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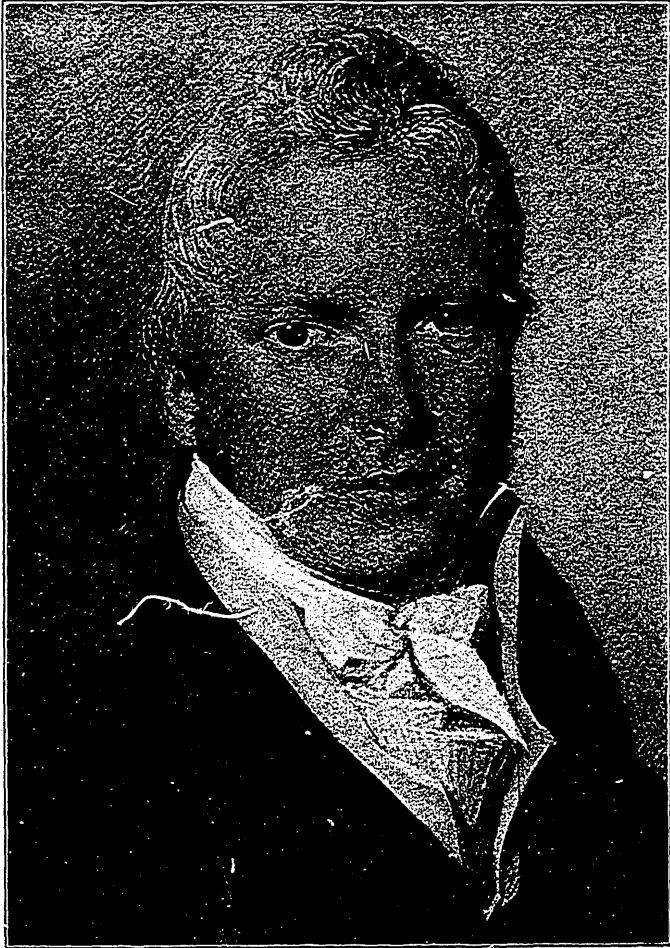
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NICHOLAS GARRY.

*From a portrait in possession of his grandson.*

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V.—*Diary of Nicholas Garry, Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822-1835. A detailed narrative of his travels in the Northwest Territories of British North America in 1821. With a portrait of Mr. Garry and other illustrations.*

Communicated to the Society through Sir John Bourinot, and read May 29, 1900.

#### PREFATORY.

This valuable manuscript has been communicated to the Royal Society by the Reverend Canon Nicholas T. Garry, of "The Rectory," Taplow, England, the son of the founder of a well-known western fort, who was a deputy-governor and director of the Hudson's Bay Company for a number of years. The document has been copied and annotated with a great deal of care by Mr. Francis N. A. Garry, the grandson, as the following note from him shows :

"The Diary of my grandfather, Nicholas Garry, who was from 1822 to 1835 Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, is contained in a locked quarto volume bound in brown leather. The paper has the watermark of "I. Whatman, 1820."

"Written as the Diary is on both sides of the page and in the hurry and discomfort of camp life there has been much difficulty in deciphering it. Notes and scraps of information, accounts, routes, etc., are scattered all through the Journal proper. These, or such of them as appear to me to be of any value, I have thrown together in the Appendix under the heads of Union of the Companies of the N. W. and Hudson Bay, Routes, Lord Selkirk's Colony on the Red River, Bible Society, Voyageurs' Songs, York Fort, Indians, Trade and Prices, Treaty of Ghent, and miscellaneous notes. Where possible I have referred to them in the Diary, but many of them are practically independent and have an interest of their own."

"The deciphering of the Diary, the arrangement of the scattered jottings and the chronological sequence have occupied far more time than was anticipated. I should have preferred to have a few months more for the preparation of the notes, but the work has been promised to the Royal Society. It is therefore forwarded in its present condition in the hope that it may prove to be, in its own way, of some interest, as containing the thoughts and experiences of one who contributed not a

little to the final settlement of the disastrous struggle between the two great Companies of the Hudson Bay and the Northwest."

The editor of the Transactions has added several illustrations which will give greater interest to the Diary, and has made a few additions to the notes carefully prepared by Mr. Francis N. A. Garry, the grandson of the diarist.



PRINCE RUPERT.  
From Lely's portrait.

## DIARY OF NICHOLAS GARRY.

The Hudson's Bay Company having made an Arrangement with the North-West Company,<sup>1</sup> it became necessary that one of the Directors of the former Company should accompany Mr. Simon McGillivray, a Partner of the latter, to Montreal and from thence to proceed thro' the Indian Country to Fort William, and from thence visiting the different Posts belonging as well to the H. B. as to the N. W. and the Red River Settlement to proceed to York Fort, and from thence to embark for England. Myself being the only single Man in the Direction it became imperative on Me that I should not hesitate to undertake this long and tedious Journey—but so many circumstances combined to render it desirable to Me, that I little considered (or if I did reflect on them I did not allow them to influence me) the Privations and Difficulties I must necessarily be exposed to. Thus I accepted the Appointment, and on the 29th March, 1821, I left London in Company with Mr. Angus Bethune, a Partner of the North-West Company.

March 30th (1821).—Arrived at Liverpool. In the morning Mr. John McLaughlin, another Partner of the Company, joined us at the Waterloo Hotel. Distance from London, 207 Miles.

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<sup>1</sup> By Deed Poll dated Mar. 26, 1821. See the Great Company, Beckles Willson (London, 1900) vol. II., p. 217. Also Appendix A to this diary.

March 31st.—Went on board the *Amity*, Capt. Maxwell, an American Packet, being one of five which belong to a Company of Merchants (Quakers) at New York and which sail constantly (wind permitting) from Liverpool on the 1st of every Month and from New York on the 10th. The Passage Money is 45 guineas, and I paid £20 for my servant Raven, who accompanied me. In the Morning we went on Board and got under weigh, but the wind blew so strongly from the W. that we could only reach the Rock, so called from being the extreme Point of the Mersey on the Cheshire Coast and having a Shelve of dangerous Rocks which run across the Channel and which are impassable at low water. The wind continuing to blow very strong from the W. till Friday, 6th April, we were detained at Liverpool, when we again got under weigh.

Saturday	7th	April	—Wind	W.N.W.	—Beaumaris Bay.
Sunday	8th	“	“	W.	Holyhead.
Monday	9th	“	“	W.	
Tuesday	10th	“	“	W.	blowing very hard—uncomfortable.
Wednesday	11th	“	“	W.	blowing very hard—uncomfortable.
Thursday	12th	“	“	W.	Bristol Channel.
Friday	13th	“	“	W.	
Saturday	14th	“	“	W.N.W.	violent storm—injured the Bowsprit.
Sunday	15th	“	“	W.	nothing produces sea sickness so much as a contrary wind.
Monday	16th	“	“	S.E.	all right till 12 o'clock. Lat. 48.3, Longitude 9. Spoke a vessel from St. Michael's one of the Azores.
Tuesday	17th	“	“	W.N.W.	weather fine but calm. Lat. 48.2, Lon. 10.
Wednesday	18th	“	“	S.W.	good run till One—changed to W.
Thursday	19th	“	“	W.N.W.	at 6 o'clock S.E.—rainy weather.
Friday	20th	Good Friday	E.		fine weather—7 to 10½ knots—Lat. 48.40, Lon. 15.9.
Saturday	21st	April	—Wind	N.E.	eight knots—fine weather—Lat. 48, Lon. 20.8.

Having been so many days on Board the Amity I may now from conviction speak to the excellent Appointment of the American Packets. The Tonnage is about 380 Tons, that is, of the Amity; the others being larger, and one, the Albion, Capt. Williams, 500 Tons. The accommodation surpasses anything of the sort which I have ever seen. The Living too good, fresh milk, eggs, hot fresh meat, Bread, cold meat, new Rolls, new Bread for Breakfast at 8 o'clock. Luncheon at 12—Anchovies, dried Fish, Pickles, cold meat, everything which could whet the Appetite—Porter, Cider, Ale, Wine. At 3 Dinner, most excellent; excellent Dessert and as much Port and Madeira as each Person chose to drink. At 8 Tea and Supper, and at 10 Grog, Negus, &c., &c.

The Captain is a most excellent Seaman, and the only Regret perhaps prejudiced Englishman would have is that so many excellent Qualities of Seamanship, great Politeness and Attention and humane kind Feelings (of which latter his kindness to the Family of Mrs. Pullans gave most convincing proofs), should have centered in an American, for such Captain Maxwell is. Our Passengers consisted in Mrs. Pullans—9 children, the eldest 16, the youngest in arms, 6 Boys and 3 Girls, and a maid servant; Mr. Blackwood, Partner in the House of B. and Laroque; Mr. Stevens, in the House of Gillespie, Moffatt, &c., in Montreal; Mr. Pattison, a merchant of Quebec; Mr. Laws, a Naval Officer attached to the Commissariat at Kingston; Mr. McLaughlin and Mr. Bethune; Mr. Townsend and Mr. Tayler, young American Gentlemen; Mr. Levy, a Jewish merchant established at Montreal; Mr. Philips, formerly a Liverpool merchant; a Mr. Nott, formerly a Bookkeeper with Messrs. Gott of Leeds; Mr. Trotter and Mr. R [*illegible*], Glasgow Merchants; Mr. Bolton, a manufacturer. Mrs. Pullan is an Instance of the Folly of Dissatisfaction. Her Husband, a Yorkshire manufacturer, had gone over to America with Discontent in his Heart with the Taxes of England, and tho' with Plenty of Means fancied he could live better and cheaper in a country which he could not know and where he could not have Friends and Connections, and forgetting that if there had not been a war, which had caused the Taxes, he himself might be living in Poverty. Mrs. Pullans told me they had plenty of money, but they had been in the habit of keeping a Curricule, a cart with 2 Horses, and as they could not afford this in England they were going to America, thus exposing herself and large Family to the misery and Dangers of a Sea Voyage, with the Probability amounting almost to a Certainty that they would not find the *Cheap Living* and Happiness they were expecting. The Children, with the exception of the eldest Boy, were well behaved, and as it often happens in Life that that which we consider in the first Instance an Evil becomes a Good, so it was

with us. When we heard of a so large a Family going with us we considered it must be annoying, whilst the children became very nice Play-mates and agreeable little Companions. It is singular that the younger Children never suffered from Sea Sickness.

A few Days after we had been on Board Mr. Bethune had a violent attack of Rheumatism, a little Contradiction to the Assurance he gave me in London that this Affliction they were never exposed to; tho', on my laughing with Him on the subject he assured me it was only to be imputed to the English climate, still it now came out from his other Friends that it was a Complaint of some standing. Men likewise are fond of talking of Dangers past, and thus Mr. McLaughlin, from whom I understood that canoe travelling was attended with no Risk, forgetting this Assurance, talked of Dangers past and particularly of an Escape on the Lake Superior where 9 of his party were drowned and he himself taken out of the water lifeless.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday [Apr. 22]—Wind W. till 3 o'clock, then N.E. from 8 to 10. Thus all Night—too cloudy to take an Observation.

Monday, 23rd [Apr.]—Wind N.E.—very stormy—much Motion—heavy head Sea—but a fair wind inasmuch as it exhilarates the Spirits prevents Sea-Sickness—9 to 10 Knots—Lat. 46.33.

Tuesday, 24 [Apr.]—Wind N.E.—the Sea more calm—9 to 10 Knots.

Wednesday, 25 [Apr.]—Wind E.—8 to 10 Knots.

Thursday, 26 [Apr.]—N.E.—beautiful hot weather—but little wind. Lat. 43.46, Lon. 37.15.

Friday, 27 [Apr.]—Wind S.E. all Night till 8 o'clock—running 10 Knots—changed to N. but still laying our Course—stormy head Sea—not quite happy though not exactly sick. Lat. 44.25. Mr. McLaughlin taken very unwell—every Appearance of a violent bilious Attack.

Saturday, 28 [Apr.]—Calm all Night—at 7 Wind N.E. blowing a steady brisk Gale—9 Knots—tried the Temperature of the Sea to ascertain whether we were near Icebergs—found it to be 60 Degrees—in the open Air 58°.

Sunday, 29 [Apr.]—Wind N.N.E. blowing hard. Lat. 43.41, Lon. 44.47. 8 to 10 Knots.

Monday, 30 [Apr.]—Wind W.S.W.—S.W. on the Banks of Newfoundland—as usual foggy weather. Quantity of Birds. 8 Knots. Lat.

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<sup>1</sup> This must be Dr. John McLaughlin, who was sent down with other prisoners (after the capture of Fort William by Lord Selkirk in 1816) to Montreal. One of the canoes was upset and several persons drowned, Dr. McL. and some of the crew being saved. See further on in diary under June 26.



43.28. Lon. 47.48. The Bank is about 580 miles in Length and 230 in Breadth and from 16 to 60 Fathoms deep—the Air very cold,—Passed a small Ice Berg.

Tuesday, 1st May—Wind W.S.W. 4 to 6 Knots. Lat. 51.45. Lon. 43.30.

Wednesday, 2 [May]—Calm the whole Day and Night—foggy rainy weather producing Lowness of Spirits and Misery.

Thursday, 3 [May]—Still calm—much the same as yesterday.

Friday, 4 [May]—Calm till towards Evening when we had a fine Breeze from the S.E.—but the Day having been so foggy that we could not take an Observation the Captain was fearful on Sounding that we were too near the Sable Island, and thus we were obliged to lay to all the Night.

Saturday, 5th [May]—The Weather still foggy and almost a calm—the Weather clearing for a moment the Sable Island was seen at about 4 or 5 miles distance in a N.W. Direction, and thus showing the Danger we were in. The Sable Island is a small Island about 100 miles to the S. of Cape Canso in Nova Scotia—it is about 30 miles in Length and 5 or 6 in Breadth—landing in Boats is only practicable on the N. Side and this only in calm weather. The whole Island consists in white Sand intermixed with small transparent stones—it is full of Ponds of fresh water the skirts of which abound with Cranberries—blue Berries—Juniper—beach Grass—wild Peas—Herbage, &c. It abounds with Ducks, Snipes and other Birds—wild Horses, Cows, Hogs, &c.—The large Pond is full of Seals—Eels and some flat Fish. It is uninhabited, but the British Government have a man and his wife in the Island to give assistance to shipwrecked Sailors. Felt a great Desire to land on this Island.

Sunday the 6th [May]—Weather finer—but still foggy. Wind N.E.—5 to 6 Knots—one of the Sailors fell overboard from the Fore Chains the Shipping going 8 Knots—he fortunately caught a Rope which was hanging over the side and was thus providentially saved.

Monday the 7th [May]—E.N.E. fine Breeze—8 Knots—the Weather was clear—took an Observation. Lat. 41.53. Lon. 64.17.

Tuesday the 8th [May]—fine Weather. Wind N.W. 5 to 6 Knots, the Hector in sight—a vessel which sailed with us from Liverpool, and on the earlier Arrival of which Bets had been made by some of the Passengers. Lat. 40.25. Lon. 68.38.

Wednesday the 9th [May]—beautiful Weather. S.S.W. 6 Knots. E. 3 to 4 Knots. Lat. 40.16. Lon. 69.59.

Thursday the 10th [May]—beautiful Weather—running all Night with a brisk Wind from the S.—the sky more clear and fine than even in

Russia. At 12 o'clock made the Land of Long Island—low sandy Land. About 2 made the High Lands of New Jersey and soon afterwards the Light House on Sandy Hook which is about 30 miles from New York. From thence the Sail was quite an Enchantment,—after passing the Hook you arrive at the Narrows, so called from the entrance being only  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile in Breadth. Each side of the shores have tremendous Batteries which it is supposed completely command the entrance and would effectually prevent ships of war entering the Bay. After passing the Narrows New York at once appears—the Battery on the E. side on Long Island is called Fort Dimond—on the W. on New Jersey Fort Tompkins. New York has a beautiful Appearance from the Bay—and the numerous Shipping, Steam Boats, &c., added much to the Beauty of the Scenery. The Hector arrived in the Evening—we got in about 5, and took up our Lodgings at the Mechanic Hall. The Inn is a good one and we understood one of the best in the States, but how different from the Civility and Attention of an English Inn! We were anxious to sup in our private Room, but the Landlord found it impossible to prepare a Supper and we were forced to sup at the Table-d'hôte where the Spitting on the Carpet and Smoaking was disgusting. Thus has terminated one Part of our Journey most fortunately, and if a Sea Life could be a happy One we had everything to make it so—good, natural, agreeable Companions, Variety of Character and Humor—excellent Fare—our Captain a most active excellent obliging Seaman and the Ship sailing better than any we were in Company with.

Friday the 11th [May]—Cleared our Baggage at the Custom House; and I must say that the liberal polite manner in which this is conducted disgraces our country, where Custom House Officers are so uncivil and intolerant. The Americans are wise enough to pay their Searchers well—each man receiving \$3 a Day, and thus are above receiving Bribes. Dined at home with Captain Maxwell and some of our fellow Passengers.

Saturday the 12th [May]—Called on several Gentlemen to whom I had Letters of Introduction. Dined with Mr. Astor, the son of Mr. J. J. Astor,<sup>1</sup> the Head of the American Fur Company; he is a Man of an immense Fortune estimated at £500,000 which he has acquired entirely by his own Exertions, having commenced as a common Labourer. He is at present in Paris. His son appears to be a very amiable young man,—he is married to the daughter of Genl. Armstrong, but she is absent on a visit to her Relations. The Dinner was very much in the French Style and very good. Snipes in England

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<sup>1</sup> The founder of Astoria, afterwards Fort George. Compare Henry (Coues), vol. II., part iii.

would be considered a Rarity but they were not well tasted. We dined at 4. The weather is intensely hot, much Thunder and Lightning in the Evening. Mr. Bethune, Mr. McLaughlin with the Canadian gentlemen proceeded to Montreal, felt melancholy in finding myself alone. Mr. Astor I find is the brother of the Piano Forte maker in London.

Sunday, 13th [May]—Went to the St. Paul's Church in the Broadway—the Service precisely that of the Church of England except that the President is prayed for, etc., instead of the King. The Congregation appeared very devout and attentive.

Dined with Mr. Cary—large party of Ladies. Met there Mr. Perkins, called Colonel,—for the Americans with all their pretended Ideas of Equality are fond of Rank and Titles. Mr. Perkins resides at Boston and is one of the most eminent merchants in the United States; his Firm is Perkins & Co. in Boston and J. & J. N. Perkins in Canton. Thro' this House the North-West Company sent their Furs from the Columbia to China. Mrs. Cary is from South Carolina and a most pleasing Woman. An Anecdote shewing the strong Attachments and Firmness of uncivilized Life was related. Two young Indians, both of equal Merit and Attractions and Consequence paid their Addresses to the Daughter of an Indian Chief,—both were approved of by the Father, but the Decision was difficult. He however desired one of the young Indians to take out the other and to challenge Him, promising to give his Daughter to the One who should bring back the Scalp of the Other. They went out and one returned with a Scalp and in consequence was immediately united. It was observed that he was unwell but this was only imputed to Fatigue. But in the Night he was seized with fainting fits and it was at last discovered that he had scalped himself.

Monday, 14th [May]—Visited the Dock Yards on Long Island—the Franklin, Ohio, Washington were there. They are called 74's, but are equal to our 110 Gun Ships; they carry 90. The Ohio is a most beautiful model, but, as if our Country is to be betrayed by its own Children, the Builder is a Scotchman, a Mr. Eckford. A Frigate was on the Stocks called a 44—but will mount 60. Little wonder how our Ships were beat. We went on Board the famous Steam Ship the Fulton—it is built on two Boats, the machinery which works it being between. It is circular and carries 32-36 Pounders. The Americans are increasing their Navy very fast; they have now 12 74's.

Dined with Mr. Maitland, Maitland & Kennedy. Met there a Mr. McCormick and Mr. Lennox, one of the most opulent men of the United States. The American Govt. has commenced a Canal from Troy, to which the Hudson River is navigable from New York, to a

Point of Lake Ontario which communicates by the St. Lawrence with Montreal—from Oswego it will extend to Buffalo on Lake Erie. Lake Erie communicates with Lake Huron, Lake Michigan and by the Falls of St. Mary with Lake Superior. From Lake Erie the Canal is to be continued to Pittsburg, which is on the Ohio and which River is in Communication with the Missouri and Mississippi. Thus goods may be sent from Kentucky and the Southern States instead of being sent to Charleston and in Time will have a communication with the Pacific by these Rivers.

Tuesday the 15th [May]—Dined at the Table d'Hôte, the Party consisting chiefly in French and English Travellers and some American Gentlemen who are very polite, and nothing like Politicks introduced in Conversation. Mr. Lewis of [*illegible*] dined at the Table; he told me his House had 12 Cargoes going from the Havanna with Sugar.

In the Evening Mr. Colin Robertson, just arrived in the "Thames" called upon me.

Wednesday the 16th dined at the Hotel—a wild Turkey and Snipes for Dinner. In the Evening went to a Party at Mrs. Lenox;—Quadrille Dancing;—not much Beauty. There was a Bride at the Party who had been married the Day before, the Husband was not present but at another party. It is by customs of this kind that the Manners and Feelings are best understood. This young Lady was dancing all the Evening and as much at her ease as if married 20 years. The Delicacy of English Females may be considered by the fair Americans as mauvaise honte, but it is in this that the Superiority of British Females over every other shows itself, in the Delicacy and Refinement of mind only possessed by them. I understood that it is the custom on Marriage that the Gentleman, the Day after the marriage receives his Friends and regales them with a Dejeuner and on the following Evening the Lady gives a Dance.

Thursday 17.—Friday 18.—Saturday 19 [May] dined at the Table d'Hôte.

Sunday [20th May] dined with Mr. McCormick, a very fine old Gentleman of 80—met there Mr. S. McGillivray, who arrived the Evening before in the "Manhattan," a Mr. Ogden, a Judge and several other Gentlemen.

Monday 21 [May] at Table d'Hôte.

Tuesday 22 [May] with Mr. Cary.—Invited to an evening Party at Mrs. .... The Vanity of the Americans, and their not disliking Ranks, &c., is that this Family have taken the Arms of the Dukes of ....., Supporters, Coronets, &c. &c. Mrs. Cary is a very pleasing

Woman. We had Pears from South Carolina, Water Melon and Pine, the latter tasteless.

Wednesday the 23rd [May]. On this Day we propose leaving New York, which I shall do with some Regret, having passed my Time very agreeably. The Dinners at the Table d'Hôte have been very pleasant, Mr. Jones, Mr. Bull, Mr. Lewis, American Gentlemen, several Foreigners from all Countries. They have a sort of Order amongst themselves called the Colusuan<sup>1</sup> so named from a very little man who is the Chairman; it gave Rise to much Laughter. Each Member was called by the Name of the Town from whence he came or represented. The Inhabitants of the Town of N. York by the last Census are 123,000, it has now 1,400,000, a wonderful encrease. The City of New York is situated on an Island called Manhattan formed by the Hudson or North River, by the East River and a Creek connecting both. The Hudson rises in a Mountain Country between Lakes Ontario and Champlain. Taking a S.E. Course it runs near Lake George, then flows by Lansenburg, Albany and Hudson and enters the Atlantic at New York, a course of 250 miles. The East River is the Long Island Sound dividing Long Island from Connecticut. The Hudson separates N. York from New Jersey.

Provisions here are plentiful and good; best Beef is 6d; Mutton, 5d; Veal, 4d; Fowls, 2—4s 2d. Fish is excellent—Black fish, Grooper from the Gulf of Mexico—Basse, Mackarel, Lobsters, Oysters; it is said there are 70 sorts. New York is irregularly built but has a pleasing Appearance. The Broad Way is a very fine Street two miles in Length intersected with Streets. The Steeples are numerous but are built of Wood. It is to be regretted the church yards are in Town, as from the Unhealthiness of the Place this might breed Infection. The Streets are very dirty and the number of Pigs running about the Streets, appearing to be the only Scavengers, have a dirty Look.

Wednesday the 23rd [May]. Dined at the Mechanic Hall with Mr. McGillivray and Mr. Cary—took leave of the Gentlemen forming the Order of the Colusuan[sic] and left them and New York with regret. At 4 o'clock we went on Board the "Chancellor Livingstone" Steam Boat—took leave of Mr. McCormick, Mr. Kennedy, &c. My Sensation on finding myself on Board the Steam Boat, thus commencing our Journey on the Waters was of a singular Nature. The Feeling was neither pleasurable or its contrary but a mixture of both—a mixture of Hope and Doubt. But a few months before Mr. McGillivray, with whom I am to travel so many thousand Miles, with whom I have to

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<sup>1</sup> Very indistinct; possibly Coliseum.

arrange so many Points of Importance affecting the Happiness and Fortunes of so many People, was not known to me, or, if known, as the most active and strenuous Opposer of the Interests of the Company I came out to represent. Now we were embarked together and thus we commenced our Journey. A simultaneous Movement brought our Hands together and if the Feeling was not a true one, an Intention to act, fairly, kindly, considerately by each other, there is more Hypocrisy in the World than appears to me to be possible.

The Sailing from New York is one of the most picturesque, beautiful scenes that can be imagined; the numerous Steeples of New York, in the Construction of which the Americans have much Taste, the numerous Batteries and Shipping, and bold Shores are objects which form a most magnificent Panorama. The Hudson is about 2 miles broad and this Breadth continues till you approach the Highlands. The Country Houses on the East Side are very numerous, they appear to be built of Wood and have an Appearance of Comfort and Taste.

The Steam Boat has every Convenience which it is possible to imagine—the Length is about 180 feet, the Breadth 50 [feet],—the Tonnage 500—the Power of the Engine 80 Horse Power—the Cost, it is said, [*illegible*]. At 8 o'clock, at the Ringing of a Bell, all the Passengers found themselves in the large Cabin, when Tea with cold meat as a Supper was presented. The party appeared now to be 120—Ladies and Gentlemen—about 20 of the former. After Tea we returned to the Deck where we remained till we entered the Highlands. These are very high mountainous Rocks a Part of the Allegany mountains forming the most beautiful romantic Scenery. It was 10 before we approached them and being a very dark night we could only imagine the Beauty of the Scenery. At 12 we returned to the large Cabin where we found our fellow Passengers in Bed, the sides of the Cabin forming Beds. The Ladies have a separate Cabin. The Beds are very comfortable and clean.

Thursday, 24th [May]. At 6 o'clock I again found myself on the Deck. The Scenery was very beautiful. The Land sometimes was rocky, about 400 ft. in Height—the Breadth of the Hudson  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile—many Country Seats and farm Houses having a comfortable Appearance. Passed Katskill, so called from the Mountains of this Name. Here the Scenery was more bold and romantic.

I was much amused with American Ease and Love of Equality and Freedom. In dressing an American came up, first took my Comb then my Hair Brush, which he used, so fearing he might take my Tooth Brush I stopped Him. Passed the Town of Hudson, a very beautiful Appearance. Passed several Fishing Ports—large Sturgeon. It is

supposed the Steam Boats have frightened away the Fish, their numbers decreasing very much.

Had much Conversation with a *Proprietor* (Owner of Land) on Board. He told me he had 800 Acres of Land which he was planting with Apple Trees and Peaches—40,000 Peach Trees for the Purpose of flattening his Pigs. What excellent Food for Pigs. The Approach to Albany is very beautiful—landed at 12 o'clock Thursday 24th [May] having made a Distance of 170 Miles in 20 hours. Took up our Quarters at the Eagle Inn. Met a great Quantity of Rafts with Timber, the small Craft were innumerable and had a most pleasing Appearance; the masts are of an immense Size, the Rafts 100 Tons Burthen;—Masts 23 Inches in Diameter, 90 Feet long.

The Fare is \$6 or 25| which is very moderate as it includes Living and this very good. It may be considered as a most excellent Floating Hotel. Albany is the Seat of Government beautifully situated on the W. Side of the Hudson, the Country about it mountainous and picturesque. It contains about 12,000 Inhabitants consisting principally in old Dutch Families. When the Grand Western and Northern Canals are completed it will become a Town of great Importance. We took up our Quarters at the Eagle Inn kept by an Englishman; nothing can be better than the Accomodation.

The Hudson River was first discovered by Henry Hudson the Discoverer of the Hudson's Bay. The first English Charter New York received was from Charles the 2nd. New York is 230 miles distant from Washington, 91 from Philadelphia, 232 S.E. from Boston, 421 from Montreal—774 from Charleston South Carolina—2200<sup>1</sup> from New Orleans.

Thursday the 24th [May]. At 9 o'clock in the Morning we started in a light Carriage, a Sort of open Sociable with a Pair of Horses, having sent Raven on with our Luggage to Whitehall. The Road runs along the Hudson, bold well wooded hilly Scenery. Passed Troy which is a pretty Town on the E. side. Came to Waterford which is on the Mohawk. Passed the first American Bridge—they are constructed of wood and are covered in so that in looking thro' you might suppose yourself in a Cavern. From the Bridge is a very fine View of a superb Waterfall called the Cohoes<sup>2</sup>—the Fall is over a Bed of Rocks and may be about 60 Feet perpendicular Height—the Breadth of the River  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile. The Banks are high and are of Slate. Over the Bridge is an Injunction under Penalty of a Dollar that no Person is to drive quick. At 18 miles from Albany we changed Horses—dined at Saratoga which

<sup>1</sup> By sea.

