade. Biches are apparently numerous here, and chevreuils also. Fire seems to have passed through the lower prairie last fall, and the green grass is already sprouted about four inches, which gives the face of the country a pleasant appearance. The view of Mount Hood and some high lands to the S. E., and the range on the S. side of the Willamette, form a grand prospect from this spot. I observed that the water had risen since last Nov. 14th, from four to six feet perpendicular, covering a large sand bar which was then high above



the water. Here we breakfasted, soon embarked, and at 3 p. m. reached camp.

We found several natives from the different villages; some had come in canoes and others on horseback. Their horses are very small, but whether it is the nature of the beast, or whether these were poor specimens, I cannot pretend to say. I sent Mr. Franchère on horseback up to Casino's village to desire him to send five horses he had belonging to us up to Mr. Wm. Henry's to drag meat for that place; he returned in the evening, accompanied by the chief. This afternoon the flood tide ran up, a circumstance I had not been convinced of before; it is very slow, and I do not believe it extends above this branch. There are several sturgeon and smelt fisheries near this place, but the high price the natives set on their fish gives me reason to believe they take but few.

*Feb. 7th.* Mr. Franchère,<sup>5</sup> with 10 men in a birch canoe, started up the Willamette to Mr. Wm. Henry's, and the rest of us went down to examine the banks narrowly all the way to Fort George, in hopes of finding some suitable spot to build. Casino sent an Indian with us down to their salmon fisheries, to point out a spot which he said might answer our purpose. We examined it accordingly, but found the place thickly wooded, with little soil, and commanded by a rising ground in the rear. We left it and came about three miles below our encampment, where we made a long stop and examined the ground well; here we found a tolerable situation for a fort, if a building in a thicket can be called such. The ground is level, soil tolerable, and timber for houses, picquets, etc., in abundance. The situation is near the river, and sufficiently elevated to prevent

<sup>5</sup> "Je partis le 7 Février, pour aller conduire un nombre d'engagés à l'établissement du Wolamat, où il y avait plusieurs chasseurs sous la conduite de Mr. Wm. Henry. . . Ayant confié mes compagnons aux soins de Mr. Henry, je pris congé de ce monsieur, et m'en retournai. Je trouvai MM. Keith et Pillet campés à la Pointe aux Chênes, pour y passer la saison de la pêche à l'éturgeon. Ces messieurs me convinrent que je devais demeurer avec eux," says Franchère, pp. 166-68.

overflowing; from the lower end an extensive low meadow extends for several miles, well adapted for grazing cattle or making hay. We also examined Deer island,<sup>6</sup> near this prairie. It is well shaded by large oaks, liards, ashes, soft maples, etc. We made several other landings below Deer island on the N. side, but to no purpose; the country is rough, rocky, and poorly timbered. We saw several large flocks of swans flying up river, which, I am told, is generally the case at this season, when they leave the seacoast for the interior. We put ashore at three different villages, but they had no sturgeon for sale. About dusk we camped at Mount Coffin. Our party, when all together, numbers 60 men, who consume 13 sturgeon per day, weighing from 25 to 250 lbs. each. I measured one nine feet long, which weighed 250 lbs.

*Feb. 8th.* I determined to leave the building party until further orders from below, and at 10 a. m. embarked with Mr. J. Stewart and Mr. Franchère in two canoes to continue our examination of the river, leaving Messrs. Keith and Pettit [Pillet] with the people. We observed on the beach and floating on the water great numbers of dead and dying smelts; the same fate which attends the salmon seems to await these small fish. They die apparently for want of food, there being not the least particle of any substance in their gut, which consists of only one small green filament. We put ashore about three miles below camp, at a fishery, where 64 sturgeon lay on the beach, some of them very large; but we could not agree on the price, and left them. At the Oak Point village we put ashore again, where an immense number of sturgeon were strung and fastened to stakes in the river; we bought 27 for beads, from 25 to 30 grains each. The numerous natives here, like all their neighbors, are filthy in the extreme. They have one range of eight houses, measuring 120 paces, and eight other detached houses, each about 15 paces, all parallel with the

<sup>6</sup>Elalah, Elallah, or Deer isl. of L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 911, 912, 913, etc.; present name Deer isl.

river; the whole makes a pleasant appearance at a distance, but will not bear close inspection. The natives desired us to bargain with them to furnish us with sturgeon, and to receive no payment until the season was over. I told them we would consider the proposition and inform them accordingly. We soon after separated, one canoe passing down the S. and the other down the N. channel, to examine the country. I was on the N., but found no spot suitable for landing, except at the entrance of a small channel, nearly opposite the lower end of Puget's island.<sup>7</sup> There is a commanding situation for a fort, about 100 feet above the water, the ascent gradual on either side; the landing-place is up the channel; the distance is about 600 paces from it to the top, 300 of which are on a level, to a fine stream of fresh water, from which it is 300 more to the top. By opening a direct road, the distance would not exceed 500 paces. The soil on the top is tolerable, but timber scarce. We found two fathoms of water from the main channel to the landing-place, where formerly a village stood. Embarked and overtook Messrs. J. Stuart and Franchère at Green Encampment,<sup>8</sup> waiting for us; they had not seen any spot to induce them to put ashore. We desired them to remain for the night, and to-morrow morning to go up to the spot we had noticed [Cathlamet, Wash.], examine it well, and thence to come down along the N. shore and examine Gray's bay, etc. At 5.30 p. m. we continued our voyage, and at nine

<sup>7</sup> L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 700, 907. Puget's isl. is the very large one which divides the Columbia into the two channels of which Henry speaks. The N. one of these is now known as Cathlamet channel, on the N. side of which is situated the town of the same name, county seat of Wahkiacum Co., Wash. This is the identical position which Henry points out as suitable for a fort. The name appears in Ross as Cathlamux, p. 87, but Oathlamuck on p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> Green Encampment has been several times mentioned before, but without indication of its position. I now think it to be at or near Cathlamet pt., perhaps at present site of Clifton, Ore., a little above the point named. Cathlamet pt. must not be confounded with the town of Cathlamet; they are on opposite sides of the river, and the town is much above the point. The latter is Point Samuel of L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 721, 907.

landed safely at Fort George. Our gentlemen were much disappointed in our having found no suitable spot to build, having been sanguine in their expectations of the fine prairies we were to discover at the entrance to the Willamette. Four men of the late P. F. Co., whom I had left to embark in Mr. Franchère's canoe at Oak point on the 3d inst., but who had thought proper to act for themselves and remain on the beach, afterward bought a canoe from the natives and found their way here; having told a plausible story, they were taken into favor, and I found them employed as usual. During my absence, one of our goats produced three kids, two of which were trampled to death; a hen had a brood of chickens, all of which the skunks destroyed; and a sow had 17 pigs, all of which she ate up herself.

*Feb. 9th.* Mr. A. Stuart's wound pains him again, having ceased to discharge, and become much swollen. At 7 a. m. Messrs. Mathews and Franchère arrived; they had examined the spot already mentioned [Cathlamet], opposite Puget's island, but found it would not answer, timber being both scarce and indifferent. They had also examined Gray's bay, finding the shores too bold and rocky. The season being too far advanced to think of leaving this place this spring, and no convenient spot having been found for a fort, we determined to recall our people from above, and to remain for at least one year longer. But the impropriety of forming a permanent establishment on this spot is recognized. It would always be too much exposed to an enemy's ship; the soil is bad, without pasture for cattle of any kind, and the whole is surrounded by a rough, uneven country, thickly shaded by enormous pines, rendering the situation very unpleasant.

*Feb. 10th.* At 9. a. m. a canoe set off with six men for Mount Coffin to recall our people; a party were to go to Deer island, some to raise ash and oak for oars, wheels, etc., others to bring down sturgeon. A boat with six men was sent to Gray's bay to raise cedar to build canoes,

Mr. [Thomas?] McKay, workman. Comcomly's eldest son came to inform us of a quarrel he had with his father a few days ago, in consequence of the old man's having injured his musket; he boasted of having given his father a severe beating. The Clatsop chief passed on his way up river to trade sturgeon and small fish from the natives, as usual at this season. He was in his war canoe—the first of the kind I had seen. She was about six fathoms long and wide in proportion, the stem rising upright about six feet, on top of which was a figure of some imaginary monster of uncouth sculpture, having the head of a carnivorous animal with large erect ears, but no body, clinging by arms and legs to the upper end of the canoe, and grinning horribly. The ears were painted green, the other parts red and black. The stern also rose about five feet in height, but had no figure carved on it. On each side of both stem and stern broad strips of wood rose about four feet, having holes cut in them to shoot arrows through. She had a high spritsail made of handkerchiefs and gunahs [pieces of gunny-cloth or jute], forming irregular stripes. I am told these Indians commonly have pieces of squared timber, not unlike three-inch plank, high and broad, perforated to shoot arrows through, fixed on the bow of the war canoes to serve as bulwarks in battle. The natives about the falls have also some canoes of the same kind.

*Feb. 11th.* Robins, wrens, and other spring birds have been here since my arrival. The birds I have already mentioned [*Hesperocichla nœvia*] as resembling the robin are common and by no means shy.

*Feb. 12th.* Sent a boat and six men with empty casks to Oak point to salt sturgeon. Two large canoes of Clatsops passed down to their village, deeply loaded with sturgeon and small fish.

*Sunday, Feb. 13th.* A large wooden canoe arrived from Mount Coffin with 10 men, some baggage, and 30 sturgeons; one measured  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet. I received a few lines from Mf. Keith, saying several of our men have venereal disease;

two cannot walk. By spring, I fear, at least half our men will be disabled by this disease; at present few are free from it, and some are far gone. This foul malady is so prevalent among our people and the women in this quarter that it may seriously affect our commerce. When the Americans first landed here in 1810 there was but little of it among the natives; but it was soon communicated to them by the whites, who brought it not only from New York, but also from the Sandwich Islands.<sup>9</sup> This morning Ashton, the sailor who stays on the Dolly, came ashore to report that he had been robbed by six Indians, who had come on board while he was asleep and taken a kettle and an ax. Hearing a noise, he was coming on deck, when one of the rascals aimed a blow with the ax at him, which he avoided, and they instantly put off in their canoe. We sent four Sandwich Islanders on board to watch with him, fired a cannon to alarm the natives, and heard no more of the matter.

*Feb. 14th.* Arranging the store, etc.; things getting rotten in spite of all our care.

*Feb. 15th.* Our boat having been repaired, she was put at anchor. We began to assort and pack up goods, but came to a stand for want of kegs, cases, etc., materials for which had not been prepared, the mechanics having been otherwise employed.

*Feb. 16th.* The party from Gray's bay returned with excellent cedar, enough for six canoes. Two canoes arrived, one from the Willamette and the other from Oak

<sup>9</sup> "The little intercourse which the men have had with these women is, however, sufficient to apprise us of the prevalence of venereal disease, with which one or two of the party have been so much afflicted as to render salivation necessary. The infection in these cases was communicated by the Chinook women. The others do not appear to be afflicted with it to any extent; indeed, notwithstanding this disorder is certainly known to the Indians of the Columbia, the number of infected persons is very inconsiderable . . . in the whole route down the Columbia we have not seen more than two or three cases of gonorrhœa and about double that number of lues venerea [syphilis]," L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 779, at date of 1805.

point; no great news from the Willamette, but our hunters lately killed 17 red deer out of one herd, and Bellair, who had quarreled with the natives, was on his return.

*Feb. 17th.* Sent a large Chinook canoe with six Sandwich Islanders up to Oak point for sturgeon. Some Chinook women came with hats to sell. The three villages on Chinook point seem to have increased much in population, if we may judge from the smoke which rises from them.

*Feb. 18th.* We had some flurries of snow in large flakes, which in a few minutes changed the face of nature here for the first time since my arrival. The trees and ground were covered for about an hour, when the sun appeared, and in a few minutes the snow vanished. A canoe arrived from the Willamette with three American freemen, Milligan, Flanagan, and Baker [see p. 817].

*Feb. 19th.* Our Clatsop hunter brought in a biche, the first fresh meat we have had since my return from the Willamette. A boat returned from Oak point with a load of sturgeon, and another from Gray's bay loaded with cedar. Our party at Oak point have seven casks of sturgeon salted; they complain of the scarcity of fish, saying the Chinooks monopolize the trade and spoil the market.

*Sunday, Feb. 20th.* A quarrel occurred between Mr. Ross and Duchesne<sup>10</sup> about hoisting the flag. The former, after some words with Duchesne, went to his room and came out with a dirk, with which he cut the man deeply on the temple over the left eye. The poor fellow came into my room with the blood streaming from his face, and his shirt torn, to complain of such ill usage. Mr. Ross said that Duchesne had refused to hoist the flag. Duchesne explained that he was mending his stockings at the time,

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin Duchesne, listed Apr. 4th, beyond.—Joseph Duchesne, dit Piroguelon, an old engagé N. W. Co., was at Pine fort on the Assiniboine in 1793-94.—Pierre Duchêne is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.

not having a spare moment on week days, etc. Comcomly came over in a large canoe, manned by 12 paddles, and traded 16 beavers for a new gun. The P. F. Co. gentlemen are daily practicing at a mark with pistols and rifles; some of them are excellent shots. Got our boat calked and repaired. A canotée of Clatsop women came to sell hats, mats, etc.

*Feb. 21st.* Sent a boat to Oak point for sturgeon, and another to Gray's bay for cedar. Messrs. McDonald, McTavish, and Mathews went in my birch-rind canoe toward Young's river in search of a place to build, but found no convenient spot, the country being too low and marshy.

*Feb. 22d.* A boat arrived from Oak point with oak, ash, and 16 sturgeon.

*Feb. 23d.* Late last night the boat returned from Gray's bay with a load of cedar. Men preparing wood for the canoes, working the side boards with coopers' knives, making maiters [?], verrangues [?], etc.

*Feb. 24th.* Sent a boat to Gray's bay for cedar, and another to Oak point for sturgeon. A boat arrived from Oak point with 40 sturgeons, six casks of salted sturgeon, and some oak for wheels.

*Feb. 25th.* The boat returned from Gray's bay with cedar. A hen hatched five chicks, which died.

*Feb. 26th.* Two Indian canoes came over, on their way up to the fishery. They had a pole about 10 feet long and two inches thick, on one side of which was fixed a range of small, sharp bones like teeth, about one inch long, one-fourth of an inch asunder, the range of teeth extending six feet up the blade; this implement is used in the smelt fishery. They had also several coils of rope for their sturgeon lines, of their own neat manufacture. Messrs. McDonald, J. Stuart, and Mathews went up to examine Tongue point. We had been told by the P. F. Co. gentlemen that both the peninsula itself and the adjacent shore were solid rock, destitute of fresh water. When our gentlemen returned they reported the situation to be eligible for a fort, with



good soil and excellent water—in short, the reverse of what we had been told. Mr. McDonald brought a bunch of beautiful small red flowers, I presume a species of wild currant. Many other bushes were in blossom on the point, the grass in some places four inches high, and vegetation more forward than at this place, although it is not more than three miles off. This may be owing to the nature of the soil and the southerly exposure. I believe that some vegetation is visible here all winter, having seen fresh sprouts in January in our garden, and often noticed earth-worms crawling about. In the woods, fern is as green as last fall, though withered in spots exposed to the sun and frost. This evening the frogs were merrily croaking.

*Sunday, Feb. 27th.* Several canoes of Clatsops passed up river with scoop nets and seines. They stopped to trade some hats and mats for blue beads to purchase fish from the natives above; one traded a tolerably good land otter. Our four Iroquois, who had been up the Kowlitch [Cowlitz], returned last night; there are plenty of beaver in that river, but the continual rising and falling of the water prevents success with traps. The natives there have some beaver in hoard, and wish us to come up, as they are not on good terms with the natives on the coast, and do not like to come here to trade. They have a great many horses, which they use in hunting deer. The Iroquois were told it was only a short distance to the falls, above which the river was smooth, and that by making a short portage at a height of land they would fall on another river which would soon take them to the sea—we suppose to Puget's sound. The course of the river they went up is from the N., and seems to run parallel with the coast; there is a branch which comes in from the E. They saw three villages and many scattered huts of the natives, all of whom were civil and quiet; they seem to make no fishery at this season, but subsist mostly on roots and dried salmon; the former is their principal food.

After breakfast we went to examine Tongue point more

narrowly than was done yesterday. The peninsula commands an extensive and pleasant prospect up and down the river; the soil is excellent, and several rills of good water pour out on its E. side; but this is all that can be said in its favor. On the other hand, the surface is exceedingly irregular on the E., and on the W. and N. W. quite steep, the declivity forming several ridges, but none sufficiently broad for a fort—not 100 feet square of level ground. The water is shallow on that side, with no harbor for small vessels or boats. The timber is very large, heavy, and mostly unserviceable; in short, the only thing in favor of the place is its eligibility for a battery of great guns. I was surprised at the advanced state of vegetation on this peninsula; weeds and grass of some kinds were upward of a foot high, with leaves four inches broad. The tall raspberry bushes were in blossom, with a beautiful red flower which appeared equally forward, if not more so, than the leaf [*i. e.*, *Rubus spectabilis*]. The elder [*Sambucus glauca*] had sprouts an inch long; the alder [*Alnus rubra*] was also beginning to sprout, and willows were budding. I saw several mosquitoes; snails [perhaps *Helix fidelis*] were numerous, as they have been all winter. At 3.30 p. m. we returned home.

*Feb. 28th.* Mr. A. Stewart's wound is now perfectly healed; he is well and hearty, but a little stiff from the skin being contracted, and in a manner sticking to his ribs. Roussel, the blacksmith, began to move about on crutches a week ago; on the 25th he threw away one, but still uses the other; he is in a fair way of recovery. Mr. McKay, having a quantity of ribs and boards ready, began to lay his first wooden canoe. Cartier repaired the birch-rind canoe. A boat with 10 Sandwich Islanders, and a canoe with 10 Canadians and Mr. Mathews, set off to clear away the underbrush and rubbish on Tongue point for the purpose of building a new fort. A boat was also sent to Oak point for sturgeon. This fine day brought over a number of Chinooks to trade beavers, hats, smelt, etc.

We have observed among the Clatsops a man very much

deformed about the head, his forehead extremely flat, and broad between the eyes, which gives him a wild and uncouth look. This may have been caused by some mismanagement of the pressure made to flatten the head in infancy. They bring us frequently lumps of beeswax, fresh out of the sand, which they collect on the coast to the S., where the Spanish ship was cast away some years ago, and the crew all murdered by the natives. [See p. 768.]

At 5.45 p. m., as I was standing on the platform, I saw a canoe push off to cross the river, but on passing Clatsop point two Indians put ashore and climbed on the trunk of a large tree lying on the beach. I soon saw them wave their robes. I informed some women at the gate, and they said that a ship had been seen. I instantly communicated the welcome intelligence by calling out "Ship ahoy!" which in a moment brought our people on the platform; and on going toward the river in the garden we saw a ship standing in, as we supposed, on the bar, directly toward us. We then fired three shots from our four-pounder. It was nearly calm here, but we could discern a light S. breeze in the offing. Once when she turned broadside on, heading for Cape Disappointment, some of us imagined we made her out to be a brig. The wind appeared to foil her, and she again stood toward us. At 6.15 she took in her sails, and we presumed cast anchor opposite the spit between the cape and the bar. We all conjectured what ship she was, and whether friend or foe; bets were made of skins and hats; but all rejoiced at the sight of a vessel.<sup>11</sup>

*Tuesday, March 1st.* The ship was in the same position at 7 a. m. She spread some of her sails; at 7.30 she put about and stood S., but soon stopped and furled her

<sup>11</sup> Henry's date of arrival of the Pedlar agrees with Franchère's, p. 168: "le 28 Février, on aperçut une voile à l'embouchure du fleuve . . . un brig appelé le *Pedlar*, . . . le Capitaine *Northrop*, ci-devant patron du navire le *Lark*," etc. At first, she was of course supposed to be the long-expected Isaac Todd; "nos messieurs osèrent un moment se flatter que c'était le vaisseau qu'ils attendaient depuis si longtems. Ils furent bientôt détrompé par une lettre de Mr. Hunt," etc. Cox, p. 135, has "early in February," wrongly.

sails. After breakfast we walked to Point George, from the top of which we could plainly discern her lying in the main channel between the outer bar and the spit, nearly abreast of the cape. She was a brig, with black sides and apparently white bottom; no colors were flying; her fore topgallant mast was down. The tide was ebb. We put fire to the weeds and grass, which burnt furiously and threw up an immense cloud of smoke; yet we could observe no signal flag. At noon we returned to the fort, impressed with the idea she was an American. Measures were therefore taken for defense, we being determined to risk all rather than to send off the packs; for if she were an enemy and took the fort, of what benefit would our few packs be to us, destitute of resources? We could not remain here long, nor had we means to cross the mountains. We took all the men from their several occupations, and manned a kind of battery, our two four-pounders fronting the fort, to command the anchorage and landing. At 6 p. m. a Chinook canoe brought a letter directed to the P. F. Co. gentlemen, informing them of the arrival of Mr. Hunt<sup>12</sup> on the brig, and

<sup>12</sup> Wilson Price Hunt of Trenton, N. J., who was second only to Mr. Astor in the management of the P. F. Co., and headed the original overland Astorians in 1810-11-12. No story of travel is more familiar to the public than the tale told by Irving of this adventure, because none is more readable as a romance founded on fact. The hardships and sufferings of the undisciplined mob which straggled across the continent were terrible; some deserted, some went mad, some were drowned or murdered, and the survivors reached Astoria in pitiable plight, in separate parties, at different times. This was the second transcontinental expedition through the United States, having been preceded only by that of Lewis and Clark; but to this day no one knows exactly the route. Irving plies his golden pen elastically, and from it flow wit and humor, stirring scene and startling incident, character to the life; but he never tells us where those people went, perhaps for the simple reason that he never knew. He wafts us westward on his strong plume, and we look down upon those hapless Astorians; but we might as well be ballooning, for aught of exactitude we can make of this celebrated itinerary. It is as pleasant as a Pullman, but no more instructive. While he has his people on the Missouri, the Snake, and the Columbia, we have a general idea of their whereabouts; but in the intervening country they are so prestidigitated about the Rocky mts. that now you see them and now you don't—I declare that I cannot always be sure of them within 50

*See Part 5 History  
Boeing's story of the  
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requesting them to board her, as he did not think it safe for any American subject to come to Fort George. He sent by the Indians some yams, cocoanuts, and sweet potatoes, all in perfection, the yams uncommonly large and weighing about 15 lbs.; but we got no particular intelligence.