<sup>2</sup> Cahoes.

is a mineral Well of the same Character as the Cheltenham Waters. The Company had not yet arrived, but in the Season, which is in about a Month, it is very full, the whole Town consisting of Boarding Houses and Hotels. The one we were in had 190 People last year and they can make up 120 beds. Saratoga is the Resort of all the Fashion of America. The Water has a very salt Taste. The Road we passed thro' was very sandy and bad—poor Appearance. Little Appearance of Population. From Saratoga the Country consisted entirely in Sand and low Fir Trees and reminded me so much of Riga that I might have fancied myself in Russia had not the constant Question whether we had News from Europe prevented this Delusion. At 9 o'clock in the Evening we arrived at Sandy Hill being a Distance from Albany of 50 miles. We passed a great deal of Country which had been newly cleared—the Trees are cut down about 8 feet from the stem and this is allowed to remain till it rots, which requires 20 to 25 years. On one Part of the Road a beautiful little Squirrel followed us about half a mile running on the Wooden Fences. We only saw Wooden Fences and altogether the Country had a miserable Appearance. Our Inn was very comfortable and clean and the Pleasure of our Tea Party was much enhanced by a very pleasing Young Lady, the Sister of the Landlady, making Tea for us. This is the Custom of this Part of the Country and a very pleasing one. Our Landlord is a very considerable Farmer and he informed us that the poor sandy Land we travelled thro' has become very valuable, that formerly it only sold for \$1 an Acre and that now it is worth 15 Dollars, it having been found that a sandy Soil mixed with Plaster of Paris becomes very productive. Plaster Paris is now found in the State of New York—formerly it was imported from St. John's and New Brunswick.

About 30 miles distant is a Sect of Quakers called Shakers. The Men and Women live separately and they keep up their Community by inducing others to join them. They are very industrious People—they dance till they are quite exhausted. The Men go out to cultivate their Land and during the Time the Females clean their Rooms and then retire to their own Houses.

Bill at the Eagle, Bauman, formerly Servant to [?] L. Paul :

2 Board.....	f <sup>4</sup>	Bill at Saratoga.....	
Madeira.....	2 50	2 Dinners.....	1 50
2 Bottles Claret.....	3	1 Bottle Madeira.....	2 50
Sitting Room.....	1 50		
Servant.....	1		
Punch.....	19		f <sup>4</sup>
	f <sup>12</sup> 19		
Chambermaids.....	50		
Servants.....	50		
	f <sup>13</sup> 19	Stage Fare to Whitehall, f <sup>44</sup> .	



Friday the 25th [May]. At 5 o'clock in the Morning we started—breakfasted at the small Village of St. Ann's. Here again a Relative of the Landlord made Breakfast and tho' not possessing the superior manners of Margaret Blais, still they were pleasing, unaffected and modest.

On the Road our Driver gave us the romantic History of the young Lady of Sandy Hook. She was not related to the Landlord but had been left as an Infant at his Door. A strong Imagination might fancy a most romantic Növel.

Near St. Ann's our Road ran along the Northern Canal which is to connect Lake Champlain with the Hudson. It appeared ill done and the numerous Rafts of Timber which are transported by it must soon destroy the Sides. From St. Anns the Road continues along the Canal,—the Road miserable and full of Ruts—they are called Corduroys in Allusion to the Stuff of this Name. At 12 o'clock we arrived at Whitehall distant from Albany 70 miles. Here we found Mr. Caldwell the Receiver-General of Canada and Captn. Dunn of the Artillery, a very agreeable Acquisition to our Party. At One we dined and at two went on Board the Steam Boat the "Congress" which we found crowded with Oxen and 23 Horses belonging to Mr. West an Equestrian. The Troop consisted in 19 Persons. The Hudson at Whitehall runs into Lake Champlain. The Length of Lake Champlain is 120 miles but the many Detours we made to land Passengers brought our Distance to 170. The first Part of our Course was through the most beautiful Scenery—narrow winding Passage apparently barred by the most gigantic Mountains—these studded with the finest Foliage,—the Passage suddenly opening on new Scenery equally bold but varied.

For the first 30 miles from South River, so called at its Entrance, it is nowhere above two miles wide;—it then narrows till you reach Crown Point. At 12 miles from this Point it is 12 miles in Breadth, called Broad Lake. Here there are a great many Islands, the largest the South Hero. Our Spirits were much damped by the Sight of the Gun Boats which were taken at Lake Champlain, the "Confiance," &c.<sup>1</sup> About 6 o'clock in the morning we stopped at Plattsburg, the scene of

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<sup>1</sup> On Sept. 11, 1814, the British vessel *Confiance*, 37 or 38 guns; the brig *Linnet*, 16 guns, with the cutters *Chubb* and *Finch*, under Captain Downie, were taken by the Americans, under Captain McDonough, at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, after a most desperate fight. At the same time Sir George Prevost ordered the retreat of the British troops who were attacking the town by land. It may well be called an "unfortunate action."

On this much vexed question see Alison's History of Europe, chap. lxxxii.; J. F. Cooper's History of the Navy of the U. S. A. (London, 1839), vol. ii., 495, 497; W. James's Naval History (1826), vol. vi., p. 494; and "Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805-1815, being the Ridout Letters" (Toronto, 1890) p. 321 *et seq.*

the unfortunate Action and of the Retreat of Sir Geo. Prevost's<sup>1</sup> Army. At a short distance is a Fort built by the Americans which is however found to be within our Lines and is therefore evacuated. At the Island of Illinois, 14 miles from St. Johns we were happy in the Sight of the British Flag, English Soldiers and Sailors. It is commanded by Capt. Byng the Brother of Lord Torrington; they are erecting very extensive Works. At one we arrived at St. Johns; saw a very large Eagle in the Woods. At 2 o'clock we procured a Sort of German Carriage and started. On Board the Steam Boat was a Catholic Priest from St. Johns, who gave me a very good Account of Lord Selkirk's Settlement on that Island; it consists of 180 Families. The Roads in Canada are dreadful even worse than the American Corderoy. I was much pleased with the cheerful Appearance of the Natives; it being Sunday they were well dressed and the white Straw Hats gave to both Men and Women a pleasing Appearance. The Contrast between American Rudeness and the French Politeness was very striking.

At 7 we arrived at La Prairie, a Distance of only 18 miles; from thence the Distance across the St. Lawrence is 7 miles which we traversed in an Hour. The Approach to Montreal is very beautiful and singular, all the Houses and Churches being covered with Tin Plates they have the Appearance of being covered with Snow. Landed about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8, lodged at Mr. Dillons—a miserable Inn. Passed a restless Night, having caught a bad cold. At 6 o'clock in the morning the Bells rang and continued in a constant monotonous Succession till 9. At 12 Mr. Caldwell and [*illegible*]<sup>2</sup> embarked on Board the "Quebec" Steam Boat for Quebec. Parted with them with much Regret. The "Quebec" is even a more complete Steam Boat than the "Chancellor Livingstone," she is 600 Tons. She was at this moment very interesting. A Vessel with 300 Colonists, Men, Women and Children had been cast away in the St. Lawrence; here they remained 4 Days without Food or Covering. The Captain left the Wreck in a [*illegible*] to communicate the melancholy event to Lord Dalhousie. The "Congress" was ordered down to take them off and arrived when they were bereft of all Hope and in a

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<sup>1</sup> Sir George Prevost, born in 1767; entered the 25th Regiment; Military Governor of S. Lucia in 1798, Civil Governor 1801. In Feb., 1811, appointed Governor of Lower Canada and Governor-General of British North America. Highly successful in a civil capacity, but most unfortunate in the war of 1812-14. He returned to England in 1815, after the conclusion of peace, and died in 1816, a week before the meeting of the court-martial which had been formed to inquire into his conduct at Plattsburg. Dictionary of National Biography; Quarterly Review for July, 1822, art. vii., p. 405, and "Some Account of the Public Life of Sir G. Prevost (London, 1823), pp. 161, 166.

<sup>2</sup> Capt. Dunn.

State of Starvation. Captain Hall's Description of his Landing was very affecting.

At about 11 Mr. McGillivray, S. Gillivray, Norman McCloud, Mackenzie, Richardson, the Partners of the North West Company called upon me. Dined with Mr. McGillivray; his Family consists of a Sister and two Daughters. Judge Reed and Lady, the different Partners of the N.W. [Company were of the party].

Tuesday the 29th [May]. Dined with Mr. Auldjo. Mrs. A. Daughter of Mr. Richardson—His Sister very pleasing—Mr. Gillespie, Mr. G. Robertson and his Niece, Mr. McCloud.

Wednesday 30th [May]. At the Inn. In the Evening at the Moffatts.

Thursday 31st [May]. At Mr. N. McCloud's. Dr. Selby, Reed and Lady—Garden—Auldjo—2 McGillivrays.

Friday 1st June. At Mr. McGillivrays. Mr. Hughes, Cameron, Dean.

Saturday 2nd June. Dined with Judge Reed, Col. Macgregor and Lady—70th Regt.

Sunday 3rd June. With Mr. McGillivray.

Monday 4th June. Mr. Moffatt—Mrs. Moffatt a pleasing Woman.

Tuesday 5th June. Dined at Home alone.

Wednesday 6th [June]. Dined with Mr. Garden. Mrs. Garden the Daughter of Mr. Forbes of Aberdeen. Met Mrs. Mackay married to Capt. Mackay of the 70th. This Lady is the Sister of Capt. McInnes of the [illegible].

Thursday the 7th [June]. Went to La Chine in company with Mr. Wm. McGillivray. La Chine is about 9 miles from Montreal. It takes its Name from having been the Point of Departure of Mr. de la Sallis' Expedition to discover a North West Passage to China. It is a small Village and contains only a few Houses. On the other side of the St. Lawrence which is here about 6 miles broad is the Indian Village of the Illinois.

The St. Lawrence runs from Kingston on the Lake Ontario taking a course almost due N. to Montreal, 170 miles to Quebec, to the Gulf of S. Lawrence on the Atlantic a [total] Distance of 700 miles. Its mouth is 96 miles wide. It is navigable to Montreal but beyond it is full of Shoals, Rocks, Rapids, &c. We saw several Indians; the men are fine, tall robust—the Women disgusting in their Appearance: we met several on the Roads carrying immense Burthens whilst the Husband had nothing to carry but his Pipe. The Village [La Chine] consists in about 500 Families. They have a Church and an Establishment of Priests of the Roman Catholic Religion. It is a melancholy Reflection

that Civilization and Religion have not improved their Characters; the Vicinity of a large Town may account for this. Our object in visiting La Chine was to see the Canoes start on their Voyage; they were 6 in number and were destined to the Timmiskamain Post. The Canoe is about 35 feet in Length and 6 in Breadth at midships. They are made of Birch Tree Bark not  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an Inch in Thickness. The Bark is lined with small splints of Cedar Wood and the Vessel is further strengthened with Ribs of the same Wood of which the two Ends are fastened to the Gunwales. Several Bars of the same Wood, not Seats, are laid across the Canoe from Gunwale to Gunwale. The small Roots of the Spruce Tree afford the wattape with which the Bark is sewed and the Gum of the Pine Tree supplies the Place of Tar and Oakum. The Canoes are worked with Paddles and the Complement of men is 9. We witnessed the whole Process of Loading one of the Canoes. The first Part of the Loading is to place 4 Poles or long Sticks at the bottom of the Canoe which run the whole Length. These support the whole weight and prevent the Bottom being injured. The Pieces or Packs which weigh about 90 lbs. each are then placed in the Canoe and with wonderful precision, each Piece seeming to fit. The most weighty Goods are put at the Bottom, the Provisions, Cooking Utensils, Liquor, &c., are likewise put in; at the Bow is placed a large Roll of Bark in case of Accident, with a supply of Wattape, Gum, &c. A Canoe takes 60 Pieces and this with the Weight of Provisions, &c., bring the Gross weight to about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Tons, an immense freight when this frail Conveyance is considered. When loaded you wonder where the Men are to sit but at the Word of Command they at once place themselves, the Guide at the Bow, the Steersman at the Stern; then the Canoe sinks into the water and the space between the Water and the Gunwale is not  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Foot. In this frail Bark they go for thousands of Miles seldom meeting with serious Accidents. Mr. McGillivray assured me that during the whole Time he was engaged in the Fur Trade  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent would pay every Loss.

Friday the 8th [June]. Dined with Mr. Mackenzie.

Saturday the 9th [June]. With Mr. Armitringer, very agreeable Party and most excellent Dinner. A Mr. Leslie dined there to whom the Island of Anticosti in Part belongs. It is at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, is 120 miles long and 30 broad. It is full of Rocks covered with Woods and has no Harbor.

Sunday the 10th [June]. Whitsunday. Received the Sacrament in the Church of St. Paul's. The Rev. Mr. Bethune officiating. A singular Incident occurred to me. Mr. Henry, an old Gentleman of 85, the first Englishman who went in to the Interior of the Hudson's Bay Territory was next to me on my Right. He went first in the year 1760

and the many Perils and Dangers he experienced have formed the Subject of a very interesting Narrative written by himself.<sup>1</sup> A Feeling which in any other Situation might be considered superstitious came across my Mind but in this sacred and awful Moment it was to me a most happy one, giving Hope and Firmness to my Mind.

Dined with Mr. McGillivray—met there Bishop Macdonald and an English Priest, Roman Catholic, from the Island of St. John's.

Montreal is very pleasantly situated on the St. Lawrence in Lon. 73.13, in Lat. 45.33. The Houses are built of Stone and with some exceptions are old fashioned and ill built—the stone has a gloomy dirty Appearance. This Town has been so often visited by Fires that the Inhabitants have hit upon an Expedient which renders the Town very uncomfortable—the Heat being almost insupportable. The Roofs of the Houses and Churches are covered with Tin Plates and the Shutters are of Iron. On my first Arrival we were dreadfully annoyed by an innumerable Number of Flies which took possession of the Town. They pay the Town an annual Visit and come with the Shad Fish. In walking it was necessary to keep the mouth shut. Montreal contains about 15,000 Inhabitants, three-fourths Canadian-French. The Island on which Montreal is built is about 30 miles in Length and belongs almost entirely to the Priests (St. Sulpice). Their Income would be immense but they do not exact their Rights and all they receive is given away in charity.

The St. Lawrence is navigable to Montreal but it here becomes shallow full of Rocks and Rapids. A Canal is planning, to go round the Rapids which would continue the Navigation to Kingston on Lake Ontario and thus communicate with the other Lakes.

Monday 11th June, dined at Home having many Letters to write and Arrangements to make. Mr. Gale dined with me.

Tuesday 12th June. After taking Leave of my Friends, and not the least valuable amongst them was my aged Innkeeper Mr. Dillon, I left Montreal at 2 o'clock and wishing to see the Country I started before Mr. McGillivray with Raven in a sort of open Carriage drawn by two Horses; an Outrigger, &c., loose Harness—very much in the Russian style of Driving. Our Route was along the St. Lawrence to La Chine the Place where the loaded Canoes take their Departure from and where from the great Breadth of the River (being 7 miles from La Chine to the Indian village on the opposite side) it is called Lake Saint Louis which is at the Head of the Sauts or Falls of this Name. The Distance from Montreal to La Chine is 9 miles. The Road from La Chine continues along the St. Lawrence and is very interesting and beautiful,

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<sup>1</sup> Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1776, by Alexander Henry, Esq. (with portrait), New York, 1809.

the country being well cultivated and beautifully wooded. The Fences are entirely of Stone and the Fields of an immense Length as much as 30 Acres. On passing the Church of St. Anne's we found our Men engaged in making Confession of past Sins and invoking the Saint, from whom the Church is named, for a prosperous voyage. I dined at a small Inn and found our Men preparing to start. Raven who expected to have seen a sort of Ship exclaimed "How small" on seeing the Canoe but added "How pretty;" and so it was, for Nothing could have so light and buoyant an Appearance. Our Men now went to the Extremity of the Island of Montreal about two miles distant where it is the Custom to encamp and where in fact the Voyage is considered to commence. St. Annes is 30 miles from Montreal. Our Landlord had been in the Hudson's Bay Service, but was absent. The Situation of this little Inn was very picturesque; on the left the Church of St. Annes with a neat elegant Spire, in Front the Rapids of St. Anne with a back ground of four small Islands covered with the most beautiful Verdure and fine Trees,—to the Right a Forest.

In the Evening I walked to our Encampment, found the Tent up. This Part of the Island is very fine and I have never anywhere been so much struck with the Beauty of the Forest Trees as on this enchanting spot. The Tree which has most pleased me is the Elm of this Country. The Trunk is bare till towards the Top when the Branches spread and have the Appearance of a beautiful Plume of Feathers.<sup>1</sup> Besides the Elm I observed the Oak, Ash, Maple, Plane, and the Woods full of the most beautiful forest Flowers. Fancying that Messrs. McGillivray would not arrive till the Morning I had gone to Bed at the small Inn but I was most agreeably called up about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11, for never was a poor unfortunate Voyageur so bitten and in such Misery as myself. We then went down to our Encampment and went to Bed till Day Light. On calling the Men to start we found that Two of them were absent but understood we should find them on the other side of the River. We then embarked and after paddling for an Hour we found ourselves at the Village, but our Men were not to be found. It then became necessary that the Guide should go for them which he did and about 7 o'clock in the Morning brought them to us. In the meantime we had pitched our Tent and had gone to Bed. Before we were up a very singular and laughable Incident occurred which formed a Subject of Joke and Fun during our whole Voyage. These little Histories happen I understand very often in these Indian Countries.

A very nice Canadian Boy, moitié noir et moitié blanc, presented himself at our Tent and enquired for Mr. McGillivray. The elder Mr.

<sup>1</sup> The White Elm, *Ulmus Americana*.

McGillivray answered. After a short Preface the Boy said, "Monsieur, vous êtes mon Père." Mr. McGillivray "Comment, Coquin," and his Look with it I shall never forget, and it set his Brother and Myself laughing in such a manner that I thought we should never have ceased. However the Laugh was a good deal turned against Mr. Simon McGillivray on the Boy stating that Simon was his name. However after a few more Questions the poor enfant trouvé was dismissed without finding his Père. I could not but admire the Ruse de Guerre of the old Voyageur Mr. McGillivray turning the Tables on his Brother who was not less expert in Expedient, as he took me aside afterwards saying it was an odd Adventure but added—"I see how it is,—it is my nephew Simon's Son." So that the poor Boy must go to the Athapascan for a Father and when he arrives the Nephew will be as ready in throwing the charge from his Shoulders. The Mr. McGillivrays intend enquiring out the History of the Boy.

Wednesday 13th [June]. Having now our Complement of men we actually take our Departure. Our Party consists in Mr. William McGillivray, Mr. Simon McGillivray and myself, [?] Mornis<sup>1</sup> an old Canadian Voyageur as McG's servant, an English Boy servant to his Brother and my man Raven, one Guide Langue, 12 Canadian Voyageurs, an Illisquois, Thoma, making in all 19 [?20] Persons. Our Canoe is 36 feet in Length and about 6 Feet extreme Breadth. It is constructed entirely of Bark, Cedar Splints, the Roots of the Spruce, and the Pitch of the yellow Pine, with no Iron except a few Nails to fasten the Top of Frame of Gunwale. The extreme width is six feet from whence it tapers gradually towards Bow and Stern to a wedge like Point and is turned over from the extremities towards the Centre so as to have in some degree the Resemblance of a Head of a Violin. They are made of the Bark of the White Birch which is peeled from the Tree in large Sheets, left to dry for some time and then bent over a slender frame of Cedar Ribs, confined by Gunwales which are kept apart by slender Bars of the same wood running across. Around this the Bark is sewed by the slender and flexible Roots of the young Spruce Tree called Wattape and also where the pieces of Bark join so that the Gunwales resemble the Rim of an Indian Basket. The joinings are afterwards luted and rendered water-tight by a coat of Pine Pitch called Gum. In the third cross Bar an Aperture is cut for the Mast so that a Sail can be employed. Seats for the Paddlers are made by suspending a strip of Board on the Cords in such a manner that they do not press against the Sides. The Paddles are made of Cedar and are about four feet and a half in Length. Gov-

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<sup>1</sup> Or Mornis.

enour Morris in his annual Discourse before the New York Historical Society in 1812 describes the Canoe "that its slender and elegant Form, its rapid movements, its Capacity to bear Burthens and to resist the Rage of Billows and Torrents excites no small Degree of Admiration for the Skill by which it was constructed."

We are now on the Utawa,<sup>1</sup> or Grand River, which from its size may rather be considered a continuation of Lakes than a River. It takes its Rise in the Timmiskamain<sup>2</sup> Lake and forming the boundary Line between Upper and Lower Canada enters the St. Lawrence at the Island of Montreal taking a S.E. Direction.

We embarked about 8 o'clock and were now in the Part of the River which is called the Lake of the Two Mountains. We passed the Indian Missionary Village of the Seminary of St. Sulpice to whom (the Seminary) the Island of Montreal belongs. On each side of the Banks of the River we found cultivated Fields and comfortable looking Farm Houses. The river continues to be about seven miles in Breadth for 15 miles, when it narrows and we appeared to approach the country of Mosquitoes. The Paddles however appeared to keep them off. The Banks are low but finely wooded. Past a House belonging to Sir John Johnson. (At the Indian Village of Algonquins or Iroquois mentioned above the North West Company have a Post under the charge of a Mr. Fisher which is very productive having procured last year 60 Packs of Beaver each Pack weighing 90 Pounds. Each Beaver weighs from 1 Pound to 1½ Pound.)

At 1 o'clock we approached the Long Sault and landed at a small Village where Mr. Miles Macdonald<sup>3</sup> is living, now in a deranged state of mind. Here our Canoe was towed up by Ropes about one mile. During a Distance of 15 miles there are several Décharges and Portages which are called the Rapids of the Long Sault. At last we landed on the Upper Canada side and walked about 5 miles and on Travelling through Woods were dreadfully attacked by the Mosquitoes. Here Government is making a Canal to avoid the Rapids of the Sault, in the same manner as the Canal intended to be made at Montreal is to avoid the Rapids of St. Louis at La Chine. The Distance between the St. Lawrence and the Utawas is about 40 miles which forms a very fine Tract of Country which the British Government is now colonizing, intending it as a barrier against the Americans in any future war which might take place. And this Canal would make the Canadas indepen-

<sup>1</sup> Ottawa.

<sup>2</sup> Temiscamang.

<sup>3</sup> The first governor of Lord Selkirk's colony in Assiniboia. Arraigned at Montreal for his proceedings at the capture of Fort William.



dent of Supplies. When these Canals are finished the Grand River will become navigable. At the Top of the Canal we found an encampment of the Staff Corps commanded by Captain Duvernet and [?] Le Merrick<sup>1</sup> who received us most hospitably. Mrs. Duvernet, an Italian Lady, appeared to be a very agreeable amiable Woman. At seven o'clock we embarked and at about eight encamped and drank Tea with a Mr. Grant formerly in the service of the North West [Company]. Returned to our Encampment where we passed a most wretched Night, the ground very wet, attacked by Mosquitoes and I awoke in the morning with all the Horror of Rheumatism and Misery in Perspective.

Thursday 14th [June]. At two o'clock in the morning we embarked. Owing to the Rapids we only made the Day before twelve Leagues.

A Décharge is a place where the Goods are carried, a Portage where both the Goods and Canoe [are carried]. In our Walk through the Woods the Day before we passed several Maple Trees which had been tapped for the Juice with which they make a very nice Sugar. It is done simply by boiling and skimming the Top which produces the Sugar. It is nice tasted, having a pleasant bitter and at the same time sweet Taste and acts on some Constitutions medicinally.

From the Long Sault to the Chaudière, a space of about 60 miles, the River narrows to about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 miles. The Banks on each side are low but presenting the most beautiful Appearance. Here you have Nature in all its Beauty, Wildness, and Decay. As the Trees now are probably the Appearance has been the same for Ages. Next to the beautiful Elm with its clean elegant stem and full Top you have the Trunk of the withered Oak which the first Blast of the wind will throw amongst the beautiful Verdure of long grass, Shrub and Flowers below, forming a Contrast of perfect Beauty and almost frightful Decay.

The Weather was at Intervals raining when we were dreadfully annoyed by the Mosquitoes. The sturdy Canadians little minding their stings were covered with Blood and our sufferings on many occasions were dreadful. For the Protection of our Faces we had Veils but when we were exposed to their Attacks it was a misery in the most frightful Shape. After paddling about 55 miles we passed on our left a very beautiful Waterfall called the Rideau which gives the Name to the River which here falls in a perpendicular Height of about 60 Feet and 50 yards in Breadth over a Rock and having the Appearance of a Curtain. Near to it is a second Fall of the same character but the Fall is less and such is the Power of Contrast that this likewise beautiful Fall

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<sup>1</sup> Or de Memite.

appeared to us of little Interest and Beauty contrasted with the larger. We had scarcely Time to admire this beautiful Scene when the Chaudière in all his Wildness and Majesty appeared before us. The Imagination cannot picture anything so wild and romantic. The Utawa dividing itself into two streams forms an extensive Island covered with the finest Trees (principally Oak), in a Bed of Long Grass and beautiful Verdure. The River then uniting becomes an immense Body and as if angry at the interruption to its Course is rough and agitated, and in this State runs over a Bed of rugged, uneven, excavated Rocks for several hundred yards in a Breadth of nearly a mile. One of the Rocks in the Middle of the Fall more excavated than the others has the Appearance of a kettle of boiling water from which the Fall takes its Name, and into this vast Abyss, gurgite vasto, the waters fall. The surrounding country is rocky and mountainous and covered with the black Pine. The Rock is a sort of Slate in strata which Time has mouldered into the oddest shapes which have the Appearance of Ruins. The Beauty of the Scene is perhaps a little destroyed by the Appearance of Cultivation. A Mr. Wright<sup>1</sup> an American has built a little Town near the Falls, and Deal Mills. One singular Part of the Fall is a Basin into which the Water constantly passes and there is no visible means of Discharge or outlet. It has of course a subterraneous Egress, which is nowhere to be found. Here our Canoe was carried about 650 yards. The manner of carrying the Canoe:—She is first turned over. Four men then go into the water, two at each End, raise the Canoe and then two more place themselves about midships of the Gunwale on the opposite side. The weight of our Canoe was about 6 cwt. The Goods are carried on the Shoulders of the men and in this manner; each Canoe Man is provided with a leather Sling broad in the middle; the Ends he fastens to a Package, this is placed on his shoulders, the broad part of the Sling placed across his Forehead. On this Package a second is placed and in this manner they generally carry two Packages of 90 lbs. each and sometimes a third. There is a second Portage of the Chaudière to which we walked and encamped. The Ceremony of Encamping is, that the moment we land a Fire is made, the Tent raised, the kettle put on the Fire and in the short space of a quarter of an Hour your Inn is prepared. Our Tent is about 30 Feet by 15, of Canvas, handsomely striped in Paint on the Top. An oil cloth is placed as a Carpet at the Bottom, this forms the covering of the Tent [when packed up?] Our Boxes and our Cassettes become our Chairs and Tables. After Supper all this is cleared and our

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<sup>1</sup> Philemon Wright, of Woburn, Mass., settled in 1800 on this spot—the site of Hull, in the province of Quebec. The Rideau canal was not constructed, nor had Bytown come into existence at the date of this diary.

Beds are spread. First, Canvas which forms the Cover of the Bed and our Seat in the Canoe. Then a Bed of Blankets sewn together which form an Article of Trade in the Interior; on these two fine Blankets as Sheets and above this a coloured Blanket as a Coverlid. The Fire is kept up all Night for the Purpose of boiling the Men's Dinner which consists in Indian Corn and Pork, from which they are called Pork Eaters.

Friday, the 15th [June]. Embarked at 3 o'clock and soon arrived at the Portage des Chênes—so called from the Quantity of Oaks which grow on the Island. It is a most enchanting Spot; the most magnificent Oaks intermixed with the Elm, Plane, Mountain Ash, most fragrant Shrubs, Roses in full Bloom, and a Variety of Forest Flowers. This Portage is about 500 Paces and the Road good. Our Enemies the Mosquitoes were on the Wing and commenced their Attacks. There are 3 Portages of the Chaudière the great, the less and this of the Chêne. The country after we again embarked is much cleared away on each side by Settlers. Here the River again widens and is called Le Lac des Chaudières. The width is from 7 to 4 miles. We passed several Flights of Pigeons. The Lac des Chaudières is about 30 miles in Length. After running this Distance the Falls of the Portage du Chat are seen. Before coming to them we landed to pay our Respects to a Mr. Hodgson, who had formerly been Governor of Moose; he is a very old man and living in great Poverty having lost his money through a dishonest Agent.

These Falls, though of a different Character, are even more romantic than the Chaudière. The Chaudière is one Fall, but here the whole Body of the River being fully two miles in Breadth runs over rocky Islands in Pinnacles and covered with Wood, and forms an innumerable number of Falls (you see at once fifteen), the Water appearing angry with the Obstacles which oppose its Progress; a Battle between Rock and Water over a mile of Rocks ragged and uneven. The Portage is here very difficult and dangerous but only 270 Paces. Here we dined in misery, nothing could prevent the Attacks of our relentless Enemies. The Passage from hence after two miles is through a winding channel and consists entirely in the most frightful Rapids, running at least ten miles an Hour over Beds of Rock. Here the skill of the Voyageurs now shows itself; at one moment using their Poles, then their Paddles, then jumping into the Water, now using the Tow Line which if it was to break would end in certain Destruction to all. After passing this dangerous Channel you arrive at the Lac des Chats so called from the Quantity of Racoons which formerly filled the adjacent Woods. We passed two trading Posts of the North West [Company], miserable Huts, but here the hardy Western encounters all the Severity of the

Climate and Privation of Food and Comfort, living often months together on Fish and literally nothing else, no Salt or Bread, and the only Variety is between boiled and broiled. The Lac des Chats is about four miles broad, the Banks uninteresting, chiefly the black Pine. We passed here Mr. Macdonald, who was going to the Timmiskamain<sup>1</sup> Lake with the heavy Canoes. The Lac des Chats is about 18 miles in Length. When we came to the Décharge of the Calumets we passed an Indian Encampment. The Indian gave us the customary Sign, a Whoop and firing a Gun, that he wished to speak to us. We accordingly went to him when he laughed and said he had nothing to say. Here we ran about 18 miles when we came to the Portage Defort<sup>2</sup> where we encamped at the Portage. Defort, our Encampment, was very picturesque. It was a beautiful moonlight Night; before us a violent Rapid with the Foam, Spray and loud Noise, several small Islands differently tinged, our little Tent with Lights, before it an immense Fire with the Kettle for the next Day's Dinner, our fine Fellows lying about in their Blankets.

Saturday the 16th [June]. At 3 o'clock we found ourselves in the Canoe. On starting one of those unpleasant Accidents occurred which render Canoe travelling so dangerous. Just on starting our Canoe ran against a Rock. The grating Sensation is really very much like, and can only be compared to, your Feeling when under the Hands of an unskilful Dentist. We found we were not making water which is the certain Criterion that the Bottom was not hurt. On such an Accident occurring every body remains quiet, confusion would upset the Canoe. If the Canoe makes Water every Nerve is strained to paddle to the Shore. If she fills then it becomes "Sauve qui peut," but the wisest way is to stick to the Canoe which never quite sinks.

After running up a Current for two miles, passing the Décharge des Sables we came to the Mountain Portage which is about a quarter of a mile and is over a high rocky Mountain. Again embarking we had two miles of Current when we came to the Décharge Derigé.<sup>3</sup> To the Portage of the Grand Calumet we had again also two miles of strong Current. This is the longest Portage in the River being about one and a half miles over a rugged steep mountain, but the view romantic and picturesque. We here examined our Canoe and found she had sustained considerable injury; a part of the outside Bark was torn off. It became necessary to sheath the bottom with new Bark and to gum the Seams. This occupied two Hours. On passing the Mountain we observed a Cross

<sup>1</sup> Temiscamang.

<sup>2</sup> Called by Mackenzie Dufort. *Voyages from Montreal, etc.*, by Alex. Mackenzie. London, 1801, p. xxxii. Quoted hereafter as Mackenzie (1801).

<sup>3</sup> In some maps, Darge. Mackenzie (1801) as in text, p. xxxii.

about which the Canadians are very superstitious. Many years since some Coureurs des Bois, the Name by which the first French Hunters were designated, had a Contest with some Indians and were beaten. In their Retreat they landed on this Island with a wounded man, but they now found the Indians were close upon them. This forced them to get into their Canoe and run the Rapid and thus they escaped. The poor wounded man was left behind and on their Return they found he was dead. They then buried him in this Spot and he became a sort of Saint, and though he could neither read nor write many songs and phrases are extant which, it is said, he composed. After passing the Grand Calumet the River narrows. Passed a high Rock—then the Banks are low and [*illegible*] and covered with the Black Pine. At one we dined under some beautiful Oaks but the Bites of the Mosquitoes prevented Appetite. At 6 o'clock we arrived at Fort Coulange a Post belonging to the North West [Company] under the Direction of a Mr. Godin. We passed here an Encampment of Indians—Algonquins. They were a dirty looking People—their Hair very much greased to keep off the Musquitoes; almost tempted to borrow their Grease. From Fort Coulange the S. Side is mountainous, on the N. Sand Hills. At nine we encamped on a small Island about 15 miles from Fort Coulange.

Sunday the 17th [June]. At two o'clock the Sound of "Embarquez" awoke me. In half an hour we were on board the Canoe. It being necessary to place the Poles of the Tent at the Bottom great Dispatch in dressing is necessary, the great Joke being to take down the Tent before you are ready. The Lake of Coulange is about 4 Leagues. We arrived about 6 at the Lislette d'Allumette<sup>1</sup> and in a few minutes at the Portage of the Grande Allumette. Here the Canoe is drawn 500 Paces by the towing Line when the entrance to the Lake is barred by a Rock over which the Canoe is carried. The Distance is only a few yards but the Transport is very difficult from the Unevenness and perpendicular rugged Height. Here the Ingenuity and Skill of the Voyageurs is evident. The Beds are placed in the Declivities of the Rock as Steps or supporting Places to the Canoe. The Bow of the Canoe is then placed on the first Step and thus lifted up the Rock and let down very much in the same manner on the other Side. At seven o'clock we found ourselves embarked on the Lake des Allumettes; why called the Lake of the Matches I could not learn. At 8 o'clock landed to breakfast—the weather rather foggy. From hence the River spreads wide and is called the Rivière creuse which now narrows for about 36 miles, bounded on the N. with very high Rocks on the S. by low Land covered with Pine.

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<sup>1</sup> Or, Black River island.



Here the Settlements cease<sup>1</sup> and with the exception of the Trading Posts we shall not find cultivated Ground. Our Voyageurs on approaching a Point where they rest for a few minutes, always sing one of their lively animating Airs, one man leading, the other joining chorus and all paddling to Time. One of their songs is the History of three brave Captains going to an Inn where they order White Wine, Champagne, Madeira, &c. This ends in their stopping to drink water the Imagination and spirit giving to it all the Qualities they have been vaunting. At a quarter past one we landed to Dinner and were happy in escaping the Musquitoes. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 we arrived at the first Portage des Joachims; this Portage is  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile in Length over a high rugged Mountain. We then embarked on a small Lake not 50 yards in Breadth, a Sort of Basin with high Lands on all sides, at the End a small channel the sides of the Canoe touching the Banks. Here they have a standing Joke against a Voyageur who they say was stopped in this little Bowl by a Head Wind. Here we came to the second Portage des Joachims which is about the same Length and over the same Description of Country. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 we had passed both and found ourselves on the Main Stream. Here we were dreadfully annoyed by the Mouchestik or Sand Fly, a little black treacherous Rascal more venomous than the Musquitoe and so insidious that you cannot keep them off. Our People were streaming with Blood, indeed their Sufferings were this Day very great; the Heat was excessive, the Thermometer 90 in the Shade, the carrying Places over rugged Mountains without shelter from the Sun and the Attacks of Musquitoes and Mustiks. But they were still all Animation, no Man shrinking from his Duty, all anxious to get on. At 9 we encamped but had to cut away Trees to enable us to fix our Tent. An immense Fire and Smoke relieved us from our Enemies.

Monday the 18th June. Embarked at 3. We have now a steady Current to the River du Moine, the Distance 9 Miles. We then had two small Décharges and at 6 arrived at the Portage of the Roche Capitaine. This Portage is 800 Paces but the Walk very beautiful, Maple, Ash, Elm, many beautiful Forest Flowers, Cranberries, a beautiful low Tree having a white Flower and red Bark; the Bark the Indians smoke.<sup>2</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> In 1838, according to J. Wyld's Map of Upper Canada (London, 1838). The settlements reached almost to the junction of the Ottawa and the Mattawa.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to make out exactly from the description in the text what is meant by this, or by the Bois gris below. Possibly the Wild Cornel, *Cornus stolonifera*, is the tree, or *Cornus Amomum* (syn. *sericea*).

Mr. Sargent, in the *Silva of N. America*, V., p. 64, and note, says: "The dried inner bark of the American *C. sericea*, mixed with tobacco, was smoked with satisfaction by the Indians who inhabited the shores of the Great Lakes and the central regions of the continent." And in a note: "It is this species which was generally

passing the Mountain we observed an Indian Mark on a flat rock †. This was to show the Indians who followed the Time the Party passed this Spot. The half circle represents the horizon, the Line the Sun's Direction when they were at the Spot. The Trees were of a considerable size. I measured a Pine which was 13 Feet in circumference. Great variety of Flowers which I had never before seen, but Mr. Mason the King's Botanist who was in the Country in 1818 and who died in Montreal<sup>1</sup> was much disappointed, having found scarcely a flower which was not known to him. He was pleased with the variety of Mosses on Lake Huron and Lake Superior. It is singular that being constantly in woods we have scarcely seen a Bird. The Woodpecker we hear every Night but have not seen it. A few Lories and Snipes we met with on the Waters. The Flowers are quite without Scent. The Rose is rather sweet but the smell quite faint. A Fungus<sup>2</sup> which grows on the inside of the Maple Tree produces an excellent kind of Powder which the Indians use to light their Pipes. We then came to the Décharge of the Roche Capitaine. Here we had to walk about two miles over a mountainous Country which had been overrun by Fire, which much facilitated our March and had destroyed the Musquitoes. We passed the Encampment of an Indian; the Poles of the Tent remained and his Bath or Sweating House and Frame to stretch the Beaver. The Bath is a sort

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known as Kinnikinnic, and was chiefly prized by the Indians for smoking, although in those parts of the country where it was not found they used for the same purpose the bark and leaves of several other plants." Messrs. Britton and Brown in the Flora of N. States and Canada, also give *Cornus Amomum* (syn. *sericea*) as Kinnikinnic.

Dr. Macoun, however, in his Catalogue of Canadian Plants, pt. 1, p. 191, gives *Cornus stolonifera*, Michaux, as the western Kinnikinnik, or Red Osier Dogwood, the *osier rouge* of Michaux. Fl. Am. Bor. (1803), I., 92. Also see Macoun's Manitoba and Great N. West (Guelph, 1882), p. 189. "The mixture so made is called by the Indians Harouge."

J. Carver, in Travels through N. America in 1766-8 (London, 1781), p. 31, refers to "a kind of willow, termed by the French, bois rouge; in English, red wood," of which the bark is at first scarlet, and as it grows older changes to a mixture of gray and red. It is "mixed by the Indians with their tobacco." Can this be the osier rouge of Michaux, as above?

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Mason, the king's botanist, who was in the country in 1818, and who died in Montreal." In spite of the great discrepancy of dates, I venture to think that this refers to Francis Masson, born in 1741, and died at Montreal in Dec., 1805, or Jan., 1806. The date is given clearly in the diary as 1818, but it may be a slip of the pen. Masson was the king's botanist, and the first collector sent out from Kew. He was in New York and Montreal in 1798, after collecting at the Cape and the Canaries. A most interesting man. For further details of him and his work see Britten and Boulger's Biographical Dict. of English and Irish Botanists (London, 1893), and the Journal of Botany, 1884, pp. 114 and 144.

<sup>2</sup> A sort of *Polyporus*, akin to British touchwood, probably *P. fomentarius*, Fr., Tinder fungus.

of little Tent of Wood over which shrubs are placed to keep out the Air. In the middle are red hot Stones on which they pour water and every Aperture being closed the Heat occasioned by the Steam becomes excessive. This they consider a Remedy for all Complaints particularly for Rheumatism. It is exactly on the Principle of the Russian Bath, the Indian indulging himself in the same Luxury as the Russian in jumping from the Bath into the River or rolling himself in the Snow, after parboiling. Beautiful Tree called Bois Gris—the Bark the Canadians smoke.<sup>1</sup> We observed a small Plant which is called the Mountain Tea<sup>2</sup> and which when infused in the Pot becomes a very pleasant Beverage. It has an aromatic Smell—the Taste is a very pleasant bitter. On arriving at the Point where we were to embark we found a Canoe with five young Indians, who had brought a Despatch for Mr. McGillivray from the Timmiskamain, fine looking young men, copper colored Faces very black Hair and greasy which had certainly the effect of keeping off the Musquitoes. In that we envied them even their Grease.

The Utawa runs here at the Foot of the Ridge of Mountains which run the whole way from Quebec to Montreal. At nine we embarked and after running 15 miles we arrived at the Portage of the Deux Rivières so called from two small streams running here into the Utawa. This Portage is about 900 Paces. The Country here assumes a wild desolate Appearance; the river here narrows. After paddling about half a League we landed at the Décharge of the Trou so named from the Rapid falling over deep Holes. The Distance to walk is about 300 Paces. We found here an immense quantity of Butterflies. A blue Butterfly with blue wings the most beautiful I have ever seen. At one we embarked intending to ascend the Rapid de Levillier.<sup>3</sup> The stream was so strong and the Water so low that we were obliged to land and walk two miles over a mountain covered with Underwood and high Trees which was a fatiguing and difficult operation. The Canoe was towed up and passed this Rapid and the Matawens<sup>4</sup> which are both dangerous. On the Island we saw a Cross denoting the burial Place of a Voyageur who had died. At the Extremity of the Mountain we had intended dining but the Musquitoes and Sandfly were so dreadful in their Attack that we preferred crossing the River and we found an agreeable shady spot but melancholy from our being surrounded by

<sup>1</sup> This name I cannot trace anywhere. See note above on the "low tree with white flowers and red bark."

<sup>2</sup> *Gaultheria procumbens*.

<sup>3</sup> In some maps called "l'Eveillé." In Wyld's map (London, 1838) this is placed to the east of Le Trou. Mackenzie (1801) gives them in the same order as in the text. P. xxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Matawain or Matawoen rapids.



Crosses the Tombs of 11 Voyageurs who had been drowned near this Spot a few Years before. This being the Battle of Waterloo and as we supposed the Day of the Coronation we drank on Board our Canoe some Bumper Toasts. Perhaps in all his Dominions the King's Health was not more fervently toasted. The Banks on each Side are generally rocky and covered with the black Pine but intermixed with other Trees which is a great Relief to the Gloominess of the Scene; Musquitoes and Sandfly very annoying. We paddled on about 30 miles between Highlands; at half-past eight arrived at the Rapids of the Matawa, at nine encamped on the Petite Rivière where we were close to the Water; eaten up by Flies and Spiders and passed a wretched Night.

Tuesday the 19th [June]. Never had a poor unfortunate Traveller passed so wretched a Night. Tired and worn out by the Fatigues and Miseries of the Day we landed, hoping to find Rest and Relief to our Sufferings. Our Camp however was so close to the water side that my Head almost touched the River. In the Night we were not only pestered by the Attack of Musquito and Sandfly, but some little irritating insect, not visible, which ran over the whole Body and produced a Degree of Irritation and Misery not to be described. I was happy in the Call to embark. We had now as it were turned the Corner. Leaving the Utawa which at this Point is about 30 Leagues from the Timiskamain Lake we enter the Petite Rivière or Matawa and our Course which had hitherto been West and West-North-West is now South and South-South-West. The Matawa is about 45 miles in Length full of Rapids and Cataracts to its Source. After one Hour's paddling we came to the Portage de Pleins Champs, which is about 350 Paces. We then came to the Décharge of the Rose a hundred and fifty Paces. It now began to rain and our travelling was very uncomfortable being drenched with Rain and having no means to change our Linen and the Rain in wetting us whetted the Stings of our Enemies. We found at this Portage a Letter written on an Egg from Mr. McCloud, who had preceded us two Days, and the Smoking Bag belonging to Mr. Hughes which afterwards gave rise to a good Deal of Laughter [we] having pretended to have found a Billet d'Amour enclosed in the Bag.

We then passed the Décharge Champion,<sup>1</sup> 120 Paces. We then came to the Portage of the Grosse Roche,<sup>2</sup> 150 Paces. Here on a Piece of Bark was written a "Present for Mr. Garry" and on looking about we found a Pile of Stones and on removing them we found a

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<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie (1801) has Champion (p. xxiv), but in Cary's new map of Upper and Lower Canada it is called Portage de la Compagnie.

<sup>2</sup> Des Gros Rochers, or du Rocher.

small Land Tortoise which are very common in this Country. We then successively came to the Portage of Prairie 287 Paces, then the Portage of La Cave,<sup>1</sup> 100 Paces, then to the Portage of Talon, 300 Paces, the Country here is very wild and romantic. Going to the Top of a high Rock to view the surrounding Country I found a Sort of Flower Pot on a large and grand scale. The Water had excavated at the Top of the Rock a large round circular Hole exactly the Shape of a Flower Pot and in this a small beautiful Mountain Ash in full Verdure was growing. Here we dined at about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2. The Scenery about us was enchanting though it continued to rain at Intervals in Torrents. We dined on a high Rock beneath which was a Waterfall dashing over a rugged pointed Bed of Rocks and through a confined Passage, nearly 80 feet almost perpendicular Height.<sup>2</sup> On this Portage the Trunk of a Tree is still to be seen which forms the Subject of the many numerous Stories of Disasters and Miseries with which this Journey abounds. During a stormy Day a Canoe passed under it at the Moment it fell. The Canoe and Men were dashed to Pieces and all were destroyed except one Man who had his Leg broken and remained in this State for several Days without Assistance. During our Dinner a beautiful little Squirrel remained close to us seeming to enjoy our Company. We then embarked and came to the Portage de Pin de Musique<sup>3</sup> which we did not find so terrifick as described by Mackenzie. The Distance is about 450 Paces. The last Portage is the Turtle Portage when you come to the Lake of this Name where the Matawa takes its source. On entering this Lake we met 4 Canoes with Indians with a Deputation of 80 Warriors going to Lord Dalhousie. One of the Indians had killed another and they were going to intercede for the Culprit. The Chief was a fine old Man apparently about 70, designated by the Feather in his Hat, a common Goose Quill. The young Men were very well looking. I only observed one Female who was probably the Wife of the Son of the Chief, as she was sitting behind him. She had a most beautiful intelligent Countenance the finest black Eyes and a Complexion which would have been considered as a Brunette and not darker in any Country. We made the Chief a Present of Tobacco and Biscuits. After passing this Lake we came to another, the Passage from one to the other scarcely allowing Space for our Canoe. We then passed through a Succession

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<sup>1</sup> This portage is marked on map in Mackenzie (1801), frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the narrow passage at the entrance to the Lac de Talon.

<sup>3</sup> The diarist follows closely the names given by Mackenzie (1801), but it is to be noted that there is a Portage des Pins at the north end, and a Portage de la Mauvaise Musique at the south end of the Lake des Pins marked on some maps.

of small Lakes and at 9 encamped on the last Vase.<sup>1</sup> Our Journey has been this Day a most fatiguing one for our Men and the most miserable to us Bourgeois (so the Passengers who do not paddle are designated) comprehending almost everything, except meeting the beautiful Indian, which constitutes Misery in Travelling. We rose in the morning unrefreshed and exhausted by the Stings of our relentless Enemies which continued to pursue us during the Day. Soon after starting we were deluged with Rain and in this State were obliged to sit in our Canoe without the Opportunity of changing our Dress and attacked by the Musquitoes and the little Sand Fly. In this State we arrived at our Encampment, the Name of Vase or Morass gave us little Hope of Comfort and Rest. Scarcely had we landed when we were attacked by Myriads of Mosquitoes and Flies and Spiders; every Expedient was tried to drive them off but all without Effect and our Attempts only produced increased Irritation and Misery.

Wednesday the 20th [June]. At 3 o'clock we started to walk 3 miles whilst our Canoe was towed thro' a small narrow Passage. We then embarked for a short Distance and landed at another Vase, the Musquitoes abounding in this swampy Ground. Here we had a short Walk when we found ourselves in a small beautiful Stream of Water about 40 yards broad and about 3 miles in Length. The Banks were beautiful, on one Side high Grass and on the other the most beautiful Forest Trees. At once the Lake Nipissing came to our View and a Change from Misery to the greatest Pleasure and Comfort. Not the poor Wanderer in the Desert could be more delighted with the Sight of a Well after being parched with Thirst than we were on entering the Lake. Here we lost the Musquitoes and bathing in the Lake restored us to Cleanliness and Comfort. At 9 we had breakfasted and started again. Lake Nipissingue is about 12 Leagues in Length (though the Canoe course is more) and 15 miles broad. At 12, our Course W.S.W., we had made the grand Travers and came to a Point called the Isle aux Croix, so named from having 11 Crosses on it, the Tombs of 11 Voyageurs who were drowned. We now ran along the South Bank, low Land inky with the Pine Tree. There was a considerable Deal of Swell and it produced all the Feeling of Sea Sickness. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past one we landed on a Rock to Dinner. Found a poisonous Plant which if touched produces Swelling of the Hand.<sup>2</sup> At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past two embarked. Our Course now is between Islands but barren Rocks and uninteresting.

<sup>1</sup> These morasses or swamps are the sources of the Vaz or Vase river. "The portages are well named the Vaz or Mud portages." The Shore and Canoe, by J. S. Bigsby, M.D. (London, 1850), vol. I., p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Rhus Toxicodendron*, L., Poison Ivy, or *Rhus venenata*, Poison Elder.

The North West [Company] have a Port on Lake Nipissing, but which we did not visit. Our Course has been almost due West from the Entrance of the Lake. At 5 we changed our Course which became now South. We now entered the Rivière des François and came to the Portage, La Chaudière des François, so called from the Number of Small Holes in the Rocks having the Appearance of a Kettle. The River des François is about 75 miles in Length and has more the Appearance of a Lake, forming an innumerable Number of low rocky Islands, so that you never see the Banks. At 8 o'clock we came to the Rapid des Pins. Hitherto we had always ascended the Rapids which is less dangerous both in Appearance and in Reality. Now we had to descend and were broken in by rather a terrific one. The Guide stands on the Gunwale at the Bow to ascertain the Course of the Rapid, he then stands in the Canoe and directs the Steersman how to Shape his Course. The Rapidity with which you descend is wonderful and, I should say, certainly at the Rate of 15 or 20 miles an Hour. To every Rapid is attached a melancholy History of Canoes lost and the Crosses or Burial Places you meet with everywhere prove that they are but too true. It was now nearly dark when we came to the Rapid of the Parisienne<sup>1</sup> which we likewise descended and encamped on a small Island at the Foot.

Thursday the 21st June. After passing a restless Night from the Attacks of the Musquitoes and black Fly we embarked at half-past two, —beautiful moonlight. At 7 we came to the Portage of the Recolet where the Canoe is only transported a few Paces to avoid the dangerous Part of the Rapid. A Canoe with 11 men was lost at this Rapid a few years since. The Crosses are still standing on the Spot where they were buried. The River continues to run through rocky Islands. (Perhaps the worst Part of Canoe travelling is the Want of Comfort, which attends your Encampment at Night. In most Difficulties and Privations in Life there is always a Something which is pleasurable to look forward to, when Comfort and Ease will refresh you and give Relief to your Sufferings. Here the Approach of Night and in other Cases of Rest is rather a matter of Dread than of Desire. The Night is passed under the Sufferings of Bites and Stings, and if at last, worn out, Sleep should close the Eyes the call to embark now awakens you to the renewed Attacks of a Host of bloodthirsty and insatiable Enemies; a Digression occasioned by the Bite of Musquitoes, Sand Flies, Spiders,

<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie (1801) places this between the portages Feausille and Recolet. The order in Mackenzie is as follows: Des Pins, Feausille, Parisienne Recolet, Petite Feausille.

&c., &c.). At 9 we breakfasted, at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past embarked. After paddling for two Hours we came to a narrow Channel forming a Rapid, and the Banks of high Rocks on each Side so confined as scarcely to allow the Canoe to pass; it had the Appearance of a Canal cut in the Rock. After it [we] came to a short carrying Place but the Water being high the Canoe was towed. At 2 o'clock Lake Huron opened upon us with the Appearance of a vast Ocean. We dined on the Shores, which consist of hard flat Rocks but covered with Gooseberry Bushes. We passed on, over and thro' sunk Rocks for 6 miles. Lake Huron communicates with Lake Michigan by the Strait of Michilimackinac; with Lake Superior by the Strait of St. Mary and with Lake Erie to the South by the Strait of Detroit and thus through the latter Lake, by a Canal, (by which the Fall of Niagara is avoided) with Lake Ontario from which runs the St. Lawrence. Its shape is nearly triangular and it is computed to be 800 miles in Circuit. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 we had made a Traverse of several miles going from one Point of Land to another. At 8 o'clock we came to a narrow Channel formed on the South by the Main Land, on the North by an Island, the Banks covered with the most beautiful Trees, a pleasing Contrast to the barren rugged Coast we had passed. On a Point of Land at the extremity of the Channel we found an Indian Encampment. There were 5 Men and 5 Women and 4 Boys, with children. They were going to Fort William to be engaged as Hunters. On our Approach they drew up on the Shore and fired their Guns. We passed them telling them we should encamp near them. After they had pitched their Tent the 5 young Men came to us bringing Maple Sugar and very nice Trout for which they received in return Tobacco, Rum and Biscuits. The Head or Chief was a very well-looking Man and a great Dandy in his way. Round his Hat was a Plate of Silver and he had broad Arm bands of the same Metal. The others were dressed in Blankets.

Friday the 22nd [June]. We embarked at 3, the weather continuing very fine. Just before starting one of the Indians brought us two very fine Pike. Our Course West. We passed close to the shore which is flat and uninteresting. At 8 o'clock we landed to breakfast, the Beach entirely Shingles with large square Sand Stones, the Background Rocks of Slate and covered with the black Pine. An innumerable quantity of Fish swimming about. At 9 we embarked and at 12 we landed on the North Side at a Port belonging to the N. West Company under Charge of Mr. Varin. A great many Indians were encamped about his House and the Faces of the men were much painted with Vermilion. At two o'clock we landed to Dinner on an Island to the

South of Mr. Varin. The Shore here was singular and to a scientific man would have been worthy of much Attention and Consideration. The Water was so clear that you could perceive the Bottom at a Depth of some Fathoms and the Beach consisted in large Sand Stones with the most perfect Petrifications of large Fish,—in many the Fish was remaining, but when the Space was left the mark of the Fish was quite perfect, that is the Ribs, Bones, Head, &c. Behind were several Layers of Slate and the Background Granite. At 3 we embarked and at 8 we arrived at one of the Manitoulin Islands but the Water was so low we could not land. We were thus obliged to make a long Traverse and so arrived at another. Our Men quite fatigued having been out 19 Hours actually paddling 17 but still preserving their good Nature and good Spirits. The Manitoulian Islands consist in a chain which runs across the main Channel of the Lake from East to West. They abound with Rattlesnakes and our Voyageurs, who took care not to enter the Woods had many frightful Stories to tell. It was with great Difficulty we could land for the Shallowness of the Water and at one time had the Prospect of being out all Night. Our Encampment was a bad one being on hard Shingles as we were afraid of entering the Wood. The Name of Manitoulin signifies the Residence of Spirits or Manitoes. On this Island a Number of Hurons who had been converted to Christianity by the Jesuits were attacked by a Party of Chipewyans—but instead of fighting they commenced Praying and the greater Part were destroyed. The few who escaped immediately murdered the Jesuits.

Saturday the 23rd [June]. At 3 we embarked at 8 landed on an Island to breakfast. Great quantity of Gooseberries, Raspberries, Cherry Trees. At 9 we embarked. Passed several Islands where we observed the land marks or Posts which Mr. Thompson<sup>1</sup> the Government Geographer, who is now employed in surveying the Country and fixing Boundaries [has set up]. At one landed to Dinner and at 10 encamped at Night at an Island called the Snake Island so called from the Quantity of Reptiles which are here found. In our Hurry to light our Fire and in the dark we destroyed the Remains of a poor little Indian child. The Indians to preserve their dead children from Animals place them in a tree about which they put Faggots and these without knowing what they covered we pulled down for our Fire. The Quantity of Fireflies which were in the Wood had a most brilliant Appearance.