At 8 p. m. a boat was sent off with Messrs. McDonald, or even 100 m., and I am pretty keen on a trail. Two leading features of the Astorian route are these: (1) On the Missouri, identical with that of Lewis and Clark, as far up as the Astorians went; (2) On the Columbia, again identical with that of Lewis and Clark, from the point where the Astorians struck that river, at, or not very far from, the confluence of the Snake. The third most definite feature of the route is the descent of Snake river from the vicinity of Andrew Henry's post on Henry's fork, in several different detachments of the party. But between the Missouri and Henry's fork the route has never been made out precisely, and perhaps never will be. We must remember, also, that some of the original Astorians returned overland by a route which, between the Snake and the mouth of the Platte, differed from that on which they had gone out; and that thereby hangs another tale. In most particulars this return route is less difficult to follow in Irving than the outward journey; and one result of my scrutiny is, that I have no doubt the returners were the original discoverers of the South pass, subsequently famous in the annals of the Oregon trail, and popularly associated with the name of J. C. Frémont. I shall have something to say about this in another connection, beyond; meanwhile, as W. P. Hunt is just now on board the Pedlar at Fort George, I will not keep him longer waiting.

Immediately upon entering Mr. Astor's service, Hunt was in Montreal with Donald McKenzie in July, 1810; at Mackinac July 22d, and there joined by Ramsay Crooks; left Aug. 22d by Fox-Wisconsin route to the Mississippi, and down to St. Louis. Having recruited his party there, he started up the Missouri Oct. 21st, and reached the mouth of the Nadowa Nov. 16th; formed camp there for the winter of 1810-11; started back Jan. 1st, 1811, and was again at St. Louis Jan. 20th. He left in March, passed Fort Osage Apr. 8th-10th, and rejoined his party at the Nadowa Apr. 17th. It then consisted of some 40 voyageurs and other persons, about 60 in all, with four boats, including a very large one. They went up the Missouri; passed the Platte Apr. 28th; Omaha village May 10th-15th; Niobrara r. May 26th; Great Bend June 1st; at the Arikara village June 11th to July 18th. There they left the Missouri, in the vicinity of Wetarhoo or Grand r., to go overland on horses; and there the trouble begins. As well as I can gather from Irving, a blurred outline of the route may be indicated in the following meager terms: With Cheyennes of "Big" r. to Aug. 6th; "Little Missouri, 100 yards wide" Aug. 13th; "Black hills" in view; on divide between Missouri and Yellowstone waters; lofty peak descried Aug. 17th; camped at its base Aug. 30th; among the Crows of Big-

T. McKay, and D. Stuart. At 11 p. m. three guns were heard, we supposed at the arrival of the gentlemen on board the brig. A note had been sent to Mr. Hunt, requesting his company at Fort George.

*Mar. 2d.* Mr. Bethune up to Tongue point to direct Mr. Mathews in building; men working at the battery, others

horn mts., Wind r., Sept. 9th; camp at "forks of Wind or Big Horn" Sept. 14th; going S. W., sighted the Tetons (Pilot Knobs) Sept. 15th. In 40 m. had crossed Main Divide, and come on "Spanish" r., a headwater of the Colorado; followed it down 15 m. S. W. Sept. 17th; away from it N. W. to one of its branches and camped Sept. 18th-24th. Over a ridge 15 m. to a tributary of the Columbia 50 feet wide; called it Hoback's r., followed it two days to where it receives Mad r., and camped near Pilot Knobs. Crossed Mad r. Oct. 4th, went 4 days over mountains and plains, passed a hot spring, and on Oct. 8th reached Henry's post, which was deserted in the spring of 1811. Built boats and started down Henry's fork Oct. 19th, reaching its confluence with Snake r. same day. Oct. 8th, handed down a  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. cañon of Snake r. Oct. 24th, had come "280" m. from Henry's fort to a perpendicular fall of 30 feet (present Salmon falls?). Oct. 28th, at "Cauldron Linn," supposed to be 340 m. below Henry's fort, and at head of "40 miles" of cañon, including a place called Devil's Scuttle Hole. Three parties separated in different directions; Hunt remaining with 37 men and Pierre Dorion's wife and 2 children. Cached at Cauldron Linn. Division of party in two; Hunt, with 19 men, 1 woman, and 2 children, to go down N. side of Snake r., R. Crooks with 18 men on the other; various marches and countermarches; one party, reunited Dec. 23d, consisted of Hunt, 32 whites, 3 Indians, 1 woman, 2 children, 5 horses; this party struck W. from Snake r. Dec. 24th; struck Umatilla r. Jan. 7th, 1812, and thence reached the Columbia Jan. 21st; falls of the Columbia, and camp at village of Wishram, head of the Long Narrows, Jan. 31st; finally reached Astoria Feb. 15th, 1812. Franchère gives the same date, and says that Hunt arrived with 30 men, having left R. Crooks and 5 men among the Shoshones. It appears that R. McLellan, D. McKenzie, and John Reed had already reached Astoria (Jan. 18th). Thus nearly all who started down Snake r. reached Astoria in two parties, Jan. 18th and Feb. 15th; but R. Crooks and John Day did not reach the Columbia till some time in April; they were picked up by D. Stuart's party from Okanagan, and brought to Astoria May 11th, 1812.

The ship Beaver reached Astoria May 9th, 1812; on Aug. 4th Hunt left on her for the N. W. coast, etc. He returned to Astoria in the Albatross Aug. 4th, 1813, and left in her Aug. 25th for the Marquesas, where he was detained till Nov. 23d; arrived at the Sandwich Isls. Dec. 20th, 1813; left Jan. 22d, 1814, in the Pedlar, and arrived in her at Astoria as above, Feb. 28th, 1814. His present appearance seems to have been determined by the loss of the Lark, which Henry proceeds to narrate.

at the canoes. Our Clatsop hunter arrived from above with a biche and three large beavers in meat, fresh killed; this was a seasonable supply, as this morning we had nothing but salt and dried salmon for breakfast. The latter dish I cannot relish, and the former is bad without vegetables or bread of any kind.

At 1 p. m. Mr. McDonald returned from the ship; Mr. T. McKay and Mr. D. Stewart remained on board. We received a polite note from Mr. Hunt, in answer of ours of last evening, requesting our company on board the Pedlar. Mr. McDonald brought some large pumpkins, yams, sweet potatoes, etc. He also gave us news of the loss of the Lark.<sup>13</sup>

The Lark, of about 300 tons, Captain Northrop, sailed from New York Mar. 6th, 1813, under a license from Admiral Warren, to prevent her from being captured by British ships. On Aug. 12th, when in latitude 21° N., longitude 150° W., about five degrees from the Sandwich Islands,<sup>14</sup> she experienced a long spell of Trade-wind gales. The first mate was sick and confined to his bed; the second mate, a nephew of Mr. Astor, was a giddy young man; and no seamen were in charge of the ship. The captain had remained on deck 36 hours, when, the gale having somewhat moderated, he found himself overcome for want of sleep; and the sails being properly reefed and trimmed, he went down into the cabin at three o'clock. He desired

<sup>13</sup> This was a ship which Mr. Astor had fitted out with supplies for Astoria. Franchère gives a brief narration of her loss, which may be read at greater length in Cox, pp. 135, 136; Ross, pp. 260-262; and in Irving. All the accounts we have agree in the main, with much difference in details.

<sup>14</sup> "Vers le 16eme deg. de lat. nord, et à environ 100 lieues des îles Sandwich," Franchère; "in lat. 16° N., and 300 or 400 miles from the Sandwich Islands," Franchère's translator; "within about 300 miles," Cox, p. 135; "about 250 miles from the Sandwich Islands," Ross; "within a few degrees of the Sandwich Islands," Irving. The latter says that the officer who was to command her had shrunk from his engagement, and she had been given in charge of the mate, Mr. Northrop, when she sailed. The captain was Northrop when the disaster occurred—the same who later brings Mr. Hunt to Astoria on the Pedlar. Mr. Nicholas G. Ogden was the supercargo of the Lark

the steward to wake him at five o'clock and prepare tea for him, which was done accordingly; and just as he was taking a cup of tea the ship capsized. He and Mr. Ogden rushed to the companion-way, but found it shut upon them. They did not forget the necessity of getting out axes before the cabin should fill, and on forcing open the companion-way the water rushed in and soon filled the cabin. They instantly cut away the rigging and masts; when the latter fell overboard, to their inexpressible satisfaction, the ship righted, but was full of water. The first mate, who lay sick in his berth, was forced out through the skylight by the pressure of the water filling the cabin, and was then lashed fast. The wreck was cleared as speedily as possible under the circumstances. A juremast was rigged, and a scaffold made to stand on. The man at the helm, up to his waist in water, was lashed fast. Fortunately, they had two Sandwich Islanders on board who were expert divers, and who were able, by diving into the cabin, to bring up some wine, porter, Indian meal, and a few other articles, which supplied them while they continued in this deplorable situation—the ship swamped, lying like a log, and the sea frequently washing them off the scaffold, which was as often regained by swimming. That the ship did not sink was attributed to the quantity of casks of rum on board, which in a manner buoyed her up, and kept her afloat. She was a sharp-built vessel, the sea very high, and a tremendous one had taken her broadside on, and instantly upset her; this was through the ignorance of the second mate, who had not kept her up, or the accident would not have happened. Thus the wreck drifted for 17 days, during which time the winds fortunately drove her toward the Sandwich Islands. When within a few miles of Mowee,<sup>15</sup> some of the natives came off

<sup>15</sup> Or Maui, N. W. of Hawaii, divided into E. Maui and W. Maui, both high volcanic islands connected by a low isthmus; lat. of S. E. point 20° 44' N., long. 155° 58' W. Town of Lahina on W. side; present pop. about 12,000. Irving says that "the name of this inhospitable island," where the wreck of the Lark was looted, "was Tahoorowa"; this name is rendered Tahouraha by Franchère, and Tahouraka by his translator.



to them in canoes; and, observing their naked state, began to pillage the ship. Out of the original number of the crew (25 in all), 20 men only remained, the other 5 having perished.<sup>16</sup> It was only with much difficulty the survivors could prevail upon the natives to land them; this, however, was at last effected. The natives promised to secure the ship, while the crew went in search of the refreshment of which they stood in so much need. On their return they found the vessel torn to pieces, and the cargo collected for the use of King Tamaahmaah. Pork, flour, and other stores were piled on shore, and not an ounce would the native wreckers give the crew—not even their own chests of clothing, though the men at last succeeded, after much persuasion, in obtaining a suit of coarse clothes apiece. Tamaahmaah's brother-in-law took the whole cargo in charge for the king.<sup>17</sup> There were two white men on the island, one of whom behaved well, and interested himself for the crew, but to no purpose; the other proved to be a scoundrel. Nothing whatever was saved from the wreck.

Mr. Hunt had seen the frigate *Essex* in November last at the Marquesas, with her escort, the *Essex Union*, formerly the *Atlantic*, a South Sea whaler, captured and made into a sloop-of-war, and a remarkable sailer. The *Essex* had taken 12 prizes, but of little value; she knew of the *Phœbe*, *Cherub*, *Raccoon*, and *Isaac Todd*, bound for the *Columbia*, and was desirous of falling in with the *Phœbe*. The *Pedlar* sailed from the Sandwich Islands Jan.

<sup>16</sup> This tallies exactly with Irving, who says that one man was drowned in the fo'casl' when the ship capsized; first mate died on the 14th, and was swept away; two seamen were washed overboard on the 17th; and the black cook died on the 24th. Ross kills "six men, a boy, and one of the officers," p. 261; Cox kills "the second mate and four men," p. 135.

<sup>17</sup> "The illustrious Tamaahmaah . . . was a shrewd bargainer, and in the present instance proved himself an experienced wrecker. . . Tamaahmaah deputed his favorite, John Young, the tarpawlin governor of Owyhee, to proceed with a number of the royal guards, and take possession of the wreck on behalf of the crown," Irving. Ross, p. 33, calls the king Tammeatameah, and describes Young as an Englishman who had been bos'n of the American ship *Eleanor*, which left him there in 1796.

26th, in company with the Tamaahmaah, Captain Porter, an American letter of marque, which had on board the return cargos of four American coasting ships' furs, to the amount of \$300,000, bound to Canton. The Pedlar was 13 days beating off this coast, during which time she was obliged to run up as far N. as Juan de Fuca straits, and down again to the S., experiencing much bad weather. There is but one ship now on this coast, the packet Salem, which wintered at the Sandwich Islands. Had the Raccoon touched there on her way here, she would have made some valuable prizes.

We sent Mr. Hunt half of a biche by a Chinook canoe. Our boat arrived from Oak point with nine casks of salted and 37 fresh sturgeon. This afternoon we observed the brig under sail in a light breeze, though we had a dead calm; she made several tacks off and on, and at last stood in for the cape with a light breeze from the S. She passed Baker's bay, and stood up the middle channel. About dusk we lost sight of her, when she was nearly abreast of Chinook point.

*Porter of Salem Co. W. Co.*

*Mar. 3d.* The brig at anchor on the N. side of the shore, a mile E. of the last village from us. Some baggage belonging to Mr. Hunt was put aboard the Dolly, and at 8 a. m. she weighed anchor and stood for the brig, with a fine breeze, the N. W. Co. flag flying at her maintop. The brig instantly hoisted the American flag. A boat from the Pedlar landed here at 9 a. m., bringing Mr. Hunt with Messrs. T. McKay and D. Stuart; we hoisted our Union Jack. At ten the Dolly anchored here, not having delivered the baggage on board the Pedlar, there being no boat to receive it; her passengers, of course, also returned. The ship's boat returned with Mr. Seton<sup>18</sup> on board, who goes to sea in preference to crossing the mountains to Canada.

<sup>18</sup> Franchère, p. 169, speaks of Hunt's surprise at finding Astoria under the British flag, and says that he took on board the Pedlar all the Americans at Fort George who had not become engagés of the N. W. Co., adding: "MM. Halsey, Seton, et Farnham furent du nombre de ceux qui s'embarquèrent."

*March 4th.* Mr. Mathews, who came in yesterday, returned to Tongue point, which is now his station. At 10 a. m. the brig's boat came under sail, with a strong breeze; she brought some cocoanuts, etc.

Mr. Hunt called and entered upon his business, explaining his demands and making his requests; some were granted, others were refused. He pleaded hard for Joe and the cornmill. He wished to insure his vessel against any of ours, should any such arrive previous to his sailing; this we could not take upon ourselves to do. Several conferences and arguments took place. It was evident he wished to take away as many men as he could, and, on our part, we were as desirous of keeping them. The Sandwich Islanders wished much to see their own homes. But as this would not answer our purpose, of course we opposed it, and promised them a safe passage on our own ship. We consented to his taking with him four free Americans, who were useless to us.

This afternoon I had an opportunity of observing the total want of modesty, or even decency, in the women on this coast. I was walking on the wharf, where several women were washing themselves, as is their daily custom, in the small ponds left on the beach at low water. They were perfectly naked, and my presence did not affect their operations in the least. The disgusting creatures were perfectly composed, and seemed not to notice me. Although they stood naked in different postures, yet so close did they keep their thighs together that nothing could be seen. The operation over, they used their cedar coverings as towels, and, after drying themselves, tied them around their waists and walked away.

About 6 p. m. Mr. Hunt boarded his boat, hoisted sail, and steered for his vessel; in an hour we heard a gun, supposed to announce his arrival. We feast now on cocoanuts, yams, and sweet potatoes, all very good; and we also get a little milk from our goat, which is a great luxury, as we have neither sugar nor molasses for our coffee.

*Mar. 5th.* I was up early, and ready to return Mr. Hunt's visit. The Dolly weighed anchor, but not a breath of wind could reach us under the land, and we drifted up toward Tongue point with the tide. But soon a light S. E. breeze caught our sails and wafted us from under the land; the wind then increased, and carried us about two-thirds across the river, when it died away, and, as the tide was taking us up, we cast anchor. I fired a shot for the brig to send a boat for us, which she did, manned by six seamen, and at 11.30 a. m. we boarded the Pedlar of Boston, Captain Northrop, a handsome vessel of 225 tons burden, which sailed from Boston in January, 1811. She carried eight 30-pounders, and a crew of 12 able-bodied young seamen. She cost Mr. Hunt, at the Sandwich Islands, \$10,000 as she then was. The captain of this brig and some of her crew are a part of those formerly of the Lark. The Dolly soon got under way, and beat down to the brig, having the tide in her favor. I saw a black porpoise near the vessel, and the head of a large sea lion driving out to sea. These latter animals are very bulky and raise themselves high out of the water; but I saw no tusks, though I examined them attentively. At 4 p. m. we boarded the Dolly, and stood across the river. It took us 1½ hour, owing to the strong ebb tide and light breeze, though the usual run, with a good breeze, is only 45 minutes.

While I was on the brig, Comcomly and his second son came in his six-oared boat, given to him by Mr. McDonald. He was clothed by Mr. Hunt with a red coat, New Brunswick Regiment 104th, a Chinese hat, white shirt, cravat, trousers, cotton stockings, and a pair of fine shoes, and two guns were fired on the occasion. His son was clothed also, and both of them handsomely treated at table with the best of everything. This may be the way the natives are spoiled on this coast by the Americans; and the price paid for sea otters is astonishing. In short, the coasting trade is now of little value, and will yield small profits, if any, unless something can be done with the Russians, either on commission for

them, or by exchanging goods for fur seals [*Callorhinus ursinus*].

The crew of the brig were busy making and repairing sails, oakum, etc. They seemed to be much in want of cordage, as many of the ropes were of Sandwich Island manufacture; cocoanut husks, hemp, and the bark of a certain tree being commonly used. Rigging of this kind answers in dry weather, but cannot long withstand the rainy seasons on this coast. I sampled the liquor made on the Sandwich Islands by the natives; it is clear, in its natural state, and has a smoky taste something like whisky or bad gin. While on board, Comcomly gave us a piece of intelligence he said he had received from above, which was that many white men were on their way down here; they had been seen at the forks, and their chief was a man with long, curly hair. We put no faith in it.

*Sunday, Mar. 6th.* Messrs. Mathews, Thompson, and T. McKay went to the brig in a birch-rind canoe with the women. The Dolly also sailed for the brig, taking over Mr. Farnham, who ships as a sailor, and some cordage for the vessel. Several canoes, loaded with smelt and sturgeon, passed on to Coalpo's village, having sold some of the smelt to us. These people confirm the report that a number of whites are on the Columbia, making canoes to come down here. Comcomly's eldest son traded a few beaver skins for blankets.

*Mar. 7th.* Messrs. M., T., and McK. returned from the vessel. Our boat arrived from Oak point with Mr. Parks [Keith?] but only three sturgeon; they are getting scarce, and the natives extravagant in their demands. Several of our men intoxicated on rum given them on the brig by Mr. Hunt's orders, and fighting, as usual. This is the first they have tasted since the scanty dram on New Year's Day. Some have not had a drinking match since last summer; other not since the summer of 1812, and others, again, for a still longer time.

*Mar. 8th.* Business with the P. F. Co. fully entered upon

by all parties, with much talk, argument, and altercation. It was finally determined that the original invoices from New York should be produced. Some of us did not know before that these invoices had been here all winter, and are now on board the brig. The documents have been a bone of contention from the beginning of settling our accounts with Mr. McDougall; he always denied having these papers, which now, it appears, have been actually in his possession, and from which he took all the prices already stated on the accounts. We agreed to give up four Sandwich Islanders to Mr. Hunt, who had been desirous of taking them all.

*Mar. 9th.* A boat was sent to the brig for original invoices of the late P. F. Co., and soon returned with those per the Beaver, Captain Cornelius Sowle. Those per the Tonquin had been taken across the continent by Messrs. Ramsay Crooks and others, to recover the insurances; but true copies were produced, which Mr. Hunt gave his word of honor were genuine, testified by Messrs. Halsey and Franchère, and these were considered sufficient. Mr. J. Stuart and Mr. Hunt examined them; many errors were found, some articles being charged too high, and others too low—convincing proof that Mr. McDougall did not take the prices from the original invoices. Many disagreeable altercations took place between the parties concerned, both yesterday and to-day. It remained for us either to settle the account according to the first arrangement, or return things to their original state, or deliver up the fort to the P. F. Co. as received from them last fall. None of these alternatives would be convenient for us; and, for special reasons, we wished to avoid pushing matters to extremes, not being prepared for an event which undoubtedly would end in the failure of our business here.

*Mar. 10th.* Indians traded beavers, hats, and one beautiful, seasonable sea otter, the first I have seen with a white or yellow pelt, the fur long, jet black, and of soft, silky texture. Comcomly and Stockum also came over, the former in his yawl, his slaves rowing, a spritsail rigged, rudder

See Robinson's notes  
p. 243

hung, and everything complete; himself and his younger son dressed up in fine European clothing, given them by Mr. McDonald.

*Mar. 11th.* Our boat returned from Oak point with 52 sturgeon and one cask of salted ditto. One of the largest we have seen measured 10 feet 7 inches over all, the head 3 feet 10 inches in circumference; it weighed, after the guts were out, 359 lbs. Mr. Keith writes to us that the Nez Percés and Scietogas have been to war on the tribes at the falls, killed a great many, and carried off a number of slaves; which has caused the natives to abandon their villages and fly to the woods in a panic. The Dolly came from the brig, bringing Captain Northrop on a visit to Fort George. He returned in the afternoon.

*Mar. 12th.* A Chinook brought in eight fine fresh salmon trout, the first this season; they weighed five to eight pounds each. The business with Mr. Hunt is nearly closed. Mr. D. McDougall having assigned the agreement over to him, he has appointed Mr. D. McKenzie to take charge of the papers, to be delivered to Mr. Astor or his agent in Montreal. Every point being now settled to the satisfaction of Mr. Hunt, the accounts are balanced and closed, bills given him by Mr. J. McDonald for the amount as per agreement of former settlement, and our account current made out and signed on sight by our party, which Mr. Hunt holds; the other by Mr. Hunt from Mr. Astor, which we hold, made out in Mr. Astor's name, same as inventories, etc.; 12 letters of advice given him, one for each copy. This evening the business was finally closed; but when the furs were offered to him, he objected to any terms, which causes us to suspect he has some views in contemplation, as in the commencement of the business he signified his readiness to take the furs off our hands.

*Sunday, Mar. 13th.* An Indian brought in an albatross [*Diomedea exulans*],<sup>19</sup> just killed; body and tail white; head

<sup>19</sup>This is an interesting find, and an important passage in Henry; for the wandering albatross has not to this day been authenticated as occurring in

and wings gray; bill and legs very pale pink; bill seven inches long, hooked like an eagle's; wings very narrow, measuring from tip to tip 94 inches. At 1 p. m. Mr. Hunt left in his boat, with Messrs. Haisey and Seton; at two the Dolly steered for the brig, taking Messrs. T. McKay, J. Clarke, and D. Stuart. Our mess is now reduced by settlement of our business with the P. F. Co., with whom we have no further dealings, except to carry those who remain here across the mountains to Montreal.

*Mar. 14th.* Mr. McDonald went on board the Pedlar. An old woman arrived from the Willamette; she brought from Mr. W. Henry a receipt to Casino for the four horses taken to his home. Traded a few outardes, and some roots [wappatoo?] resembling moose dung in size and shape; they appear to be a kind of ground-nut, and are very good. Mr. McDonald returned.

*Mar. 15th.* At 10 a. m. Mr. Pettit [Pillet] set off in a canoe with a letter to Mr. William Henry, on the Willamette, desiring him to leave at once with all his people, and be here by the 25th inst. Messrs. McDougall and McDonald went to Tongue point. Our boat brought 55 fresh and some casks of salted sturgeon. Many Indian canoes traded dried smelt, hats, mats, beavers, land otters, etc.