Sunday 24th June. Nor Ghosts, nor Rattlesnakes, nor Spiders, nothing can prevent the fatigued Voyageur from sleeping. At half

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<sup>1</sup> David Thompson, 1770-1857, the explorer, geographer and scientist. See Henry (Coles), pp. xxi. xxiii.

past three we embarked and at seven arrived at Drummond's Island. After breakfasting we walked over a newly made Road of about a mile to the Fort. Drummond Island is named after Sir Gordon Drummond<sup>1</sup> who commanded in Canada. During Breakfast a little Fleet of Indian Canoes passed our Tent with two British Flags flying denoting the Presence of two Chiefs. The Fort is commanded by Major Winnett of the 62nd. Two Companies of this Regiment were in Garrison with a few Artillery Men. A great deal of Ground has been cleared away to erect very extensive Fortifications, but by Mr. Thompson's Survey it is ascertained that the Island is within the American Line according to the Treaty of Ghent and must thus be given up. It is said the British will erect a Fortification on the main Land opposite to the Island of St. Joseph and this will be decided by Lord Dalhousie who will visit the Island this Summer. We called on Dr. Mitchell a very old Gentleman; he is Staff Surgeon and his Wife, who is an Indian, a great Fur Trader. They live at Michilimackinac. We found here the Indians who had passed us in the morning preparing their Encampment which was entirely done by Women, whilst the Men were lying on the Ground smoking their Pipes. They were from the Missisaga Country, a River running into Lake Huron on the North Side. The Chiefs were in fine Dresses, red Coats faced with blue, Silver Lace, their faces painted with Vermilion. The Women were ill dressed and were disgusting in their Appearance. One of the Women who did not appear to be more than thirteen had a Child hung on the Branch of a Tree swinging backwards and forwards in a Sort of Basket the Head peeping out and the Body in an erect position. They came to the Fort to receive Presents of Blankets, &c. Last Year 4000 received Gifts. Major Winnett who received us with great Politeness was anxious that we should remain to Dinner but in a Canoe Voyage all is Expedition. The Major however supplied us with a most excellent cold Dinner, Ale, Vegetables. The latter were a great Treat, as we had not tasted them since we left Montreal. Travelling this way is very much the same as a Sea Voyage, that is, here you travel over Land in an uncultivated Country and all your Comforts and Luxuries you must carry with you. At six o'clock we passed the site of the Village of St. Joseph upon an Island of the same Name. The Ruins of the old British Fort are still standing. The Situation is very commanding. A Corporal's Guard is now on the Island for the Protection of the Powder Magazine which has

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Gordon Drummond, born 1772. Saw much service in the Netherlands and Egypt. Appointed second in command to Sir G. Prevost in 1811. Won the battle of Niagara, or Chippewa, July 25, 1814. K. C. B. in 1815. G. C. B. 1837. Died 1854. See Dict. National Biography.

been sent from Drummond Island. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 we passed the first Rapid on the Straits of St. Mary and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 in the morning we reached the Sault de Ste. Marie.

Monday 25th [June]. Arrived at the Sault at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2. For Breakfast we had the famous White Fish. All that I had heard of its excellent Quality and Taste fell far short of its real Excellence. La Hontan who travelled in this Country in 1684 says it is the only Fish which Sauce spoils.<sup>1</sup> I should say it is the most delicate tasted Fish I ever eat. After Breakfast visited the Stores, &c. In 1814 the Americans burnt all the North West [Company's] Property which they found here. A Trait of savage Cruelty on their Part shows the Spirit by which they were actuated; a poor Horse which they had used for the Conveyance of the Goods to their Boats was left in the Shafts of a Cart close to a Building which they set on Fire and the poor Animal was burnt to Death. We then passed over to the American Side, the South, and called upon a Mr. Johnston an Irish Gentleman and Fur Trader who is married to an Indian Chief's<sup>2</sup> Daughter by whom he has a large Family more black than white. His Property was likewise destroyed to the Amount of £8000. His Son was very polite and accompanied us to a Spot where we had an excellent View of the Falls of St. Mary. The River St. Mary is the Strait which connects Lake Huron with Lake Superior and the Sault de St. Mary is the largest Rapid of three which impede the Navigation between the two Lakes. The River here is about two miles in Breadth and the Rapid falls over a Ridge of Rocks about 23 Feet over a space of half a mile. There are ten beautiful Islands in the middle covered with the most magnificent trees and the Banks on each side of the River have equally this Attraction. The dark Foliage and the beautiful Verdure of the long Grass form a fine contrast with the snowy Whiteness and bright Foam of the Cataract. The Number of Indian Tents, the Villages on each Side, the Canoes fishing in the middle of the Rapid, form, united, the most beautiful, romantic Scenery. We found here ten Lodges of the Chippeways called by the French Saulteurs from their encamping on the Banks of the Rapid to fish. We were introduced to the Chief, a venerable old man

<sup>1</sup> "This sort of white fish, in my opinion, is the only one in all these lakes that can be called good; and indeed it goes beyond all other sorts of river fish. Above all, it has one singular property, namely, that all sorts of sauces spoil it, so that it is always eat either boiled or broiled without any manner of seasoning." Baron Lahontan's Travels in Canada, 2nd Ed., London 1735, 2 vols. 8vo. Letter xiv. from Pinkerton's General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1812, vol. xiii., p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Wabogid or White Fisher was the name of this Chief. For a short account of Mr. Johnston, see Henry Journals (ed. Coues, New York, 1897), Index s. v.



with a pleasing Countenance. He came out of his Lodge with no other Covering on him than a Blanket thrown over his Shoulders. We understood he was a most excellent, well-conducted man when sober, but like all the Saulters much addicted to drinking and this prevails as much with the Women as the Men. The Americans sell them a Spirit they call Whiskey, which is of so poisonous a Quality as to produce paralytic Affections and a long History of dreadful Disorders. The Women are ill-looking, the Men generally a fine looking People but great Dandies. They were preparing to play the Game of de la Crosse or Baggiaway and had painted their Cheeks with Vermilion and their Bodies with the most fantastic colors. The Game is played with a Bat and Ball, the Bat "4 Feet in Length, curved and terminating in a sort of Racket. "The Posts are planted in the Ground at a considerable Distance from "each other, a Mile or more. Each Party has its Post and the Game "consists in throwing the Ball up to the Post of the Adversary."<sup>1</sup> It was at this Game that the Indians deceived the English Garrison at Fort Michilimackinac when they murdered the Soldiers in 1762. They first invited the Garrison to see them play and when assembled they threw the Ball into the Fort, considering, as was the case, that they would not in running after the Ball be suspected of bad Intentions. They were but too successful and the Garrison fell a Sacrifice to their Treachery. Mr. Henry escaped, after running many hair-breadth escapes, through the kindness and Attachment of a Woman who concealed him.

We asked our Indian, then our Interpreter, his Name as he was very finely painted. The Question put him into a great Rage. It is their Custom never to mention their own Names and this is even more strictly kept when speaking of the Dead; this is done figuratively by Description but not by Name.

Plurality of Wives is allowed amongst them. I saw one Man who had three. The Form of Marriage is very simple. A young Man wishing to marry first obtains the Consent of the young Woman, then makes a Present to the Parent, when he is received. He must however serve his beau Père for one Year. They reside during the summer at the Sault living entirely on White Fish, in Winter they live on the Produce of their Hunt in the Woods. They are very indolent and though the young Men would be handsomely paid if they would work they consider it would be disgracing themselves. They say the Indians only are free, that the Christians are Slaves as they are forced to work. The Supply of White Fish is inexhaustible. The Night before we left the Sault

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Travels and Adventures of Alex. Henry, New York, 1809, who gives an account in chap. ix. of the Massacre referred to in the text.

two little Indians, not 10 Years of Age, brought a large Canoe full of Fish, at least a hundred which they had caught in the Evening with their Scoop Nets. A small Quantity of Rum purchased the whole. The manner of Fishing is :—The Fishermen merely place their Canoe in the Rapid where the water is so clear that the Fish are seen at the Bottom and it is only necessary to put down the Net as often as they choose and take as much as they want. They likewise spear them. The White Fish is beautifully formed, particularly small Head, and weighs from 4 to 10 lbs. The Americans are making the salting of the White Fish a great Article of Trade and ship them in this State to the West Indies. The White Fish is of the Genus *Salmo*. The Heat here has been excessive 96° in the Shade. In Winter it was at 60° under the Freezing Point of Fahrenheit of 32°. We were here dreadfully annoyed by the Musquitoes.

Tuesday the 26th [June]. At 5 o'clock we again found ourselves in the Canoe. The Sault is so full of Fish that the Air is quite impregnated with a Fishy Smell. The Morning was miserably wet and so foggy that we could not see the Head of the Canoe. It was very unfortunate as the Entrance into Lake Superior is described as being one of the finest Things in the World. Carver an American Traveller writes:—“The Entrance into Lake Superior affords one of the most pleasing Prospects in the World.” However all this we lost and it was only in Imagination that we could picture to ourselves the Beauty of the Scene. After running 15 Miles we landed on one of those [*illegible*] Coves which abound in Lake Superior at a Point called the Grand Cape.<sup>1</sup> This may be considered with Point Iroquois on the South Side as the Entrance into Lake Superior. Mackenzie in describing this Lake says:—“Lake Superior is the largest and most magnificent Body of fresh water in the World. It is clear and pellucid of great Depth and abounding in a Variety of Fish which are the most excellent of their kind. There are Trouts of 3 kinds,—Sturgeon (200 lbs.), Pickerel, Pike, red and white Carp, black Bass, Herrings, &c.”<sup>2</sup> “This Lake may be denominated the great Reservoir of the River St. Lawrence.”<sup>3</sup> Few Rivers run into it, the St. Louis, the Nipigon, Pic, and Michicopotin are the principal. Its Circumference is considered to be 1500 Miles, the Extreme Length, taking the Longitude from 84° to 91° and the Degree (in the Latitude of 47°) to be 41 Miles, that is from the Grand Cap to the Fond du Lac, would make it under 300 Miles in Length and the

<sup>1</sup> Or Gros Cap.

<sup>2</sup> The following names are added by the writer of the Diary “White Fish, Mackenongi, Poisson Doré”.

<sup>3</sup> Voyage from Montreal, etc., Alex. Mackenzie (1801), p. xli.

Latitude from 49 to 46½ it would be 2½ Degrees or 150 Miles in Breadth.

We were dreadfully annoyed by the Musquitoes at Breakfast and as it rained in Torrents we were drenched with Rain. In this State without any means of changing our Clothes we were forced to enter our Canoe. It required a good deal of Philosophy to bear up against Rain, Fog and Musquitoes which are in travelling real Miseries. The Fog however cleared up. We Passed several Flocks of Swans and Wild Ducks. The Coast is barren; primitive Rock, singularly intermixed with Granite and Black Stone resembling Iron Ore. The Lands behind were mountainous and covered with Trees, Maple, Poplar and Black Pine. We heard at the Sault a melancholy History of the Death of an excellent Indian. A Friend of his had killed an Indian. The Family to revenge this Death appointed one of their Tribe not to kill the Murderer, but his dearest Friend considering he would suffer more in the Death of the Person he loved than in dying himself. This is a Refinement of savage Cruelty and Revenge which only the Devil could have put into their Heads. This is not a solitary Instance but it is their Custom. At ½ past 1 we passed an Island which a few Years before had been the Scene of a most melancholy Event. In the Year 1817<sup>1</sup> when Lord Selkirk took Fort William he sent two Canoes full of Prisoners, Mr. William McGillivray and other Partners of the North-West [Company] to Montreal under the charge of an Officer of the Meuron Regiment. On leaving an Island it began to blow and the Officer enquired whether there was Danger. He was assured there was not; nor indeed was there had the Canoe, which upset, been properly managed. When one of the Canoes was about 300 Yards from the Island she unfortunately upset and a Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie Partner of the North West [Company], 4 Soldiers and 6 Illiquois were drowned. Dr. McLaughlin with the remaining part of the Crew were saved. The Doctor was taken lifeless to the Shore and it was long before he was restored.

At four we landed to Dinner on a small Island. At five we again embarked and at 9 encamped, wet and uncomfortable, but an immense Fire soon dried our Clothes. After putting about a dozen of Trees on the Fire one of the Voyageurs a Man six Feet high and of herculean make, who was called in consequence "La Petite Vierge," fancying we had not Fire enough brought us another immense Tree which few men could have carried. Everything here is on a grand Scale and it is really not the Story of a Traveller that our Fires were made of whole Trees. In all the Forests a great Proportion of the Trees are withered Trunks

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<sup>1</sup> Aug. 13th, 1816.

which being rotten are easily pushed down and being light are brought with ease to the Encampment.

Wednesday the 27 [June]. Morning very cold but the Rain had ceased. Breakfasted at the Island of Montreal opposite a small River of this name which flows into the Lake. Before landing here we passed a small Island where from the Stories of the Indians Mr. Henry fancied there was a Silver Mine and he induced a Number of Gentlemen and Noblemen, the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Secretary Townsend, Sir Samuel Tucket,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Baxter, Russian Consul, and Sir William Johnson to join him in a mining Company,<sup>2</sup> but it was quite unsuccessful. At 10 we again embarked, the Weather very fine. We ran along the Main Land about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile off the Shore. At two we landed to Dinner on a small barren Rock in the midst of an innumerable Number of small Rocks of the same character with an immense towering gigantic mountainous Rock in the Middle rising like a Parent before them, the little Rocks perhaps 4 feet in Height, the Mother Rock at least 600 Feet of perpendicular Height. From hence our Canoe ran through a Range of low Rocks in a Variety of Shapes but all giving the Idea of gigantic Tombstones, a Residence of Spirits and Ghosts. After travelling nearly a mile between these Rocks we came to one under which according to Indian Tradition is buried Nanibogan a Person of most sacred Memory. The Interpretation is "the Great Hare." He is represented as the Founder and indeed the Creator of the Indian Nations of North America. The Indians state that he dreamt the World would be deluged by heavy Rains, that he built a Raft on which he preserved his own Family and all the Animal Creation without Exception. According to his Dream the Rains fell and a Flood ensued. His Raft drifted for many Moons during which no Land was discovered. His Family began to dispute and the Animals, who had then the use of Speech, murmured against them. In the End he produced a new Earth placed the Animals upon it and created Man. At a subsequent Period he deprived the Animals of the Use of Speech. There are many Stories about him but all agree in his being the Founder of the Indian Nations. The Rock is very remarkable; by Moonlight or in the Dusk it must have the Appearance of an old Woman and even by Day, when we passed, a little Imagination would have fancied such a Figure. The Head is perfect; the Figure is sitting in the Indian manner on her Hams, a large Cloak covering her body with a long Train behind forming the Figure of a gigantic old

<sup>1</sup> Or Tutchet.

<sup>2</sup> In 1770. The Company was liquidated in 1774. See *Travels and Adventures of Alex. Henry* (New York, 1809). Pt. II., chap. v., vi.

Woman. The Indians never pass without making an Offering as they consider the Spirit of Nanibogan constantly resides on the Rock and presides over the Lake.<sup>1</sup> It is about 500 yards from the Main Land. Our Canadians made an Offering of Tobacco. The whole Scene was so wild and romantic that the Imagination and Fancy coupled with the Story of the Indians would easily produce the Feeling that you were in the Abode of Spirits and Manitoes. At 11 at Night we arrived at Michicopotin. The Indians are very superstitious and are constantly making Sacrifices but always to bad Spirits. The Good Spirit they say will never hurt them, the bad may.

Thursday the 28th [June]. Embarked at 9 o'clock. Passed a Canoe with an Indian and his Wife. The Husband had his Nose bitten off in a drunken Fray. This is common amongst them when they quarrel, and the Husbands very frequently in fits of Jealousy bite off the Nose of their Wife that she may appear disgusting to others. This however does not alter his own Attachment. In an extreme Fit of Jealousy they cut off the Hair and this is considered so disgraceful that they seldom survive it, committing Suicide. Our Canoe was within a Quarter of a Mile of the Shore, the Coast bold and Mountainous. At one o'clock we landed on a Rock so like Copper that it is not wonderful Mr. Henry was deceived. Our Canoe still continues along the Shore, the Coast more bold and mountainous and the Scene rendered more dreary from the whole Country having been overrun by Fire. It is singular that where the Pine is destroyed by Fire other Trees such as the Poplar, Maple, Ash, &c., grow in its Place. At 9 we encamped.

Friday the 29th [June]. Embarked at 2, the Weather beautiful, running along the Coast, low and uninteresting. Passed several Canoes with Indians. The Indians speak French in this Country, that is, they say "Bon Jour" and that is all. At 2 we arrived at the Pic, a Post belonging to the North West [Company]. At 3 we embarked and at 9 encamped at a famous Encampment called the Lance de Bouteille.<sup>2</sup>

Saturday the 30th [June]. At 3 o'clock found ourselves in our Canoe. But I was soon awake by something pulling my Arm. On looking up I found a Savage staring me in the Face, not however with his Tomahawk in his Hand but a smiling Face and a Dish of very nice Trout that he wished us to buy. At 3 we dined and about 5 o'clock we arrived at the Country called the Pays Plat. Here the Lake assumes a more beautiful Appearance. Hitherto, generally speaking, the Coast had been bold, mountainous, rocky, now, if to use so tame an Expression

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<sup>1</sup> This account is taken mainly from Alex. Henry (1809), as above, Pt. II., chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Dance à la Boutterdes.

is allowed, the Lake has a more mild, gentle, placid, beautiful Appearance. Our Canoe ran now through Islands covered with the richest Verdure and fine Forest Trees, the Oak, Maple, Elm, Ash, &c., intermixed with the Spruce, Hemlock and Black Pine and the Freshness and dark Verdure of the Scene contrasted with the dazzling Whiteness of the Water and rugged Appearance of Rocks occasionally peeping between the Trees. At 9 we encamped at the Chaudière des trois Cornes. I found here the Horn of a Caribou as if to make the Name of our Encampment in Character. We travelled to-day nearly 100 miles and 90 the Day before. Our men were fatigued but in excellent Spirits and this increased at the Thought of finishing the first Part of their Labour. Indeed this Feeling we all shared.

Sunday 1st July. At 3 we embarked. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 arrived at the Great Traverse before you arrive at Thunder Bay. On this Point of Sand the Coast has a singular Appearance and to the Scientific would be the Subject of much Speculation. There is an Embankment in Strata horizontally, the Ground work near the Water brown sandstone in Layers, above it broader Layers of red stone having the exact Appearance of Bricks, the Top square Pieces of Rock laid in such Order as if done by Art to keep the whole together. In the Background the high Mountain of the Tonnerre which we soon approached and passed within a few Yards under it. Its Appearance is magnificent.

According to Mr. Thompson's Admeasurement it is 1500 Feet high. It has very much the Appearance of a Fortification, very much like Königstein in Saxony. At 12 we came to the great Traverse of Thunder Bay and at 3 o'clock arrived at Fort William where we were received by Mr. Norman McCloud, Mr. Rocheblave, Mr. McTavish. We were received with the firing of Guns, and the Shouts of the Indians, Canadians, &c.!!! "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

Fort William is in Lat. 48.15, Lon. 89.30 W.

Columbia is in Lat. 49, Lon. 124 W.

Athapasca (Stone Lake) Lat. 59, Lon. 112 W.

Kamanistiquia River takes its Rise from the Height of Land towards Lake Nipigan. Mountain Tonnerre. The Mountain on the River has no Name.

Saturday July the 7th. We had today the Ceremony of Two Chiefs offering their Presents in the great Hall and receiving a Return. The Chiefs preceded by an English Flag marched into the Hall accompanied by all the Tribe. They immediately arranged themselves and then commenced smoking. After Mr. McGillivray (considered as their great Father) and myself had seated ourselves the Chiefs desired their Presents.

to be spread out. They consisted in 20 very fine Beaver Skins. One of the Chiefs then rose and really in a very graceful manner made a Speech. He said he regretted that a more able Person was not the Chief one who could better express his Attachment and that of his Children to their great Father. He said his Tribe had been afflicted with the Measles and this would a little account for the few People he had brought with him but there was another cause, which he even more regretted which was that a black Bird had decoyed away some of his Followers. He said as long as the Mountain remains fixed pointing to a very high Mountain which is near Fort William so long would he and his Followers remain true to his great Father. He said that the black Bird had whispered to him that an Alteration would take place in the Trade, that he did not believe it and relied on his great Father. Mr. McGillivray then replied to him. He said he was happy they had fulfilled their Promise in paying their Debts, regretted the Sickness, and that the black Bird, the Americans, had decoyed away some of his People, that the N. W. Company had certainly united and would become one Company but that this would make no alteration in their Dealings with them. After this Mr. McGillivray's Presents were brought in which consisted in two red Coats faced with blue and gold Braid, a round Hat and a Shirt. These they at once put on undressing in the most formal way without changing a muscle of their Countenance. Then Rum and Tobacco in considerable Quantity was divided amongst them. After this they gave Mr. McGillivray the Pipe to Smoke and then they departed. They are the same Tribe of Indians we have met with in our whole Journey, the Chipeways. They are a fine looking People. One of them a very handsome man and great Dandy was very much painted red and white. In his Ears large round Earrings and Rings in his Nose. His Hair in a Tail behind and plaited in long Strings in Front which were joined by silver clasps. One of them, it is supposed, had murdered his Father, Mother and the whole Family consisting in ten Persons. He denied the Act, but there was no Doubt on the Subject. If anything could make the Crime more diabolical it was that he had murdered his Father, led on by Hunger, that he might feed on his Body, and the other Part of the Family that it might not be known. He had blacked his Face pretending to mourn the Death of his Family. In the Evening they were all very tipsy. The Chief brought them into the Fort to prevent them being killed.

July the 8th. The Indians at Fort William represented today their War Dance. The Chief dressed in a red Coat faced with blue and laced with Gold Tinsel entered the Fort followed by the whole Band of

Indians amongst about 30 Dancers all men. They were almost naked and their Bodies painted in a most fantastical manner; some endeavouring to represent wild Beasts having on their Heads the Skin of a Wolf, Fox or Bear. One Man was entirely naked his Body painted to represent Leather. Their Faces were painted with Vermilion with black Stripes. They danced to the beating of a Drum which was performed by the Chief's Old Men. It was a dreadfully hot day and they appeared quite exhausted by Fatigue, the Dance requiring great Exertion, being entirely muscular or rather an Exertion on the Muscles, throwing themselves on their Hams, then raising the Shoulder, then on one Leg. They danced about an Hour and retired.

Monday the 9th [July]. Went to Point Meuron about 11 miles distant. This was the first Hudson's Bay Post I have visited, but it being now useless I gave Directions to abandon it.

Tuesday the 10th July [to] Saturday the 14th [July]. Discussions without end.

Sunday the 15th [July]. Mr. James Leith went off for the Athapascan.

[From Monday the 16th to Friday the 20th no entry.]

Saturday the 21st [July]. Left Fort William and never in my Life have I left a Place with less Regret. Mr. William McGillivray accompanied us as far as the Mountain Portage. We now travel in two Canoes Mr. Bird accompanying me and Mr. McRobb a Clerk of the North West Company and Mr. McGillivray. Our Canoes are much smaller than the Montreal Canoe and are called the "North Canoes" which Designation "North Men" is given to the Men who from long Experience and being more inured to the Changes of Climate and Fatigue and Privations are more hardy. Our Canoe is about 25 Feet in Length by about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Feet in Breadth and weighing about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. We started about 10 and at 12 o'clock passed Point Meuron a Post built by Lord Selkirk for the Hudson Bay Company. The River on which we now are is called the Kaminstiquia or River of Islands.<sup>1</sup> It is from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a Mile in Breadth, the Shores are low and uninteresting except a very fine Mountain near Fort William of the same Character and Boldness as the Tonnerre. At 3 o'clock we came to the Décharge de Paresseux 150 Paces. At 8 o'clock we encamped [at a spot] on the Banks of the River called Green Island.

Sunday the 22nd [July]. At 3 o'clock we embarked and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 we arrived at the Mountain Portage which is 1800 Paces. Break-

<sup>1</sup> With this account of the journey to Lake Winnipeg compare the list of Portages and Décharges in Appendix [B].



fasted near a very fine Waterfall which is formed by the River running over a high perpendicular Rock of about 120<sup>1</sup> Feet high almost perpendicular Fall. The Breadth of the River is computed to be almost 150 Feet. The River then runs through a Bed of Slate with very high Banks on each Side, in a rugged rough State, as if the Current had forced its Way through. Here Mr. McGillivray took Leave of us. At 8 o'clock we arrived at the Portage d'Ecarté<sup>2</sup> which is about 700 Paces. The North West [Company] have made a Road here but it is in a very dilapidated State. The Road is merely two Pieces of Timber placed together. This Road is cut through the Woods. Low Trees, great Variety of Shrubs and Flowers. Wurtleberry covered with ripe Berries, a small blue Berry; the small Shrub called by the Indians Sasqueetum; it produces a very nice Berry, in the unripe State a fine Red but when ripe becomes purple. The Indians put them in their Pemican.<sup>3</sup> After paddling 20 minutes we came to the Décharge de Rose 300 Paces. Then paddling 20 minutes to the Portage d'Islet, 800 Paces. Paddling 5 minutes to the Portage [*illegible*], 150 Paces. This is a beautiful Rapid running over a Bed of Rocks within a narrow Channel. Paddling 10 minutes we arrived at the Portage des Couteaux 300 Paces. Paddling 20 minutes we came to a Décharge 50 Paces over a Rock. Ten minutes paddling another without Name, the latter  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile through a Wood. Paddling 20 minutes to the Portage "But de mauvais Décharge." Paddling 20 minutes, Tremble Décharge. After paddling 10 minutes we left the main Branch of the River and our Course which had been West is now North and is called the Dog Rivulet. After paddling 40 minutes Décharge des Bateaux. At 3 o'clock we arrived at the Décharge du Petit Diable where we dined. After 10 minutes arrived at the Portage du Grand Diable. Regretted we had not waited to dine with him, he being pleasantly situated but not inaptly named as a Portage, it being a *devilish* bad one. Paddling 40 minutes Portage de Chien—fine Waterfall. This Portage is over a very high Mountain on the Top of which is a most wild romantic View. The whole Country is undulating, covered with low Pines, Hill rising above Hill, in the Middle a narrow winding Stream with a strong Current, beautifully contrasted with the dark Shades of the Pine. Great Quantity of Strawberries. This Portage is two miles. The Day was intensely hot and our poor Men suffered dreadfully from Heat and the Bites of Musquitoes. We were  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Hours

<sup>1</sup> Ascertained to be 90 feet. [*Note in Diary.*] Probably Kababeka Falls. The name in Chippewa signifies the "great fall", the one which comes "straight down".

<sup>2</sup> Strayed Portage.

<sup>3</sup> *Amelanchier canadensis*, the "poire", or seruce berry. See note on "poire" furthur down.

before we again embarked. On passing we came to a small Lake on which we embarked and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 encamped on the opposite Side. It was a beautiful Lake but I could not learn the Name.<sup>1</sup> An Instance of the fine manly character of the Canadian Voyageur, a Power of undergoing Hardships under the most severe Privations occurred to-day. By an Omission at Fort William no Provisions were put in the Canoe for them and they had actually, in this Country of Portages and difficult Marching, had nothing to subsist on but hard Indian Corn, which they had not had the time to boil and thus going through Labor which, without seeing it, it could not be imagined the human Frame could support. Not a Word of Discontent was uttered but they continued polite, obliging, singing their animating lively Songs to the last. We had fortunately Plenty of Provisions with us for Ourselves.

Monday the 23rd July. At 2 we embarked. At 5 we were obliged to land to gum, which occupied  $\frac{1}{2}$  an Hour. The hot Weather had rendered the Gum too soft. At 7 we debarked to Breakfast and found ourselves on a small River called the Dog River. At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 8 we embarked having paddled about 3 Hours in the River. In conducting the Canoes into the Interior several Thousand of Miles the Voyageur actually only subsists on Indian Corn without Spirits, and with no Liquor but Water.

(The Camenisteiquia takes its Rise near the Lake Nipigon and empties itself into Lake Superior near Fort William. It is very uninteresting, the Banks low except a high Mountain of the same character as the Tonnerre near Fort William. The River is narrow never exceeding 40 or 50 Yards, the Banks low, winding; stunted Trees Willow, Ash, Birch, high Grass, Goose Grass.<sup>2</sup>)

We found the Dog River full of wild Pigeons, so tame that our Approach never alarmed them, also a great Quantity of Wild Geese, Ducks and Loons. The Channel of this River is not more than 20 or 30 Paces and this is rendered more narrow and difficult by the Quantity of Trees which had been thrown down by the Beaver and cut through as if by a Knife. We saw at every Moment the Holes of the Musk Rat. A beautiful stone Plover was constantly with us and added much to our Delight. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 we landed to Dinner on the Banks. Long high Grass, but much annoyed by Musquitoes. After embarking and paddling half an hour we came to the Décharge de Rive de Chien about 50 Paces. After emerging out of a Swamp we alighted on a high Rock covered with Mud and Dirt. At a quarter past three we arrived at the

<sup>1</sup> Dog Lake.

<sup>2</sup> This must be præle (*Equisetum telmateia*) I suppose. See Henry (Coues), p. 667, note.

Portage de Jourdin 60 Paces, made Road but in a bad State. After a quarter of an hour paddling we left the main Branch of the Dog River having been in this Stream ten hours and found ourselves in a small Channel just large enough to admit our Canoes and with such high Reeds that we could scarcely see the Sky. We continued in this Channel one hour and the Distance may be two miles. We then came to a small Lake, 600 Yards, covered with Water Lilies yellow and white, the latter very beautiful and large. We then entered another small stream of the same character as the last but covered with Water Lilies. This Channel was about 500 Yards, when we came to another Lake 700 Yards; then to another Channel covered with Reeds when we came to one of those Mud Ponds mentioned by Mackenzie where the Bottom has an attractive Power and the Canoe is with Difficulty pressed forward. The Attraction was sensibly felt. The Bottom is black Mud. It is called Cold Lake from the remarkable Coldness of the Water. At the End we came to the Portage of Cold Lake<sup>1</sup> 60 Paces a few rotten Sticks and Trees forming this Portage. We then paddled through a narrow Stream remarkable for its Clearness and great Cold when we came to the Portage of La Prairie. From a Spring near the Place of Landing is the Source of the Dog River. This Portage is remarkable leading over the Height of Land which divides Canada from Ruperts Land or the Hudson's Bay Territory. This Portage may be one and a half Miles, and after ascending the Hill which may be 300 Feet you pass a Valley, then another small Hill terminated by another Valley at the End of which is a Pond. On the Banks we encamped at 8 o'clock. A Chief and his Son joined us at our Supper. He told us he had three Wives. He was dressed in a red Coat with blue Facings and gilded Lace.