*Mar. 16th.* The Dolly returned with a present to Mr. McDonald and the gentlemen who are going to cross the mountains, as follows: viz., 1 hhd. biscuit, 2 bbls. beef, 1 bbl. pork, 1 bbl. flour, 1 bbl. molasses, 1 keg rum, 3 kegs peas, 1 keg barley, 1 bag wheat, 1 bag corn, 1 Hinghan basket tea, and 1 Hinghan basket coffee.

*Mar. 17th.* Messrs. J. Stuart and Clarke off to the brig; a boat off to Oak point for sturgeon; Indians in to trade. Comcomly and family came in his boat, with two large

North America, unless we have the voucher here. The description seems to me unmistakable. See my note on this case in *The Auk*, Apr., 1895, p. 178, where I cite the passage from the Coventry copy, differing in some particulars, and of date 1813 instead of 1814.



spritsails set, in a stiff breeze; I expected to see her upset, but her Indians appeared expert in managing the sails and helm. They returned to their village under the same heavy press of sail, making several tacks. Messrs. J. Stuart and Clarke returned, with close reefed sails—no fear of their drowning, as they hardly carried sail enough to make headway.

*Mar. 18th.* About 10 a. m. the Pedlar got under way and went to Chinook point, where she cast anchor, the wind being too light to pass the bar, as the breakers were high, and with the strong ebb tide she might become unmanageable and ground on the shoals, as nearly happened to the Albatross last summer. About noon Messrs. T. McKay and D. Stuart came in a Chinook canoe from the Pedlar.

A few Chiehilths<sup>20</sup> came over, a number of these people having arrived at the Chinook villages, preparatory to a battle shortly to take place between their tribe and the followers of Stockum, one of the Chinook chiefs. It appears strange that savages who are at variance, and bent upon fighting in a few days, should be together in the same village, apparently on good terms; but such are the customs of these people. No thirst for blood causes them to engage in war—merely a point of honor, to be satisfied by presents either in goods or slaves, or by blood; and this etiquette once settled, they are friends again. Comcomly invited us over to see the fight, which was to take place on the beach at Chinook point. The Indians brought us to trade several catskins of various colors, black, gray, yellow, and striped, some of which were much larger than our common cats. They tell us they find them wild in the woods, and I suppose they may have originated from Spanish ships which have been cast away on this coast. We know of vessels having been lost only a few miles S. of the Columbia.

<sup>20</sup> Chehalis, a Salishan tribe on the coast N. of the Columbia; the Chilts or Chiltz of L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 717, 761. "The Chilts, a small tribe who inhabit the coast to the northward of Cape Disappointment," Cox, p. 146.

*Mar. 19th.* We observed the Pedlar hauled within Chinook point, nearer the shore than she was last night. About 9 a. m. Mr. D. Stuart went on board, and a meeting was held, as usual with much altercation; former plans being laid aside, others objected to, new proposals made and entered upon, etc. Mr. J. Stuart has now concluded to go to Fort William. A canotée of freemen arrived from the Willamette, news having reached that place of the arrival of the brig. We heard from the Chinooks that the natives at the falls had sustained a severe defeat by a vast number of Indians from above, who attacked the village at the Dalles in the daytime, killed as many as they could, and burned women and children in their houses—in short, that the whole village was destroyed. At five o'clock Mr. Keith arrived in a boat with 48 sturgeons. He and Mr. Franchère had had several quarrels with individuals who were insolent and thievish. Mr. Keith kicked one, who bent his bow upon him. Mr. Franchère broke the stem of a canoe with an oar, and checked some others.

*Sunday, Mar. 20th.* The last of the free Americans,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> There is some uncertainty about this John Day; either there were two persons of the identical name on the Columbia, or else certain accounts which reach us are irreconcilable. We have the overland Astorian John Day at full length in Irving: see also my ed. of L. and C., p. 655, for this John Day, and pp. 655, 722, 905, 967, 970, 675, for two different rivers named John Day. He was a stalwart Virginian backwoodsman, who had been with Ramsay Crooks on the Missouri before he joined the Astorians in camp at the mouth of the Nadowa in Nov., 1810; then about 40 years old, and still of splendid physique, somewhat impaired by exposures and excesses. He did not reach Astoria till May 11th, 1812, he and Crooks having been two who were picked up on the Columbia in deplorable state by D. Stuart's party from Fort Okanagan. Day started back overland to St. Louis June 29th or 30th, 1812, with Crooks, R. McLellan, R. Stuart, and others, but became violently insane, attempted his own life, and was sent back to Astoria, where, Irving says, he died "within a year." I have struck a John Day trail in other connections, which I have never been able to make out, except upon the supposition that Irving killed his John Day a little prematurely. It is also significant, probably, that we have no exact date of death, and it is more likely that Astorian Day lived a little longer than that two John Days are in question. We shall also find that Henry names one Joshua Day among those who leave on the overland journey Apr. 4th, 1814.

John Day, Carson,<sup>22</sup> and Canning,<sup>23</sup> arrived from the Willamette. At 6 a. m. the Pedlar dropped down about two miles, near Baker's bay, where she anchored, to await the ebb tide. Mr. Clarke went on board with the freemen.

The natives at Oak point, during the time Mr. Keith was there, killed five very large sea lions [*Eumetopias stelleri*],<sup>24</sup> by spearing them at night. Two canoes being lashed together, they approach very softly, and throw their spears, which are fastened by a long, strong cord, with a barb so fixed in a socket that, when it strikes the animal and pierces the flesh, it is detached from the shaft of the spear, but remains fastened to the cord. This is instantly made fast between the canoes; the animal dives and swims down river, dragging the canoes with such velocity that they may be in danger of filling, and require great skill in

<sup>22</sup> Alexander Carson was a Missouri River hunter and trapper with Benjamin Jones two years before he met and joined the overland Astorians near the Omaha villages, about May 15th, 1811. He went on with them, but detached himself with St. Michel to trap, at the confluence of Hoback's r. with Mad r., tributaries of the Snake, Sept. 28th, 1811. He is found on Snake r. again, in the summer of 1812; then he disappears until he turns up here again in Henry, and goes overland with the others Apr. 4th, 1814.

<sup>23</sup> William Cannon, who had been a soldier when engaged at Mackinac by W. P. Hunt for the overland Astorian party, in July, 1810. He cut no figure with the Astorians, and Henry's mention of him is the only other item I have ever found. He stays at Fort George when the others go: see list beyond, Apr. 4th.

<sup>24</sup> This is an exceptionally important passage. I hardly know where else to find positive indication of the former occurrence of Steller's sea lion on the Columbia. L. and C. speak of "seals," passim, and on p. 853 of my ed. of 1893 I note the various pinnipeds which were or may have been found in those years, but without actual identification of any species excepting the common one, *Phoca vitulina*. Henry's account fully identifies *Eumetopias stelleri*, which is the only animal capable of dragging a canoe several miles, being of a "chestnut" color, etc. This great sea lion appears of some reddish shade in the water—sorrel, bay, or chestnut, as the case may be with age or season, and shows lighter, of a dingy brownish-yellow, when high and dry on land. The only other sea lion of the Pacific coast, *Zalophus californianus*, is quite blackish in the water, too small to drag a canoe far when harpooned, and decidedly more southerly in habitat, being hardly, if at all, found N. of Cape Mendocino. Steller's sea lion is now found chiefly in Bering sea, with the fur seal, *Callorhinus ursinus*.

steering. In this manner they are carried down some miles before the animal becomes exhausted with loss of blood, makes for the shore, and lies on the beach, where they dispatch it and cut it up. The price of a sea lion among the natives is one slave and an assortment of other articles. Mr. Keith bought the flesh of one of these animals, and we had some roasted; it resembles bear's meat. The hair is like that of a horse, in summer of a chestnut color. The natives, and also the Russians, are particularly fond of marine animals, such as whales, etc.; they drink the oil like milk.

There arrived from the Clatsop village, in several canoes, on their way up river, about 20 men of the Callemex<sup>25</sup> nation, who dwell southward on the coast. They had their bows and arrows with them, and were very inquisitive in examining our fort, cannon, houses, animals, etc.; in short, everything appeared strange to them. They have the same appearance as the other tribes, but their language is different. Their robes consist chiefly of red deer, dressed in the skin, and a few of wood rats; they have the same flat forehead as their neighbors. They brought to trade some clemens [?], or war garments made of thick red deer-skins dressed in the grain with urine. They left us to go above, they said, on a visit.

About 9 a. m. the Pedlar dropped down the channel, between Chinook point and Baker's bay, where she appeared to roll heavily, and every sea shook the wind out of the sails; the wind failing, she dropped anchor, but still pitched about. About 4 p. m. she got under way, with a light W. breeze, made several tacks, and stood down Baker's bay close under Cape Disappointment, which having passed about a mile, she came to anchor between the spit and the other bar, the wind failing.

*Mar. 21st.* Canoes continually crossing and recrossing.

<sup>25</sup> Henry uses the same form of the name that Gass does, p. 180; Callamox, Kilamox, and Killamuck, of L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 744; now commonly Tillamook, the Salishan tribe living on the coast at and near Tillamook head.

Blue flies are swarming on the piles of rancid dried smelt and salmon we have thrown away, being the remainder of the last year's stock, now unfit to eat. The Pedlar was not to be seen, and the Chinooks said she sailed last night. What course she had taken we knew not; some said N. to the Russian settlements at Naufaulk sound [*i. e.*, Sitka, on Norfolk sound], for goods, and that Mr. Hunt told them he would be back in six weeks to trade. Mr. McDonald asked 18 men to engage; only three agreed.

The Indian women brought in a quantity of cranberries [*Vaccinium macrocarpon*] and some roots. About this season, their stock of dried fish being exhausted, they are generally short of provisions, and their only resource is to go up river and purchase sturgeon and smelt; but few have the means to do this. It is, therefore, customary about this time to feed upon roots of various kinds, among which is flag or jonc, and joints of long goosegrass or prêle [*Equisetum telmateia*], which grows uncommonly high here. This vegetable diet has the good effect of purifying the blood and cleaning them of scabs. I am told that by June, when the salmon come in, they are clear of scabs, from which at present few, if any, are exempt; even venereal disease is checked by this diet, and sometimes cured.

*Mar. 22d.* I observed more women on the ground than I had seen before—70 at one time. Comcomly came over with dried smelt to trade, saying the Pedlar had narrowly escaped being lost on the bar, and had returned to Baker's bay. Mr. T. McKay and some freemen boarded the Dolly and sailed for the brig, the wind light from the N. W. I finished my letters for E. of the Rocky mountains.

*Mar. 23d.* Several Chinooks who had slept here, mostly women, bartering their favors with the men, embarked early, and took the traverse of the river in a thick fog. Mr. [?] McKay finished five cedar canoes. In his last trip for boards he could hardly get enough, as good cedar has become scarce near this place. The beaver are of very good quality; their pelt is clear, though not scraped, and the fur long and fine,

of a tolerably good dark color, but not really black. Some of the summer men for Fort George were settled, and sent to Tongue point. We began to make out the orders to be sent to England for the Columbia outfit for 1815.

*Mar. 24th.* Employed in making out the orders, etc. Our boat returned from Oak point with 44 sturgeon; Mr. Franchère writes that the fishery is now drawing to a close.

*Mar. 25th.* At 7 a. m., Messrs. Wm. Henry, D. McGillis, Peittet [F. B. Pillet], Wm. Wallace, Yam [?], and McKay [?], arrived from the Willamette in three wooden canoes, with 20 packs of beaver and about 1,000 lbs. of gum, part collected by the natives and part by our men. The freemen had only 15 beavers, 3 otters, and 1 black bear. The natives seemed more reconciled to our people than they were in the beginning, expressed regret on their leaving, and begged them to return. The chief of the Calipuyowes took charge of the buildings, the four horses, and two hogs. About 30 Yamhelas also came there from Yellow river a few days before our departure, brought an abundance of baked commass, and they too invited us to return. The beaver from that river look well; pelt thin, clean, and light, fur dark and very good, but not black. Were the weather cold enough to admit of scraping the skins, they would equal the best prime we have had on the E. side of the mountains. Our people left their houses on the 21st inst. Two canoes with freemen arrived, Bellaire and Ignace l'Iroquois, and their families. Mr. Bethune began to settle the men's accounts and to prepare them for departure; many of them are very ill with the venereal. Our orders for 1815 also went on.

*Mar. 26th.* Messrs. Wallace and McGillis off in a Chinook canoe to the Pedlar in Baker's bay. At 4 p. m. the Dolly returned, Mr. T. McKay on board.

*Sunday, Mar. 27th.*<sup>26</sup> Settling with the men, engaging,

<sup>26</sup> "On the 27th of March," says Ross, p. 274, "as soon as the people from all quarters were assembled together, and the papers and drafts belonging to Mr. Astor delivered over to Mr. McKenzie, Mr. Hunt called all the clerks

etc. Dufresne and Brousseau,<sup>27</sup> two P. F. Co. men, were assigned to us by Mr. [Thomas] McKay; they being under articles of engagement with their former employers, who imprudently gave them up their agreements some time ago. Now these fellows wish to go to Montreal to prosecute the P. F. Co. for their wages. Mr. McKay says they shall not go out, being engaged; they say they will go out; and thus the matter rests. It was determined to keep the furs at Fort George, and endeavor to save them on the appearance of danger from any American vessel.

*Mar. 28th.* Examined the Willamette packs, some of them being wet; settled American freemen's accounts; packed goods for the interior; named men for their canoes, six to each; finished the order for 1815. Error and mistake in calculations in expected returns ascertained; denial of statement; contradiction lies at some individual's [McDougall's] door, who is deficient in memory, or rather has a convenient memory to answer his own ends. Wm. Canning [Cannon] engaged to remain here. Made out statement of the people to be sent overland. Rough sketch of a letter made out by Mr. McDougall, addressed to us.

*Mar. 29th.* Finished packing goods for the interior. Canoes given out to the men to be pegged and prepared for gumming. Arrangements made with J. Day, Carson, and other freemen, on halves for Spanish river. All the Sandwich Islanders' accounts settled, \$8 per M. h., no equipment. T [Thomas?] McKay engaged. Indians traded a good many dried smelt, but having about 1,000 fathoms, which is as much as we want, we lower our price. Our boat returned

before him, and entering into a full detail of the unfortunate circumstances which brought about the failure of the enterprize," made them a speech, certain offers, etc. "Mr. Hunt was a conscientious and upright man—a friend to all, and beloved as well as respected by all. I found \$500 placed to my account, and Mr. Seaton [Alfred Seton] the same," p. 276.

<sup>27</sup> Not further identified: but these two men evidently carried their point, for they "went out" with the overland party which left Apr. 4th: see the list beyond.—One Brousseau was on Peace r. in 1800.—Joseph Brousseau is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., La Pointe, 1804.

with 20 sturgeon and five casks of salted sturgeon. Messrs. D. McGillis and W. Wallace returned from Baker's bay, where the Pedlar still lies. Letters were addressed to the proprietors by Mr. McDougall, resigning his charge to me, approved by all present, and signed accordingly.

*Mar. 30th.* I took charge of the goods and began to make out the inventory. Joseph St. Amant and Landrie<sup>28</sup> engaged for the summer, being free to hunt on the Willamette in winter. People now all finally settled with. Took an account of furs on hand, and packed goods for the interior.

*Mar. 31st.* Some Indians came to trade, but we put them off till to-morrow, all hands being too busy. I finished the principal part of the inventory, and would have closed the whole, had not a misunderstanding arisen on the score of the kitchen furniture.

*Friday, Apr. 1st.* Much hurry and bustle in the fort. Mr. J. Stuart fought with Le Barte, a P. F. Co. man, for objecting to assist in gumming canoes. A letter was written to Mr. Bethune, signed by us all. Indians came in to trade; we took articles from the garret for that purpose, put in the shop our dried smelt, war garments, a few beavers, etc., and removed all the pieces for the upper country from the garret. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and all were busy making knickknacks for the gentlemen who are going above, and have been so employed since the 15th ult.—some since the 1st ult. All this takes up time and materials, with little benefit to the concern. This afternoon we took a dish of

<sup>28</sup> Landrie or Landry is a common name in these annals.—François Landry was an overland Astorian, and one of those left with André La Chapelle and J. B. Turcotte on Snake r., where he was found in 1812; he either died in the fall of 1813, or was one of the wintering party massacred in 1813-14.—Joseph Landry, *dit* Cadien, started with (Sir) A. McKenzie from Fort Chipewyan for the Arctic Ocean June 3d, 1789; returned; started again with him for the Pacific ocean from the post on Peace r., where they had wintered, May 9th, 1793, and made the round trip.—Louis Landrie is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—Nicolas Landry is listed as interpreter N. W. Co., Red Lake Dept., Sept., 1804.



tea with sugar, the first we had tasted for a long time; it is a great and indeed the only luxury in the N. W. I was informed by Mr. D. [*sic*] McKay of Mr. McDougall's private communication to Mr. Coite [*sic*] regarding Mr. C.'s having been excluded by the agents, etc. Sent Mr. J. Stuart to explain matters to Mr. Croite [*sic*—qu: Clarke?].

*Apr. 2d.* A letter was written to Mr. McDougall by Mr. McDonald on our part, regarding the information received last night. Mr. McDougall wished to explain himself at the meeting of the partners, which was objected to, his answer in writing being desired. He answered in a letter addressed to Mr. McDonald, denying the accusations, accompanied by a certificate from Mr. C[*sic*], and another from Mr. D. Stuart, denying that the information came from Mr. McDougall. An answer was returned, which concluded the letters of this morning, and matters stood as before.

At 3 p. m. with the ebb tide and a fresh N. W. breeze the Pedlar got under way; we soon saw her cross the bar, and in about an hour she passed out of sight, steering S. under a heavy press of sail. A safe passage to her!

At five Mr. Franchère arrived from Oak point with only 15 sturgeons; they are becoming scarce. Salmon are jumping at Oak point, and at Willamette falls they begin to catch a few. Canoes are all gummed and ready to start. Packed up the best dried salmon we had for the men going up; they cannot eat dried smelt, but our men here must. Bonsan, an Indian from Oak point, brought down half a dozen fresh hen's eggs; those people have a few hens, hogs, cats, and goats, which were given them by the P. F. Co., about the time they dissolved partnership last summer. Mr. Franchère brought down the dogs belonging here that had been sent up the Willamette to winter, to prevent their death, as living on the raw salmon here, last summer and fall, killed many of them. They are of an excellent breed, of the mastiff kind; old Nero is a noble animal, which once in Canton saved his master, the captain of an

American vessel, from being assaulted by a party of Chinese, who surrounded and attacked him. The dog seized the fellows, and preserved his master's life. The dog was captured by the assailants and had his feet broken short; but with much difficulty he was recovered, and afterward given to Mr. Hunt at the Sandwich Islands. The bitches are of the hound breed, all good watch dogs.

*Sunday, Apr. 3d.* I now desired smelt to be traded at one fathom of small blue Canton beads for five fathoms of smelt; yesterday we had traded at four fathoms. Coalpo arrived from a trip to Gray's harbor. He reports two ships trading at Queenhithe<sup>29</sup>, intending to stop here on their way S. Nootka Jack or José A'cha is on board as an interpreter. We suppose them to be the Forister [?] and the Packee [?], the latter the only American vessel on the coast; she sailed from the Sandwich Islands in company with the Pedlar, bound N. on a coasting trade. The Forister had already sailed, but where bound nobody knew. Coalpo had two beautiful sea otters as a robe. Mr. Franchère was offered £100 per annum, which he declined, saying his mind was made up to go to Montreal.<sup>30</sup> A long argument

<sup>29</sup> This appears to stand for Queniutt, Quinaiutt, Quinaiult, or Quinaielt, name of an Indian tribe who lived on the coast of Washington a little N. of Gray's harbor. A large Indian reservation of this name now occupies the N. W. part of Chehalis Co., Wash., with a lake, a river, and a place on the coast, all called by the same name; and this latter place, between Cape Elizabeth and Point Greenville, seems to be what Henry means by "Queenhithe." I print the name of the two ships as they stand in copy, though we may conjecture Forester and Packer to be meant. The copy gets very bad along here, toward the close of the present chapter; some of it is so blind and lame that I have had to leave out a good deal as simply unintelligible, and my best attempts to mend it in a few other places—notably where the McKay names occur—do not satisfy me that I have set it entirely right. It is a muskeg where the wariest editor could hardly take a step without putting his foot in it.

<sup>30</sup> "Malgré les offres très avantageuses des messieurs de la Compagnie, et leurs instances réitérées, pour m'engager à rester dans le pays, au moins encore une année, je demeurai ferme dans ma première résolution," Franchère, p. 170. "On the 3d of April Mr. Hunt, accompanied by Mr. Halsey, Mr. Seaton, Mr. Clapp, and Mr. Farnham, embarked on board the *Pedlar* at three o'clock in the afternoon, and took their final departure from Fort George. Mr.

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was occasioned by Mr. McDougall's having traded more sea otters than had been agreed upon between him and our gentlemen. Mr. McDougall insisted that permission to that effect had taken place between him and Mr. McTavish, and there the matter rested. We are now 20 people at table, eight women and children, and five servants in the kitchen—no small family, and not much to eat. This afternoon baggage was given out to the men per canoe, and everything made ready for an early embarkation. We closed all our letters and papers to be taken across the mountains by Mr. McDonald.

*Apr. 4th.* At daybreak we were all stirring, and most were preparing for departure. After breakfast, at 7.30 a. m., the gentlemen took their leave, and set off in four bark and six wooden canoes, manned by six men each and two passengers, all heavily loaded and deeply sunk.<sup>21</sup> Just as they were pushing off Comcomly arrived, and shortly afterward, on my making inquiry, we learned that the Indians from Queenhithe had reported three vessels near this place, one of them a large ship, like the Raccoon, with many men, and two rows of cannon. Two were trading vessels,

[Donald] M'Lennan, Ross Cox, and myself, entered the North-West service; and I proceeded to resume my former charge at Oakinacken," says Ross, p. 276.

<sup>21</sup>Franchère makes the outfit a little different—5 bark and 5 wooden canoes, 7 men and 2 passengers in each, total 90 persons, to Henry's 80. "Nous quittâmes le Fort-George, le Lundi matin, 4 Avril, sur 10 canots, dont 5 étaient d'écorce, et 5 de bois de cèdre, portant chacun 7 hommes d'équipage et 2 passagers, tous bien armés. MM. J. G. M'Tavish, D. Stuart, J. Clarke, [F.] B. Pillet, W. Wallace, D. M'Gillis, D. M'Kenzie, &c. étaient du voyage," he says, p. 206. No doubt he is right about there being only five cedar canoes, as Henry has told us that just that number were made by Mr. McKay for this voyage. Also, as Franchère went with this party, his count of the total number of men should be reliable, and 90 has usually been supposed correct. But Henry presently gives us the full list of names, only 76 in number for the gentlemen and men, without counting the women and children. Henry is so particular, as a rule, with his schedules and inventories, that I am inclined to suspect the good Franchère sized up the party in round numbers without actually counting noses; and in any event, we have now for the first time the names of all or nearly all the males who composed this important expedition—absolutely the end of P. F. Co. Astoria, left as N. W. Co. Fort George.

but the armed ship none of the natives had been on board. They say it is Captain Black's, a thing impossible; we conjecture she must be, if an armed ship, formerly the Atlantic, taken last summer by the frigate Essex, and made a sloop-of-war. At eight I sent Mr. Bethune and eight men in Comcomly's canoe, with the chief's son, to inform our gentlemen of the report. We still saw the brigade, just doubling Tongue point. Comcomly brought a few beavers to trade, and some Queenhithe dried salmon, which were excellent—the best fish I have seen on the Columbia. They are small, not more than 18 inches long, very red, and exceedingly fat. They are found to the N. and frequent the small creeks and bays on the coast about the month of March. He also brought a few shell fish, which are here called clams, but I do not think they are real clams, being smaller and covered with regular ridges from back to front, expanding as they project forward, and closing with the utmost nicety; they are very good eating. Mr. Bethune returned, having spoken to Mr. McDonald at Tongue point, where the brigade had put ashore and was just pushing off. Messrs. McDonald and McKenzie seemed confident that there was no danger to be apprehended, there being no American ship-of-war on the coast or on the Pacific ocean.

On paying attention to the behavior of Comcomly, Coalpo, and some other principal men, we found them quite changed toward us, being cool and reserved. We supposed this resulted from the promises Mr. Hunt held out to the natives during his stay in Baker's bay. It is evident that nothing will reconcile them to us but the arrival of a vessel belonging to us, when we may expect to regain their confidence and respect. We have been so long holding out to them the idea of our expected ship, the Isaac Todd, that they are inclined to suspect we are impostors who have supplanted their first and best friends, as they conceive the Americans to be, in order to exclude them from the country, to which the natives say we have

no right. Pains are taken to make them understand the true grounds on which we stand, not as a temporary but permanent establishment, to supply them with their necessaries as long as they deserve such attention. We understand that 30 or 40 large war canoes of the Chiehilths [Chehalis] are expected at Chinook point in a few days, to decide the dispute I have already mentioned. Chinooks are now collecting on Tongue point for the sturgeon fishery which will shortly commence. They are great thieves; Mr. Mathews has enough to do to watch the tools and utensils under his charge.

The following is a statement of people at Fort George this day, for the summer:<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> This is an important list in several respects. Besides showing us that there were 126 persons at Fort George on the departure of the brigade (for 76 went, and here are 50 left), it fills what would otherwise be an absolute blank in the personalities of the place. I annotate the list as follows:

Nos. 7, 8, freemen; occupation not given.

Nos. 9, 10, marked by Henry as hunters. No. 9, "Bowethich," may be for Bostick or Bostwick, and that reminds us that Henry Bostwick, an English trader, was present with the elder Henry, Mr. Tracy, and Ezekiel Solomon, at the Michilimakinac massacre of June 4th, 1763; he was left in the fort with Major Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie, rescued, ransomed at Montreal, and, no doubt, had progeny; which may account for the appearance of an unusual name in the present connection.

Nos. 11, 12, marked by Henry as blacksmiths.

No. 14, here noted by Henry as carpenter, is no doubt La Bonté, Canadian voyageur, who was one of the overland Astorians under W. P. Hunt, 1811-12.—Benjamin La Bonté is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Rainy l., 1804.

No. 15 is given as carpenter; No. 16, as seaman.

No. 17, Joseph Pelton, described by Henry as an idiot, I have not noted elsewhere; but here is a curious question: Archibald Pelton, of Connecticut (Petton in Cox, p. 61), was a young man who went up the Missouri with the trader Andrew Henry, and was at Henry's post on Henry's fork of Snake r. when the Blackfeet massacred the garrison, in or about 1808; he was found, deranged in mind, by the overland Astorians in 1811, when he had been about three years a fugitive among the Shoshones, and taken along by the party. The identity of "Archibald" with "Joseph" Pelton would seem more probable than that there should have been two crazy Peltons in the same place about the same time. But there were two idiots at Fort George; for Cox, pp. 142-44, describes one Judge as a poor half-witted Bostonian, overland Astorian under Hunt, murdered by Killymucks (Tillamooks) at Fort George about a

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|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Alexander Henry        | 26. Harry                   |
| 2. Duncan McDougall       | 27. Chester                 |
| 3. William Henry          | 28. Paraurrie               |
| 4. Angus Bethune          | 29. John Coxe               |
| 5. William W. Mathews     | 30. Basile Lussier          |
| 6. Joseph Cartier         | 31. Louis La Plante         |
| 7. Joseph St. Amant       | 32. Louis Pocquin           |
| 8. Étienne Lussier        | 33. Jean Baptiste Sakanakie |
| 9. Joseph Bowethich       | 34. Antoine Pembrillant     |
| 10. Joseph Wakeman        | 35. Louis Mousseau          |
| 11. Augustin Roussel      | 35. Michel Laframboise      |
| 12. François Duchouquette | 37. Michel Sansom           |
| 13. Benjamin Duchesne     | 38. William Canning         |
| 14. Louis La Bonté        | 39. Antoine Belleau         |
| 15. Charles Chapert       | 40. Michel Catenoire        |
| 16. Joseph Ashton         | 41. Louis Dienelle          |
| 17. Joseph Pelton         | 42. Joseph Gervais          |
| 18. Jean Baptiste Crevier | 43. François Landrie        |
| 19. William Perreault     | 44. Alex. La Prade          |
| 20. James Coah            | 45. Antoine Maineau         |
| 21. Isaac Teow            | 46. Alexis Masson           |
| 22. Thomas Pakeeknaak     | 47. Jean Baptiste Préveau   |
| 23. Patrick Oui           | 48. François Payette        |
| 24. Peter Pahai           | 49. Aimable Quesnel         |
| 25. Paul Poak             | 50. François Martiale       |

month after the arrival of the Isaac Todd ; no mention of him in Henry, or elsewhere, that I can discover.

Nos. 18, 19, cooks. No. 19 is no doubt the same as Guillame Perrault of Franchère's Tonquin list. One Perrault, described by Cox as a half-breed boy, N. W. Co., left Fort George Apr. 16th, 1817, overland, for Fort William.

Nos. 20-29, inclusive, are Sandwich Islanders.

Nos. 30-38 are noted by Henry as confined to their room with venereal disease, with one man to wait on them.—Nos. 30, 31, 32, are marked "G," meaning guide.—No. 33 is marked "D," for ducent, a term Henry often uses for bowman.—Nos. 34, 35, 36 are marked "M," middleman.—No. 37 was a blacksmith.—No. 38, a millwright.—No. 32, Louis "Pocquin," is a man who figures as Louis Paquia in Thompson's MSS. Louis and Joseph Paquia were both with Thompson on the Kootenay in May, 1811 ; Louis was engaged for

Inventory of provisions on hand: 18 casks rotten California beef; 23 casks sturgeon; 1 cask bad California grease; 1 cask bad California corn; 1 cask raw tallow;  $\frac{3}{4}$  cask beak or arrow root;  $\frac{1}{4}$  cask flour;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cask coffee, net weight 160 pounds;  $3\frac{1}{4}$  tierces of rice;  $2\frac{1}{2}$  casks of vinegar; 15 pounds damaged baked tea. We also have the milk of two goats, one giving 1 quart in the morning, and

two years by Thompson, on June 5th, 1811, and on Sept. 25th was sent by Thompson from Canoe r. down the Columbia to meet Mr. Finan McDonald.—No. 33 is the baptized Indian, whose name has come up before, p. 782.—No. 34, Antoine Pembrillant, not otherwise known.—No. 35, Louis Mousseau, has been noted, with others of same surname.—No. 36, Michel Laframboise, Canadian voyageur, was a Tonquinian Astorian from N. Y. Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811, and probably the same Michel Laframboise who is known to have been established on Willamette r. before 1842.—Alexandre Laframboise, Canadian, traded on Milwaukee r. in 1777, or soon after, and had in his service one Stanislas Chaput or Chapert.

Nos. 39-50, inclusive, are noted by Henry as more or less affected with venereal disease, or otherwise disabled from going as middlemen with the brigade which left Apr. 4th; they are, therefore, all Canadian voyageurs. Several of these names have already come up; for the rest, I note: No. 41, Louis Dienelle, is found beyond as Louis Dreuelle (May 1st).—No. 42, Joseph Gervais, is very probably the same person who has been noted as on Willamette r., about 1838.—No. 43, for the questionable case of François Landrie: see note <sup>38</sup>, p. 862; surname varies to Landry and Landier.—No. 46, Alexis "Marson," is a peculiarly dubious name; I suppose it to be Masson, and so set in several places, where a blind word like "Mascou" or "Mesen" occurs. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that Cox has one Maçon (same word as Masson), voyageur N. W. Co., who left Fort George Apr. 16th, 1817, to go overland to Fort William, but at Canoe r. was sent back to Spokane house with six other invalids, was wrecked, soon died, and was then eaten by his companions: see the horrible story about La Pierre, in next note.—No. 47, Jean Baptiste "Préveau," offers another one of several questionable Astorian cases; for "Préveau" can hardly be else than a form of Prevost, and I find that Jean Baptiste Prevost, Canadian voyageur and overland Astorian, was drowned in Snake r. Dec. 10th, 1811. The surname is also the same as Provost, and Paul Provost is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fond du Lac, 1804.

The above list does not contain six names of persons who are sent from Fort George on express, May 1st. Therefore, either the list is defective, or else these six men came to Fort George from somewhere meanwhile. The six names as given in the list beyond, May 1st, are: Antoine Gingras; Antoine Guenet; one Bourdignon, or Bourguignon; Louis La Barthe; one Laurent; and one La Pierre: see the list on p. 904.

the other 1½ pint in the evening, which is very acceptable with our unseasonable coffee.

The following is a statement of the people who left Fort George to-day in 10 canoes, composing the brigade for the interior.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> It will be observed that the 76 total men (of this list) comes nearer Henry's 80 total than Franchère's 90. Franchère names very few of them, and now, for the first time, we know approximately the composition of the whole party which thus left Fort George to go overland across the continent. Moreover, taken in connection with Henry's foregoing list of those who stayed, it gives us tolerably correct information of the entire garrison of Fort George, winter of 1813-14. This list is found in another part of the Henry MSS. (folios 1632, 1633), but I bring it into its present proper connection. As will be observed, I have bracketed in the body of the list certain rectifications of spelling, etc. I have also ignored a few obvious trifling lapses. Otherwise, the list stands literally true to copy. Some of the questionable names seem hopelessly blind; some of the most outlandish ones are of Sandwich Islanders, though copy does not so state in all such cases. The following additional memoranda throw an added light on the subject: *Canoe No. 1.* "Umprefurilee" suggests Umfreville, though it may be a Sandwich Island name, as "Teulattakain" certainly is.—Lavallée is the same surname as Vallée, Vallé, or Vallie, and Louis Vallée has appeared before: see a previous note. Some form of the surname is very common in these annals. Thus, Antoine Lavallée is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804; Baptiste La Vallé, N. W. Co., appears in Thompson's MSS., Red Deer l., 1798-99, and Winnipeg r., Aug., 1804; Ignace Lavalléc is listed as voyageur contre-maître, N. W. Co., English r., 1804; Jean Baptiste La Vallée, sen., appears as interpreter N. W. Co., English r., 1804; Jean Baptiste Lavallée, jun., as voyageur contre-maître, N. W. Co., English r., 1804; Pierre La Vallée, as voyageur N. W. Co., Rat r., 1804, and P. La Vallé, engagé N. W. Co., was with Thompson on Missinipi r. in 1804.—Joseph Coté I have noted before; Joseph Cotté is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fond du Lac, 1804, and Pierre Cotté as the same, Fort Dauphin, 1804.—Nothing found of any Franchemontagne.—*Canoe No. 2.* For several persons named Desmarais, see note <sup>56</sup>, p. 51, and observe that "Desmois" is one way in which it becomes twisted. No Joseph Desmarais has appeared before.—No Trepannier and no Fleurine noted elsewhere.—Joseph Landrie or Landry is identified on p. 862.—*Canoe No. 3.* J. A. McKay, voyageur as above, is to be distinguished not only from Mr. Thomas McKay, in the other boat, but from other persons of the same surname already noted, p. 776.—No name like "Manicque" noted elsewhere.—No Lefonte, Lafonte or Lefoute found elsewhere; Charles Lefond or Lafond was in the N. W. Co. at Kaministiquia in 1804, and Joseph Lafond is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804. Examine the Index to this work for persons named Lafontaine.—Persons named Morren, Morrin, or Morin have been noted on p. 569.—Boisvert and



*Canoe No. 1.*—Mr. John McDonald [of Garth] and Mr. Donald McKenzie, passengers; Canalte Umprefurilee, ducent [bowman]; George Teulattakain, guide [helmsman—Sandwich Islander]; Louis La Vallée, Joseph Cotté, François Franchemontagne, middlemen—7.

Boisverd are the same name, and persons bearing it were several. A. Boisverd, engagé N. W. Co., left Cumberland House June 23d, 1805, for Cranberry l., and arrived at Sturgeon Weir r. from Cranberry l. Sept. 11th, 1805. One Boisverd, jun., of the N. W. Co., wintered at the Rocky Mt. house 1806-07. One Boisverd went with Thompson to the Kootenays, and wintered in the Rocky mts. 1808-09 and 1809-10; this one was ruptured by a fall from a horse and foot catching in the stirrup, near Kootenay house, Apr. 30th, 1810, and came out of the mountains down the Saskatchewan with Thompson in June, 1810. Antoine Boisvert is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Rat r., 1804. Augustin Boisvert, perhaps the one of the above text, is listed as voyageur contre-maitre N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804. Baptiste or Jean Baptiste Boisvert appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804. Louis Boisvert is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804. Toussaint Boisverd of the N. W. Co. was with Thompson on the Saskatchewan in September, 1804, and wintered under Joseph Cartier at the N. W. Co. house on or near Cranberry l.—Kariume is apparently a Sandwich Island name.—*Canoe No. 4.* "Bruguine" is clearly a perversion of Bourguignon, but no Pierre Bourguignon have I found elsewhere. Isaac Bourguignon is listed as interpreter N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1804, and Pascal Bourguignon was an engagé of the N. W. Co. at Kaministiquia in 1804.—Nothing like "Le Camse" noted elsewhere.—Brousseau or Brousseault has been noted before: add that it also occurs as Brosseau, besides the perversion in the above text.—Lussier or Luscier is a common name, and C. Lussier, above, may supply the initial of the Lussier noted on p. 556 as with Thompson in the Rocky mts. in 1807-09. A person of this surname is no doubt found in the Bazil Lucie of Cox, p. 166 and p. 195, for Basile Lussier, Canadian voyageur N. W. Co., on the Columbia and at Spokane house with Cox, 1814-15.—*Canoe No. 5.* "G. Fracherd" is a good illustration of the way a well-known name may be wronged, for who that did not know could have guessed it to have been Gabriel Franchère? Those who are interested in the subject now before us will, of course, read his book about it, and I may add that his biography may be read in Tassé, II. 1878, pp. 261-97, portrait.—"Thathaine" is some perversion which defies my conjecture even.—"Deslard" is certainly wrong; but I find Pierre Delord listed as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804.—Thoburn is a name which has come up before, note <sup>16</sup>, p. 300, but above T. Thoburn is, of course, another man of the same surname.—*Canoe No. 6.* Mr. Carson of this boat is a specially good find, if I make no mistake of identity. Alexander Carson, a Missouri River hunter and trapper, had been with Ben Jones two years when he met the overland Astorians under W. P. Hunt near the Omaha villages, about May 5th, 1811, joined

*Canoe No. 2.*—Mr. Alexander Stuart and Mr. Thomas McKay, passengers; Louis Desmois [Desmarais?], ducent; François Trepannier, guide; Antoine Fleurine, Joseph Desmarais, Joseph Landrie, and George, a Sandwich Islander, middlemen—8.

them, and was detached from the main party to trap with Louis St. Michel, at junction of Hoback's with Mad r., Sept. 28th, 1811. He is found on Snake r., summer of 1812, but his trail is obscure or lost after that, till we find him in this brigade, with St. Michel and others of the late P. F. Co., en route back across the continent. Ross calls him a gunsmith, p. 218.—Joseph St. Martin, identical name as above, and probably same person, is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804. Antoine St. Martin appears in Thompson's MSS., Red Deer l., Rainy l., etc., 1798-99.—The only Picard I have noticed (after the historical Picard who was with Hennepin in 1680) is André Picard, who was on Willamette r. in 1837.—The feverish name, "Lefeive," improves in health when spelled Lefebre and Lefèvre, and is borne by many persons. Charles Lefèvre is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Le Pic, 1804. Jacques Lefevre, the same, Lake Winnipeg, 1804. Jean Baptiste Lefebvre, born Canada about 1815, is said to have been an engagé of the N. W. Co.; but if so, they had a very little boy, for there was no N. W. Co. after 1821; he was one of the founders of Superior City, at the head of Lake Superior, about 1853, and d. there 1871: see Tassé, I. pp. 333-35. Joseph Lefevre is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Kaministiquia, 1804. Pierre Lefebre, the same, Upper Red r., 1804.—For persons named La Bonté, see last note; clearly there were two of them at Fort George.—The other two men in this boat seem to be Sandwich Islanders, to judge from their names.—*Canoe No. 7.* I have no idea who Joshua Day was; but I suspect some connection of the name with the unexplained duplication or irreconciliation of the record of John Day, whom we know all about as the overland Astorian who went mad: see note <sup>21</sup>, p. 856. It will be observed that "J. Day" would cover both cases, and that this "Joshua" Day was a passenger, not working.—B. "Gardeipied" is no doubt the overland Astorian who figures as hunter by the name Gardpie; the usual form of the name is, and has long been, Gariépy. Louis Gariépy is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804. François Gardpie is named by Cox, p. 98, as at the Spokane house under J. Clarke, 1812.—Joseph Geilloux is the identical man we have had before, Oct. 20th, 1809, note <sup>10</sup>, p. 555, as Gailloux and Giaoux; right name probably Joseph Jaloux.—For Jean Baptiste Belleau, and others of that surname, see note <sup>9</sup>, p. 293.—J. Hurteau is confirmed by Franchère, who says he was of this party. Pierre Hurteau was an engagé of the N. W. Co., English r., 1799.—*Canoe No. 8.* Henry's copyist never got the name of Francis B. Pillet right; the above "B. Pellette" is nearer than usual; it is commonly Pettit or Petit in my copy, which I have uniformly rectified.—Latour was a common name in those days, yet I have found no François Latour except as above. "Mr." La Tour was of the N. W. Co. in

*Canoe No. 3.*—Mr. John George McTavish and family, and Mrs. M. and family, passengers; J. A. McKay, ducent; M. Manicque, guide; M. Lefonte, — Morrin, Amg. [Augustin?] Boisvert, William Kariume, middlemen—7 men.

1789-90. One Latour of the N. W. Co. was at Bas de la Rivière in June, 1795. "Mr." Latour had, with one Cameron, a house which was "old" in 1791, on Dauphin r., near Lake Manitoba. Charles Latour of the N. W. Co. was at Rainy l. in 1799. Louis Latour of the N. W. Co. was at Kaministiquia in 1804. "Mr." Latour died in 1805.—Joseph Cyr, Cire in Henry and in Thompson, elsewhere Seer, is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Rat r. and Lower Red r., 1804; Henry speaks of him as a freeman at Pembina, winter of 1803-04, and Thompson has him at Cumberland House, Reed Lake house, etc., in 1805.—Gauthier, in various forms, is a very common name; one illustrious case of it is that of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Le Sieur de Verendrye; it is usually Gauthier in these annals. Mr. Gauthier, clerk N. W. Co., Lac au Flambeau or Torch l., Minn., misbehaved there, and was replaced by François V. Malhiot, Aug. 2d, 1804. Auguste Gauthier is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804. Charles Gauthier was with M. and M. Cadotte in 1799, and interpreter N. W. Co. at Torch l., 1804; probably the "Mr." Gauthier just said. No François Gauthier found, except as above.—Joseph La Pierre, the "Joe de la Pierre" of Irving, was a Tonquinian Astorian whom we have had before, note <sup>10</sup>, p. 556, Oct. 20th, 1809; his name is in Franchère's list also. Cox has one La Pierre, first name unknown, voyageur N. W. Co., who left Fort George on the Columbia, Apr. 16th, 1817, to go overland to Canada, but at mouth of Canoe r. was one of seven men sent back invalided, and the only one of this party who survived—it is supposed, by murder and cannibalism; he reached Spokane house, was tried for murder of his last surviving companion, one Dubois, but not convicted.—Benjamin Roussel has appeared already as a Tonquinian Astorian.—*Canoe No. 9.* "Tim D. Eon," I have no doubt, stands for a certain Timothée Dionne, who is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—George Cine I can only query, as above.—Mageau and Majeau are the same name; of P. Mageau, above, nothing further appears; Louis Majeau (in *Canoe No. 10*) is very likely the person of that full name, engagé N. W. Co., who was captured with B. Frobisher and others in 1819, imprisoned, taken to Canada, and released.—Cayalle, no such name noted elsewhere; perhaps Sandwich Islander, as "Ben" was.—"Delainey" is for Delaunay, and two of this name were overland Astorians under W. P. Hunt. Pierre Delaunay was lost from John Reed's party on Snake r., fall of 1813, as more fully noted, on p. 887, and Joseph Delaunay, whom we have here, is the other one; he was a Canadian voyageur.—*Canoe No. 10.* "Duburiel" is Jean Baptiste Dubreuil, Canadian voyageur and overland Astorian, whose name will come up (p. 882) with Ramsay Crooks and John Day on Snake r., winter of 1811-12: see note <sup>1</sup>, p. 887.—Jacques Lafantaisie, Canadian voyageur, was a Tonquinian

*Canoe No. 4.*—Mr. John Clarke and family, passengers; Charles Le Gosse [Lagassé], ducent; Pierre Bruguine [Bourguignon], guide; Pierre Le Camse, — Breasseau [Brousseau], Bell Nash, C. Lussier, middlemen—7 men.

Astorian; name in Franchère's list as such; no further record.—Nothing like the name "Bettanet" have I found, except as above.—Louis St. Michel was a Canadian voyageur, St. Michael in Irving, overland Astorian under W. P. Hunt, detached from main party with Alex. Carson at confluence of Hoback's with Mad r. Sept. 28th, 1811; on Snake r. summer of 1812; and here we have him going home with the remnants of the P. F. Co. Pierre Michel of Cox, pp. 114, 128, 173, half-breed hunter and interpreter, son of a Canadian by a squaw, was on the Columbia in 1813, in the fight of Nov., 1813, at the Cascades; wintered with Cox on Flat Head r. 1813-14, and married there probably the first squaw ever given to a white man by these Indians; returned to Fort George Nov. 8th, and left it Nov. 18th, 1814.