Tuesday the 24th of July. At half-past three we embarked, crossed a small Lake when we came to the Portage de Milieu<sup>2</sup> which is over a Swamp. Here the North West [Company] had made a Road, being 3 Trees placed together. It had been repaired this Year. Passing this Portage we came to another Pond which we crossed and in the middle met a Brigade of six Canoes with Furs from the Athapascan. Crossing this Pond a narrow Channel presented itself on passing which we arrived at the Portage de Savanne. This Portage is nearly a Mile in Length and through a swampy Wood. Here the North West [Company] have made a Road which has been repaired this Year, 8 Men at work. Breakfasted at the End at seven and entered the River Savanne, or Swampy River. The Entrance is so narrow and so obstructed with Trees and

<sup>1</sup> Portage à l'Eau Froide, S. J. Dawson, Report of Explorations, etc., (Toronto, 1859) map. Cold Water Lake in Franklin's map, 2nd Expedition (London, 1828).

<sup>2</sup> Middle Portage, in Dawson, as above.

Sticks that our Passage was difficult. We now ran down the Stream, the River flowing from the Height of Land which we had passed. After paddling  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Hours the Stream became broader and free from Piles and Sticks. The Banks are low and Swampy covered with high Grass, the Larch and Black Pine. We passed the burial Place, denoted by a Cross, of a poor Voyageur who was starved to Death. At half-past ten we were obliged to land, having knocked a large Hole in the Bottom of the Canoe and the Water rushing in very fast. The injured Piece being cut quite away a Piece of Bark is fixed underneath which is sewn with the Wattape and then gummed. All this was done in half an hour and we again started. At one o'clock we arrived at the Lac des Mille Lacs having paddled about six Hours in the Savanne and consider the Distance may be about 30 Miles in Length and twenty to thirty Paces in Breadth till you approach the Lake when it becomes broader. At one we landed to Dinner at a small Island in the Lac des Mille Lacs or more properly the Lake of Islands so called by the Indians. At 2 we embarked. After paddling an Hour we passed a Post of the North West [Company]. Then paddling  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Hours we entered another Lake. Travelling is now more expeditious than from Montreal. All is Life and Animation and Anxiety who shall lead the march. The men, who are now called North West Men, hold in great contempt the Pork Eaters, whose Journey finishes at Fort William, and are so called from their Food consisting of Pork to mix with their Indian Corn. The Canoe is now less, the Weight little more than 2 cwt. which is necessary from the numerous and long Portages which present themselves at every moment. The [Crew of] Canoe consists of a Foreman or Guide, a Steersman and six Men. The Canoe is carried by two Men at the Bow and Stern and carried erect. In the morning before Daylight the Tent is struck and you are left without Covering to dress as well as you can. The Poles of the Tent being placed at the Bottom of the Canoe this Expedition is necessary. Mr. McGillivray's Crew consisting of Pork Eaters or Montreal Men (as he intends returning to Montreal) there was much Emulation between the two Crews but we had the Advantage, which was satisfactory to me. . . . The Emulation between the two Crews can hardly be described but our Men had so much the Advantage that Mr. McG. was obliged to take an additional Man at Rainy Lake. After paddling an Hour we arrived at a narrow Channel covered with Water Lilies when we again entered a Lake after passing which we came into a small narrow Rivulet over a Bed of Stone. At the End of this we came to the Portage des Françaises.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This is not the Portage des Français or French Portage marked in Dawson's map. See further down.

We then arrived at the Portage de But des Mille Lacs about 150 Paces, over a Mountain. Mille Lacs is so called from the Number of small Lakes or Inlets and low Islands, covered with Ash, Aspen and Larch, which have an Infinity of small Lakes. On passing this Portage we embarked on the Lake of Windigo or the Devils Lake, which is about 15 miles, a most melancholy, uninteresting Lake, low Banks and stunted Pine. At 8 o'clock we arrived at the Portage of La Pinte and as it was dark when we passed it was a Source of great Danger. It is the worst Portage on the whole Route. According to the Calculation of our men they have paddled to-day nearly 100 miles, 5 miles Lake, 35 miles Savanne, 45 miles Mille Lac, 18 miles Devils Lake.

Wednesday the 25 [July]. At 4 o'clock we embarked, crossed a small Lake of about 1 mile in Length when we came to a narrow Creek with so little Water that our People were obliged to draw the Canoe. This Creek is about 500 Yards in Length. Then we came to another Lake, the Shores most melancholy, uninteresting and unfriendly, low Rocks covered with stunted Pine. At 6 we arrived at a small Décharge of 60 Paces when we entered a Lake. After paddling half an hour we came to a narrow Channel covered with Water Lilies when we again entered a Lake, after passing which we entered a small narrow Rivulet over Beds of Stones which terminated in the Portage des Français<sup>1</sup> where we breakfasted. This is a long Portage, nearly two Miles, over Mountains beautifully wooded and contrasted with the gloomy unfriendly Scenery of the Mille Lacs and Devils Lake had an enlivening Effect on the Spirits which the Beauty of the Day much added to. There is a made Road at the End but in a ruinous rotten State. At 10 we embarked and found ourselves on a small Lake;<sup>2</sup> after paddling half an hour we reached a narrow Channel which brought us into another Lake the Lac Doré, so called from the yellow Sand on the Shore. We saw here a Brigade of 6 Canoes with 12 Men each who had carried the Athapascan Outfits to Lac La Pluie or Rainy Lake and were now returning to Fort William. At half past one we arrived at the Portage des Morts which is about 150 Paces and so called from the Number of fatal Accidents which have here occurred and the too melancholy Truth of which the numerous Crosses or Burial Places demonstrate. After passing this Portage we came to a small Pond which we crossed and entered another Lake which we also crossed at four. We met here a Brigade of Illinois. The Water was covered with Lilies and Water

<sup>1</sup> French Portage in Dawson's 1850 map.

<sup>2</sup> If we take the Portage des Français above to be the French Portage of Dawson this small lake would be Pickerel Lake. See Henry (Coues), p. 217, note.

Rice. The latter plant is not unlike the Oat in Appearance.<sup>1</sup> Traversing this small Water we arrived at the Sturgeon Lake which we crossed by half past six. It is narrow and uninteresting. At 8 o'clock we came to the Portage of Grosse Roche which is 400 Paces and a bad Road. Here we encamped.

Thursday the 26th [July]. Having a Rapid to pass we did not embark till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3. At 5 we came to the Portage de l'Islet 40 Paces over a Rock after passing which we found ourselves on the Sturgeon River or River Maligne the first the Indian Name the latter the French. At 6 we arrived at the Portage de l'Islet. Here we breakfasted and embarked at 7. There is a fine Waterfall here and the Rocks are covered with the Hurtleberry,<sup>2</sup> Raspberries, and a beautiful Plant covered with a very nice Berry called by the French "Poire" and by the Indians "Ne-sas-quit-too-men-at-tuk."<sup>3</sup> At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past seven we arrived at the Lake La Croix. A few Savages came out in their Canoes. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past eleven we arrived at the first Portage of La Croix which is about 250 Paces over a Rock covered with Trees. A beautiful Oak on the Banks of the Water brought to my mind England and all I love, all my Friends and Companions. The Sight of Oak never fails to produce this Effect and has the same Influence on the Feelings which the meeting with a Countryman in a distant Clime has on the Spirits. After passing this we came into a small Channel, covered with Water Lilies, which opening into a broad Channel terminated in a Lake. Passed an Indian Encampment. After paddling 4 miles on this Lake we arrived at the second Portage of Lake La Croix which is 400 Paces when we entered into a narrow Channel covered with Rocks and short Grass and beautiful willows. At half past one we arrived at the third Portage where we dined close to a Waterfall. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past two we entered a narrow Stream, passing between Banks of high Grass, Water Lilies, Willows, Ash, Aspen, Elm and occasionally, an Oak peeping between them to show its Superiority over every other Tree. We continued in this Inlet an Hour when we came into a Lake which we traversed in an Hour and a half when the Channel again narrowed. The Heat is intense. We continued in this Channel until we came to Vermilluse Lake.<sup>4</sup> At six we had traversed this Lake and arrived at a narrow Channel between Rocks not of great Height but wild

<sup>1</sup> *Zizania aquatica*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vaccinium myrtillus* (?).

<sup>3</sup> *Amelanchier canadensis*, wood used for arrows, the berries for pemmican and puddings. Richardson says the word is called by the Crees *me-sassquat-ahic*, and the berries *me-sass-cootom-meena*. The word in the text appears to be a combination of both these forms.

<sup>4</sup> Vermillion Lake.

and rugged and of red Appearance or Vermillion. This Channel of about a quarter of a Mile brought us to the Lake Nimicarpan<sup>1</sup> which we traversed in an Hour and a half and arrived at the Portage Neuf which is 400 Paces when we arrived at a small Channel of the same character as the last, beautiful white Water Lilies, high Grass, Underwood and wild Rice<sup>2</sup> growing in the Water. After 10 Minutes paddling we came to the second Portage Neuf which is about 300 Paces. After passing this we again found ourselves in the same Description of Channel which ended in a Swamp covered with wild Rice. The Annoyance of the Musquitoes was dreadful from which we suffered for nearly an Hour, the Distance of the Swamp being about two miles, the Course tedious and difficult. At 9 we encamped on a Rock in Rainy Lake.

Friday the 27th [July]. At six passed two loaded Canoes containing Provisions for Captain Franklin commanding the overland Expedition for the Discovery of the North West Passage. At seven landed to Breakfast on a Point called the Detroit about five Hours paddling from the Fort of Rainy Lake. A Party of Indians, Sauteux, landed during our Breakfast. They were a dirty looking People. Started at eight and landed at half-past twelve at a Point at the Bottom of the Lake where we dined. Rainy Lake is very uninteresting, low Banks and stunted Fir Trees. Indeed, all the Lakes we have passed since we left Fort William present little to gratify the Eye. At 2 o'clock we started and after running a Rapid we entered the River of Rainy Lake. Here the Scene at once changed. The River is here 500 Yards broad and the Banks covered with the most luxuriant Verdure and Woods of Oak, Maple, Elm. At a quarter before three we arrived at the Portage de Chaudière which is about 400 Paces and is made to avoid a very fine Waterfall. On an Eminence close to the Fall is the Hudson's Bay Post commanding a most beautiful and picturesque Situation. The North West Post is about a mile higher up the River. The Post of Lac La Pluie or Rainy Lake before the Union of the two Companies was one of great Importance. Here the People from Montreal came to meet those who arrived from the Athabaskan Country and exchange Lading with them receiving the Furs and giving the Goods to trade in Return. It will now become a mere trading Post as the Athapascans will be supplied from York Fort. We found here Mr. Leith, Chief of the Athapaskan and Mr. Connolly, Lesser Slave Lake Department. We first

<sup>1</sup> So in text. Meant for Namakan or Namenkan.

<sup>2</sup> *Zizania aquatica*. For an interesting account of this plant and its distribution see Keating's ed. of Long's Expedition to St. Peter's River. (London, 1825), vol. II., p. 106.

went to the North West Post but returned in the evening to the Hudson's Bay Post. The Night was intensely hot and I felt so oppressed that I was fearful of a severe Attack of Illness which I feel would have followed had we continued there any Time.

Saturday 28th [July]. Rose very unwell and exhausted,—remained quiet till 6 in the evening when we embarked Stopped at the North West Fort where we had a Council of Indians to whom I made an Address. I stated that though the two great rival Companies had coalesced, still that this Union would be in no way injurious to them, on the contrary that the active and good would be benefited. We then gave them a nine Gallon Keg of Rum recommending them to be sober and quiet. The Chief replied that though the Black Bird had told them many things, that the Coalition was to oppress them still they did not believe it, that their Country was poor and therefore too much must not be expected from them. After the Council we took Leave of Mr. Leith, the two Mr. McGillivrays, Junior, etc. We then dropped down the River two miles where we encamped waiting for Mr. S. McGillivray.<sup>1</sup> The Heat was so intolerable that I felt we should be more comfortable in our Tent and in this we were not disappointed and I rose refreshed and well. Indeed many Circumstances made me uncomfortable in the North West Post. The Man who had murdered Mr. Keveny,<sup>2</sup> a Gentleman in the Service of the North West Company, was at large in the Fort and we found afterwards that Mr. Bird and myself had run some Risk, one of the Clerks who had been dismissed for Drunkenness having declared that he would shoot Mr. Bird or myself. He went about in a State of Intoxication with loaded Pistols which were taken from him. His Name was Cadot. During our Stay at Rainy Lake we had wild Rice for Dinner which is well tasted but ill-cleaned. The Houses are built of wood with the Skin of the Moose Deer as Windows. A Lover of Dogs would be delighted at Rainy Lake. At the Fort there were more than twenty of a large Breed used for the drawing of Sledges in Winter. At the Fort was a tame Otter who was as playful as a Dog and as affectionate. He had full Range to go where he liked. He was constantly swimming in the River but always returned to the House.

Sunday the 29th [July]. Mr. McGillivray not arriving we started at half-past eight. We are now on the Rainy Lake River which is about 150 Paces in Breadth, the Banks are low, but very rich beautiful Ver-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. S. McGillivray was in charge of the H. B. Co. post of Rainy Lake in 1823 when visited by Major Long. Keating's Long, vol. II., p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Can this be Owen Keveny who was murdered by Charles de Rainhard? See Henry (Coues), vol. I., p. 98.



ture, high rich Grass, the Soil appearing admirably fitted for Colonization, the Trees of Slender Growth Poplar, Ash, Oak, Willows. We met at every moment the White-headed Eagle with a white Tail.<sup>1</sup> We passed two Rapids the Country about them beautiful bringing to the Mind the Recollection of English Scenery, fine rich sloping Banks of Grass, most luxuriant Verdure interspersed with Oak Trees. At 11 we landed when Mr. McGillivray and Mr. McRobb joined us. We immediately proceeded and running down the River encamped at eight o'clock.

Monday the 30th [July]. At two o'clock we embarked. The River of Rainy Lake, or Lac La Pluie, connects this Lake with the Lac du Bois, or Lake of the Woods, the general Course being from East to West, but it is so meandering in its Course that this is very variable. Mackenzie makes the Length to be 120 miles, but He has taken his Account from the Voyageurs, which is always exaggerated. The Distance may be 85 miles. If this is not the grandest River I have seen in my Wanderings it is at least the most pleasing to my Eye, presenting at every moment the most beautiful Scenery and Spots which bring to the Mind England and all the attendant pleasing Recollections, the Strength of which and the delightful Feelings they produce appearing to be increased by Distance. The Banks are low, more elevated on the North Side than on the South. The Timber is small but of fine Appearance and most beautiful rich Foliage, the Elm, Maple, Ash, Aspen and at Intervals the Oak. The Banks are covered with high Grass presenting the most beautiful Verdure which cannot be surpassed even in England. The Breadth varies but little and may be from three to four hundred Paces or Feet. The Course is uninterrupted having no Portages to make and we only ran three Rapids. The River is full of Sturgeon, the Soil everywhere rich. At seven o'clock we landed to Breakfast. The Wind being favourable we arranged our Sail for the first Time. At 9 we came to the Embouchure of this delightful River and entered the Lake of the Woods. We had here a Traverse to make of about 3 Leagues. We started with a fair moderate Wind but when we had got half way across the Wind chopped round to the North blowing hard and our frail Bark was in a good deal of Danger having shipped a great deal of Water. Our course is about North. At one we landed on a small Island to Dinner. Our Course continued to be through Islands which are chiefly Rock but low and uninteresting. At six we came into a narrow Channel formed by two Islands and covered with wild Rice. At the End of this Channel we came to the Portage of the Lake of the Woods which is 50 Paces and leads to another Rice Pond after passing which you enter

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<sup>1</sup> *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*. See Audubon's Birds of America.

again the Main Lake. At half-past eight we encamped on a Rock and it blowing hard we found it difficult to fix our Tent and with Risk of its being blown down during the Night.

Tuesday the 31st [July]. Embarked at half-past two passed a Freeman with a loaded Canoe for the Red River. At half-past seven we arrived at the Portage du Rat which is 300 Paces. Here we breakfasted. We found here a Party of Indians, Muscagoes. One of the Women would have been beautiful in any Country. It is from this Portage that the Line which was to divide the United States from the British Possessions was to run, running from Latitude 49° West till it should strike the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> "This Lake is also rendered remarkable in consequence of the Americans having named it as the Spot from which a Line of Boundary between them and British America was to run West till it struck the Mississippi; which however can never happen, as the North West Part of Lake du Bois is in Lat. 49.37 North and Long. 94.31 West and the Northward Branch of the Source of the Mississippi is Lat. 47.38 North and Long. 95.6 West, ascertained by Mr. Thompson<sup>2</sup> Astronomer to the North West Company who was sent expressly for the Purpose in the Spring of 1798. We in the same Year determined the Northern Bend of the Missouri to be in Latitude 47.2 North and Longitude 101.25 West and according to the Indian accounts it runs to the South of West so that if the Missouri was considered the Mississippi no Western Line could strike it."<sup>3</sup>

The Lake du Bois is of great extent perhaps 200 miles in Circumference and is nearly round. The Canoe Course may be 75 miles and is through large Islands which are of such extent as to be taken for the Main Land. Our Course was nearly North. The Portage du Rat is in Latitude 49.37 North and in Longitude 94½ West. The Lake du Bois discharges itself at both Ends of this Island and forms the River Winnipeg, which is a large Body of Water interspersed with innumerable Islands causing various Channels and Interruptions of Portages and Rapids. At 9 we embarked and passing the Portage du Rat found ourselves in the River Winnipeg. After two Hours paddling we came to a narrow Channel called the Dalles or Straits and forming a very rapid Stream running between flat Rocks scantily covered with Undergrowth and Stunted Fir Trees. At one we landed to Dinner on a Rock. At

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the complicated boundary question, see Henry (Coues), vol. I., p. 22, note.

<sup>2</sup> David Thompson (born Apr. 30, 1770, died Feb. 16, 1857), the astronomer and explorer of the Hudson Bay Company and afterwards of the N. W. Company. For an account of him and his works, see Henry (Coues), Preface, p. xxi., xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Mackenzie (1801), p. lviii.

two embarked and at five arrived at the Grand Décharge which is formed by a dangerous Rapid running between high Rocks. Paddling half an Hour we arrived at the Portage de Terre Jaune about 300 Paces. A few minutes paddling brought us to the Portage de Petite Roche which is a dangerous Rapid but the Water being high we run it, which was great Folly as it is seldom run and we certainly touched. Mr. McGillivray, who followed, was more prudent. After paddling 10 minutes we came to the Portage de Terre Blanche 400 Paces. After embarking our Course was through a narrow Channel formed by high Rocks and in a few Moments came to the Décharge of the Cave, a few Minutes more brought us to the Décharge de l'Isle. We run this Rapid. Here the Country becomes more wild and romantic, the Course through a narrow Channel with high rocky Banks. At 8 o'clock we encamped; we had excellent Bathing here. Some Indians joined us at Supper.

Wednesday the 1st August. At 2 we embarked, at 5 we arrived at the Portage de l'Isle. This is a very dangerous Rapid, and so many fatal Accidents have attended the Saunting of it that it has been interdicted to the Servants of both Companies. Our Men forgetting Orders and wishing to avoid the Trouble of carrying the Canoe run it and we escaped, though an Absolution of Sin in a severe Ducking would not have justified this Rashness. The Danger of this Rapid had been mentioned to me but I had forgotten it.<sup>1</sup>

The River Winnipic must be considered rather as a Continuation of Lakes communicating with each other by narrow Channels than a River. The Banks are generally low, being flat Rocks or Galleys<sup>2</sup> covered with low stunted Fir Trees and Underwood, great Quantity of Hurtleberry and Rapsberries. In some Parts these Rocks are of greater Elevation but never so high as to produce bold Scenery.

At 7 we landed to Breakfast; at 8 we embarked, at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 arrived at the Portage de Jacco or Jacobs Fall which is about 50 Paces over a Rock, by which the Cataract is avoided. Though the Jacobs Fall cannot be more than 15 feet, still, from its great Length of gradual Fall over a Bed of Rocks and strong Current, it is one of the grandest which I have seen. A Ridge of Rocks forming a kind of half Circle of about a Mile has impeded the Passage of the River which forces itself over this Barrier forming a violent Rapid at the Foot of which we were obliged to pass and in looking up the Scene was in every Way so interesting as to drive away every Sense of Danger. At 12 o'clock we arrived at the

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<sup>1</sup> See Henry (Coes), vol. I., p. 29. One of H.'s canoes was upset here and a man drowned.

<sup>2</sup> Galets, large smooth rocks in mass.

Portage of the Pointe du Bois which is 100 Paces. After two minutes paddling we reached the Portage of the Petite Roche when we came to the Bottom of the Fall and had the whole before us. This is a most magnificent Fall. The River is here divided by Rocks, covered with Trees, which it rushes over. The Banks are covered with beautiful Birch Trees and Oak. After paddling 5 minutes we came to the Portage Brullet<sup>1</sup> which is 50 Paces over rugged Rocks difficult to pass but such is Habit that the Voyageur carries the Canoe and the greatest Weight on his Shoulders when one false Step might endanger his Life. This Portage is to avoid a small Rapid which would be very fine were it surrounded by less interesting Neighbours. Such is the Power of Contrast.<sup>2</sup>

After passing this Portage we paddled half an Hour when we arrived at the Portage de Chute d'Esclave which is 300 Paces through a fine Wood along a strong Rapid and Waterfall. The Breadth is not greater than 200 Yards but the Banks are high Rocks covered with Pine, the Ash, Aspen and the Iron Tree<sup>3</sup> so called from the Hardness of the Wood. At the Foot of this magnificent Fall we dined and a Power of Imagination and Description might picture it in the most enchanting Colors. Indeed to my Feelings there is something very animating and inspiring in the Life of a Voyageur. In Nature's Wilds all is Independance, all your Luxuries and Comforts are within yourself and all that is pleasurable within your own Minds; and after all this is Happiness, if there is such a thing in the World, which no Mortal can say. Indeed there is no Reasoning on Happiness. Our whole Life is spent in wishing for Something which, when we acquire it, often becomes insipid and new Objects and new Views crowd upon the Mind producing Dissatisfaction with the Present and a Longing or Desire for Something in the Future.

Our Dinner Table was a hard Rock, no Table Cloth could be cleaner and the surrounding Plants and beautiful Flowers sweetening the Board. Before us the Waterfall, wild romantic, bold. The River Winnipic here impeded by Mountainous Rocks appears to have found a Passage through the Rocks and these, as if still disputing the Power of Water, show their Heads, adding to the rude Wildness of the Scene, producing Whirlpools, Foam loud Noise and chrystal Whiteness beautifully contrasted with the Black Pine. This again is softened by the Freshness and rich Foliage of the Ash, Maple, Elm, Red Willow and occasionally the Oak bringing to the mind England and all the delightful Recollections this

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<sup>1</sup> Roche Brûlée.

<sup>2</sup> Henry (Coues) gives the following names: Grande Pointe des Bois, Petite Pointe des Bois, Petit Rocher Brulé, Chute à l'Esclave, vol. I., p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ostrya Virginica*.

happy Country produces and showing in Fact all the Folly of my opening Phantasy of a Want of Happiness in this Life. The Wildness of the Scene was added to by the melancholy white headed Eagle hovering over our Board. The Scenery from the Fall becomes more wild and romantic, the Rocks assume now the Character of Mountains.

At half-past two we embarked and had to pass through a Part of the Rapid where a loaded Canoe had been lost under singular Circumstances. The Steersman whose Duty it is to run the Rapid when drawn up by a Line dreamt that it broke and that the Canoe was lost and so strongly did the Dream take Possession of his Mind that he refused to remain and another supplied his Place. As he had dreamt, the Canoe was lost, but the Steersman who remained with the Canoe fortunately saved himself. After half an Hours paddling we arrived at the Portage de la Barrière which is about 60 Paces over a flat Rock. At a quarter past four we had passed this Portage and at 6 we arrived at the Grand Rapid of the River Winnipic which we run without meeting with any Accident, though many Canoes have been lost here, but the light Canoe is so buoyant that like a Cork it rises above every thing. The Rapid may be 400 Yards. After 10 minutes paddling we came to a small Rapid which we run and in a few Minutes arrived at the Dalles<sup>1</sup> or Straits between Rocks which is a Décharge of a few Paces. We then came into a broad Channel having more the Appearance of a River the Banks low but covered with the Aspen, the Trunk like the Birch. At a quarter before seven we came to the Portage of the Rivière Blanche 400 Paces over a flat Rock. Here there is a fine Waterfall not of great Height but of gradual Descent over a Bed of Rocks a quarter of a mile broad. The River is a Continuation of the Winnipic but so called from its white Stream. After five minutes paddling we came to the Chute de Canton<sup>2</sup> which is over a Rock of 300 Paces to avoid a second Cataract which is over a Bed of High Rocks tumbling into a deep Abyss. At eight we encamped on the grand Galley which is an immense flat oval Rock and over which the River runs in Spring. Here there is another very fine Fall over a high Bed of Rocks. We were dreadfully annoyed by Musquitoes.

Thursday the 2nd of August. Being amongst Rapids we could not start till Daylight. Thus it was nearly four before we found ourselves in our Canoe. After five minutes paddling we came to the Petite Roche Coupée which is about 40 Paces to avoid another very fine Fall. Here

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<sup>1</sup> Petites Dalles.

<sup>2</sup> The 2nd Portage de la Riv. Blanche, Henry (Coues) I, p. 32. Keating's Long, II, p. 145, has P. du Cantara.

the River is stopped by mountainous Rocks 200 Yards in Length a 100 feet high covered with Trees and the River rushes past on each Side. After 5 minutes paddling we arrived at the Second Portage of the Rivière Blanche.<sup>1</sup> After passing this we had a strong Rapid to run when we found ourselves in smooth Water. The River for the Distance of three Miles is interrupted in its Course by a bed of Rocks or Islands, partly covered with Trees, partly rugged, which form the most frightful Rapids and Waterfalls a Part of which is evaded by the Portage but it is necessary to pass the Foot of them all, and each of them has a Story of Disaster and Loss of Canoes attached to it. The Scenery is here of the most romantic Character. In this short Distance there are seven Cataracts each of them stupendous and wild producing a Variety of bold romantic Scenery which cannot be described. The River is fully half a Mile in Breadth and the Bed high Rocks over which it forces itself. When the vast Body of the Water is considered being all the Waters from the Height of Land the wild romantic Scenery may be [imagined]. At 7 we landed at a small Post belonging to the North West Company on the Lake Bonnet. (Thirteen Bags of Pemmican and some Blankets and Cloths). We found some Indians who were intoxicated and who were very troublesome. The Man in Charge had been in the Service 30 Years. One of the Indian Women was singularly painted, the Forehead black, then a broad red Line which went over the Eyes and Eyebrows, then a White Line, the other Part of the Face black. At eight o'clock we passed the Pinawa running East North East and after ten minutes Paddling came to a small narrow Channel formed by Rocks and in a few Minutes arrived at the Aine<sup>2</sup> du Bonnet which is a Portage of ten Paces. Some Indians joined us to whom we gave Tobacco and Rum. One of them was a Chief and an old Hudson Bay Trader. At half-past nine we embarked. Ten minutes paddling brought us to the Roche Brulée 100 Paces. We then paddled 20 minutes when we arrived at the Portage du Bonnet which is nearly a mile over a rich Country and Oak Woods having a most beautiful Appearance and inviting to Settlers. Near it is a very fine Waterfall. We passed here a Freeman going to the Red River. At 11 we were again embarked and in five minutes arrived at the Roche du Bonnet<sup>3</sup> which is 80 Paces alongside a Waterfall. Half an Hours paddling brought us to the Portage de Terre Blanche which

<sup>1</sup> If we take Chute de Cantor (above) to be the 2nd Portage de la Riv. Blanche, this must be the last Portage de la Riv. Blanche of Henry, the Petite Roche Coupée, being Henry's Petit Rocher de Riv. Blanche. Henry (Coues), vol. I., p. 32 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Or Anse; the writing is very indistinct. I cannot trace this in Henry, Keating, or Mackenzie.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Henry's Galet de Bonnet. Henry (Coues), I. 33.

is about 300 Paces through a fine Oak Wood interspersed with Ash, Aspen, and Nut Trees the Branches borne down with the Nuts and running along a fine Waterfall. In 12 Minutes we were again in the Canoe and in half an Hour arrived at the Portage de Chêne so called from the beautiful Oak Wood, through which the Portage runs along the Waterfall. This is I consider one of the finest I have seen from the great Length of the Fall and Breadth of the River and Unevenness of its rocky Bed. In a few minutes we passed another Portage of a few Minutes<sup>1</sup> which brought us to the Foot of the Fall which from its foaming christalized Appearance is called the Chûte d'Argent. In half an Hour we arrived at a Décharge but our Steersman preferred running it and we had a narrow escape having just touched. A harder Knock would have broken our Canoe. A Rock we had not seen was in the middle of the Rapid. We then run another and at 7 we arrived at the last Portage which is called Les Eaux qui remuent.<sup>2</sup> This Portage is likewise through a Wood to avoid a Cataract along which the Road passes. The Fall is here very grand and is the last of a Succession of Waterfalls and Rapids one grander than the other, the last appearing to surpass the former whilst it is more before your eyes the whole forming the most magnificent grand Scenery, which the Mind cannot contemplate without Wonder and Astonishment. The general character of the Falls is :— The Banks are Rocks, not mountainous but bold, generally of a smooth oval Form; the River may be from a quarter to one mile in Breadth; the Falls are not of great Height, from 10 to 30 or 50 Feet, but their great Length over the most singular rocky Bed constitutes their Grandeur and Beauty; the Channels are obstructed by irregular Rocks and Islands partly wooded partly bare, the Waters appearing to contend for Mastery striving to run over them and this Contest produces all that the Imagination can conceive. At half past three we started and at half past four arrived at Bas de la Rivière where the North West had a trading Post, now become Hudson Bay's.<sup>3</sup> We found here Mr. J. W. Dean a Chief Trader to whom I delivered his Commission. The Post is placed in a very beautiful Situation and surrounded by cultivated Land where they grow Potatoes, Wheat and Vegetables. At the Moment we were there there were 50 Women and Children living at the Expense of the Company. This is an immense Expense and some Steps should be taken to avoid it. This was a Sort of resting Port for the Athapascan Canoes.

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<sup>1</sup> [Paces ?]

<sup>2</sup> This, I suppose, is Henry's last Eaux qui remuent and [Keating's P. des Eaux mouvantes. Henry (Coues), I. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Fort Alexander.

I found here two tame Buffaloes and an Otter, the latter the most playful and affectionate little Animal. He was allowed to go into the Water but always returned appearing to have all the affectionate Qualities of a Dog. Finding some wrong understanding about Mr. Dean's Appointment I wrote him a Letter appointing him to the Bas de la Rivière to keep up the Jack House Post and then Mr. McMurray should confine himself to the Portage de l'Isle. Mr. Dean appears to be a gentleman-like man. Being anxious on many Accounts not to arrive at the Colony with Mr. Simon McGillivray, I ordered the Canoe at 6 and Mr. Bird and myself started. The Entrance into Lake Winnipic is very uninteresting, low Banks and stunted Trees. At half past eight we encamped on the South Side of the Lake, the Shore being round Stones on Sand with a low Bank behind covered with Willows. Felt much Relief in being without my Compagnon de Voyage.

Friday the 3rd of August. At two o'clock we embarked, in an Hour arrived at an Island where we carried our Canoe about a Mile over a Road of Sand. At half-past six landed to Breakfast on the East Side of the Lake, the Shore low. At half past Seven we embarked, at 10 o'clock we entered the Red River having actually paddled about 8½ Hours; the Banks low, high Grass, Reeds and Willows, the Breadth 50 Paces; an immense Number of black Birds, Pigeons and Doves, so tame that they appeared happy in our Approach and scarcely left the Trees; an immense Number of the most beautiful Butterflies of a very large Size; low marshy Ground; the River full of Cat-fish and White Basse. After paddling an Hour we found from the Direction we were going in that we had got into the wrong River and were obliged to return. Met some Indians who told us the River is called the Musk Rat River, that it takes its Rise about 20 miles from the Colony. In the Hudson's Bay Map it is called the Sandy River. The Indians were Sauteux and are a dirty looking People, almost naked.

At 12 we entered the Red River; passed a large Flock of Pelicans.<sup>1</sup> The Banks low, the same character as the last River but broader, 40 Yards; marshy Ground, low Banks, Reeds and Willows. The River gradually increases to 300 Yards. After paddling two Hours we came to the Place where the H. B. Company keep their Horses, about 60 in Number, which are used to convey Goods to the Port of Q'appelle which is on the Assiniboin River. It is called Brander<sup>2</sup> House, Upper Red River Department. The Horses are small but appear well bred; they

<sup>1</sup> *Pelecanus americanus*, of Audubon. At this place Henry notes, "I shot a pelican, of which there are plenty here." Henry (Coues), p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Brandon House.



are of the Spanish Breed. Their Sufferings from the Musquitoes and Sand Flies are dreadful. They were under Tents made of the Skins of Buffaloes with Fires before them to smoke off the Flies. At the Back of the Tents are immense Plains with the most luxuriant Grass uncultivated, but furnishing ample Food for the Horses. In ten Minutes Paddling we arrived at the Encampment of the Indians who have cultivated Fields of Corn Indian. Their Chief is called the Cut Nose from having lost a Part of his Nose in an Affray. He is a good looking Man of 50, has always been a great Friend of the Colony and once actually defended it from the Attacks of their blood thirsty Enemies. Having no Rum I promised to make him a formal Visit on my Return. There were a great many Women; the Chief's Daughter very pretty. The Cut Nose is anxious that Mr. Bird's Son should marry her. The young Men were gone on a War Party to attack their Enemies the Sieux. These Indians are Sauteux, so called by the French; they are of the Chipeway Tribe.

The Banks are now covered with high beautiful Trees, the Maple (from which they make a very nice Sugar), the Elm, Oak, &c. I was particularly struck with the Richness and beautiful Foliage of the Woods. [Saw] the bald headed Vulture, and the white tailed and headed Eagle. On a Lake about 20 Miles distant there are large Woods of Maple which is the Country where they get their Supplies of Sugar from. [Saw] King Fishers—Doves and Pigeons. No Appearance yet of the Grasshopper. When Mr. Bird passed 3 years before all the Leaves and Grass were eaten up by them. The Ash grows on stony Ground, the Maple, Oak and Elm on rich Soil. When a Wood of Pine has been burnt the Ash, Birch, grow up, the Soil having been improved by the Fire; at least this is the only way to account for it. The Woods on each Side are beautiful; deep dark Shade of the Oak, Elm, Maple impervious to the Sun; the Banks rich high Grass; great Variety of Flowers and Weeds, these creeping amongst the Trees and of a Verdure and Richness not be surpassed. The River is muddy and the Water not good tasted; no Springs, nor would it be possible to find one from the Nature of the Soil. The River winds but its general Course is North and South. After Paddling 6 Hours we came to a high Bank and beyond it a fine Plain with the most luxuriant Grass. At half-past six we arrived at the only Rapid we met with, which we run. We found at its Foot a man surrounded by at least 100 Dogs which he receives in Pension at 2 Dollars per Day. They subsist entirely on Fish and Grass. In Winter they are indispensably necessary to drawn Goods on Sledges. The Man had chosen an excellent Fishing Place. The Dogs are of the Wolf

Breed and are very large. At a Point below the Grand Rapid the Birds' man met them with Horses. At nine I encamped and found that about 20 Dogs had followed our Canoe hoping to find a good Supper being, poor things, half starved. We suffered dreadfully from the Musquitoes, a certain Forerunner of Rain.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Selkirk had the Custom of taking down in Shorthand on his Nails the Conversations he had with People, which he did unobserved. His Nails were very large.

The Pamina is a small River which runs into the Red River about 70 Miles from the Colony. It is an Indian Name and so called from a small Shrub producing a red Berry not unlike Cranberries.<sup>2</sup> (A Bag of Pemican weighs 80 pound. The Price at Red River is 5 Pence to 6 Pence). The Colonists pay for Goods at York 75 per Cent. on Invoice Price. If the Company conveys them to Red River then 25 per Cent. is added which about covers the Expense, but the Colonists may, if they prefer it, transfer the Goods themselves. The Price of Labour at Red River is one Dollar per Day, 4s. 6 with Food. A Tradesman, Carpenter, &c., two Dollars. A Man can live on Fish at a Shilling a Day. Food at present plenty, but as the Colonists encrease in Number it will become Scarce, but the Transport by Water is easy and the Woods in the Neighbourhood in great Plenty. Cutting and Transport [Timber] Oak, Elm, Ash, Aspen, Poplar.<sup>3</sup>

Fifty half Breeds with their Families, averaging four Persons, live by hunting Buffaloe. For each Buffaloe they receive four Dollars or 18 shillings on the Spot. The Trees from Lac La Pluie are sent by Rainy Lake River, Lake of the Woods, the Winnipic River, its Continuation, the Lac de Bonnet and White River, Lake Winnipic and Norway House.

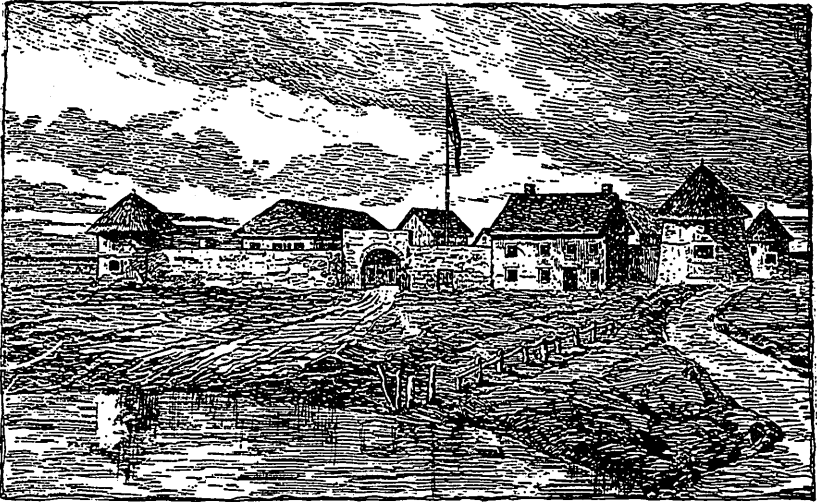
Saturday the 4th of August. At one in the morning we had the most tremendous Thunderstorm I ever witnessed. My Tent was drenched in a Moment not giving me Time to dress. At 4 o'clock I embarked and at half-past eight arrived at the Hudson's Bay House. About six Miles before, the Houses commence on each Side of the River, small wooden Houses. The Grasshoppers have again visited the Colony, but in fewer Numbers, and their Devastations were not general, the

<sup>1</sup> Note on the Colony of Pembina. The diary continues under date of Aug. 4 below.

<sup>2</sup> Pembina. The Indian word is *anepeminan*, or *nipi-mina*. So the *b* in *Pembina* is intrusive, and the spelling in the text is nearer the Indian form. "The berry is that of *Viburnum Opulus*, the high-bush cranberry, according to Henry (Coues), vol. 1, p. 82, note. Macoun in "Canada and the great N. W." (Guelph, 1882) speaks of *V. Lentago* as Pembina berries.

<sup>3</sup> *Quercus macrocarpa*, var. *Ulmus Americana*, *Fraxinus Pubescens*, *Populus tremuloides*, and *P. balsamifera*. Cf. Macoun, "Canada and the Great N. W." (Guelph, 1882), c. xix.

Crop having suffered but little. Found the Colony House in a very dirty State. After Breakfast the Birds and myself attempted to cross the River in a small Bateau, an old crazy rotten Vessel. We had scarcely got half over when she began to sink and when within 30 Yards of the Shore went down. It was fortunately not sufficiently deep to drown us, so that we escaped with a Ducking. After Changing our Clothes we again embarked and got over safely. Called on Mr. Logan, formerly in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In a small miserable Hut himself, his wife an Indian Woman, and seven Children were living.



FORT GARRY, MANITOBA.

*From a sketch by Lord Dufferin in 1876.*

Mr. West has done much good in persuading these Gentlemen to marry. Mr. Bird, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Pritchard have followed his Example, thus introducing more proper Feelings and preventing that Debasement of Mind which must, at last, have rooted out every honourable and right Feeling. Perhaps nothing shows Debasement of Mind so much as their having lived themselves in an unmarried State, giving up their Daughters to live the same Life as their Mothers, and this Feeling, or rather its Justification, had become general all over the Country. Mr. Logan's Fields had suffered much from the Grasshopper. From Mr. Logans we rode to the French Priest, a young Man, quiet and unassuming a Mr. Picard des trois Maisons. The Church is under Roof with a Spire and poor Mr. Semple's<sup>1</sup> wishes fulfilled :—" I must confess I am anxious to

<sup>1</sup> Governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land. He was killed June 19, 1816, in the fight between the H. B. Co. and the N. W. Co. half-breeds under Grant at Fort Douglas. See the Great Company (1900), chap. xxxi.

“ see the first little Christian Church and Steeple of Wood rising through these Wilds to hear the Sound of the first Sabbath Bell which has tolled here since the Creation.” Semple’s Letter.<sup>1</sup>

The House is very comfortable. From hence we rode two Miles to Hay Farm (Mr. Laidlaw.) Lord Selkirk’s, where I found Colonel Dickson. About 70 Acres are in Cultivation but the Grasshopper had made here dreadful Devastation, whole Beds of Potatoes eaten without a Vestige remaining, fine Fields of Wheat destroyed and the whole having



FRONT VIEW OF UPPER FORT GARRY, RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, IN 1852.  
From A. Ross's "Red River Settlement."

a most desolate melancholy Appearance. Mr. Laidlaw thinks they would deposit their Eggs again but this Opinion I consider to arise more

<sup>1</sup> Long, in 1823, found two churches built, Protestant Episcopal and Roman Catholic, and 600 settlers. The H. B. Co. Post is called Fort Gerry by Long, and the Colony Post Fort Douglas. Fort Garry, which for so long gave its name to what is now the city of Winnipeg, was built in 1835-36. Henry (Coues), I. p. 44.

[After the union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies in 1821, the new directors ordered the construction of a fort, a little further up the Assiniboine than Fort Gibraltar, which had been destroyed in May, 1816. This upper fort was named after the author of the Diary, and stood until 1832, when it was pulled down. In 1831 the Company built just below the St. Andrew's Rapids, at a distance of nineteen miles from the old or upper fort, a large establishment known until very recent times as Lower Fort Garry. This fort was the scene of many stirring events in the history of the Northwest. Here it was the rebel Louis Riel had his headquarters for a short time in 1870, and ordered the execution of Scott. It was sold in 1882, and now the gate of this interesting pile of buildings alone remains. I give two sketches of the fort, as it appeared in 1852, and in 1876, just before it was demolished. See with respect to the history of this fort an interesting article by Professor Bryce, of Winnipeg, in the Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., vol. iii. (old series), sect. 2.—Ed. Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.]

from Fears which the Calamity had produced on his Mind than from any grounded Reason. The Grasshopper had nearly left and it is known that they do not deposit their Eggs for 17 Days and they have been seen in great Numbers at the Rainy Lake Post nearly 500 Miles distant to the South East. They have been much less numerous this Year, many of the Fields have escaped entirely and many have suffered partially, that is the ears have been half eaten. Two female Buffaloes and a young Bull were in the Fields. The female Buffalo had produced a young one to an English Bull, which is a remarkable Fact in natural History and was not before believed. I understand the Offspring is sent over to Mr. Colville. Mr. Laidlaw had been to the Sources of the Mississippi to meet 150 Head of Cattle which are coming from the United States. He was in much Danger from the many War Parties they met, the Sieux and Sauteux. The Stone Indians or Assiniboins are the Allies of the latter. I saw 4 little Indian Boys who have been educated by Mr. West and who speak very good English. Many of the Indians would gladly give their Children. From Mr. Laidlaws we rode through what is called the German Street, the Houses very comfortable and clean, the Crops excellent where the Grasshopper had not been, nothing in the World could be finer. The Soil is excellent, fine black Earth. Nothing can be finer than the Verdure and Luxuriance of the Grass. Spoke to the Meurons,<sup>1</sup> who are chiefly Germans. Complain that they have no Wives, want farming Utensils, but the Cause and Origin of all their Complaints is the Grasshopper. Dined at the Hudsons Bay Fort, Colonel Dickson, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Laidlaw, Mr. Logan, Mr. Picard, Mr. Bird. Catfish for Dinner.

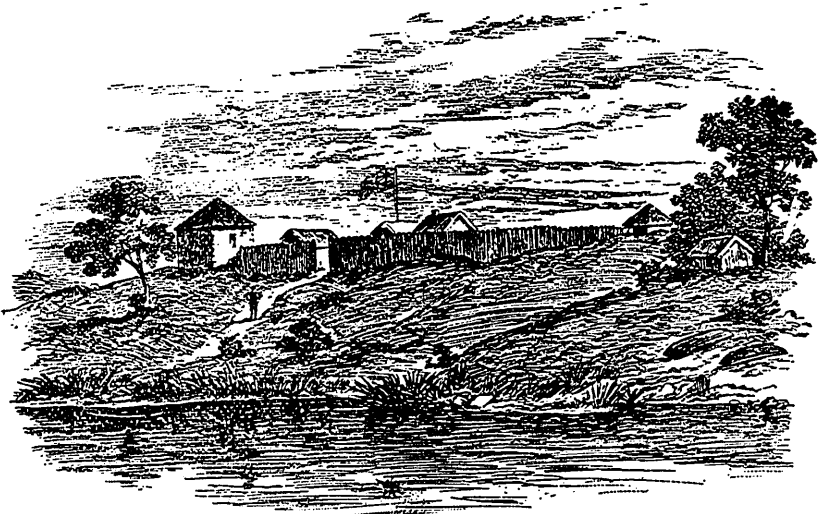
Tuesday the 5th August. Mr. Alley, the Brother-in-Law of Mr. McDonell, breakfasted with me. After Breakfast rode with him to Fort Douglas built by Lord Selkirk. Rode over the most beautiful Meadows, great Quantity of wild Hops, Spinage, Hemp, and Flax. The Weeds have a most rich Appearance proving the Excellence of the Soil. Passed the Spot where the English Church is to be built. The Frame Work of a House for a School commenced.<sup>2</sup> The Site of the Church in a beautiful Situation near the Banks of the River. Excellent Soil, most luxuriant Meadows, the Verdure not finer even in England, not a Stone or Piece of Gravel. Passed Governor Semple's Burial Place. It is

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<sup>1</sup> Men of a regiment of German and Swiss mercenaries raised in the Napoleonic wars under the name of Col. de Meuron. They were taken to Canada during the war between England and America, and were disbanded in 1816. Lord Selkirk took 140 of them to his colony in 1818.

<sup>2</sup> The church and school were completed in 1823, when Long visited the spot. They were supported by the London Bible Society.

contemplated removing the Remains to the Church when it is finished and with a Procession, but the latter I shall recommend Mr. McDonell not to permit; producing no good it would only tend to irritate the Feelings and rip open Wounds which should now be healed. Spoke the Meurons and afterwards the Scotch Settlers at the Fort. They complain of high Prices—working six Days in the Year for Mr. West. The Highlanders desire a Clergyman who can preach to them in Gallic; feel very much the Charge of Interest on their Debts;<sup>1</sup> anxious to have Notes, a



FORT DOUGLAS, RED RIVER.

*From a drawing by Lord Selkirk.*

circulating Medium, Police, Protection (Military), Cattle. Land produces 40 for 1. Wild Hemp in great abundance. The Degree of Cold in Winter is sometimes 45 Degrees under Zero<sup>2</sup> according to Fahrenheit, in Summer 95° in the Shade.

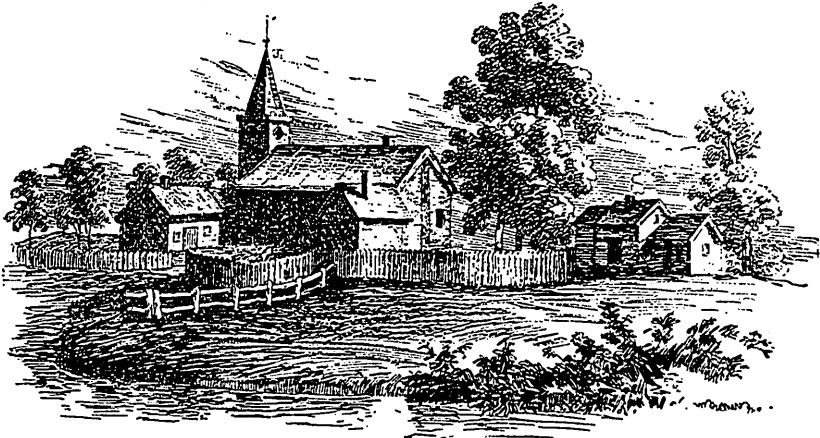
The Wanderings of the Families to Pamina in Winter is attended with much misery. They live under Tents in the Plains. Severe Cold commences in November when the River closes and opens in April—the Middle. After Dinner I ordered the Canoe to drop down the River. Mr. Bird and myself mounted our Horses to ride to his House but just as we were starting I was informed Mr. Desmoulins the Catholic Priest from Pamina had arrived. I immediately crossed the Water and had much Conversation with him. He does not approve Mr. McDonell's Conduct. . . . Mr. Desmoulins wishes to have at Pamina the

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix [C.]

<sup>2</sup> Keating's Long says it was 52° below Zero in 1822-23. (1825) v. ii., p. 68.

same Grant of Land which the Church has at Fort Douglas namely 50 Arpents and a Wood which is left before the Church.

Returned to our Horses and at half past seven started. Stopped at Fort Douglas and was nearly thrown from my Horse by the Firing of Cannon in Honour of my Departure, so true it is that Honours sometimes make us lose our Balance. Mr. Bird and his two Sons rode with me. Rode about 9 Miles through the most beautiful Meadows, excellent Grass, uncultivated and producing such Abundance as to be almost inexhaus-



THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND MISSION SCHOOL AT RED RIVER COLONY.

*From Rev. J. West's Journal.*

tible. Dreadfully annoyed by Musquitoes. Very excellent Horses, Spanish Breed, small blood Horses. Called on Mr. Cooke, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Bird. Introduced to Mrs. Bird, an Indian Woman wearing a Pig Tail, as was formerly the Custom in England for Gentlemen. Very unbecoming, to which the Fashion of the Country does not reconcile the Eye. Called on Mrs. Matthy and on an old German who went out three Years before and whose Family I recollected from an interesting Circumstance. When we went on Board at Gravesend I observed a very fine young Woman crying. Understanding she was a German I spoke to her when she informed me she did not wish to go and I understood she was attached to a young man the Separation from whom produced her Tears. I arranged she should return. However Attachment to her Family and particularly to a younger Sister induced her afterwards to change her Mind. I found her at the Colony happily married to Sergeant-Major Veitch of the Meurons, a most excellent Man, and the Mother of two Children. Her Father, who at Gravesend was miserable, half starved and ragged, I found plump, well dressed and, as he told me,

"Ich bin ganz glücklich," the Translation of which is "I want for nothing."

Encamped near Mr. Bird's House.

Monday the 6th August. At 3 o'clock Mr. Bird, who still accompanies me, and myself embarked. At six overtook Mr. McGillivray who had started the Night before. The Food of our Men is now dried Buffalo's Meat. It is very nice. It is simply cut into Strips and dried over the Fire. At half-past nine arrived at the Encampment of Pegwacs, or



ARMS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.  
*From an old document.*

Cut Nose, Chief. Mr. McGillivray's Canoe passed on. (There are Characters in the World who never forgive or forget fancied Injuries. Mr. McGillivray spoke to the Chief in going up the River and told him he was a bad Indian for having defended the Colony. The Recollection of many Circumstances which had happened might have introduced other Feelings in a Mind differently constituted.) I landed and found him surrounded by Women and Children and old Men. The young Men were gone to attack the Sauteux. The Chief and the old Men were almost naked and the Ladies not quite decently clad. A Daughter of the Chief was very handsome. She had attached herself to a Son of Mr. Bird who has been cruel. She had a very interesting melancholy Appearance. The Marriage would have been merely the Consent of the two Fathers. The Chief had his Flag hoisted, an English Jack, with the Hudson Bay



Arms, given to him by Lord Selkirk. He showed me a Testimony written on Moose Skin stating he had always been a faithful, sincere friend to the Colony and recommending him to the Attentions of the Officers in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was short, but written in that beautiful Style which marked Lord Selkirk's Writings. I made him a short Speech thanking him for his Friendship and requesting its Continuance. He entreated me not to send the usual Supplies to the Sieux. He is of the Sauteux or rather the Chippeways.

The North West Fort at the Red River being in a better Situation than the Hudson's Bay House (it being at the Confluence or Forks of the Assiniboin and Red River<sup>1</sup>) and there being the Framework of an excellent House I had requested Mr. Bird, the Gentleman in Charge, to change the House; but considering the Malignity and fearing that the Consequences which might arise from such a [*illegible*] as the Changing the Hudson's Bay Fort to the North West might have a bad effect on the Minds of the Indians I requested Mr. Bird to continue in the Hudson's Bay House. In ten Minutes we arrived at the Post where the Horses are kept, at half-past at the Branch of the River which we came down. We now leave it to the Right. In an Hour we arrived at the Embouchure of the River, having paddled from our Encampment 9 Hours, the Day intensely hot. At two we landed to Dinner on the West Side of the Lake, the Shore low, uninteresting, sandy; Willows, low Pine. The Water so low that we were carried several Yards. Great Quantity of wild Pease.

At 3 we embarked continuing our Course Northward, running along the West Coast which does not vary in interest or Appearance. About 4 Miles from the Shore the opposite shore is not visible. (The Red River is so winding that though Mr. Bird's House by Land is only 6 miles by water it is nine. The Water of the Red River is not well tasted. The Stone or Assiniboin Indians who are Allies of the Sauteux killed a poor Sieux who was living peaceably with them. This is the Cause of the War). The Water of Lake Winnipic is thick and has a muddy Appearance. The Bottom is a sort of white Earth.

At 9 we landed on a sort of Peninsula on the West Side, low sandy Shore. Prevented bathing by a Quantity of Toads and Sand Fly.

Thursday the 7th of August. Embarked at 3 Wind, South East. Ran along the West Shore with an Island to the East. Wind rather too strong. At 9 landed to Breakfast on a small Island, sandy Ground, rather high Rock covered with Fir. I find when I was asleep we passed

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<sup>1</sup> This, I suppose, is the Fort Gerry of Keating's Long. "The beautiful confluence of the Assiniboine and Red River washed the base of the bluff" [on which the fort stood]. (1825) vol. ii., p. 68.

a small narrow Channel called Grassy Point about a Mile in Length. The Crossing of Lakes in Canoes is attended with considerable Danger, particularly on Lake Winnipic where the Traverses from Point to Point are of great Distance, unsheltered and exposed to all the Force of the Winds and sudden Squalls. The Canoe being steered by a Paddle and without Rudder, the Paddle narrow and of little Power, the Steersman has the Canoe little under his Command. The Swells are sudden and the more dangerous from their being short and broken. After sailing an Hour we came abreast of three Islands of Rocks. At 12 o'clock we had made the Traverse and crossed in the narrowest Part of the Lake from the West to the East Coast, the Breadth about four Miles. We now passed the Duke's Straits. At half-past one we were in the Narrows where you see both Sides of the Lake, to the North West the Dogs Head. The Coast is now rocky, rather higher (perhaps 30 Feet) and covered with Pine. The Canoe Voyage from the Colony to Norway House is 320 Miles. The Wind increasing very much our Situation became dangerous and we were forced to hurry on Shore which we did in a small Bay formed by Rocks on the East Side. At 5 we embarked again and at 6 had passed the Point which is called the Dogs Head at the West Side of the Lake opposite to the Embouchure of the Blood River on the East. The Wind now began to blow with increased Violence and soon produced so high a Sea that is wonderful how our frail Bark could withstand the Waves, and indeed it was only by a Miracle and gracious Providence that we escaped. At one Moment the Bows were actually under Water and remained in this State for nearly half a Minute, the Waves running in from both Sides and in such Quantities as to threaten our Destruction. Our Foreman placed his Arms on the Bows, but the Water rushed over them. The Canoe happily righted and we thus escaped a Watery Grave, for such would inevitably have been our Fate, being far from the Land and the other Canoe at a great Distance from us. We had still about five Miles to run before we could make a point where there was a Harbour. At 8 we made it but found Mr. McGillivray's Canoe still standing out and endeavouring to cross another Traverse of about 12 Miles. His Canoe having been built to transport Goods was more fitted to withstand the Waves, whilst mine was slenderly built and little fitted to contend with the high sea. Temerity and Courage are of a different Character. The first is generally founded on Vanity. No man has the Right to endanger the Lives of others though he may Sport with his own. Little regarding the other Canoe and attending to the Representations of our Guide we landed and soon saw the other Canoe standing in ; and happy for their Safety it was they

did. For they had scarcely landed when the Storm increased and continued the whole Night with Thunderstorms and Lightning. We learnt afterwards that the Standing out was only a Bravado, wishing us first to encamp that they might have the Opportunity to vaunt their Prowess. Miserable Vanity, which might have cost the Lives of many brave People, who protested against the Step. The steersman was actually changed refusing to conduct the Canoe. The History of this Vanity was that after an Attempt at Fort William to give me a weak Crew and a bad Canoe it was a Source of great Annoyance that we led the March. We passed an uncomfortable Night drenched with Rain and annoyed by a small invisible Insect which produced Smarting and Irritation, preventing Sleep and Ease.

Wednesday the 8th of August. The Wind continuing to blow a Storm we must wait with Patience. The Island on which we are is a flat Rock, swampy and covered with Reeds, Willows, great Quantity of Raspberries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberry small ground Plant with a blue Berry.<sup>1</sup> The Rock is within half a Mile of the Main Land on the East Side a few miles to the South of the Beaver River. We remained here the whole Day which I employed in writing my Journal and altogether did not find the day tedious.