Henry's list does not include quite all the persons that we know were on this voyage. Thus, Olivier Roy Lapensée was drowned with André Bélanger in descending the Athabasca May 25th, 1814; he had been a Tonquinian Astorian, from N. Y. Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811, the day on which the brothers Basile Lapensée and Ignace Lapensée, also Tonquinian Astorians, were also both drowned.—André Bélanger is listed as voyageur contre-mâitre, N. W. Co., English r., 1804; most likely the same as the drowned man. There were many of this surname, found also as Belanger, Belonger, and Bellanger. One Bélanger of the N. W. Co. was at Fort George on the Saskatchewan with Thompson Sept. 15th, 1799. One Belanger of the N. W. Co. was at the Fort of the Forks, Peace r., with Thompson, winter of 1802-03. One Belanger of the N. W. Co. started with Thompson from the Columbia for Fort William in Apr., 1812. Augustin Belonger is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fond du Lac, 1804. Basile Bélanger appears in Toronto as a witness in the Semple case in 1818, when he had been 13 years in the Red River region, etc. François Bélanger was a freeman who did service as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804. Joseph Bélanger, voyageur N. W. Co., was in the Nepigon region and at Kaministiquia in 1804. Louis Bélanger is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804. Pierre Bélanger is ditto, Nepigon, 1804.

With thus much on the personnel of the brigade, the matériel of which is to follow, a few words on route taken will not be considered superfluous. Our principal authority is, of course, Franchère. The expedition ascended the Columbia to the confluence of Canoe r., and then made the Continental Divide by the Athabasca pass. It thus reached Athabasca r. on May 16th, and descended this river, during which voyage O. R. Lapensée and A. Bélanger were drowned, as above said, and J. Hurteau barely escaped the same fate. Reaching the mouth of Pembina r. on June 1st, passing Little Slave Lake r. next day, and on the 3d leaving the main river to ascend Little Red Deer r.,

*Canoe No. 5.*—Mr. John Stuart and G. Fracherd [*i. e.*, Gabriel Franchère], passengers; Jacques Thathaine, ducent; Pierre Deslard [Delord?], guide; Patrick O'Connor, F. Thoburn, Bob Packanakra, and — Duffusne [Dufresne], middlemen—8.

*Canoe No. 6.*—Mr. William Wallace and Mr. [Alexander] Carson, passengers; Joseph St. Martin, ducent; Ignace Saliahone, guide; M. Picard, — Lefeive [Lefèvre], Thomas Canaswarel, — La Bonte, middlemen—8.

*Canoe No. 7.*—Mr. David Stuart and Mr. Joshua Day, passengers; B. Gardeipied [Gariépy], ducent; Joseph Geillioux [or Gailloux, or Giaoux, or Jaloux], guide; Jean Baptiste Belleau, Étienne Onayoise, Joshua, a Sandwich Islander, and [J.] Hurteau, middlemen—8.

*Canoe No. 8.*—Mr. B. Pellette [Francis B. Pillet] and Bellaiei [Bellaire?] and family, passengers; François Leteur [Latour], ducent; E. Langtin, guide; Joseph Cire [Cyr], François Gouthier [Gauthier], Joseph La Pierre, Benjamin Rousselet, middlemen—8 men.

*Canoe No. 9.*—Mr. Alexander Ross and Mr. Donald McGillis, passengers; Tim D. Eon [Timothée Dionne], ducent; George Cine [Cire, for Cyr?], guide; P. Mageau, A. Cayalle, Ben, a Sandwich Islander, and — Delainey [Joseph Delaunay], middlemen—8.

*Canoe No. 10.*—Mr. James Keith "and wheel carriage," passenger; — Duburiel [Jean Baptiste Dubreuil], ducent; L[ouis] Majeau, guide; Jas. Lefantuese [*i. e.*, Jacques Lafantaisie], A. Bettanet, A. Pépin, L[ouis] St. Michel, middlemen—7.

Total, 76 men (exclusive of their families).

Franchère was brought on the 5th to Red Deer l., and thence went by the usual portages over to Beaver r. Hence the route was by Moose l. and Moose r. over to the Saskatchewan, and Fort Vermilion was reached June 10th. Here were found about 90 persons, with Mr. Hallet in charge. Descending the Saskatchewan, Cumberland House was reached June 20th, and the rest of the way was the regular route we have traveled with Henry, to Fort William July 14th. Thence Franchère proceeded to his home in Montreal, which he gained Sept. 1st.

## BILL OF LADING OF 10 CANOES FROM FORT GEORGE, APR. 4TH, 1814.

Totals.	ARTICLES.	Canoe No. 1.	Canoe No. 2.	Canoe No. 3.	Canoe No. 4.	Canoe No. 5.	Canoe No. 6.	Canoe No. 7.	Canoe No. 8.	Canoe No. 9.	Canoe No. 10.
11	Bales of goods.....	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	Kegs of gunpowder.....	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2
2	Kegs of beads.....								1	1	
3	Man. beads.....		1						1	1	
4	Rolls of tobacco.....				1		1				1
½	Roll of leaf tobacco.....				½						
½	Roll of C. tobacco.....						½				
9	Bales of kettles.....	1	1		1	1	2	1	1	1	1
11	Bags of balls.....	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	Bags of shot.....		1	1	1						
2	Cases of iron pots.....						1	1			
8	Cases of new guns.....		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	Cases of iron works.....				1	1	1	1			
2	Cases of Chinook hats.....						1			1	
½	P. of steel traps.....								½		
1	Trading chest.....				1						
1	Trading box.....				1						
74½	Pieces of trading goods.....	2	8	5	11½	6	11½	7	7½	9	7
6	Kegs of salt.....		1			1	1	1	1		1
2	Kegs of flour.....					1		1			
1	Keg of peas.....		1								
1	Keg of wheat.....										1
4	Bags of potatoes.....		1			1	1				1
1	Keg of vinegar.....										1
6	Bags of rice.....	1	1		1				1	1	1
3	Bags of corn.....					1			1	1	
2	Kegs of molasses.....	1				1					
7	P. of pork and beef.....	2				2		1		1	1
4	Bags of flour.....		1	1	1						1
2	Kegs of rice.....							1	1		
1	Keg of grease.....	1									
1	Bag of wheat.....										1
½	P. barley and peas.....								½		
2	Kegs of spirits.....	1							1		
4	Bags of biscuits.....	1				1		1	1		
3	Cases and baskets.....	2		1							
2	Cassettes of sundries.....						1			1	
2	Boxes of sundries.....			1						1	
1	Box of candied —.....			1						1	
5	Pieces of leather.....						1	1	1	1	1
½	Or, say one grindstone.....				½						
1	Brass four-pounder and carriage.....									1	
1	Iron swivel.....								1		
1	Brass Swivel.....		1								
64	Pieces of provisions, baggage, etc. . .	9	7	3	2½	8	4	6	8½	7	9
138½	Total equipage.....	11	15	8	14	14	15½	13	16	16	16

## CHAPTER XXVII.

FORT GEORGE, CONCLUDED : 1814.

**T**HERE we are left the sport of fortune, at the mercy of chance, on a barbarous coast, among natives more inclined to murder us for our property than to assist us, and during a war which any moment may strip us of our all. Any attempt to retreat up river would be folly, as the falls would be an insurmountable barrier in our weak condition. The N. W. Co. could expect no lenity from an American armed vessel. Thus, with the natives on one hand and the Americans on the other, our situation would be wretched indeed. Still, I place my trust in that ever blessed Being who has protected me in every difficulty and danger since my first coming into the Indian country. In that Divine Providence I rest confident and secure. I doubt not He will waft our vessel to this port in due time, and place our concerns here on a firm foundation. His will be done!

*Apr. 5th.* Joe informed me the Dolly parted her anchor about midnight. Called in men from Tongue point—some to go with the hunters, others to wash, scrub, pack furs, and put things in order, after the confusion and rummaging of some days past, during which each individual vied with the others in carrying off everything that could be used till the arrival of a vessel, leaving the bulk of the property to chance. At high water we hauled up the Dolly; and, on examining her at low water, found she had a rotten plank in her bow, and also required calking.

*Apr. 6th.* The hunters set off in the boat with four men for Young's river. Mr. Mathews came with an Indian, who brought two whole beavers, four skins, and some waptoes to trade; the latter he took away, not finding we allowed a good price for them. Tongue Point men complain of their

food, and declare they cannot subsist on dried smelt. Inquiry being made of the natives why their small fish this year are not so good as last, they say that it is only every two years these fish are fit for drying; last year they were excellent, this year they are bad. We have now traded about 200 fathoms, of which more than half must be thrown away. Another man sick—La Bonté. I opened two casks of California beef to give the men a portion to eat with their fish, but found it very bad—lean, dry, and tasteless; some spoiled, and all as salt as it could be.

*Apr. 7th.* Joe and Duchesne repairing the Dolly; her bottom in a very bad state, with several rotten planks. Mr. Mathews off to Tongue point. I was busy preparing cases to pack the property. Six sharp canoes, two men in each, passed down to Young's bay.

*Apr. 8th.* I opened a keg of sturgeon oil brought from Oak point by Mr. Franchère, and found it far preferable to the bad California grease we have used during the winter, which tastes of rosin and turpentine; the fresh sturgeon oil is palatable, and very good to fry fish in and make taroo pancakes. The old Clatsop chief, with some of his followers, brought a large beaver in meat, three trout, a few beaver skins, and a few pounds of beeswax. We reduced our price on Canton blue beads one-third; this they did not like, but we told them we were short of goods, and would be so until our vessel arrived, when we would trade as heretofore. We did not wish them to bring furs, but to keep them until our goods came, provisions being all we wanted at present; for, in case no vessel arrives, we have no more property on hand than will suffice until 1815, and we have already more furs on hand than we can take care of. Our men positively object to eating dried smelt, and not without cause, as they are rotten; salt sturgeon and California beef are all we have for them, and both are bad enough. Hunters arrived with the meat of three red deer. Joe finished the starboard side of the Dolly and began to repair the larboard.



*Apr. 9th.* A Clatsop canoe arrived from the rapids on a visit; they met our party at Bellevue point on the 6th. I received information from Mr. McDonald that the natives had abandoned the falls after the battle with the Nez Percés, wherein 18 men were killed, and that many were collected at the rapids; but these had no bad intentions toward us, saying that, if we would speak well, they would do so also. The Cowlitch, to the number of 100 men, had a battle with Casino at the lower entrance of the Willamette, a few days ago. They fired at each other for some time, but at a great distance; no blood was spilled, the affair was settled, and the Cowlitch returned home. The Mt. St. Helena Indians were assembled on the Columbia, on their way to the Willamette to hunt deer this summer, as they usually do. Our party were well supplied with sturgeon on their way up, and also bought five or six horses to eat, from the Mt. St. Helena Indians. Mr. McDonald was confident we had no danger to apprehend from the Essex or her consort. Our Clatsop hunter brought the meat of a biche, for which we paid as usual 1 blanket (2½ feet), and 2 skeins of beads for 8 beavers. This expense we shall avoid when the salmon come in, but for the present we must keep up these extravagant terms.

*Sunday, Apr. 10th.* Several large canoes arrived from the Willamette with dried smelt, which we would not trade, two beavers in meat, some beaver skins, and five sturgeons. They informed us more particularly of the late battle. They said the Cowlitch and their allies formed a party of 40 canoes and 300 warriors. Hearing of their approach Casino assembled his friends and allies, and sent for the Indians at the falls of the Willamette, the Calipuyowes, etc. The enemy were stationed across the channel, directly opposite the C. village. Casino desired to put off the battle until his allies should join him, but to this the enemy objected. The enemy had no firearms; Casino's party had, and opened fire at long range, with-

out intending to kill anybody, for fear of rendering the enemy desperate, as in that case they might rush in and fight at close quarters ; and he was aware that, unless blood were spilled, he had no danger to apprehend from them. Several parleys took place, but to no purpose ; as Casino always wavered, and would not consent to make the enemy any present, nor give them any honorable reparation for the injury they had sustained, matters of course could not be settled. The enemy by some means got possession of one of his slaves, for whom they allowed him only two blankets ; this offended him, and he then wished them to understand that he would give them no satisfaction whatever. They retired immediately, and are now plotting to attack him at night in a clandestine manner, and take ample revenge according to savage custom—to burn his village and destroy as many of his people as they can. This is their resort when the offending party will give no proper satisfaction in a public manner, and it occasions much intrigue. The Cowlitch are now endeavoring to win over Casino's allies by presents of goods and slaves. Tatelicum assisted him in the late affair, and may do so again ; but it is doubtful whether he can find means to supply his other allies while they await the surprise attack. We fear he will be killed before this business ends. He is brave and avaricious, and depends much on his own people and himself ; but his enemies are numerous and may overpower him, if they surprise him. He is a useful man to us, and I shall be sorry if he is killed. Spring is the season when all international disputes are adjusted, so as to allow full scope for the salmon fishery, to provide for the ensuing winter without molestation. They are not bloodthirsty ; it is merely a point of honor. But when just reparation is refused, they are entitled to desperate measures ; surprises and stratagems are then lawful.

We hear of another quarrel, on the coast N. of Gray's harbor. It originated from an Indian's having ravished a chief's daughter in the woods. The girl's brother hearing

of the affair, attacked the Indian with a knife, and killed him on the spot, but received several severe wounds from a club, one of which broke his arm. He is now dangerously ill, and, should he die, satisfaction must be given his father and other relations by the relatives of the deceased ravisher, or a fight must take place. This quarrel has kept the Chiehilths from coming to settle their business with the Chinooks, as they must decide the other affair before leaving their houses. It is death for anyone to ravish a chief's wife or daughter—so much for their dirty morality.

Our objection to trade dried smelt from the Willamette Indians this morning put them in a pet, and it was sunset before they brought their skins. They are hard people to deal with, who must be allowed their own way—that is to say, if we cannot agree on price, the only way is to wait till they cool off, and show no anxiety to trade till they propose it themselves. Our alteration in the price of beads is another obstacle to trading as briskly as usual; but we are determined to have our own way, and would rather keep our goods than to part with them on low terms. Some women came in with a few baskets of cranberries, which would be a great luxury, had we either sugar or molasses.

This afternoon we were informed by a chief that the American party which left Astoria in July [June 30th], 1812, on their way across the continent for the United States under the charge of Messrs. Stuart,<sup>1</sup> Crooks,<sup>2</sup> and McLellan,<sup>3</sup> with three canoemen, Vallée,<sup>4</sup> Le Clerc,<sup>5</sup> and Jones,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1-6</sup> This important passage in Henry brings up the whole case of the Astorian overland return party of 1812-13, which reached St. Louis in April, 1813. They suffered almost incredibly, and were attacked by Indians, who stole their horses and left them afoot in the Rocky mts., but none of them were murdered or otherwise lost their lives. Henry gives the correct composition of the party, except that at the start it included John Day, who went mad and was sent back to Astoria: see note <sup>21</sup>, p. 856. It is curious that the date of departure from Astoria will never be known exactly. Henry above says July, 1812; Franchère gives June 31st, which is impossible; Irving gives June 29th; I split the difference, and adopt June 30th, 1812. This overland party left Astoria with D. Stuart's, from which R. Stuart's switched off at the mouth of the

the latter an American, were all [none of them] murdered by Indians after they had crossed the Height of Land and were on the E. side of the Rocky mountains. As he relates this affair, a party of six whites fell in with some natives who seemed nowise inclined to molest them, until, by some misunderstanding one of the party took off his

Wallawalla July 29th, 1812. I will here itemize each of the six persons above named, and condense to the utmost the main features of their journey.

1. Robert Stuart, the fourth one of the quartette of Astorian Stuarts noted on p. 781, was the nephew of David Stuart; both were Tonquinian Astorians from New York Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811. Robert left Astoria to go up river with Mumford and others Oct. 12th, 1811; returned; left to go up the Willamette with F. B. Pillet and D. McGillis Dec. 5th, 1811; returned; left Mar. 30th, 1812 (so Franchère; Irving says Mar. 22d), with goods for his uncle's post on the Okanagan; returned, not without accident, to Astoria May 11th, 1812, and then started overland for St. Louis as just said; was at mouth of the Platte Apr. 16th, 1813, St. Louis Apr. 30th, and went to New York. He is supposed to have led this party.

2. Ramsay Crooks, a native of Scotland, was a very early trader on the Missouri, with one of those two McLellans whom Lewis and Clark met as they were coming down the river in 1806. He served in the N. W. Co. before 1810, and joined W. P. Hunt in the P. F. Co. at Mackinac in July or Aug., 1810. He left with Hunt Aug. 12th, by the Fox-Wisconsin route to the Mississippi, and down to St. Louis, whence he started up the Missouri with the original overlanders Oct. 21st, and reached the winter camp at the mouth of the Nadowa Nov. 16th, 1810. He continued with the main party to Cauldron Linn, on Snake r.; but there, on Oct. 29th, 1811, his trail strikes off from the route of the rest, for he started back with five men for some horses which had been left on Henry's fork. Returning to Cauldron Linn in a few days, he headed that division of the party of 18 men which was to keep on down the N. side of Snake r., while Hunt with the others went down the other side. On Dec. 6th, at a supposed distance of 472 m. below Cauldron Linn, he came abreast of Hunt's party, which he joined, and a dismal retrograde movement began. Crooks fell sick, and could not keep up; he was left behind on Snake r. with John Day, J. B. Debreuil, and three Canadians. Crooks and Day made their way to Wallawalla r. and the Columbia, where they were picked up in a deplorable state by D. Stuart's party returning from Fort Okanagan, and taken to Astoria, which they reached May 11th, 1812. After about six weeks' rest, Crooks started on the overland return journey now under mention, and reached St. Louis Apr. 30th, 1813, with the others. In 1854 Mr. Crooks was president of the A. F. Co. of N. Y., and at that time one of only four survivors of the original Astorians, the other three being Gabriel Franchère, Alfred Seton, and Francis B. Pillet.

3. Robert McLellan, McLennan, McLennon, McClellan, McClelland, etc.

hat and several times slapped a native with it in the face. This gave offense, and they retired, declaring they would be revenged. In the evening strict watch was kept; two men with muskets, ready to fire at a moment's warning, guarded the camp while the others slept. Late in the evening two Indians came to the camp, apparently

(for this surname is one of the most unstable combinations of letters that could be devised), had been a partisan under Gen. Wayne, and was associated with Ramsay Crooks in the fur trade on the Missouri before 1810, being met going up when Lewis and Clark were coming down in 1806. He joined the Astorian overlanders under Hunt in the Nadowa camp on the Missouri in Nov., 1810, and continued with the main party till Oct. 29th, 1811, when he started down Snake r. ahead with three men from Cauldron Linn. Below the Devil's Scuttle Hole he fell in with Donald McKenzie and John Reed, and with these and eight voyageurs reached Astoria Jan. 18th, 1812—the first party that got in. McLellan left Astoria with John Reed and others for St. Louis Mar. 22d (Irving) or more probably Mar. 30th (Franchère); but in consequence of a collision with Indians on the Columbia returned to Astoria May 11th, 1812; whence it was only about six weeks to his departure on the overland return journey we have now in prospect.

4. André Vallée was one of the overland Astorians under W. P. Hunt; he started back overland with the party of which Henry speaks, and reached St. Louis with the rest, Apr. 30th, 1813. His name occurs in Irving as Andri Vallar, and the surname also varies in many cases to Vallie and Vallé: see a previous note for several other persons of this name.

5. Le Clerc is a surname which in the fur-trade annals often varies to Le Clair and La Claire, by some inscrutable process of perversion, but seldom to Clerk or Clark. The person of whom Henry speaks is François Le Clerc, Canadian voyageur and overland Astorian under W. P. Hunt, who reached Astoria the same day that Hunt did. He was also of the overland return party, and reached St. Louis with the rest, Apr. 30th, 1813.—Giles Le Clerc was a Tonquinian Astorian, from New York Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811; his full name is in Franchère. From Astoria he went with John Reed's party to winter 1813-14 on Snake r., and died of wounds received from the Indians who killed Pierre Dorion and Jacob Rizner, near the wintering house, in the autumn of 1813; he was attended to the last by Dorion's widow. I have memoranda of a few others of the same surname.—Antoine Le Clerc or Le Clair was a noted interpreter, part Indian, b. about 1785, who came to Peoria, Ill., then known as Ville à Mallet, in 1809, and after the sacking of that place by Captain Thomas E. Craig, in 1812, went to Rock isl. in the Mississippi r. on which Fort Armstrong was built in 1816.—Charles Leclerc is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804.—Jean Baptiste Leclerc was a voyageur N. W. Co., on Lac à Flambeau or Torch l., Minn.,

strangers, who pretended they came from a neighboring tribe and were then on their way to those the party had seen that day. They were allowed to remain near the fire, and all appeared perfectly safe. Sleep, however, soon overpowered the watch. After the two strangers had coughed several times to ascertain whether the watch were really asleep, a

1804.—Pierre Leclerc is listed as voyageur contre-maitre N. W. Co., Rainy l., 1804.

6. Benjamin Jones of whom Henry speaks, "Ben Jones" of Irving, was a Missouri River hunter and trapper with Alexander Carson two years before he met the overland Astorians under Hunt, near the Omaha villages, and joined them about May 15th, 1811; he reached Astoria Jan. 18th or Feb. 15th, 1812. He was one of the overland returners, who reached St. Louis Apr. 30th, 1813.