Thursday the 9th [August]. The Wind having abated we embarked at 3 o'clock. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 met two Canoes on Shore making Signals. We immediately approached them when we found Mr. Chastellair a retired Clerk from the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company with twelve Men going down to Montreal. He had Letters for me from Mr. Simpson. Wrote to Mr. Pelly on the Beach dating my Letter Lake Winnipic five Miles to the south of the Pigeon River. At half-past nine we embarked. Mr. Thomas thinks unfavourably of the Colony—fears much Annoyance from the Indians who are increasing in Numbers; considers the Presents necessary to be made to them will amount to a great deal of Money. From its great Distance from the Sea and the Difficulty of navigating the Lakes and Rivers considers it can only be a Means of Existence to the Inhabitants never a Source of Profit.<sup>2</sup>

At a quarter past 10 passed within a few Paces a Point of the main Land on the East Side. Thousands of Geese. Traversed a Bay at the Bottom of which is the Pigeon River. At half past eleven we were abreast of Behrens River. Four Miles distant on the East Side appears a broad Stream denoted by a [*illegible*] Stick. This River communicates with the Pigeon River and some interior Posts, the last, Albany House.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably *Vaccinium Canadense*, or *V. cespitosum*.  
See Appendix [C.]

Wind South—running along main Land. Myriads of Geese, Pelicans and Crows. Coast low—Sand covered with low Fir Trees. At eleven arrived at the Spider Islands, so called from the Quantity of Spiders which is on them. This Island is five Miles from the last Islands which are fifteen Miles from Norway House. Great Quantity of Raspberries, Currants, Gooseberries, Peas. At two o'clock we landed on a small Rock to enable our Men to make their Toilette in which they are great Dandies putting the coloured Feathers in their Hats which as north Men they have a Right to wear. At 3 we embarked and at 4 arrived at Norway House. Lake Winnipic is the great Reservoir of several large Rivers and discharges itself by the River Nelson into Hudson's Bay; i.e., Red River, River Dauphin, Saskatchewan and several smaller Rivers on the East Side. The Course of the Lake is W.N.W. and S.S.E. The East End is in Latitude 50.37° North. It contracts at about a quarter of its Length and is no more than two Miles broad. Discharge of Saskatchewan 53.15°. The extreme Breadth of Lake Winnipic from the Poplar River on the East and Swaine's Island on the West is about 55 Miles according to the Admeasurement of Mr. Peter Fidler. Norway House is an Establishment situated at the North East End of the Lake and is so called from its having been built by Norwegians. Its Situation is very fine; some fine Timber and about 4 acres of Land in Cultivation which produces excellent Wheat, Potatoes, &c.

Saturday the 11th [August].

Sunday the 12th. Mr. West performed divine Service. Married Mr. Kennedy's Daughter to Mr. Isbister; christened 25 Children.

Monday the 13th [August]. Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Clarke.

Tuesday the 14th [August]. Peter Fidler married to an Indian Woman.

Wednesday the 15th [August].

Thursday the 16th. Took Leave. Regretted most the Parting with my excellent Steersman, Bernard. Embarked at half past nine, parted with much Regret with Mr. Bird, whom to the Last I found useful and kind.

Leaving Lake Winnipic we entered Play Green Lake; passed three Canoes with Indians, Swampy Indians, Crees.<sup>1</sup> This Lake may be 8 or 10 miles in Length, and as much in Breadth. Entered Upper Jack River.<sup>2</sup> Low Banks, Rocks, stunted Pines. Passed fishing Huts, Whitefish, Sturgeon. A great many Windings. At half-past one landed to

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this route Franklin's First Journey to Polar Seas (London, 1823), chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Sea River?

Dinner; wet miserable day; at half-past two entered Airy<sup>1</sup> Lake; almost marsh, low shore, small Channel with Rocks. Passed a Canoe with Goods for Rainy Lake; 25 Pieces of Goods. Passed Mr. Dean for Slave Lake. Airy Lake Portage 50 Paces. Entered the Tchimaïnes<sup>2</sup> or Still Water; about 30 Miles in Length, low Banks, Pine, 15 yards broad, no Rapids, very shoaly, Boats often detained several Days. Apprehension that the Communication may be quite stopped, rendering it the more necessary that the great Route (the Nelson River) should be explored. At 8 we encamped.

Friday the 17th [August]. At 2 we embarked in the same River, narrow Stream full of small Islets, Banks low and marshy, Reeds, Willows, and Stunted Pine. The Indians from Oxford House hunt here. The River is full of Beaver; it belongs to the Island Lake District. Mr. Todd last year, Mr. Sayre, this. Came to a narrow Channel with so little water that we could scarcely pass. It will be necessary to repair the Dams this Winter. After passing narrow Channel came to broader Water, East Side rather high bare Rocks. At 12 arrived at Painted Stone Portage, which is the Height of Land but so low that it is a Level. The Tochimaines runs from here into the Nelson River, thus we have been ascending the Stream. After crossing this Portage we found ourselves in a narrow Channel called Painted Stone River. Passed Mr. West and Mr. McDonell. Two Boats sent from England by Mr. Colville; will not answer, not sufficiently large, and only carry 35 Pieces of 90 Pounds. Boats of the Country take 50 costing only 30£ while these cost 80£. Mr. West and Mr. McDonald dined with us on a Rock. Beautiful Moss with a red Flower [?]; great Quantity of Tripe de Roche.<sup>3</sup>

On leaving Painted Stone River entered a small Lake called White Fall Lake. Entered a narrow Channel—Ducks—several Eagles. At half past five arrived at White Fall Portage,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Mile. Mr. Franklin was nearly drowned here, having fallen into the Water near the Rapid where, tho' a good Swimmer, he must have perished had not one of his Men caught him by a Boat Hook.<sup>4</sup> Crossing this Portage we entered the Lake Winipigos, narrow Channel through Rocks, then the Lake. At 7 we arrived at a small Stream, which brought us to the Hill Portage which is a 100 Paces over a Rock to avoid a dangerous Rapid. Our Men run this with the Assistance of a Line. We encamped about 1 Mile from this Portage and on the Banks of the Weepinnipannisch River.

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<sup>1</sup> Hairy Lake.

<sup>2</sup> Echamamish, or Echiamamis R.

<sup>3</sup> Several species of lichens belonging to *Gyrophora* and *Umbilicaria* go by this name.

<sup>4</sup> Franklin's First Journey to Polar Sea (London, 1823), p. 40.

Saturday the 18th August. Having a Rapid to pass we did not embark till 4 ; the morning very foggy. The Scenery becomes now very romantic. At a quarter past five we arrived at the 2nd Hill Portage. Here the River flows through a narrow Channel formed by high Rocks covered with stunted Pine. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 left the Upper Hill River and entered Windy Lake. At 8 landed to Breakfast. At 9 embarked, at 10 arrived at the Décharge of Cropper's Fall.<sup>1</sup> Paddling 10 Minutes arrived at John Moores. At half past one entered Holy Lake, Bottomless Lake, or Bathapon Winnipic (Oxford Lake), Met some Boats for the Colony under the Charge of Mr. McDonell a Relation of Mr. McDonell the Governor of the Colony. J. R. Burke who intended to attend Mr. Ranville at the Sieux Country was with the Boats. He intends to retire. At six we arrived at Oxford House which is an Establishment on the East of the Lake. Found Mr. Bolton in Charge and Captain Oxley who was passing up to York Fort. The Buildings are in good Order.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bolton has built a comfortable House for himself. Provisions were very scarce. He was living on Fish. The Situation is very pleasant; behind the House is a high Mountain from which there is a fine View. Opposite to the Fort is an Island on which there was an Indian Encampment. I should have met Captain Oxley under pleasanter Feelings, as I had procured him the Appointment, but I found he had been quarrelling with his Superiors. Encamped and slept here.

Sunday 19th August. At two we arose and found that Mr. Bolton had had the Kindness to remain up all Night and had prepared Coffee for us. At half-past two we embarked and found ourselves in the Trout Stream. The Holy Lake [Oxford Lake] is very uninteresting, low Banks and stunted Pine. The numerous Islands give it a little Variety. The Trout Stream is a narrow shallow Water full of Rapids and Sharp Rocks and all the requisites to make Canoe travelling very uncomfortable. At six we arrived at the Trout Portage which is 200 Paces to avoid the Trout Fall which, if I had not seen the Falls of the River Winnipic, the Chaudière, &c., I should have considered very fine. It is the only Fall of any Interest in the whole Route.<sup>3</sup> At 7 we reached Knee Lake which is 50 Miles in Length.

(Oxford House is about half way between Norway House and York Fort and is 220 miles from both making the Distance 440 miles).

The Wind blew very much to-day and increased so much that at 11 we were obliged to land on the West Side of the Lake. A good Fire

<sup>1</sup> Upper Portage of Franklin ?

<sup>2</sup> Franklin speaks of them in 1819 as exhibiting "unequivocal signs of decay."

<sup>3</sup> An illustration is given of this fall in Franklin's Journey, etc. (London, 1823), p. 37.

soon dried our Clothes. After Dinner we observed that two of our Men had lopped away the Boughs and all the lower Branches of two Trees leaving a Top. This is called a Lop-Stick and the Voyageurs named it Garry's Point. At half-past one we embarked, the Weather very cold and uncomfortable. At 7 we encamped on the West Side of the Lake the Night very cold and we arose quite wetted by the Fog.

Monday the 20th of August. Embarked at two. Hard frost. At 5 we left Knee Lake and entered Jack River which is about 15 Miles in Length, full of Rapids and Shoal Water and so full of Fish that we saw Thousands of them at every Moment swimming on the Top of the Water and jumping into the Air. Entered Swampy Lake about 9 Miles in Length. Passed Logan's Depot on the West Side now deserted.<sup>1</sup> Four wooden Buildings in excellent Order. At a quarter before one left the Swampy Lake properly so called from the low Water and swampy Banks and entered the Hill River which is full of Rapids and Cataracts the water so low that we struck at every Moment and at last about two o'clock when going down a Rapid we struck upon a Rock and broke our Canoe. Our Situation was very perilous. Our Canoe immediately began to fill and Mr. McGillivray who was following us close was bearing down upon us, and had he struck us both Canoes would have been knocked to pieces and all of us thrown into the violent Rapid below us.<sup>2</sup> By the great Skill of the Steersman and a wonderful Effort he brought the Canoe alongside and we remained on the Rock. We immediately entered his Canoe and were taken on Shore. It then returned for our Baggage which was all safely landed though completely wetted. The Canoe was then turned over and in this State brought on Shore. We found four Feet of Bark had been knocked to Pieces. It was a miraculous Escape and so sudden that we had little time for Reflection. It appeared afterwards that we were in greater danger than we imagined. On Mr. McGillivray approaching us we were actually going over the Rock when one of his Men jumped into the Water and held our Canoe but was too weak, and all would have gone down had not the other men assisted them. If we had been alone many of us must have perished or if we had escaped a watery Grave we should have been exposed to Starvation and a miserable Death. The Day was fortunately very fine and dry and with several fires we soon dried our Papers, Linen, Beds, &c., for everything was wetted. Our Encampment had a singular Appearance, the Trees covered with our Linen, Sheets, Beds, &c., and the Earth covered with Papers. It now became necessary to consider how we should get on but the Cana-

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<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Calder and his attendant were the only tenants of this cheerless abode" (in 1819). Franklin (as above), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Franklin had a very similar accident near this locality (as above), p. 34.  
Sec. II., 1900. 10.

dian Voyageur soon finds a Remedy and our Men were immediately occupied in repairing the Hole. The Woods furnished the Material. Bark from the Birch Tree Wattape from the Root of the Pine, Splints made from the Cedar Tree and the Crossbars. In the Evening all was ready to start in the Morning. The Water was so low that we resolved on leaving four of our Men behind and our heavy Baggage, by which we lightened our Canoe, a very great object. We left the Pemmican for four days, knowing that Mr. McDonell would pass in a few Days with his Boats. We might have been taken up by Mr. McDonell, but there are two Routes, and it was only by leaving a Letter that Mr. McDonell knew we had left the Men behind.

Tuesday the 21st August. At Daylight we started but notwithstanding we had lightened so much, we struck at every Moment, and so hard that we dreaded every Moment knocking out the Bottom. We all undressed that we might swim with greater Ease. At 7 we arrived at Green Water Portage,<sup>1</sup> 50 Paces. The Stones are like knives. A few Minutes brought us to the Upper Carrying Portage, 30 Paces. Our Guide, an able experienced Steersman, was so unnerved by the Accident of Yesterday, and touching at every Moment, that he gave up his Post, and at the very Moment he had a most dangerous Rapid to run. We escaped in Safety, having struck against a flat Rock, in going down, which almost upset us. Great quantity of Ducks, Bustards, Geese, and Plovers. In half an Hour, arrived at second Carrying Place; 10 o'clock Mossy Décharge. In five Minutes Smalt River Portage.<sup>2</sup> Passed Upper Burnt Wood; rocky launching Portage.<sup>3</sup> Walked about two Miles through a Wood, Strawberries, Raspberries, Currants, Gooseberries [?] Boujical or Moose Berry, beautiful Plant with a transparent red Berry, favourite Food of the Moose Deer;<sup>4</sup> Sasquetuin,<sup>5</sup> Morgan's Rock, and Devil's Portage. At Lower Burnt Wood, the Country becomes now more hilly, or rather, high Sand Banks. Brass Décharge, Point of Rocks, Terre Jaune. At 4 we arrived at the last Rapid before the Rock Dépôt, a most dangerous Rapid, where we were nearly lost. Our old Guide, who had before resumed his Situation and Courage, and who had conducted us through many dangerous Rapids, with admirable Skill, was now at the Bows, and directing the Canoe. At once, when in the most

<sup>1</sup> Ground Water Creek P. in Franklin's map.

<sup>2</sup> Smooth Rocks, Portage of Franklin?

<sup>3</sup> These two are given in reverse order by Franklin (as above, p. 33).

<sup>4</sup> Richardson in App. to Franklin gives mooseberry, mongsoameena of the Crees, *Viburnum Oxycoccus*, Pursh, that is *V. Opulus*. This plant agrees with description in text better than the mooseberry of Britton and Brown's Flora of N. States and Canada which is given as *Viburnum lantanoides*, Michaux, the hobble-bush.

<sup>5</sup> Sasquetuin, Sascatoom, la poire, *Amelanchier canadense*.



dangerous Part, his Pole broke. Two Seconds would have dashed us over the Rocks into the deep Rapid, when the most of us, if not All, must have perished. With an admirable Presence of Mind, he took another Pole and in a Second guided us through the Channel. The Seconds may appear poetical, but it is an unvarnished Tale. Two Seconds would have carried us into Eternity. How singularly the Mind of Man is framed, how unnerved at one Moment, the next showing Heroism and Presence of Mind, and never has there been a greater proof of this, than in our Guide, at this perilous Moment, and when he gave up the Steering. At five o'clock we arrived at the Rock Dépôt, found Mr. Thomas Bunn<sup>1</sup> in Charge. This Fort is beautifully situated, on the East Side of the Hill River, which is here, about 300 Paces broad. Dwelling House, large Hall, Warehouses, all in excellent Order. Behind the House is a very excellent Garden, Cabbages and Potatoes; small Trout Stream, with Cane Work to catch the Fish. Suckers,<sup>2</sup> the Heads only, good Eating, Trout, Pike, &c. Mr. Bunn appears to be a most excellent amiable Man, married to an Indian Woman, by whom he has a large Family; the first Couple Mr. West married. He is desirous to retire to the Red River and delighted with the Assurance I was authorized to give Him of a retired Share. Has been 25 Years in the Service. In Winter he traps Rabbits and Beaver. In a Lake 20 Miles distant he caught last Winter so much Fish that he supplied 150 Canadians.

This Post will now be given up and the Goods sent down from York. (The whole Country may now be supplied with Boats except the Columbia, Athapascan and Mackenzie's River and Peace River between Athapascan Lake and Rocky Mountains). Near the Dépôt is a high Mountain from which the River takes its Name (Hill River). Beautiful view particularly up the winding Trout Stream.

Wednesday the 22nd [August]. At a quarter to four left Rock Dépôt. In half an hour arrived at the Portage of the Rock. The Banks may be 150 to 200 feet, Sand Hills covered with low Pine. Our Men are now eating Rababoo made of Pemican and Flour. Strong Current but low Water. High Sand Hills. At half past landed to Dinner; excellent White Fish. At 3 the Forks of the Steel River<sup>3</sup> a large Stream which runs into the Hill River. Passed two small Dépôts now out of Use. Saw a Rein Deer and Fawn crossing the River. In the Season some cross the River and are actually killed merely for their Tongues. It is singular that they emigrate from the North in Summer

<sup>1</sup> He was here in 1819 when Franklin passed (as above, p. 32). \*

<sup>2</sup> ? Piccanan, *Catostomus lesueurii*.

<sup>3</sup> Formed by the junction of the Fox and the Hill Rivers.

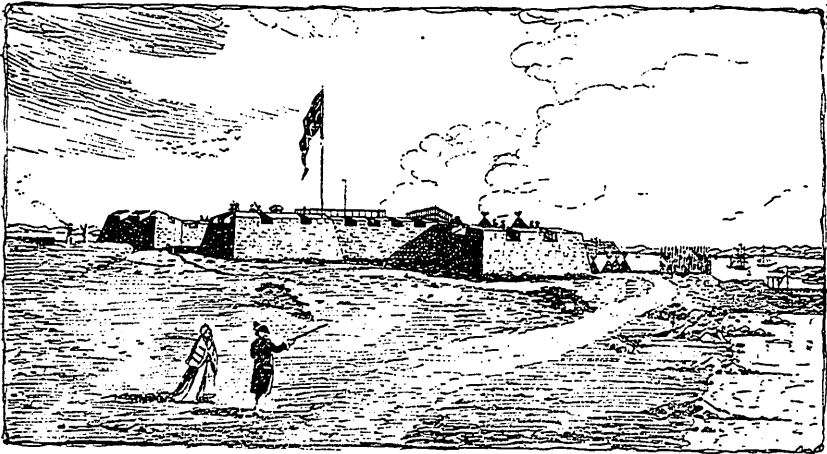
and return in Autumn. At half past seven encamped. Weather very cold; immense Fires made of Trees.

Thursday the 23rd [August]. The Night dreadfully cold—hard Frost, Fog, Dew. I could not keep myself warm. At half past five passed the Steel River. The River becomes now very broad nearly a third of a Mile and deep Water. The Banks continue to be high Sand Hills. Bos of the Buffalo excellent eating. Pemican is called Taurcan by the Canadians. Passed a Point where there were Stacks of Wood for the Supply of York. The Country is most scantily wooded. Met the White Chief who informed us the Prince was arrived. At 4 arrived at York Fort; received by Governor Williams. Several Guns fired in Honor of our Arrival. Found the Prince of Wales arrived and the Lord Wellington, Captain Fullerton, with 170 Colonists from Switzerland. Steel River communicates with Fox River and this by means of Lakes with Split Lake.

Friday the 24th August. A melancholy occurrence happened to-day. The Voyageurs or Canadians entered some of the Colonists' Tents and one, a Frenchman, became so intoxicated that he died the next morning. On going to the Encampment I found everything in an Uproar, the Colonists complaining that they had been deceived, that the Canadians had told them that they would be starved to death and a long History of Miseries which had disheartened them. One Man particularly a Frenchman was at their Head and was very insolent. Suspicions are always wrong but I could not but be surprized to find the two Men of Mr. McGillivray's Canoe, Forcier and Budry (whom he had particularly favoured and courted—putting the first at the Head of his Men) in the Camp, and it was evident they were still poisoning the Minds of the People. I ordered them off the Encampment. They said I was not their Bourgeois. Governor Williams then ordered them. They still refused to go. I then told Mr. Williams that out of Delicacy to Mr. McGillivray we had better speak to him which we did. But instead of at once ordering them off he reasoned with them and even took their Part. The Whole Matter was too evident to admit of a Doubt and these men would not have dared to be so impertinent had they not felt they would be supported. The Frenchman was so dangerous a Fellow that I felt if he went to the Colony he would do a great Deal of Mischief. I therefore recommended he should be sent back and his Passage is arranged in the Lord Wellington.

Saturday the 25th August. After Dinner Mr. McGillivray and Mr. Snodie, Governor Williams and myself went off for the Nelson River. Ran along the West Side of the Bank passed about a quarter of a Mile

on this Side the old Fort destroyed by Pérouse in 1782.<sup>1</sup> Some Remains still exist and we saw several Cannon on the Beach. Passed the Prince of Wales and Lord Wellington at Anchor about seven Miles from the Fort, at Five Fathom Hoie. Entered the Nelson River; the Entrance 31 Miles Broad. Got round a Point running from what is a long Sand Bank going out fully 3 miles. On the Point is a high Beacon. It is called the Point de [?] Marsh. The River narrows like a Tunnel and at a Point called Flambro' Head which is on the N. West Side it is not more than three Miles. The Banks on the West Side are higher than



A NORTHWEST VIEW OF PRINCE OF WALES FORT IN HUDSON'S BAY.

From S. Hearne's Journey, 1795.

on the East but consist in Sand without Timber at least so stunted and miserable that it could never be used for building. And this appears to be the Case in every direction. At seven we encamped on the West Side. The Banks swampy. The Timber consists in low Pine quite unfit for building and the Ground marshy. Several very nice Berries, Swampy Berry,<sup>2</sup> small Blue Berry.<sup>3</sup>

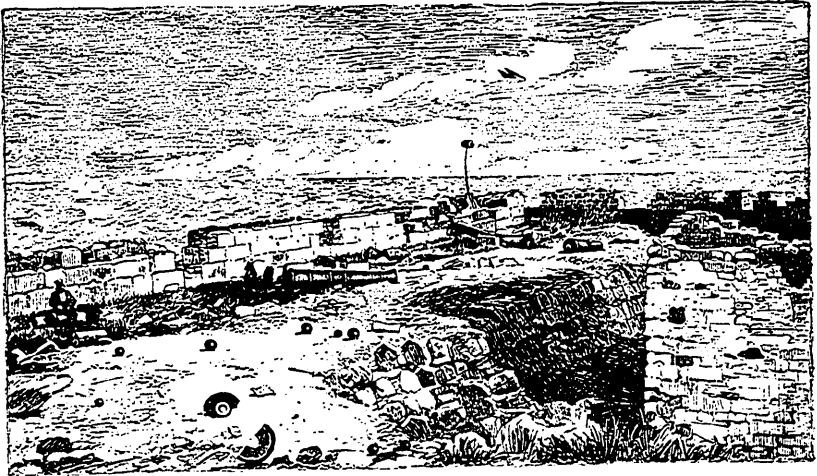
Sunday the 26th August. Rose at four but found the Water too low, the Tide not having flowed in. At half-past six started. Beautiful Day. Passed Flambro' Head. The River now narrow may be three Miles. Ran up to the Seal Islands three in Number about 35

<sup>1</sup> Aug. 23rd, after a most ignominious surrender by Governor Hearne. See the Great Company, Beckles Willson (London, 1900), II., pp. 70-76.

<sup>2</sup> Richardson in Appendix to Franklin's first voyage mentions *Oxycoccus palustris* (the maskægomeena of the Cree Indians, as the swampy berry.

<sup>3</sup> A *Vaccinium, canadense*, or *cæspitosum*, probably.

Miles from the Fort. The River beyond them narrows into a Stream of about 300 Yards; passed some houses built by Mr. McDonell and Mr. Hilyear, in the Year 1812. The Country every where swampy and miserable Timber. Fine Berry, called by the Indians Eye Berry, like a Strawberry in Appearance with the taste of a Blackberry;<sup>1</sup> the Gooseberry, so called by the Indians from the Geese feeding on it; and a beautiful Shrub with a round blue Berry and fine Bloom.<sup>2</sup> The Character of the Country continues the same to the Split Lake, 150 miles from the Fort. The Tide turning, we returned, endeavoured to find a Post



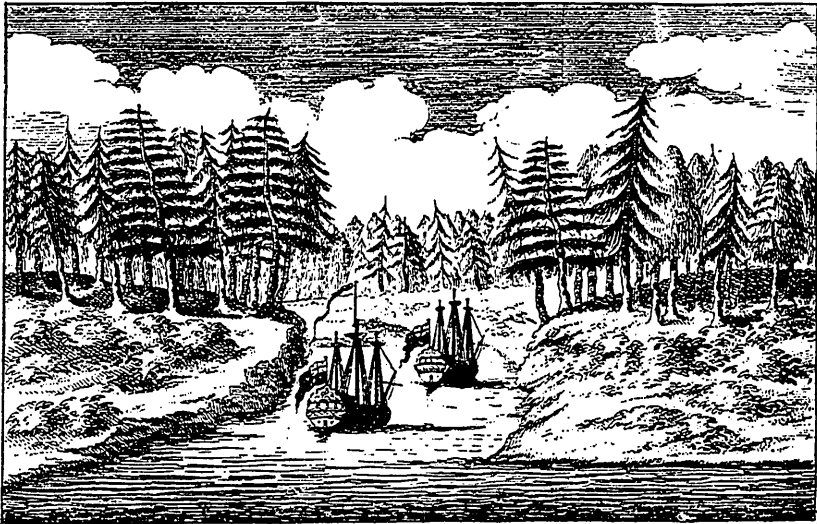
RUINS OF FORT PRINCE OF WALES, LOOKING N.E.—CHURCHILL RIVER.  
From Dr. Bell's Sketch in Geological Survey Report, 1880.

which had been built on the North East Side, by Mr. Auld, but could not. Dined off the Flambro' Head and arrived at the Fort at 9 in the Evening. The width of the Nelson River may be 21 miles between Yains Creek, and the Beacon on the Point de [?] Marsh. The River is very shallow at low Water, and has two Channels, the deepest on the North Side. The Bottom of the River is very stony, with flat Shore on South Side; and muddy Bottom with high Banks of Sand on the North Shore. As to building a Fort in Nelson River, it appears to be imprac-

<sup>1</sup> This is probably *Rubus arcticus*, the strawberry-leaved bramble, though it might be the *R. triflorus* of Richardson (App. to Franklin). The latter was especially common about York Fort, and is stated by Britton and Brown (Flora of N. States and Canada) to be intermediate between blackberry and raspberry. *Eyeberry* is mentioned by Franklin, First Journey (ed. 1823), p. 300, but no Latin name is given, and I cannot trace it elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Vaccinium corymbosum* L. The swamp blueberry, a shrub 5 to 10 feet high; if found as far north as York Fort.

ticable. There being no Wood on the North Side, and very little on the South, neither is there Wood in the Interior, in the Vicinity of the River, which could be rafted down, either for the building of Stores, or Fuel. In the Event of the Athabaskan Trade being conducted through the Nelson River, a Store could be built on the South Side about 18 Miles from the Sea, being the only Place there is Wood for this Purpose, a Road might be made from York Fort through the Woods with great Ease. The Nelson River affords little Shelter for Ships and



THE WINTERING CREEK IN HAYES RIVER.

*From H. Ellis's Voyage, 1748.*

is not so well adapted for anchoring in as the five Fathom Hole in Hayes or York River owing to the Nelson being very shallow and much exposed to the N. W., N. and N. E. Winds the Current also being very strong. Any Vessel being obliged to winter in Nelson River should take the North Side as it is much deeper. One of the three Creeks above Nelson's Creek about 10 Miles from the Sea is the most secure Place, but if from the Lateness of the Season these Creeks should be stopped by Ice then the most eligible Place would be the flat shore on the South Side of the River opposite the Factory, the Place where the Brig "Wear," Capt. Thomson,<sup>1</sup> wintered. The Nelson is preferable to the Factory River<sup>2</sup> to winter in as

<sup>1</sup> The vessel so nearly lost on Franklin's first voyage from England. See *First Journey of Franklin*, vol. i., ch. i

<sup>2</sup> Hayes River, on which York Factory stands.

it is not subject to Overflows in Spring when the Ice breaks up. The Tide runs out with great strength. Vessels drawing 12 feet Water can come up to the Landing Place at York Fort. Thus two small Vessels would be better than one large one. The "Prince" is now 7 Miles from the Port. The Loading and Unloading is attended with much [*illegible*] and Risk.

Monday the 27th August. Mr. McDonell the Governor of the Colony and the Rev. Mr. West arrived with the Men we left behind, Mr. West from Albany.

Tuesday the 28th August. The Rev. Mr. West christened to-day two Children which had been born in the Vessel and married three Couples. As they did not understand English I translated the questions and answers into German.

Great quantity of Whales in the Nelson River—Flocks of Geese and small Plovers almost darkening the Air, Ducks and Curlew. (Mal de Raquet a Pain in the Nerves of the Leg from the Pressure of the Snow Shoe. The Indians cure this by putting a live Coal on the Part affected and burn it to the Bone). Governor Williams complained very much of Wilsons Guns,—Barretts N.W. much superior.

At Dinner off Flambro' Head. Beachcroft's Port most excellent. Drank Robert Beachcrofts Health. Remembrance from Mr. William.

Wednesday the 29th [August]. Mr. McGillivray and Mr. McRobb started to-day for Montreal.

Thursday the 30th [August]. A Beaver for Dinner, not unlike Pork, very good eating.