The party of six thus constituted—Stuart, Crooks, McLellan, Vallée, Le Clerc, Jones—leaving Astoria June 29th, 30th, or "31st," 1812, went up the Columbia to Wallawalla July 28th; on to the Umatilla and over the Blue mts.; crossed a creek they called Woodvile and went up the S. side of Snake r. in August; were at their Salmon falls Aug. 29th; uncached at Cauldron Linn; continued up Snake r. to Sept. 7th; passed over to a river they called Miller's (qu: modern Bear r.?), and ascended this for two or three days, to Sept. 12th; continued E. over hills; turned N. from main Miller's r. and went up a stream (perhaps present Thomas' or Smith's branch of Bear r.); struck a stream running due N. (perhaps present Salt r., or else present John Gray's r.); camped at mouth of this, on Snake r. above Henry's fork, Sept. 18th. Down Snake r. for "91" m. on rafts, to Sept 29th; left it and struck N. E.; passed certain hot springs; camped on a river (perhaps Pierre's or else Moody's) to Oct. 5th. Started to cross Pilot Knob mts., up a creek, southward, then E., probably by present Teton pass; on Oct. 11th, were at foot of "Spanish River mt.;" on Oct. 12th, were on a river 160 yds. wide; on Oct. 17th, passed "two large tributaries of Spanish r. from the Wind River mts.;" on Oct. 18th, a third branch of "Spanish r.," in a plain; on Oct. 19th, 20th, went S. and S. E. After this their course was in general E. across the Continental Divide, and I conceive that the pass they made can be no other than the famous South Pass of the Rocky mts. They *certainly* fetched out on the Sweetwater, and so on down to the N. Platte; down this to the Platte, to the Missouri Apr. 13th, to St. Louis Apr. 30th, 1813. If I am right in this matter of the South Pass, these men thus discovered it long before Frémont rediscovered it; for certainly no white men had been through it before them. It is hard to say who was the leader of this party; there does not seem to have been any leadership; all the fellowship was a matter of common necessity; and in one dire emergency common fellowship was strained to the point of a proposition to cast lots for murder and cannibalism. The nominal head of the party was Mr. Stuart. "The mission," says Irving, "was one of peril and

low whistle was given by the spies, and the sleeping party was instantly seized by a body of Indians who had crawled up and surrounded the camp. One man was spared for a few days, in the belief that he was a gunsmith, to put their guns in order; but finding him ignorant of the business, they murdered him also. The Indian who related this news said that Mr. R. Stuart's double-barreled screw gun, well

hardship, and required a man of nerve and vigor. It was confided to Robert Stuart, who, though he had never been across the mountains, and a very young man, had given proofs of his competency to the task." *Palnam qui meruit ferat—discovery of the SOUTH PASS.*

There were certain changes en route in the composition of this party. We have seen how poor John Day went crazy at the start, and was left behind. The other six, on Aug. 20th, 1812, met four of the original overland "Astorians," who never went to Astoria at all, but stayed in the mountains to trap. These four were: Joseph Miller, John Hoback, Jacob Rizner (Rezner, Regner, or Regnier, Resner in Ross, p. 228, Peznor in Cox, p. 136), and Edward Robinson.—1. Mr. Miller was a cadet of the 2d Infantry in June, 1799; second lieutenant Feb. 16th, 1801, transferred to the 1st Infantry Apr. 1st, 1802, and resigned June 21st, 1805. He took to trapping and trading; became a partner P. F. Co. with W. P. Hunt at St. Louis in Oct., 1810, and started up the Missouri r. Oct. 21st. At Andrew Henry's post on Henry's fork of the Snake he became disgusted, threw up his partnership, and went off with the other three just named. He stayed in the mountains till found by the Stuart return party as just said, joined them, and was one of the seven who reached St. Louis Apr. 30th, 1813.—2. John Hoback was a Kentucky hunter and trapper who had been with Andrew Henry at the post on Henry's fork; he met the overland Astorians under Hunt at the mouth of the Niobrara, and joined them May 26th, 1811. He left them at Henry's post Oct. 10th, 1811, with Miller, Robinson, Rizner, and another man named Cass; was picked up by the Stuart party as just said, and stayed with them till Aug. 31st, when he left them, and went off with Robinson and Rizner. He joined John Reed's wintering party on Snake r. in 1813, and was among those killed there that fall.—3. Jacob Rizner was also a Kentuckian who had been at Andrew Henry's post; his Astorian record is identical with Hoback's; killed at same time.—4. Edward Robinson was also a Kentuckian; his distinction is that he had survived being scalped; otherwise, Astorian record identical with that of Hoback and Rizner. He is said to have been aged 66 when he joined Hunt at the mouth of the Niobrara May 26th, 1811.—The fate of the man Cass, just said, was never known, no more than his first name; he was an overland Astorian hunter, detached at Henry's post Oct. 10th, 1811, to trap with Miller, Hoback, Rizner, and Robinson; he was said by them to have deserted, but is supposed to have been killed and eaten by them.

known to them all, was in the possession of one of the chiefs in the interior, and that the particulars of this story had been handed from one tribe to another until it came here. It is very probable that some accident has happened to that party, as they were to be in New York by the end of December, 1812, and had not arrived when the Lark sailed, March 6th, 1813.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> It is hardly necessary to say, that nothing of the sort happened to Mr. R. Stuart's party. On the 19th of September, 1812, a gang of insolent Crows stole all their horses, but nobody was killed or even hurt. They wintered Dec., 1812-Mar., 1813, on Platte waters. I am inclined to think that Henry's Indian reporter mixed up with the adventures of Mr. R. Stuart's party the horrible disaster to Mr. John Reed's party on Snake r. in the autumn of 1813. It is not clear in Irving just what happened, but by comparing Franchère, Ross (pp. 278-82), and Cox (pp. 136-38) carefully, we can make out the main features. John Reed (Read in Cox, *passim*), an Irish clerk P. F. Co., wintered with the overland Astorians under Hunt in their camp on the Nadowa, 1810-11. On Snake r., fall of 1811, he was detached ahead of the rest, below the Devil's Scuttle Hole fell in with D. McKenzie's and R. McLellan's parties, and with these and eight voyageurs reached Astoria Jan. 18th, 1812. He left Astoria for St. Louis overland, with dispatches for Mr. Astor, with R. Stuart, R. McLellan, R. Farnham, D. McGillis, and others, Mar. 22d or Mar. 30th, 1812, but all these returned to Astoria May 11th, 1812, having been attacked by Indians on the Columbia, lost the papers, and been to D. Stuart's Okanagan post; with them came D. Stuart and R. Crooks, who had John Day along. Reed went to the post on the Willamette; returned to Astoria Mar. 20th, 1813. In June or July, or on Oct. 29th, a party left Astoria, consisting of J. Stuart, D. McKenzie, Joseph McGillivray, one McDonald, Ross Cox, Joseph Larocque, and Reed. After trouble with the Indians at the Cascades, this outfit kept on up the Columbia, and at the mouth of the Wallawalla Reed switched off with 8 men and 16 horses to winter 1813-14 somewhere on Snake r. Ross says, p. 217, that Reed there picked up seven overland Astorians—Dubreuil, Carson, Delaunay, St. Michel, Turcotte, Landrie, and La Chapelle, and took them to D. McKenzie's Fort Boisé. Whatever the exact composition of Reed's wintering party, and wherever the exact scene of the tragedy, this is the party most of whom were massacred, including Reed. What happened is told most succinctly in Franchère, p. 214 *seq.*, which I will condense in English. The Franchère party which left Astoria Apr. 4th, 1814, were at a point on the Columbia Apr. 17th, when a child's voice cried out, "Stop!" This child was Pierre Dorion's, whose mother and another child were at hand to give information of the catastrophe which had overtaken Reed's party the autumn before. Pierre Dorion, the son of "old Durion" of Lewis and Clark, had been an overland Astorian under Hunt, and one of the party which had gone with Reed to Snake r. Besides Pierre Dorion and family, Reed had with



*Apr. 11th.* The old Clatsop chief came to inform us of their having heard yesterday the report of two guns at sea; but no vessel was to be seen, and we doubted the report, as these people circulate such rumors to get presents from us. Joe Ashton also said that this morning he distinctly heard the report and echo of a gun at sea; but his veracity on this subject has frequently been questioned. I sent our two hunters, Grand Nepisangue and Mississaugue, to examine the country up to Tongue point, hoping to be able to open a road through the woods. They returned late, saying the country would not admit of a road without immense

him Giles Le Clerc, François Landry, Jean Baptiste Turcot or Turcotte, André La Chapelle, and Pierre Delaunay. Reed was also to search for Joseph Miller, John Hoback, Jacob Rizner, Edward Robinson, and the man Cass. Every man of these perished, by disease or violence. Landry died in the course of the autumn; Turcotte died, date not given, of scrofula; Delaunay went off by himself in a fit of perversity and was never heard of. The rest were killed. It seems from Dorion's widow's story in Franchère that in Jan., 1814, Dorion, Rizner, and Le Clerc were attacked by Indians, and all killed except Le Clerc, who crawled to the woman's hut, gave the news, and expired of his wounds. She went in all haste with her children to Reed's house, about five days off; but found it deserted, and blood showed that the party had been massacred—it was supposed, in retaliation for the injudicious hanging of a Nez Percé thief by Mr. John Clarke. In conclusion, to quote Franchère's words, p. 216: "Les personnes qui périrent dans ce malheureux hivernement étaient Mr. John Reed, Jacob Peznor [Rizner], John Hobhough [Hoback, whom Franchère's translator makes Hubbough], Pierre Dorion, Gilles Leclerc, François Landry, J. Bte. Turcot, André La Chapelle, et Pierre Delaunay." This list does not include Robinson, who appears by other accounts to have been also killed. The story of Dorion's widow, as related by Franchère and Ross Cox, appears to be the basis of what Irving has to say on the subject.

Alexander Carson, J. B. Dubreuil, Louis St. Michel, and Benjamin Delaunay were overland Astorians whose record was left in air, or among "unfinished business" of P. F. Co. annals. I never knew what became of these four men, and supposed them killed with Reed's party, till I found them going home safely in the brigade which left Astoria Apr. 4th: see the date for particulars.

It may be here noted that the total casualties of the P. F. Co., as tabulated by Ross, p. 283, are as follows: Lost on the bar, entering the Columbia, 8; lost on the overland expedition, 5; on the Tonquin, 27; on the Lark, 8; at Astoria, 3; in the Snake River country (Reed's party, etc.), 9; on final departure from Astoria, 1; total, 61—which causes him to quote in English the celebrated query of Æneas to Dido: "*Quis talia fando . . . temperet a lacrymis?*"

labor on the gullies, creeks, and many rugged places in the way. I therefore gave up the idea, and we must still use the beach at low water, which is a tolerably good track. I informed the men that if any of them should be disabled by venereal disease, I would deduct the time lost from their wages, and insisted that no woman should sleep in any of our houses. But the fellows are so incautious or blind to their health that they make light of any advice on that subject, although they have the glowing examples of 10 comrades now laid up in the hospital in a very bad state, under a course of mercury. Others are infected more or less, few, if any, being entirely exempt; and proper medicines for that foul disease are very scarce here.

*Apr. 12th.* We are on tiptoe of expectation, in hopes of seeing a sail. But the tide flows, the breeze blows, the tide ebbs, and our hopes vanish. Mr. Mathews in, complaining of the men's laziness; Duchesne making an oak trunk for my papers; blacksmith mending axes; Canning stocking a gun for Comcomly; men pressing packs.

*Apr. 13th.* Men all at work, as yesterday. Roussel making four fine square-headed axes for the mechanics, to replace the same number taken away by our gentlemen. They have 10 good axes, of which six were made for them, and four of ours they took away; that is, one ax per canoe—and here is want of system again. A Chinook canoe came to trade, but they cannot make up their minds to the alteration in price of the small Canton beads, the only kind now in fashion; the first and second sizes they will not take. Our sick, having taken mercury enough, were this morning put on a course of corrosive sublimate. Some Chinooks brought us a few silver breams, which they take near Cape Disappointment; they are 14 inches long and 6 inches broad, and are very good eating when fried. They also brought a few large brown snipe or bec à synes [bécasines], larger than wild pigeons, and good eating.

*Apr. 14th.* Comcomly returned from Gray's harbor, where he had visited a wounded relation of his, and reported three

vessels having been in port somewhere near Cape Flattery ; two of them were Russians, which sailed after trading all the furs they could collect, the third they say is still there, trading sea otters. She is just such a ship as the Raccoon, and is waiting for favorable weather to enter this river. We are at a loss to conjecture whether she be friend or foe. A whale was cast ashore yesterday near Point Adams. This will be a great treat to the natives, who are fond of blubber. One of our hens hatched three chicks, but her other nine eggs are rotten; another hen hatched four chickens, the other eggs also rotten. This I attribute to the wet place in which they were put to hatch. Hens should not be put to hatch here so early. Comcomly brought three baskets of clams; they are tough eating. Packed up the Canton beads in boxes capable of being removed with ease.

*Apr. 15th.* I saw several humming birds [*Selasphorus rufus*] this morning, and some other small birds with which I am unacquainted, also a flock of doves [*Zenaidura carolinensis*] of the kind seen on Panbian river. I desired Mr. Mathews to have ground prepared for potatoes and corn.

*Apr. 16th.* Mr. McDougall confined to his bed. Natives passing up and down the river. Mississaugue came in to tell me he had seen a vessel in the offing, standing to the S., but as no vessel was to be seen by us, we conjectured she must have passed Point Adams. A canoe from Cape Disappointment reported a ship also, but this was, I suspect, with a view of obtaining the promised reward of a pair of pistols for the first news of a vessel. A hen hatched one chick, the rest of her eggs rotten; thus, from three hens we have but 8 chickens out of 36 eggs.

*Sunday, Apr. 17th.* Mr. Mathews quarreled with Joseph Gervais yesterday, and obliged the impertinent fellow to do his duty, which he had peremptorily refused. Most of the men brought overland by the late P. F. Co. are undisciplined, impertinent, ill-behaved vagabonds, devoid of that sense of subordination which our business requires. On this point our N. W. Co. men are in general very well inclined,

whatever their other failings; they have that confidence in their employers which is necessary for their own welfare and our commercial success, are seldom refractory or impertinent, and do their duty without hesitation. But the voyageurs southward, about Michilimackinac, the Mississippi, etc., are in the habit of changing employers yearly, according to wages offered, or as the whim takes them, which, with the spirit of competition in the South trade, and the looseness and levity they acquire in the Indian country, tends to make them insolent and intriguing fellows, who have no confidence in the measures or promises of their employers. Servants of this description cannot be trusted out of sight; they give merely eye service, and do nothing more than they conceive they are bound to do by their agreement, and even that with a bad grace. One of the Sandwich Islanders was sent here from Tongue point very ill with venereal; there are 11 men now on the sick list, some recovering, others not.

*Apr. 18th.* Cartier and two men busy repairing canoes. Since the 10th inst. potatoes have sprouted fast, but they no sooner appear above ground than the hogs destroy them. Comcomly and his two sons passed on their way to the Willamette to buy horses at Casino's village, saying that the large ship was in port somewhere about Cape Flattery, and that a small three-master was in the same harbor, intending to come here soon. Some Clatsops came in, from one of whom I bought an excellent copper kettle for four skins in blue Canton beads, say one-third pound, third size, and two leaves of tobacco; cost the N. W. Co., at this place, 1s. 8d. Hlfx. cy. The want of sugar or molasses put us to the experiment of making a decoction of commass root, or sweet onion, which produces a kind of syrup preferable to molasses to sweeten coffee, but when too much is used causes wind and griping. Duchesne laid up with a fever.

*Apr. 19th.* Twelve men sick in their houses. A canotée of prostitutes came here this morning, but were not allowed to land, on pain of being put in irons; this threat, I hope,

will keep them off. Set Cartier and two men cutting potatoes; found nine bushels, in good order, of an excellent kind, white, with a rough coat, brought from New York by the late P. F. Co., and last year producing well. Mr. McDougall recovering. Battle between Mrs. McDougall and Ignace's woman regarding the latter's children, who were playing with some trifling things, when the former lady, who is haughty and imperious, took the playthings from them and set them bawling; the consequence was a slap from the mother. Royalty was offended, and a dreadful row ensued. Some women landed in the bay, unknown to me; but, hearing of it, I ordered them off.

*Apr. 20th.* Eight canoes of Clatsops passed up river; some urgent business must call them from their homes, when there is every appearance of long continued rainy weather; the wind being settled in the S. Fleas are becoming very troublesome; we have not been much annoyed since last December, but removal of the furs and the warm weather have set them in motion. Mr. McDougall revenged the insult offered to his lady yesterday, slapping and kicking Ignace's boy, which I conceive was very improper, for what business had she to go into Ignace's woman's tent to interfere with the children?

*April 21st.* About 4 p. m. some workmen in the woods cutting poles heard the report of three cannons, which they imagined to be on the river, and came to the fort. A canotée of prostitutes from the Clatsop village arrived, and said they had also heard the three reports; but to this we gave no credit, and ordered them away. About six o'clock a canoe with four men from Chinook point, paddling very hard, passed near the Dolly, and informed Joe they had seen a ship at sea. Joe cheered and waved his hat to give the news to us, who were standing at the gate. On landing, the natives informed us they saw a large black three-masted ship yesterday, opposite Cape Disappointment, so near as to discern the men on board distinctly. They came up to inform us, in hopes of getting the promised pair of pistols.

On passing Chinook point this afternoon, they heard the three cannon, which must have been fired from the ship. This report made us anxious for the safety of our property, as our craft is not yet in a condition to receive the furs, etc., although not a moment has been lost in preparing for removal since our gentlemen set off. Our furs are not yet packed, nor has the weather permitted repairing of our canoes; three boats are ready, and with them we will do what we can. Another man, Masson, was this morning sent from Tongue point to be cured of venereal disease; Étienne Lussier is also laid up with it, and thus we have 14 on the sick list, exclusive of several others who are more or less infected.

*Apr. 22d.* I sent a boat for all our people to come from Tongue point, packed our papers, blankets, beads, strouds, etc., and put our guns in order. At 8 a. m. Mr. McDougall set off with the Chinooks who brought us the news, to see the vessel and find out who she is, if possible, so that we may be able to send off the most essential articles, should she prove an enemy. By this means we may be able to remain until the summer of 1815, and the arrival of a vessel from England, which, I presume, will sail from London this ensuing fall. Messrs. McDougall, Wm. Henry, and Mathews are to set off with the three boats loaded on the appearance of danger, go to the Willamette, and there await the event at the houses. Mr. Bethune, myself, and Cartier are to await our fate at the fort, with the sick and disabled, as 12 men on the boats will be every able-bodied one. I took a walk around the bay to Coalpo's point, and distinctly heard the report of a gun in the direction of the cape. I conjectured it must be a large vessel, unable to enter the river, either for want of a pilot or from the surf being too high on the bar. At 1 p. m. Mr. Mathews arrived with his people and the baggage. A Clatsop canoe confirmed the report of guns being heard. At 4 p. m. we saw a ship standing in. In 25 minutes the haze obscured her from our sight, but she had passed the cape, and was nearing Baker's bay. I soon

saw her stationary, apparently at anchor. At five I sent all hands to launch the two boats. At 5.30 the ship fired three guns, the report and smoke of which we distinctly heard and saw. We returned the same number of shots from our four-pounders. At seven Mr. McDougall returned, reporting that the ship appeared from the N. and stood over the bar by the N. channel, the same by which the Tonquin and Beaver came in, but not that by which the Raccoon entered. I soon saw she had a boat out sounding; she apparently managed awkwardly, as if unacquainted with the proper channel, advanced very slowly, and did not anchor near enough the shore in Baker's bay. She appeared to be a large vessel; at the foretop she flew a white flag, apparently with a cross on it, nothing at her maintop, at her mizzentop a pennant, and at her peak a red flag. She appeared black, with a narrow yellow stripe, and a figurehead on her bow. Mr. McDougall had sent Lamsoi, a Chinook, to go on board, instructing him how to act in getting desired information, and to return without delay. The general opinion is that she is the long-expected Isaac Todd, from her awkward manner of coming in, the signal flag at her foretop, her painted sides, and her firing the three guns. Mr. McDougall went again to the Chinook villages, not to return without certain information. I sent four Sandwich Islanders on board the Dolly, to mount guard with Joe during the night. Mr. Mathews, Croite, and Wm. Henry put four boxes of bar lead en cache under ground.

*Apr. 23d.* Morning brought nothing new. The ship lay in Baker's bay, but too far out, as she rolled very much. With our glass we observed a number of canoes leaving Chinook point to go on board. I cannot imagine what prevents Mr. McDougall from acquiring intelligence. It is unpleasant to remain in such a state of suspense, not knowing whether she be friend or foe. But we hope for the best, and trust in Providence for protection from enemies, both white and black.

We hoisted our signal flag a little before ten, and in half

an hour a white flag was displayed at the foretop. We soon saw the smoke and heard the report of two guns. A canotée of women from Chinook point who had weathered the gale came safely ashore, but were thoroughly drenched; they told us that Mr. McDougall had boarded the ship, and the two guns we had heard were attributed to his arrival there. At 12.30 p. m. our trusty pilot, who had accompanied Mr. McDougall backward and forward, delivered me a note in the well-known handwriting of Mr. J. C. McTavish, saying only, "Isaac Todd's Ship, London. Mr. McDougall has come on board."

We instantly took down our signal flag, hoisted our Union Jack, and fired five shots from our four-pounder. The ship spread her topsail and stood up river on the N. She came up slowly, with a small signal flying at the foretop and a large red flag at her peak, a couple of boats astern, and several Chinook canoes in tow. At 2.30 p. m. she anchored directly off the fort in the Pedlar's berth. By this time all our arrangements were made, and we were ready to receive her; our baggages having been collected and stowed away, stores cleared out, and the rotten P. F. Co. sturgeon, emitting a horrid stench, thrown away. The ship then fired 11 guns. At 5.30 p. m. a Chinook canoe arrived, manned by eight natives, with Mr. J. C. McTavish,\*

\* Cox, p. 139, has: "She brought out the following passengers; viz., Messrs. Donald M'Tavish and John M'Donald, proprietors; and Messrs. Alexander [McTavish] and James [Chisholm] M'Tavish, Alexander Frazer, and Alexander McKenzie, clerks, with Dr. Swan, a medical gentleman engaged as resident physician at the fort." All these are thoroughly identifiable, as we presently see, except John McDonald. He is not John McDonald of Garth, who, as we have seen, left Fort George last Apr. 4th. He is probably that other John McDonald who appears in note <sup>6</sup>, p. 255, as co-signer with John of Garth of the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804: compare also the John McDonald, not of Garth, of note <sup>30</sup>, p. 278. But it is strange that if any John McDonald, proprietor N. W. Co., came on the Isaac Todd, Henry should name no such person; and I suspect some lurking mistake in this case.

\* James Chisholm McTavish, clerk N. W. Co., a young man who now comes to Fort George in that capacity, and reappears in the same grade at the capture of Fort William by Lord Selkirk, Aug. 13th, 1816.



sent by Mr. D. McTavish<sup>10</sup> to invite me to come aboard. Understanding the 11 guns had been a salute to the fort, I immediately ordered an equal number to be fired here. At 6.30 a boat with six men landed two young bulls and two heifers brought from San Francisco. I dispatched Lamsoi to the ship with Mr. D. McTavish's private letters, some spirits and other things having been sent ashore from the ship. I treated all the men to rum, and went to bed at 12.30 a. m., after a bowl of port wine and water. Poor Mr. J. C. McTavish could not partake of our most dainty fare, which was taroo pancakes made with seal liver oil, the greatest luxury we Columbians have.

*Sunday, Apr. 24th.* At 5 a. m. I was up, and we embarked at six. We got on board in about two hours, when Mr. D. McTavish was just up; he met me on deck, and we

<sup>10</sup> Donald McTavish, proprietor N. W. Co., who now comes to be governor of Fort George, and is to be drowned May 22d beyond: see note <sup>90</sup>, p. 279, and distinguish him from many other McTavishes who appear in these annals, of whom no fewer than four are Georgians—Donald, John George, James Chisholm, and Alexander. Donald McTavish was a clerk N. W. Co., Beaver r., 1797, and proprietor N. W. Co., English r., 1799; he signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attorneys, as appears in note <sup>6</sup>, p. 255. I have no certain record of him for the next few years, but have seen somewhere a statement that he had retired from the N. W. Co. but volunteered to re-enter the service to take charge of affairs in the Columbia Dept.; whereupon, in the spring of 1813, he left England with John McDonald of Garth in the Isaac Todd for Astoria. John of Garth transferred to the Raccoon, whose arrival we have witnessed; but McTavish remained on the Isaac Todd, which wintered at San Francisco before continuing her voyage to Fort George.

Some unidentified memoranda, probably referring to Donald McTavish (possibly in part to J. G. McTavish), are: "Mr." McTavish arrived at Cumberland house on Saturday, June 24th, 1797, and went in to Grand Portage with David Thompson July 22d. One McTavish arrived at Grand Portage from Athabasca and English r. July 2d, 1798. "Mr." McTavish left Grand Portage with David Thompson July 14th, 1798. "Mr." McTavish was to be opposed by Mr. Auld of the H. B. Co. at Green l., Athabasca country, winter of 1799-1800. "Mr. McTavish and Mr. J. McTavish" were both at Rainy Lake house Aug. 2d, 1808.—Joseph McTavish arrived at the Saleesh house (on Clark's fork of the Columbia) with Mr. A. McMillan and 15 men on Monday, Nov. 15th, 1811, and was on Columbian waters in lat. 48° 38' Apr. 21st, 1812.—For Simon McTavish, head of McTavish, Frobisher and Co., agents N. W. Co., see note <sup>6</sup>, p. 255.—For Alexander McTavish, see beyond.

went into the cabin, where I was introduced to Jane Burns.<sup>11</sup> Smoking and chatting succeeded for about an hour, when I demanded breakfast; a glass of Noyeaux cordial was produced, and in another hour a slice of cold salt beef and pork, and a cup of salt water tea, all very bad, with brown biscuits. This being over, I was introduced to Messrs. Alexander McTavish<sup>12</sup> and Alexander McKenzie,<sup>13</sup> two of

<sup>11</sup> Here is "the woman in the case" of the Isaac Todd, now a historical character as the first white female ever at Astoria or Fort George, then of a character not open to any question. Our author displays her at full length beyond, when she comes ashore, bag and baggage, to be protected by himself and Governor McTavish, share and share alike, from the other fellows about the place. Cox also has her in full fig, pp. 140-42, as Miss Jane Barnes. She was a lively barmaid at Portsmouth, Eng., when McTavish picked her up and brought her along *en derouine*, so to speak—a flaxen-haired, blue-eyed daughter of Albion, and a vain, dressy, loose-zoned, ex-vestal of engaging address, with an eye to the main chance. King Comcomly's son fell so violently in love with her that he offered her all his worldly fish and fishier self; but she properly spurned the piscine proposal to add one to his painted Jezebels, though her morals were strictly Chinookan; for she had a level head, and bided her time. McTavish wished to whistle her off on a transcontinental journey to Canada, but she went in the Isaac Todd to Canton, prudently put up with a wealthy English nabob of the E. I. Co., and thus established her celestial empire in luxury and splendor.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander McTavish was evidently a very young man, serving his apprenticeship. On May 1st, beyond, we find him off for the interior; he had been to Okanagan when he returned to Fort George Nov. 8th, and left it Nov. 18th, 1814, with Ross Cox and others; he reached Okanagan Dec. 12th, and left next day for the Spokane house, where he wintered 1814-15. He remained in the Columbia Dept. in 1816, post not noted, and on Apr. 16th, 1817, he left Fort George overland for Fort William, where he had been a few days when Cox arrived, Aug. 16th, 1817, and was going on into Canada.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander McKenzie, in 1814 a young fellow in his apprenticeship, requires of course no effort of memory to be discriminated from his famous titled namesake, Sir Alexander. But he is likewise to be distinguished from that Mr. (not Sir) Alexander McKenzie of the X. Y. Co., who signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys., thus becoming a partner N. W. Co., and who was in charge of Great Bear Lake Dept. in 1805. He left the fort on June 17th of that year, and on his way back directed Mr. Charles (?) Grant to build a fort at Blue Fish r., 60 m. below mouth of Bear Lake r., 1805.—One Alexander McKenzie, son of Hon. Roderic McKenzie, was a little fellow in 1816.—One Alexander McKenzie became a lieutenant colonel, married Miss Desrivieres, resided at Terrebonne, and died in 1862; his eldest son was or is Alexander McKenzie of St. Canute; another son was or is

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our apprentice clerks. I had several times expressed a wish to be introduced to the captain, but had been as often put off. At last we went on deck, where I was first introduced to the doctor [Swan], and then to Captain Smith. About this time Mr. Alexander Fraser,<sup>14</sup> who had been with Mr.

James Alexander McKenzie, papal zouave, in Montreal post office in 1889; eldest daughter became Mrs. Senator L. R. Masson; another daughter became Mrs. Cyrille Tessier of Quebec.

<sup>14</sup> This Alexander Fraser was a clerk N. W. Co. on his appearance at Fort George, which he leaves May 1st, beyond, for the interior. I am under the impression he is the same Alexander Fraser who appears in connection with the Governor Semple affair in June, 1816, on Red r., and who was killed in a quarrel with a Mr. Warren in Paris in 1829. But he is not the person of the identical full name to whom the following memoranda refer:

Alexander Fraser of the N. W. Co. wintered at Côte des Serpents 1789-90; was met by D. Thompson on the Missinipi June 13th, 1797; arrived at Grand Portage July 12th, 1798; was proprietor N. W. Co., English r., 1799; and signed Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1801, by his attys. Either this Alexander Fraser or Simon Fraser was at Rainy Lake house in July, 1810, and arrived at Fort William Aug. 11th, 1812. Thompson speaks of the house of Mr. Alex. Fraser at head of Deer r., about Deer l. (Missinipi waters). Thompson left Bedford house 3.30 p. m. on Tuesday, May 23d, 1797, and arrived at Alex. Fraser's house 11.15 a. m. Sunday, the 28th. He left this house on Wednesday, June 17th, passed into Deer l., and down the river by courses 5 m. "to the point on which stand the *old* houses of the Messrs. Alex. and Simon Fraser," whence it was S. 60° E. 1½ m. to the falls; he went into Shoal or Birch l., and on June 11th was at junction of Deer r. with the Missinipi. Going the other way, June 12th, 1796, Thompson went from the old Frasers' house N. N. W. ¼ m., N. 20° W. 1 m., N. 5° E. to his N. W. Co. house of 1796-97 at mouth of Deer l.

Simon Fraser is by far the most eminent of the many travelers and traders who bore the same surname. He was b. at Bennington, Vt., ca. 1776, of Scotch and Catholic parents. His father was captured at Burgoyne's surrender, being then a captain in that army, was in prison at Albany, and d. —. Simon's widowed mother went with him to Trois Rivières, Canada, near Coteau du Lac, and finally to St. Andrew's, Cornwall. Simon was sent to school at 14 years of age; at 16, engaged as clerk N. W. Co., and at 26 or 24 became bourgeois. Thompson met him on a portage between Missinipian and Saskatchewan waters June 15th, 1797, and names him as agent N. W. Co. at Grand Portage July 22d, 1797. On Aug. 28th, 1798, when Thompson was in Lac la Rouge (Missinipian waters), he came to "the old house where Simon Fraser and Versailles wintered 1795-96." Thompson found Simon Fraser at Fort Liard, Athabasca, May 2d, 1804. Simon Fraser signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804. He passed Cumberland House June 18th, 1805,

D. McTavish on shore N. of Cape Disappointment, was brought aboard by some Chiehilhths, who had conducted him from the place where he separated from Mr. McTavish. We looked about and gaped on deck for some time, the doctor being the only person who came near us; a few words were exchanged, a solemn silence ensued, and nothing answered me but the noise of cocks and hens. Going into the cabin again, I demanded something to eat before returning on shore; a bit of cheese, brown biscuit, and some port wine were brought, of which the doctor, Mr. D. McTavish, Mr.

and went to the Rocky mts. He left James McDougall, Archibald McGillivray, and John Stuart, clerks N. W. Co., with 12 men at the Rocky Mountain portage, and with 6 men reached the Height of Land near the lake he named McLeod's, for Archibald Norman McLeod. There he left 3 men to winter 1805-06, as an outpost, and returned to winter with the rest at the portage said, headwaters of Peace r. In the spring of 1806 he ascended a tributary which he called Stuart r., for John Stuart, and at 50 m. up built a post he called New Caledonia, probably thus originating the name subsequently extended over all of British Columbia. Leaving J. Stuart here he went W. to a lake he named Fraser's, after himself, and returned to winter at New Caledonia, 1806-07. In the autumn of 1807 two canoes reached him, with Jules Maurice Quesnel and one Faries, with orders for him to descend the great unknown Tacouche Tesse, then supposed to be the Columbia. On May 28th, 1808, he started on the perilous and ever memorable expedition which immortalized his name, and gave the Tacouche Tesse to the world as Fraser's r. forever. His party was the third which made the transcontinental journey to the Pacific—McKenzie first, by the Tacouche Tesse and Bellacoola, 1793; Lewis and Clark second, by the Columbia, 1805; David Thompson's party was the fourth, and the overland Astorians the fifth. Fraser's party consisted of himself, Quesnel, Stuart, 19 voyageurs, 2 Indians, and 4 canoes, which left the mouth of a small river, no doubt Stuart's or Nechacho r., and had a terrible time descending the utterly unnavigable and almost impassable river nearly to the Pacific, at site of New Westminster, till July 2d. Returning by the same way he went, now Fraser's r., he reached the fort at mouth of Stuart's r., site of present Fort George, Aug. 6th, 1808. Full account of the journey, in his own words, first pub. in Masson, I. 1889, pp. 155-221. Fraser passed Fort Dunvegan, on Peace r., May 6th, 1809, with James McDougall, en route to Rainy l. Fraser was in charge of Red River Dept. in 1811; Fort Liard; Forks of McKenzie r. 1813; Fort William, when it was taken by Lord Selkirk, Aug. 13th, 1816; married daughter of Capt. Allen McDonnell; d. St. Andrews Apr. 19th, 1862, *et.* 86.—Richard D. Fraser is listed as clerk and interp. N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1804.—For other Frasers or Frasers see the indexes to my eds. of Lewis and Clark and of Pike, 1893 and 1895.

McDougall, Jane, and myself partook. A vile discourse took place in the hearing of Jane, on the subject of venereal disease and Chinook ladies. At 1.30 p. m. I left the Isaac Todd in her jolly-boat, which was the one that sounded the bar coming in. Messrs. D. McTavish and McDougall, the doctor, and Jane accompanied me. The Dolly was alongside, taking her lading. It is proposed to discharge part of the ship's cargo before she comes over to the fort, where she will lie till Aug. 1st, and then sail for Canton. It has been determined to send an overland express to Fort William by Mr. McDougall and some of the young gentlemen, with 3 light canoes and 21 men to Spokane house,<sup>15</sup> whence it will be forwarded across the Rocky mountains by the

<sup>15</sup> Spokane house, P. F. Co., was founded by J. Clarke, with R. Cox, R. Farnham, F. B. Pillet, and D. McLennan, clerks P. F. Co., at junction of Spokane and Cœur d'Alène rivers, Aug., 1812, close to the N. W. Co. house then in charge of Mr. A. McMillan. Farnham and Cox were sent Oct. 17th, to oppose Finan McDonald, N. W. Co., among the Flat Heads, and Pillet to oppose Mr. N. Montour among the Kootenays. Cox returned Jan. 1st, 1813; Pillet and Farnham early in May; Pillet was left in charge May 25th, when the rest started for Astoria.—This early Spokane house, of the P. F. Co. and then of the N. W. Co., was at or near Spokane falls, site of present Spokane, seat of Spokane Co., Wash.; distinguish it from any later Spokane house, Fort Spokane, or Camp Spokane, at junction of Spokane r. with the Columbia.

The D. McLennan above said spent some time at the Spokane house and may be here noted, as his name does not come up in Henry's text. He is Donald McLennan, as the name oftenest appears, but also in many other ways, as M'Lellan in Franchère, McLeunen in Harmon, etc. In some of his aliases he is liable to be confused with R. McLellan, also an Astorian, for whom see note 1-6, p. 882; but his record is readily disengaged. Donald McLennan, clerk P. F. Co., was an original Astorian by the Tonquin from New York Sept. 6th, 1810, to the Columbia Mar. 22d, 1811. He left Astoria with D. Stuart's party July 23d, 1811, and returned with F. B. Pillet and one Brugière Oct. 5th, 1811. He appears to have wintered there; at any rate he left Astoria with the above said J. Clarke's party June 29th, 1812, to found Spokane house, and wintered there 1812-13 under Clarke; left with the rest May 25th, went as far as Snake r. with them, and June 1st started back to Spokane. This was probably his post for a year. In June, 1813, he surrendered his engagement with the P. F. Co. and entered the service of the N. W. Co. He arrived at Harmon's fort on Stuart l. Feb. 4th, 1814, and was sent back with letters to the Columbia Dept. Apr. 17th, 1814. Thus his trail hardly touches and never crosses that of R. McLellan.

Fort des Prairies<sup>16</sup> or the Athabasca portage, as may be most advisable.

At 2 p. m. we landed at Fort George, having had a good breeze and five boys to row. Not a gun was fired on either side, nor any ceremony made. A boat came over with baggage and the people who are to remain on the Columbia—mechanics, Canadians, etc. The jolly-boat returned on board with Mr. D. McTavish, Mr. A. Bethune, Joseph Cartier, the doctor, and Jane. We paid the Indians on account of the Isaac Todd, amounting to 10 lbs. of blue Canton beads and two pairs of pistols, for several trips made by them between the shore and the ship.

Mr. D. McTavish and Captain Smith are on bad terms. One messes in the after cabin, and the other with his officers in the gunroom; the first mate [Mr. Sims] being in disgrace with the captain, the latter objects to sit at the same table with him. Very bad water on board; I could scarcely drink the tea made with it. But they find no fault, having been put on short allowance of water about the time they crossed the line—one pint per day to each person in that hot climate; they complain of this great hardship, and say they suffered much.

Accounts had been received at Monterey, across the continent, via Mexico, of a grand battle [of Vitoria] which took place in Spain on the 22d [21st] of last June, wherein the French [under King Joseph Bonaparte] were totally defeated [by the English]. The king of Prussia had fought a battle with the French, and the Austrians were at war also with the enemy of all the world, that monster Bonaparte.

*Apr. 25th.* The Dolly having been to the Isaac Todd and returned, we began to unload her. Taureaux of tallow, like our pemmican bags of Fort des Prairies, but larger, weighing about 200 lbs. and made of cowhide at San Francisco; hides, trunks, cases, guns, bacon, etc., constituted part

<sup>16</sup> That is, present Howse pass, from headwaters of the Saskatchewan over to Blueberry cr. and so on to the Columbia: see note <sup>72</sup>, p. 508, and for Athabasca pass, note <sup>18</sup>, p. 66g.

of the cargo; a few cocks and hens were also landed. The gunner had charge of the Dolly, and my not having been introduced to any of the ship's officers, except the captain and the doctor, rendered my situation rather awkward; no attention was paid to the gunner, of course. Shortly afterward the ship's longboat came over, loaded with another officer—a mate, or something of that sort, I know not what—to whom I paid no attention. I am vexed with Mr. D. McTavish for his want of common politeness in not having introduced these people to me. Mr. Bethune came in the jolly-boat with the captain's nephew and Mr. Fraser, for Sandwich Islanders to assist in bringing over the ship at high water. The late Dolly, now the Jane, landed a cargo on the wharf and went back to the ship. The longboat came again with the doctor, who brought medicine for the sick; he examined La Plante and others, and returned to the ship, as did Mr. Fraser also; I let them both go very hungry. At 8 p. m. Mr. McDougall returned with the third mate, having sounded the channel, but incorrectly. I gave him a copy of the soundings and bearings taken by the master of the Raccoon, Mr. Stevens.

*Apr. 26th.* About noon the Jane came over with a load; the longboat soon followed, and then the jolly-boat; in the latter came Mr. D. McT., the doctor, and Jane. We settled some matters of the express, presents to be given the men on their departure, etc., and in a couple of hours they returned on board. I then opened a cask of bottled porter, and also a cask of rather moldy biscuit. Many Chinooks and Clatsops came in, some to trade and others on a visit; they brought some mussels [*Mytilus edulis?*], very small, but good when fried.

Mr. D. McDougall this afternoon completed the payment for his wife to Comcomly, whose daughter she was; he gave 5 new guns, and 5 blankets, 2½ feet wide, which makes 15 guns and 15 blankets, besides a great deal of other property, as the total cost of this precious lady. This Comcomly is a mercenary brute, destitute of decency.

*Apr. 27th.* Placed supporters under the beam in the cellar of the store, to prevent it from falling under the great weight which will be in it. The Jane unloaded a cargo, including a large Spanish sow that had been hurt, on removal, by the slings giving away. The poor brute was let fall from the ship to the shallop's deck, and as she was heavy with pig, she littered on deck; two only appeared to be in a fair way of living. At 2 p. m. the jolly-boat brought Mr. A. Bethune, Mr. A. McTavish, Mr. Fraser, and the doctor. Then the longboat and the pinnace that had been sounding the channel opposite, under the direction of Captain Smith, set him ashore. He found only seven fathoms, and the channel very narrow, which by no means corresponds with the soundings taken by Mr. Stevens, master of the Raccoon. But this did not surprise me in the least, as I always thought Stevens more intent on his grog than his duty. Excepting Captain Black, the Raccoon's officers were not those vigilant, careful, and enterprising fellows talked of and admired by all the world as the mainstay of Great Britain—the navy. Were all His Majesty's naval officers of the same stamp as these here, England would not long be able to boast of her "wooden walls." Captain Smith & Co. returned to the ship, after which I regaled the men; we were about 40 in all, who could eat and drink, including some from the Isaac Todd. I assembled them all in the hall, and, after a dram apiece, gave them 100 lbs. flour, 50 lbs. grease, 80 lbs. beef, 40 lbs. tallow, 5 gals. molasses, 8 gals. rum, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  box biscuits, with a suitable maiden speech by Mr. Bethune on my part.

*Apr. 28th.* Comcomly and his suite came over. I had a misunderstanding at dinner with the troublesome old fellow, who would not accept a piece of goose; he said it was not fit for a Chinook dog, and went off in a pet. When he came back I gave him a whole goose, and made him a speech on the proprieties. He ate his goose, drank his wine and porter, and seemed to care little about us. The Americans have spoiled this Indian by allowing him too



many liberties aboard their ships. When the longboat brought a load Duchesne and Le Prine [?] quarreled with some of the sailors, who had used them ill on the Isaac Todd, and pushed off with the boat; our men followed in a canoe, overtook and attacked them; the mate, who was ashore, ran to the assistance of the sailors; but matters were not settled until I went to the wharf, and ordered my men to come ashore. They did so, and the boat pushed off; but the mate waited for a note to Mr. D. McTavish, standing off and on with the boat until my note was ready, when I sent it to him by Mississaugue in a canoe. Our men were drinking and feasting all day. I wrote letters to Montreal, Fort William, Fort des Prairies, etc. While we were at supper Roussel, the blacksmith, came into the hall, was impertinent to Mr. McDougall, hurrahed for the Americans, and thus insulted us all. I got vexed, and ordered him out; then he talked more nonsense, and richly deserved a beating, but I passed it over, with a view of taking him to task when sober. He is addicted to insolence when in his cups—fault of his not being checked in due time by the late P. F. Co.

*Apr. 29th.* The Jane came over on a stiff N. E. breeze. I sent Mesen [Masson or Mousseau?] and five other invalids to Tongue point, to prepare the ground for potatoes and corn. The doctor came over with medicine for the sick, breakfasted, and returned with Messrs. McDougall and Mathews. Got the tailor to make a pair of trousers for myself and Mr. Bethune. A quantity of cedar from Canada was sent ashore by the Isaac Todd for making canoes. The Canada beef is lean and spoiled, but a cask of pork was found very good. The longboat brought a load of goods, and the jolly-boat came with Messrs. D. McTavish, D. McDougall, and the first mate, Mr. Sims, who is now suspended from duty and pay. Mr. D. McTavish brought his dispatches, to examine accounts, and to speak regarding the mate, whom he gave the option of going across country to England, or of remaining here to take his chance of

a berth on board the expected brig as captain, if Captain Stuart should succeed to the Isaac Todd, and Captain Smith lose his berth. The mate made no decision for the present, and returned on board with Mr. D. McTavish.

*Apr. 30th.* At 7 a. m. the shallop and one boat arrived with a load. Mr. D. McTavish and Jane came over; the doctor, A. McTavish, and A. Fraser arrived also, en baggage. The shallop returned with another cargo, chiefly powder. At 8 p. m. Messrs. D. McTavish, the doctor, and Jane returned on board. One of our goats had a kid, which died. I wrote to Fort William.

*Sunday, May 1st.* All hands were up early, preparing for the departure of the express for Fort William. At 8.30 a. m. Mr. D. McTavish arrived with Jane, and we breakfasted. At 10.30 the two canoes set off light—Messrs. D. McDougall, A. Bethune, A. McTavish and A. Fraser, with 12 men in one canoe and eight in the other, provisioned for 12 days with beef, pork, flour, corn, peas, rum, etc.<sup>17</sup>

*First Canoe:* Messrs. Duncan McDougall and Alexander McTavish; Antoine Gingras,\* ducent [bowman]; Joseph St. Amant, guide [helmsman]; Joseph Bowethich [Bostick or Bostwick?], Étienne Lussier, Alex. La Prade, Antoine Guenet,\* François Martiale, François Payette, — Bourdignon\* [or Bourguignon], Louis La Barthe,\* François Duchouquette, Antoine Belleau, middlemen.

*Second Canoe:* Messrs. Angus Bethune and Alexander Fraser; — Laurent,\* ducent; Charles Chapert, guide; Aimable Quesnel, François Landrie, Michel Catenoire, Louis Dreuelle [or Dienelle], Joseph Gervais, — La Pierre,\* middlemen.

The provisions for the express were 150 lbs. beef, 150 lbs.

<sup>17</sup> The following three paragraphs, giving the manning and lading of this express, I find in another part of the Henry MSS. (folio 1631), and insert in the text here, nearly literally according to copy. The 24 names are all found in the list on p. 868, date of Apr. 4th, except the six above starred: see what is said of them Apr. 4th. The equipment of the express is interesting as showing exactly how they traveled "light," to make portages "each at one trip."

pork, 60 quarts peas, 60 quarts corn, and 12 gallons rum, estimated at  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. beef,  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. pork,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint peas,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint corn, and 2 gills of rum per day, for 12 days, for 24 persons each. The sundries taken by the gentlemen for this trip to Spokane house, it being their intention to make the portages light, each at one trip, were: 4 tin plates, 4 knives and forks, 4 spoons, 4 half-pint pots, 1 gill tin measure, 1 frying pan, 2 E. kettles, 1 tin covered kettle, 2 tents, 15 fathoms of codline, 2 codlines, 12 fathoms of sail-twine, 2 sails, 2 oilcloths, 4 bales cord [?], 6 candles, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  keg of gum. The light canoes also carried in 11 canvas bags, etc., 5 lbs. grease extra, 50 lbs. flour extra, 24 quarts rice, 15 lbs. sugar, 3 lbs. tea,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. butter, 38 lbs. biscuits, 4 lbs. Canton beads No. 1, 5 lbs. ditto No. 2, 6 lbs. ditto No. 3,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  axes [*sic*], 3 doz. awls, 1 doz. iron blades, 10 Canton plates, 3 blankets of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft., 15 lbs. leaf tobacco, 10 lbs. powder, 300 balls, 6 mauls, 2 new guns, 30 flints, 6 cartridge boxes, 3 botls. port wine, 3 botls. porter, one small trunk, and 2 boxes containing each \$500=\$1000—Isaac Todd.

*May 2d.* The shallop went across the river, but could not lie alongside the ship to load; the longboat brought the doctor, who gave it as his opinion that La Plante could not work. I sent a Mason [*sic*—Alexis Masson] with four Sandwich Islanders and Perrault, to plant potatoes on Tongue point. Mr. D. McTavish, the doctor, and Jane returned to the ship. Cartier and others arranged the stores; the tailor cut out coats for Mr. Bethune and myself; Duchesne and Laframboise put a room in order for Mr. D. McTavish and Jane; and a corbeau [raven] carried off one of our Spanish sow's pigs. We learned that some Clatsops had killed a Chinook in a quarrel, that the latter would demand satisfaction, and that if remuneration were not made, a battle would ensue; this, however, the Chinooks would wish to avoid, the Chiehilths being already on their way here to settle their dispute also.

*May 3d.* Some Indians having been allowed to go into the kitchen, one of them stole an ax, and hid it in his

canoe; but having been seen by one of our men, the ax was recovered, and the chief got off with a fright, as I threatened to put him in irons. Our men refused to eat any more dried smelt or salt sturgeon; the former would keep people alive, but that is all, and the sturgeon, not having been sufficiently salted, is rotten. I, therefore, ordered them, much against my inclination, to be given one quart of corn each per day, and they also had each a dram. The longboat brought Mr. J. C. McTavish and his baggage, to remain ashore. The Jane came over with a load; the sailors were intoxicated, and we suspected they had broken open a cask of porter. The doctor came also in another boat. The shallop and other boats unloaded and returned. Comcomly's two sons came over; they are troublesome fellows, asking for everything they see, and trying to get work done for them by everybody.

The crew of the Isaac Todd begin to feel the effects of their communications with the Chinook ladies; several of them are laid up already. A gang of Clatsop women came in to trade cranberries and their precious favors, but, I hope, got no customers.

*May 4th.* Roussel and La Plante making axes; others arranging the stores and garden. Gave each man, as a present, one pint of corn and two lbs. of salt beef; whether this will satisfy them time will tell. I understood to-day that Mr. McDougall's woman was yesterday forced by her brothers to go to the village; they actually dragged her aboard the canoe. This took place while I was at dinner and knew nothing of it; otherwise, if agreeable to herself, she should have remained in spite of them. Mr. J. C. McTavish took up his lodgings in the counting house. At noon the shallop came over with a canoe, and soon afterward the longboat, with Mr. D. McTavish and Messrs. Sims and Geo., the first and third mate, both suspended from duty. This was owing to the quarrel of Saturday evening, when he abused the captain, damned the British navy, etc. The young man, it seems, has been

many years with Captain Smith, with whom he was taken prisoner and confined at Lima ; thence they took passage to Boston, where Geo. changed his name, got naturalized as an American citizen, entered the same service, is now a stanch American, and says that six Americans could take the Isaac Todd. We unloaded the shallop and longboat with much trouble, through lack of men, though the sailors assisted us ; landed six long six-pounders for this place—fine, heavy guns. Mr. D. McTavish treated the sailors with biscuits, cheese, and rum. Much disturbance took place this morning on board the ship between him and the captain, which may be attended with serious consequences to the concern—that is, if what I learn from different sources be correct. Mr. McTavish's person is not safe on board the ship ; the captain could raise the crew in a twinkling, and they would be happy to vent their spleen on Mr. McTavish, as they detest him beyond all measure. The Jane and longboat returned to the ship, and toward evening the former arrived with a second cargo, too late to unload. The jolly-boat came for Mr. McTavish, with the captain's nephew in charge, and left us at seven. The second and last Spanish pig died.

*May 5th.* La Plante unable to work, after the fatigue of yesterday. Our men found their rations short ; I, therefore, gave them each one pint of peas, three lbs. of beef, and a dram. The longboat brought a cargo, and the doctor to attend the sick as usual. I opened a case of medicines to get out mercurial pills, ointment, and a syringe ; found a three-pound bottle of opodeldoc broken. Mascou [Masson] came in for provisions ; I gave him peas and jacked [jerked] beef for three days, and sent him back. The shallop and boat returned after unloading. Clatsops brought in some beavers, beeswax, and four whales' tusks. Coalpo went off in a pet, although I paid every attention to him ; he will not trade like other Indians, but wants double price for everything. Sowed a large quantity of early York, sugar-loaf, and red cabbage seed.

*May 6th.* The shallop arrived last night, but the tide being out, could not come to the wharf. I removed Ignace's [the Iroquois Indian's] family outside the fort to make room for storing under the shed, putting them in the house with the Nepisangués. The shallop unloaded, and the longboat arrived with a cargo, Mr. D. McTavish, and Jane; she unloaded also and went off.

Conferred with Mr. D. McTavish regarding Jane; his three stipulations were: first, her person; second, the table; and third, to cause no misunderstanding with the young gentlemen, etc. This was the sum total. The proposal was first on his part, not only to-day, but on the 4th also; preliminaries were settled by the trio [the governor, the author, and the woman] during the afternoon. It is now more an act of necessity than anything else. The fact is, the parties cannot help themselves; my part is mainly to protect her from ill usage. Affection is out of the question; our acquaintance is too short, and she has placed her affections elsewhere. I shall, therefore, make it my duty to render her situation as comfortable as possible; not as a lover, but through humanity. I know the ground on which she stands, and the pros and cons of the whole situation.

The Indians told us the Chiehilths had arrived at Chinook point to settle their long quarrel with these people; matters were to be made up, and there would be no fighting. They also said they had heard the report of three guns at sea, and this afternoon William's [Wm. Henry's] woman, standing on the platform, heard the report of a gun distinctly. We fired three shots from our four-pounders as a signal, in case it might be Captain Stuart, as we hoped; we supposed no American vessel would fire off the river, knowing the fort to be under British colors. The longboat arrived with a cargo of casks. One of our boats was sent over with Mr. D. McTavish and Jane, who left at 9.30. One of our hens died; we have lost several fowls in the same manner—reduced to nothing but bones and feathers, I presume from eating something which disagrees with them, as they have

plenty of food. Some Indian women brought large yellow raspberries, perfectly ripe, for which I paid three grains of the second size beads. Sent Laframboise to Chinook point to get Comcomly to send some person to make a fire on the cape as a signal, should there be any vessel off the river.

*May 7th.* At sunrise the Isaac Todd fired three signal guns. Our men complained of short allowance—one pint of peas and three lbs. of salt beef. The shallop brought a cargo, the doctor, and Jane; Mr. D. McTavish soon arrived in the longboat with a cargo. Laframboise returned also, having prevailed on Comcomly to send down to the cape and make a fire. He thinks that he saw a vessel off Point Adams, and the Chinooks say the same. Mascan [Masson] and the others came in from Tongue point, having planted nine bushels of potatoes; they are confident they saw a small vessel in the offing yesterday afternoon, and heard her guns. The Grand Nepisangue says he heard a gun to-day; so many reports from various quarters almost make me believe there is a vessel off the river. The doctor gave us the signals to be observed from the Isaac Todd: a blue pierced, white maintop, and one gun—all hands to repair immediately on board; and, by night, two lights, one gun, or false fire—all hands the same, to be ready to defend against an enemy. If the stranger is a friend, the ship will hoist the private signal. Old Joe hurt himself in unloading a cask of lead of 36 lbs.' weight, which fell on his breast. The doctor and Jane returned to the ship in the jolly-boat, that came for them about sunset.

*Sunday, May 8th.* The longboat came with Jane, bag and baggage. Lamsoi, the Chinook messenger, informed us he saw a ship near the cape yesterday, and by his description she answers to the Raccoon. He said the boats attempted to land, but the surf was too high, and she lay at anchor near the cape all night. One of our goats had two kids, and a cat kittened. Our men purchased rum and molasses, and had a drinking match all day and night. About sunset the jolly-boat took Mr. D. McTavish on

board alone; Jane, of course, remained, having taken up her lodging in my room.

*May 9th.* Men slow at work, after their debauch. I set Mascou and some Sandwich Islanders gardening. The shallop brought a note from Mr. D. McTavish regarding Jane, which I answered. With the spyglass we could see many Indians from the N. debark on Chinook point, whom we supposed to be the long-expected Chiehilths, to settle their difference with the Chinooks.

*May 10th.* Men at work as usual, having recovered from their debauch. At noon the longboat arrived with a load and Mr. D. McTavish and the doctor, who both dined here. During a walk, Mr. McTavish and myself came to an understanding for future arrangements. We differ on some personal points, but my course is clear to me, though it may not be so to others. However, this, as far as it may concern a certain person, shall not affect our general interests; but, in every other respect, I am determined to support what I conceive my rights, even at the displeasure of every person on the Columbia.

This evening Mr. A. Bethune, Mr. Wm. Henry, and old Joseph Cartier took each of them a Chinook woman, with the approbation of Mr. D. McTavish, who even deprived himself of a clean bed in the new house for the convenience of these gentlemen, and took up his night's lodgings in the Indian hall on the table, where he says he was annoyed by people chatting after they went to bed, and then by their snoring, dogs barking, cats mewling, a rousing fire, hard bed, and no pillow—all the comforts of Fort George, in fact. But it was his own fault. Every man is subject to some failings, and the old governor has his, common to human nature.

*May 11th.* The governor rose early in a terrible ill-humor. Roussel the blacksmith first received his morning greetings for not being at work on time, but all the others got an equal share. His unpleasant night's lodging was first broached in the counting house to Messrs. J. Cartier and



B., and afterward to me, who unluckily rose this morning later than usual, which of course increased his displeasure. The jolly-boat soon came for Mr. D. McTavish. Several Indians came in to trade beaver; they found a great change in their treatment at this place under Mr. McTavish; for, although no chiefs or other men of consequence were present, uncommon attention was paid to all. At 4 p. m. Mr. McTavish went aboard.

*May 12th.* All hands are roused now by beat of drum at 6 a. m. The shallop unloaded a cargo of gunpowder. Some Chiehilths came in to trade a couple of sea otters and some beavers; among the latter was an uncommonly fine fur, long, soft, and without any coarse hair, thus resembling a sea otter. The longboat arrived with a load of sundries, including Mr. D. McTavish and his baggage. He took up his lodging in Mr. McDougall's unfinished room, and got his kit fixed. He gives us some plague in our ménage. Comcomly and his family came over with a Chiehilth chief, who is one of the most portly men I have observed here. The chiefs and their families are allowed to sleep in the house on account of the rain, but the common men are sent out of the fort. The Chiehilths, it seems, are all returned to their houses, having amicably settled their quarrel with the Chinooks, who made them a present of some slaves and goods after exchanging a few long shots. At 11 p. m. I went to bed; Mr. McTavish was inclined to sit up. Mr. J. Cartier discharged his lady, she being so far gone with the venereal disease that he already has two pimples, and on examination the doctor gives it as his opinion that he is in a very bad way. Mr. Bethune keeps his, though he is very dubious about her.

*May 13th.* Comcomly traded about 60 beavers. We made him a present, and gave another to the Chiehilth chief, with a speech from Mr. D. McTavish on the occasion. He is to trade on the same terms as other Indians, but will receive a present after every trade, according to the number of skins he brings. The shallop arrived with a load of coal.

The ship's baker, having put our small oven in repair, baked a batch of bread, for the first time since my arrival.

*May 14th.* Coalpo and other Indians came in to trade; they are actually starving and beg us for dried smelt, of which I gave them a few fathoms. The baker made a very bad batch of bread, having no yeast or leaven. Another hen died, reduced to feathers and bones, also eight chickens; three only remain, and they are sick; it must be something they eat. The shallop did not return to-day. The women brought in a quart of excellent large yellow raspberries. Swallows are numerous.

*Sunday, May 15th.* Indians coming and going; men drinking; the ship's longboat sounding lower channel. Some Chiehilths brought three fresh sturgeon, but would not sell them under half a pound of beads each; of course we bought none. The cooper came to remain ashore.

*May 16th.* We began to examine and assort goods, opening all the bales, casks, etc. Things are in bad order; there is no correct account of the several packages, and the cargo is mixed up with the ship's stores. The steward came in the jolly-boat to work at the garden. The baker improves, but his bread is nothing to compare with that on board the Isaac Todd. Indians are eager to buy dried smelts from us for beads; they say they are starving. One brought us 40 lbs. of fresh meat. Another hen died.

*May 17th.* The shallop brought a load of coals. Indians trading dried smelt; they seem to be actually starving. Bought one sturgeon. We now daily trade raspberries from the women. Put my curtains up. Mr. D. McTavish took Mrs. Clapp<sup>18</sup> in tow this evening.

<sup>18</sup> No doubt the Clatsop or Chinook relict of B. Clapp, clerk P. F. Co., Astorian by the ship Beaver from N. Y. Oct. 10th, 1811, to the Columbia May 9th, 1812. He went on a trip up river Oct. 1st-20th, 1812, with Franchère, and they seem to have made great friends: "Mr. Clapp et moi, seuls chargés des affaires de l'Etablissement, et les seuls qui pussions lier société: heureusement, Mr. Clapp était un homme d'un caractère aimable, d'une humeur gaie, et d'un commerce agréable," says Franchère, p. 123. Mr. Clapp is traceable to the Marquesas, where he entered the U. S. naval service as midshipman

*May 18th.* Quarrel between Mr. D. McTavish and Mr. Wm. Henry. Orders from Fort William produced, etc. Poor William! He fain would contend for his rights with his uncle, but there is too much browbeating.

Coniah,<sup>19</sup> the Clatsop chief, showed me his writing from Captains Lewis and Clark,<sup>20</sup> dated Fort Clatsop, 19th of March, 1806; a list of men accompanying the American party, viz.: M. Lewis and W. Clark, captains; Geo. Drew-

under Commodore Porter; was captured by the British, and sent to Buenos Aires; afterward reached New York.

<sup>19</sup> This is our old friend Comowol, or Comowool, of Lewis and Clark, ed. 1893, p. 728, and *passim* to p. 903, as for example p. 743: "we were visited by our neighbor, the Fia [read Tia] or chief, Comowool, who is also called Cooné, and six Clatsops." The Henry copy has "Chonick" in the present place, which I alter to Coniah, as I find the latter plainly written beyond. Compare the word with Cooniatic, present spelling of the name of one of the Upper Chinookan tribes.

<sup>20</sup> What here follows is a matter of exceptionally curious interest. Readers of L. and C. hardly need to be reminded that when these explorers were about to quit Fort Clatsop, in the latter part of March, 1806, they left with the natives some copies of a certain paper they had drawn up. Thus, p. 816 of my ed. of 1893, date of Tuesday, Mar. 18th: "This morning we gave Delashelwilt a certificate, . . . and furnished him with a list of our names. . . We have given such lists to several of the natives, and posted a copy in our own quarters." I printed the document literally true to MS. of Lewis, Codex J 137. Biddle printed it in substance, with some literal discrepancy, from a copy which reached Philadelphia from Canton, China: see p. 204 of Vol. II. of his ed., 1814, my p. 903. Here we find Henry inspecting the copy which L. and C. gave to Comowool, Cooné, or Coniah, dated Mar. 19th; and the curious thing is that it is the only one we know of which bears an absolute date of itself. The date of actual evacuation of Fort Clatsop seems to have been left blank in all the copies; the day and hour to be supplied is 1 p. m., Sunday, Mar. 23d, 1806. But the most interesting thing about the paper which Henry copies, after a fashion, is the order in which the men's names come; for, in making his transcript, he would naturally take them down as they came on Comowool's paper, and we thus learn something about this document we did not know before. I print the names exactly as I find them in Henry, as a curiosity; the reader may amuse himself guessing at some of them, before turning to L. and C. ed. 1893, pp. 253-57, to see who were such persons as "Bradlen," "Gosdrick," "Warrener," "Patty," "Whichhouse," and "Widseor." But Henry's total of 31 men, 1 woman, and her baby, is exactly right. Another thing about these documents we learn from Henry is that he threw one of them in the fire—and died next day.

yer, T. Shabona, interpreters of Indian language; John Ordeway, N. Pryon, Patric Gass, sergeants; Bradlen; John Shields; Joseph Fields; Reuben Fields; Silas Gosdrick; A. Willard; John Colter; Hugh Hall; William Warrener; John Patty; Thos. P. Howard; George Gibson; Peter Wiser; John Collins; Joseph Whichhouse; Geo. Shannon; J. B. Thompson; Richard Widseor; Robert Frazier; Hugh McNeil; Peter Crusot; Francis Le Biech; John Bte. Le Page; York, a black man of Captain Clark's; an Indian woman and child, belonging to T. S. Set off in May, 1804, by Missourie and Columbia rivers to the Pacific ocean, where they arrived on the 14th of November, 1805, and from whence they departed — of March, 1806, to return to the United States.

*May 19th.* I began to take an account, and put the garret in order, with Mr. J. C. McTavish. Some Indians came in, but brought only a few berries, and stole a decanter, two glass inkstands, etc. We are anxious to get hold of one of them to put him in irons, to deter the others from theft. Mr. D. McTavish is dressing his tête platte [flat-headed woman] in fine black broadcloth which cost 23 shillings sterling a yard, and his belle-mère also received a present. Perreault and Masson took each a wife, by leave.

*May 20th.* Some Indians arrived. I gave a clothing to Ashualuc of Oak point, Comcomly and his two sons, and old Duchesne [*sic* <sup>21</sup>]; all were highly pleased, and a suitable

<sup>21</sup> So copy, but Duchesne is no Indian's name. I find on another folio (1634) the name of this chief written Daichouion or Daichouiou, and that folio, and 1635, also itemize the presents made to several Indians May 20th and 21st. Comcomly received a scarlet coat, gingham shirt, pair of B. C. (Bath Coating?) trousers, dimity vest, braided hat and feather, pair of woolen hose and slippers, silk negligé, 4 Canton plates, a bar of iron weighing 6 lbs.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of vermilion, 10 lbs. of flour, 5 lbs. of bread, 4 bottles of molasses, and 4 bottles of rum. Each of his two sons was presented with a jacket, B. C. trousers, gingham shirt, cap with tassel and feather, P. C. looking-glass, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. vermilion. The "Duchesne" said received a soldier's coat, laced J. cap and feather, 2 Canton plates, B. C. trousers, gingham shirt, iron knife, 6-lb. bar of iron, a folder, bottle of rum and one of molasses, and 2 loaves of bread. Cohniah received precisely the same. Ashualuc had a laced cap, cloth jacket,

speech was made by Mr. McTavish. I finished taking an inventory of the new imported goods, and arranging the garret. Men all at work, excepting the sick; five Islanders are also laid up. The remainder of the coal was taken out of the shallop, which has finished unloading the ship, and we are anxious to see her over here, but the captain is backward in coming. He found  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms yesterday by the lower channel, at almost low water, and the Isaac Todd draws only two fathoms.

*May 21st.* Coniah and other Clatsops brought back some of our stolen things. We clothed the chief, and gave him a writing in lieu of the American one, which I threw in the fire before him. Finished examining the goods, arranging the garret, etc. Now all is in readiness and order, and a bedstead put up. The longboat came over under sail with a letter from Captain Smith, saying he could not bring the ship, there being only 13 to 18 feet of water at half-tide for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and the ship drawing 13 feet aft and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet forward. There had been a misunderstanding on board the ship with Mr. McKay, regarding the bread given out

gingham shirt, B. C. trousers, 2 heads of leaf tobacco, an iron blade,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint of powder, and 20 balls. Coalpo also rejoiced in a cloth jacket, cap and feather, B. C. trousers, blanket of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, 3-lb. bar of iron,  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. of vermilion, 1 scalper, 1 folder, P. C. glass, 2 loaves of bread, 1 bottle of molasses, but only 1 bottle of rum.

Folio 1635 also has some memoranda of time lost through sickness by several men—William Canning, Louis Le Barte (or La Barthe), Étienne Lussier, La Plante, and Masson.

Folios 1636 and 1637 are the bill of lading of the brigade of 10 canoes which left Fort George Apr. 4th, and have been used at that date, which see.

Folios 1638-42, ending the Henry MSS., are dated Montreal, Feb. 20th, 1824, and consist of George Coventry's "Remarks on Mr. Henry's Travels by a Friend thinking it ought to be printed for the information of the whole human race"—an opinion in which the publisher and editor concur—**IMPRIMATUR.**

The authenticity of the manuscript used is attested as follows :

Certified a true and faithful copy of the copy of Henry's Journal, in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa, Canada.

[Signed] L. PHILIPPE SYLVAIN,  
Assistant Librarian.

22 April, 1895.

to the crew, and an appeal made to the captain. The weather cleared up——

[*Sunday, May 22d, 1814.* Alexander Henry, Donald McTavish, and some other persons were drowned in going from Fort George to the Isaac Todd.<sup>22</sup>—EDITOR.]

<sup>22</sup> The principal witness to this case is Cox, p. 145, as follows: "The melancholy and untimely death of Mr. Donald M'Tavish. This gentleman had embarked in an open boat, with six voyageurs, to proceed to the opposite side of the Columbia. It blew a stiff gale; and about the middle of the river, owing to some mismanagement of the sail, a heavy wave struck the boat, which instantly filled and went down. With the exception of one man they all perished: he succeeded in gaining a snag which was a few feet above the water, and on which he remained for nearly two hours, until he was rescued when in a state of great exhaustion by two Chinooks, who proceeded to his assistance in a small canoe. Thus perished the respected Mr. Donald M'Tavish, one of the oldest proprietors of the North-west Company, and for many years the principal director for managing the affairs of the interior. He had realized an independent fortune; and had, in fact, retired from the Company, when he volunteered his services to organize the new department of Columbia. . . . The day after this melancholy event, the body of the lamented gentlemen, with those of four of the men, were found, and interred in a handsome spot behind the north-east bastion of Fort George, where a small monument, tolerably well engraved, points to the future Indian trader the last earthly remains of the enterprising Donald M'Tavish." It is strange that Cox does not mention Henry.

Harmon received the news of the fatality on the arrival at his post of Joseph Larocque, Oct. 18th, 1814, and thus records it: "Mr. La Rocque brings the melancholy intelligence, that Messrs. D. McTavish, Alexander Henry, and five sailors were drowned, on the 22d of May last, in going out in a boat, from fort George, to the vessel called the Isaac Tod," p. 242 of his Journal, 1820. Mention is made by John McDonald of Garth in Masson, II. 1890, p. 52, in these terms: "I started [Apr. 4th, 1814] with the Astorians for Fort William across the mountains, leaving Mr. Henry and Mr. McDougal in command at Astoria, in hopes of the arrival of the Isaac Todd, which vessel did arrive after our departure, having wintered at San Francisco. Both he [Mr. Henry] and Mr. Donald McTavish, who had left London with me, were drowned in the Columbia in leaving the fort and in going on board to Baker's Bay, where the ship lay at anchor."

END OF PART III.