Friday the 31st [August]. Mr. Botton and Mr. Pambrun arrived to-day. The Water very low in the River. Made four carrying Places between Rock Depot and the Fort. Mr. McDonell expects to arrive at the Red River in two Months. Recommended that a Frenchman who had made much Disturbance and Disquiet amongst the Colonists should be sent home. The Weather continues very fair; to-day quite sultry; the Nights however cold and frosty. The Indians about York Fort are called the swampy Indians. They are of the Cree Indians, a quiet mild Race. They are called the Home Guards; excellent Hunters. We are living on Venison and Ducks, no Fish.

Saturday Sept. 1st. The Lord Wellington sailed. Four Boats with Colonists started, 76 Persons. Went off comfortable and happy.

Extracts from Captain Franklin's Letters :—

"Fort Entreprize—(so named by Captain Franklin) Lat. 64.28½  
"Lon. 113.4½, November 28th, 1820, about 40 Miles from Copper Mine  
"River and 130 from Slave Lake. Each Officer had visited the River

“and found it to be a bold broad Stream and favourable to the Conveyance of the Party to the Sea. Our present Situation is selected on Account of the Wood which in other Parts is scarcely to be found the Land being a Succession of barren Hills incapable of producing other Vegetation than Lichens or Moss. About 6 Days after our Arrival the Rein Deer made their Appearance in our Vicinity on their emigrating Journey Southward. They remained two or three Weeks and gave full Opportunity to our Hunters to provide a sufficient Stock. The Numbers were incredible—hundreds might be seen in an Hours Walk from the House.”

Governor Williams sent two Esquimaux to the Expedition.<sup>1</sup>

Fort Entreprize. Apr. 16, 1821.

“The Winter has passed over without our having suffered much from the Cold. The Thermometer has occasionally been low, once 57° below Zero according to Fahrenheit.<sup>2</sup> Hope to embark on the Copper River about the Middle of June. The Information of the Indians does not go beyond the Sea—the Mouth of the River;—and their Ideas are very vague and uncertain, so that the Manner of our proceeding East beyond that Point is uncertain. Hope to establish a friendly Intercourse with the Esquimaux thro’ Augustus” (the Esquimaux sent by Mr. Williams).” [He] requests a Sloop may be sent to Wager Bay. “Augustus and Junius two Esquimaux are happy in their Situation. The Copper Indians are a quiet inoffensive People and are very attentive to our Party.”

Sunday the 2nd Sept. The Weather continues to be very fine, almost sultry. Divine Service at 11 by the Rev. Mr. West. All the Swiss Settlers, who are (with the Exception of seven) Calvinists, attended, and all the Officers and Servants of the Company, nearly 200 People. Mr. West is not a good Preacher; he unfortunately attempts to preach Extempore from Notes, for which he has not the Capacity, his Discourses being unconnected and ill-delivered. He likewise mistakes his Point, fancying that by touching severely and pointedly on the Weaknesses of People he will produce Repentance.

Mr. de Husser, though a Catholic was present, showing a tolerant Mind and excellent Judgment. Mr. McDonell likewise a Catholic did not appear—very ill-judged at the best, but this Feeling could not have originated in his being a strict Catholic as I understand he has very little Religion.

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<sup>1</sup> Franklin had returned in Sept., 1821, to Fort Enterprise from the Copper-mine River. See First Journey, etc. (1819, '20, '21, '22). chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> In Dec., 1820.

In the Afternoon Mr. West again performed divine Service and after the Close an Auxiliary Bible Society<sup>1</sup> was formed at which I was requested to preside. The Readiness which was shown by every Gentleman to subscribe proves how erroneous the Opinions of People have been that there was no Religion in the Country. It proves how easily the Minds of People may be led to do what is good and Mr. West has certainly had much Merit and has made great Advances in producing so desirable an End. I subscribed 50£ for the Hudson Bay Company and the whole Amount was £130 which when the few Gentlemen assembled is considered was a large Sum.<sup>2</sup>

Monday the 3rd Sept. Walked with Mr. Williams to the Old Fort. It is about a quarter of a Mile from the present [one]. The Site appears to stand on higher Ground but this is not the case, which was proved some Years since when the River overflowed the Banks the Old Fort was inundated and the present one was high and dry. The Old Fort like the present was built on Piles in a marshy Ground which is the Character of the whole Country about the Forts. The country on every Side is flat with low stunted Pine.

Tuesday the 4th Sept. Mr. Charles chief Factor for Churchill and Mr. Leslie for the same Department went off this Morning, the former will go by the Nelson River in a Boat to Split Lake, from thence by the Burnt Wood River up Wappiscan Lake where he will enter and winter at Deer's Lake. Mr. Leslie goes along the Sea Shore to Churchill. Mr. Botton and Mr. Ermatinger started this Afternoon for Oxford House, the Distance though only 220 Miles Mr. Botton considers he will be from 15 to 20 days, such is the Lowness of the Water and Number of Rapids, Portages, &c.

Wednesday the 5th [Sept.] The Schooner began to-day to take in her Cargo. Some of the Colonists were detected robbing the Garden.

Thursday the 6th [Sept.] In the Morning the Voyageur sings "Bon Jour, Jolie Bergère," &c. "Brave Capitaine," Vin blanc," "Champagne," &c., at Dinner. "A terre, à terre" in the Evening at the Encampment.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix [D.]

<sup>2</sup> See Franklin's First Journey to Polar Sea, etc., 2d ed. (London, 1824), Introd. p. xvii.



LA BELLE ROSE.<sup>1</sup>

Cueillons la, la belle Rose  
 Cueillons la, la belle Rose  
 Cueillons la, car il est tard, la belle Rose  
 Cueillons la, car il est tard.

La belle Rose du Rosier blanc.  
 Cueillons la feuille et par feuille.  
 Cueillons la feuille et par feuille.  
 Mise dans mon tableau blanc

La belle Rose du Rosier blanc.  
 Je l'ai portée chez mon Père  
 Je l'ai portée chez mon Père  
 Entre Paris et Rouen  
 Entre Paris et Rouen  
 La belle Rose du Rosier blanc.

Dans mon Chemin je récontrai  
 Dans mon Chemin je récontrai  
 Un Rossignol chantant la belle Rose  
 Un Rossignol chantant la belle Rose  
 La belle Rose du Rosier blanc.

Qui m'a dit dans son Langage  
 Qui m'a dit dans son Langage  
 Mariez-toi—car il est temps, la belle Rose  
 Mariez-toi—car il est temps, la belle Rose  
 La belle Rose du Rosier blanc.

Ek ! Comment me marierai je  
 Eh ! Comment me marierai je ?  
 Mon Père n'est pas content  
 Mon Père n'est pas content  
 Ni mon Père, ni ma Mère  
 Ni mon Père, ni ma Mère  
 Ni aucune de mes Parents  
 Ni aucune de mes Parents

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<sup>1</sup> See also App. [E.]

[See also another version in *Chansons Populaires du Canada*, by Ernest Gagnon. (Quebec, 1880), p. 87. He says it is sung also always with variations in Angoumois, Cambrai and Artois.—Ed. Trans. R. S. C.]

Je m'en irai au Service  
 Je m'en irai au Service;  
 En Service pour un An  
 Et la belle Rose du Rosier blanc  
 En Service pour un An  
 Et la belle Rose du Rosier blanc

Combien gagnez vous, la belle  
 Combien gagnez vous, la belle  
 Combien gagnez vous par An  
 Combien gagnez vous par An?  
 Je ne gagne que cinq cents Livres  
 Je ne gagne que cinq cents Livres  
 Cinq cents Livres en Argent blanc  
 Cinq cents Livres en Argent blanc  
 La belle Rose du Rosier blanc.

#### LA VIOLETTE DANDON, LA VIOLETTE DONDÉ.<sup>1</sup>

Quand j'étais chez mon Père,  
 Petite Janeton,  
 Il m'envoyait à la fontaine  
 Pour pêcher du poisson.  
 La Violette Dandon, oh ! la Violette dondé.

Il m'envoyait à la fontaine  
 Pour pêcher du poisson.  
 La fontaine est profonde  
 Je suis coulée au fond.  
 Chorus : La Violette, &c.

Il m'envoyait à la fontaine  
 Pour pêcher du poisson.  
 Par-ici ils passèrent trois  
 Trois Cavaliers barons.  
 Chorus : La Violette, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The words of this song are given in a slightly altered form and with additional verses, in Dr. Bigsby's "The Shoe and Canoe. (London, 1850), vol. ii., App. (A.)

[See also p. 70 of Gagnon, who says that the ballad is sung with many variations in all parts of France.—Ed. Trans. R. S. C.]

Par-ici ils passèrent trois

Trois Cavaliers barons.

“Que donneriez vous, ma belle,  
Qui vous tireront du fond?”

Chorus : La Violette, &c.

“Que donneriez vous, ma belle,  
Qui vous tireront du fond?”

“Tirez, tirez,” dit elle;  
“Apres ça, nous verrons”

Chorus : La Violette, &c.

“Tirez, tirez,” dit elle;  
“Apres ça, nous verrons”

Quand la belle fût tirée  
Elle va à sa Maison.

Chorus : La Violette, &c.

Quand la belle fût tirée  
Elle va à sa Maison.

S'asseyant sur un fenètre  
Elle composait un Chanson.

Chorus : La Violette, &c.

S'asseyant sur un fenètre  
Elle composait un Chanson.

“Ce n'est pas ce, ma belle,  
Ce que nous demandons.”

Chorus : La Violette, &c.

“Ce n'est pas ce, ma belle,  
Ce que nous demandons.

Votre petit Cœur en gage  
Sçavoir si nous l'aurons.”

Chorus : La Violette, &c.

“Votre petit Cœur en gage  
Sçavoir si nous l'aurons.”

“Mon petit Cœur en gage  
N'est pas pour un Baron.”

La Violette Dandon, la Violette dondé.

The Voyageurs Songs were composed during the old French Times representing Scenes in France. Latterly there have been no additions. The Tunes are very pretty and have a wonderful Effect in enlivening the Spirits of the Canadians and as they paddle in Tune beating Time with their Paddles it appears to ease their Labours.

Thursday the 6th Sept. The Remainder of the Colonists embarked to-day in five large Boats for the Red River and one smaller one which contained a few Passengers with the Remainder of the Sheep which were saved from drowning. (They had been placed on an Island in Hayes River opposite the Fort and by some strange Fatality the half were drowned and all the Rams). The Day was most unpropitious, cold North East Winds, foggy and incessant heavy Rain which must soon have drenched them to the very Skin. They had no Coverings to their Boats and altogether presented a Scene of Misery and a want of Comfort which pained the Heart. Their Situation is truly pitiable. After travelling some many thousand Miles from Switzerland to Dordrecht in Holland (where they embarked in the Lord Wellington, Captain [*illegible*], a Vessel belonging to Mr. Champion of Whitby), crossing the Atlantic, encountering all the Misery and Danger of Icebergs, arriving at York Fort after a passage of three Months, expecting to find all the Preparations for their Departure ready but having to wait fourteen Days and losing this Time, so precious, when the Season is so short; and then starting to encounter all the Miseries of a Journey of nearly two months exposed to all the Inclemencies of the Weather, Rain, Fogs, Damp, Dews, Cold and intense Frost, [with] the Aged, the little Children and delicate Females, only a few of the Men appearing to be sufficiently strong to bear such Hardships, and all this on a Route subject to peculiar difficulties. The first Party which started were obliged to leave half their Luggage behind; as one of the Boats had a Hole in her Bottom and was nearly going down. But after such Fatigues and dreadful Privations their Disappointment in Arriving at the Haven where they look for Comfort and Ease will be cruel. All their Hopes will be disappointed as they cannot reach the Forks of the Red River till the End of October, Winter in all its Severity will have set in and the poor Colonists will be exposed to every Suffering. The Prospectus which was distributed amongst them describes the Settlement as an Elysium, Houses ready for their Reception, &c., whilst in Fact, and it will hardly be credited, although fully £100,000 has been laid out expressly to establish the Colonists and although Colonists have been arriving every Year, there is still not a Block House or any Place to receive them and the only Alternative for them now is that the

Families must take up their Quarters with the Meurons,<sup>1</sup> who, though they have behaved bravely in defending the Colony, are still little better than a lawless banditti and, almost to a man, Drunkards. So little Reflexion or Forethought has the Governor Mr. Alexander McDonell that he contemplates with Satisfaction the placing the Families with such Characters, considering the young Women will find Husbands, little reflecting on the Misery they will be thus exposed to in their future Lives. All these Reflexions produced the most melancholy Feelings in my mind. The Colonists have been ill-selected, Captain de May, Lord Selkirk's Agent in Switzerland, having more considered Quantity than Quality, (he receives a Sort of Head Money). The greater Part of the Colonists do not appear to me to be fitted for the cultivation of the Country. Many of them both male and female were discovered to be bad Characters. Many of them however are excellent, particularly one Family, where there are six Daughters who merit a better Fate than will probably await them. But their Difficulties as to Travelling in this inclement Season may not cease on their Arrival at Fort Douglas. If Provisions are scarce they must proceed to Pamina,<sup>2</sup> about 70 Miles distant a Point where the River unites with the Red River where there is a Colony. These Plains, which the Buffalo resorts to in such Numbers will always furnish an inexhaustible Supply of Food, unless the Indians should fire the Plains when however the Inhabitants would have a Resource in Fish with which the Rivers and Lakes abound. The Fish are taken out of the Ice in Winter exposed to the Air when they are frozen to Death in a second and in this State are preserved the whole Winter. If the Colonists are obliged to go to Pamina they must live under Tents. Mr. de Husser accompanied the Colonists and I do not in my Life ever recollect in so short an Acquaintance to have regretted so much a Departure and to this Regret was added much Anxiety for him in the Certainty of his Sufferings; for with his feeling excellent Heart the Misery of his Countrymen will be a constant Source of Heart Bleeding and painful Feelings. I have seldom been so much pleased and every Moment of my Acquaintance added to my Regard.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Men of the disbanded de Meuron regiment, Germans, Swiss and Piedmontese, sent to the Red River settlement by Lord Selkirk. See the Great Company. B. Willson (London, 1900), vol. ii., p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Pembina. As the colonists had to do in 1817.

<sup>3</sup> These forebodings as to the fate of the colonists were unhappily justified. As Dr. Macoun says in "Manitoba and the Great North West" (1882), c. xxv., p. 442, "A number of poor Swiss were brought to the Colony in the fall of 1821, but these being altogether unacquainted with manual labour, suffered severely. Before they reached the Colony winter had set in, and they suffered frightful hardships

Friday the 7th September. The poor Colonists; the Day is as miserable as yesterday; incessant Rain and cold, violent North East Winds.

Saturday the 8th September. "Informes hyemes reducit Jupiter—non, si male nunc, et olim sic erit." The Day is beautiful and mild. The "hyemes" are however commencing, as we had a severe frost in the Night, but anything is better than wet for the Colonists. This Morning a Fawn (a Reindeer, Caribou) in endeavouring to cross the River above the Factory was caught by the Boats. Governor Williams had the Goodness to give him to me. Mr. Todd left us to-day for Island Lake, Steel River and Shaument [*letters illegible*] River.<sup>1</sup> The Schooner "Emma Maria" sailed this evening with her Cargo of Furs about £20,000 value. It is to be hoped the Cargo is insured from Shore to Shore as the Navigation is dangerous. Went on Board. The Sloop is in good Order; standing Rigging and Sails in bad Condition. Had been to Churchill taking trading Goods, and bringing back Furs, 150 miles distant. When the "Prince" is loaded she is to go to Severn with Goods, to winter there and return with Furs in Summer.

Sunday the 9th [September]. Beautiful Weather. Nothing of importance. Great Detention in unloading the Schooner.

Monday the 10th [September]. Cold, bleak Weather: blowing strong from the South East. Wet rainy Day.

Tuesday the 11th [September]. Fine mild Weather. A Boat with Indians went off to shoot Geese for the Winter Supply.<sup>2</sup> Schooner arrived with the Remainder of the Cargo. Much Detention arises from the "Prince of Wales" not being able to come up. Mr. Werk left York Factory for Severn about 150 Miles distant. Three Canoes came in from the North River with Deer. Report that they are crossing in great Numbers.

Memorandum.—One Vessel of about 90 Tons would be better than one of 60 as it might occasionally go to New York. If smaller Vessels should be adopted to run to York Captain Davison thinks Ships would be better than Brigs as they are handier and turn better to the Wind.

Wednesday the 12th Sept. The Schooner went off with the Remainder of the Cargo and the Passengers. Captain Oxley, Mr. Holmes and Mr. Ross went on Board. The Colony Boat took on Board the two Buffalo, two Rein Deer, male and female, one Fox, a Porcupine

"while on Lake Winuipeg." In December they were compelled to move to Pembina drawing the sleds themselves, as their predecessors had done in 1817. Things improved, however, during the following spring.

<sup>1</sup> Shamattawa River. Island Lake is due south of God's Lake.

<sup>2</sup> "The period of the *goose hunt* is one of the most plentiful seasons of the year." See Franklin's *First Journey*, 2d ed., chap. i., p. 39.

and an Eagle. The Weather very fine, Wind North West. Bad Accounts from the Colonists. Mr. Todd writes "during the short Time I was with them a poor Infant died in its Mothers Arms and one Man was drowned."

Thursday the 13th September. In the Night the poor Colonist died, a happy Release. At 12 o'clock Captain Davison came on shore and after Dinner at 3 I took leave of Governor Williams, Mr. Simpson, Mr. McDonell, Governor of the Red River Settlement, the Rev. Mr. West, Chaplain of the Hudson Bay Company, Mr. Snodie, Mr. Miles, Mr. Pambrun, Mr. Thirkness, Mr. Ermatinger, Mr. Poinseant, Mr. Gale, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Brown, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Tapping. The last Gun fired from the Fort put an End to the President of Council and I found myself in the Boat with Captain Davison. At half-past six reached the "Prince of Wales" in Five Fathom Hole. I was not insensible to the kind, flattering manner in which the Gentlemen of York Fort took leave of me, nor shall I ever forget Governor Williams' strong Expression of Feeling towards myself. It was gratifying as giving to my Mind the Certainty and Conviction that in my Arrangement of his Government I had in no Way hurt his Feelings and that he was satisfied with the Manner in which he had received his Appointment. My Situation was a most delicate one. His firm, manly Conduct in opposing the North West Company which, if he had not gone out, would have had a Fort on the very point where York stands and would eventually have driven the Hudson Bay out of the Field; the old Officers of the Company being a pusillanimous, heartless Set of Men and quite unfit for Opposition, though many of them are good Traders.

I had the Conviction, from all my Observations, that [his Appointment] would tend to the good of all and very particularly to his own Happiness and Comfort. Thus I had made up my Mind as to the Expediency of his going to the Southern Department. But I felt that he might think differently and that Feelings of Ambition or an Opinion that he would be humbled if he gave up the Northern Department might influence his Mind or Wishes. Thus I might have been in the painful situation of either wounding his Feelings or of giving up what I conceived would tend to the general Good. Mr. McGillivray having stated at Fort William that it was a Condition that Mr. Williams should go to the South I had intended, in order to give a proper and justifiable Démenti to so unfounded an Assertion . . . . . to await his Departure before I consulted with Mr. Williams so that Mr. McGillivray might not have the Power of saying he had had an Influence in the Appointment. But a few Days before his Departure he

enquired of me whether I had fixed the Governor. I told him I was considering the Subject. Much Altercation took place between us. He threatened Protests, writing to Mr. Ellice,<sup>1</sup> &c. On Reflection I considered that for a Point of Etiquette I might involve the Hudson Bay Company in Disputes and Arbitrations and I thought it better (and the more I see of Life the more I am convinced that the straightforward manly way without Twists and Turns is the best), at once to speak to Mr. Williams and state the whole case. This I did, and never in my Life have my Feelings received such relief as when he told me he had always intended to request the Appointment to the Southern Department. Here was a Load off my Heart, and all was easy and smooth, and I had again Reason (which indeed has marked every Step of my Mission) to return thanks to a gracious Providence for my Relief from this Situation of peculiar Difficulty and Delicacy. For I would not for the World have hurt the Feelings of a gallant manly Character who had so bravely defended the Rights of the Company at every personal Inconvenience and Hazard of his Life. Thus his Parting with me in the most affectionate and feeling Manner gave to my Mind a perfect Happiness and I trust proper Pride, amply repaying me for all the Anxieties and Privations which have attended by Mission. And this Feeling of Happiness and Pride was increased by the Manner in which the other Gentlemen took leave of me. It was an Earnest to me that they approved my Conduct and it shall [illegible] them that so long as I continue in the Direction their Interests will be uppermost in my Thoughts and will never be forgotten and their hearty warm Cheers on my embarking shall ever be engraven on my Heart, a proud Gratification for the Past and Stimulus to Exertion for the Future. Thus has terminated my Mission to Ruperts Land, the last Gun fired from the Fort putting an End to the President of Council. What I now write is not in Vanity, for I trust my Mission has produced no Feelings of this kind, but of Gratification and pleasing Feelings which will accompany me to the Grave, in Adversity will give comfort and support to my mind, in Prosperity will add to my Enjoyment and in either will give me the Conviction that no Feelings in this Life are permanent, that what we the most wish for is often our Bane and that which we most dread proves to be in the End our greatest Happiness. Never shall I forget my Feelings on quitting England. All the dreadful Thoughts which crowded upon my Mind, Fears for the Future, and Dread of bodily Sufferings ending in Disease and continual Suffering, with my

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Ellice, a leading partner of the N. W. Company, afterwards Privy Councillor. To his exertions mainly was due the union of the two great companies. See the Great Company (London, 1900), vol. ii., p. 217.



Nerves so shaken that even the taking Leave of Persons almost indifferent to me, overcame my Feelings. Never shall I forget my Sufferings on Finding myself on the Liverpool Mail, the day wet and gloomy. My stay at Liverpool however gave me time for Reflection and my Mind soon acquired a proper Tone. Sea-sickness depressed me again, but new Scenes in America constant moving and Reflection soon again restored my Mind. In Montreal my Difficulties commenced. I soon began to find out the Characters I had to deal with. My own Party turned as it were against me and I had nobody to confide in. Thus I arrived at Fort William.

Here I was almost alone; the only Person I could confide in (and who certainly was of the greatest Use to me) was a Man little acquainted with the World and so prejudiced that in the Advice and Opinions he gave me he was always influenced by his own confined Opinion and Feelings of Dislike to the Heads of the Country. But every Circumstance favored me and thus with Ease though with much Anxiety this Part of my Mission was fulfilled. At Rainy Lake, Bas de la Rivière, Red River, Norway House, York Fort Difficulties awaited me, but Circumstances everywhere turned out fortunately for me and all terminated as I could wish. Thus I find myself on Board the "Prince of Wales" with Gratitude in my Heart (which I trust will lead me to be a better Man) towards the Almighty for the gracious Protection vouchsafed to me. My Health, which I feared would suffer, improved. My Mission brought to bear [fruit], all Parties satisfied and united, except Those who have sinister and sordid Views to carry into Effect (which I have had the advantage to unmask) and having had it in my Power to protect so many People who otherwise would have suffered. Having protected the Interests of the Company, and my Mind altogether happy and satisfied, but without Vanity, I look forward with Anxiety and Desire to my Arrival in England where to complete my Happiness I trust I shall find all well, my Friends in good health, happy to see me and approving my Conduct.

York Fort is situated on the West Side of Hayes River on a Point of alluvial Land formed by this River and the Nelson or N. River which is the Outlet of Lake Winnipic and of the vast Bodies of Waters which this Lake receives. The Soil is everywhere marshy—the Country on every side flat covered with low stunted Pine, Willows (Poplar Willow called in England the Balsam Tree).

The Fort is built on Piles—but though drained on every side is still sinking. The Buildings are surrounded by Stockades and are of

an Octagon Form, which appear to have been so erected to form Bas-tions but are now converted into dwelling rooms and Warehouses. It is two Storeys high. The Roof which forms a Sort of Walk or Look out is covered with Lead on which there is a Flag Staff, rigged as a Mast. In the Centre of the Building is the Hudson Bay Arms painted by Mr. Cooke. Within the Stockade are several Buildings, a small Garden and the Powder Magazine which is a wooden Erection covered with Lead. It is in a most dangerous Situation and should be removed. The Fort may be about a hundred yards from the River. On landing there is a Warehouse to the right and one to the left. The former is called the Colony Warehouse. The Banks may be 60 or 70 Feet high and are of so loose and clayey a Nature that they are continually falling in. As a Fortification it is a Place of no Strength. There are twelve small Cannon within the Stockades and four six-pounders before the main Entrance, which were sent out for the Colony but which cannot be transported there by River because of their Weight and the Shallow Navigation of the Rivers. The same may be said of the Iron for the Corn Mill.<sup>1</sup>

Friday the 14th of September. At two o'clock in the Morning Captain Davison prepared for sailing. At 9.30 the Guns from York Fort announced the Departure of Governor Williams for Cumberland House where he winters. At 10 we were under Weigh. The Fort saluted us with five Guns which we returned with as many. Left Five Fathom Hole, Wind S.E., in beautiful Weather. At 12 Cape Tatnam bears East; low Shore which continues to James Bay and is a dangerous Navigation, shoal Water. Lat. 57.10, Lon. 93.

Saturday, the 15th of September. Wind S.E. and E.S.E. Fine weather. Short unpleasant Sea, producing Sea-sickness. (Five Fathom Hole to Mansfield 165 Leagues, Mansfield to Cape Diggs 18 Leagues, Cape Diggs to Resolution 136 Leagues, Resolution to Orkneys 660 Leagues.)

Lat. 58.53, Lon. 39.45.

Sunday the 16th September. Wind E.N.E. and N. Lat. 59.30, Lon. 86.50.

Monday the 17th September. Wind E.N.E. Cold Weather. Thermometer 31°. Lat. 60, Lon. 85.

Tuesday the 18th [September]. Wind E.N.E. and N. Cold Weather. Thermometer 31°. Lat. 60, Lon. 84.30.

Wednesday the 19th [September]. Wind E. Very cold. Abreast of the Sleepers, high mountainous Rocks, between 59 and 60 Degrees

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<sup>1</sup> For further particulars about York Fort, see Appendix [F.]

Lat., Lon. 81, to the South of Mansfield. Cabin Passengers, Mr. Ross, Captain Oxley, Mr. [?] Maraboy, Surgeon, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Wild, Chief Mate, Mr. [illegible], Second Mate. Lat. 60.25, Lon. 86.21.

Thursday the 20th [September]. An excellent Run in the Night. Wind E.S.E. Cleared Mansfield Island.<sup>1</sup> This is a low Island, covered with Willows and sandy, running from 61.40 to 62.40 Lat. and in Longitude from 80.50 to 81.85. Sandbanks run out several Miles in all Directions.

Friday the 21st September. The Variation of the Compass is here 45 Degrees West. The Variation is here occasioned by the Attraction of the North Pole though why it is East or West has not been discovered. Therm. 32. Miles 104. Lat. 62.54, Lon. 81.10.

Saturday 22nd [September]. Wind E.S.E. Very cold, Cape Digges in sight bearing S.E. five Leagues distant. Three Islands of Rock, high Land. Went below to see the Damage which the "Prince of Wales" in her Voyage out received near the Saddle Back by running foul of an Island of Ice, the Appearance truly terrific. The Side from the fore to the mid Chains on the Starboard Side driven in and the Knees actually divided. If it had struck below the Water Mark she must have gone down in an instant. "Ye Gentlemen of England," &c., &c. Cape Digges, four Islands, entirely Rock, bold, high and mountainous, desolate Appearance. The Sight of them drove the Thermometer down to 28°. They are covered with Snow, which, I understand, is perpetual. They are about six Leagues from Cape Westenholme<sup>2</sup> which is the most northern Point of the East Main, the Cape bearing about E. A strong current sets upon them.

Therm. 29. Miles 18. No observation Lat. and Lon.

Sunday the 23rd September. Between Cape Digges and the Island of Nottingham, the former bearing S. and the latter N. Nottingham has the same Character in Appearance as Cape Digges and this is the most narrow Part of the Straits, about seven Leagues.

Therm. 27°. Miles 31. Lat. 62.55, Lon. 79.

Monday the 24th September. Weather almost calm; scarcely any Progress during the Night. In the Morning Cape Digges, bearing S.W., Cape Walsingham [*sic*],<sup>3</sup> S., Nottingham, N., Salisbury, N.N.E. Cape Digges is in Lat. 62.50, Lon. between 79 and 78. Nottingham is an Island of Rock, between 63 and 64 Lat. and between 79 and 78 Lon. Salisbury is an Island of the same Character between Lat. 63 and 64 and Lon. 78 and 77. Cape Walsingham<sup>3</sup> is the most Northern Point of the

<sup>1</sup> Or Mansell I. in modern maps.

<sup>2</sup> Wolstenholme.

<sup>3</sup> So written in diary. Must be meant for Westenholme, or Wolstenholme. above.

East Main Coast. Our Vessel is becalmed within Sight of all these Lands which have a most desolate, dreary Appearance; high, bold Rocks, 600 or 700 feet, and covered with eternal snow. In these dreary Regions, so desolate in Appearance we were agreeably surprized by the Sight of four Esquimaux Canoes making towards our Ship from Nottingham. This is so unusual at this Season of the Year that Capt. Davison only met them once on his Return, and this was after having wintered at Moose, though he has made 33 Voyages. It was a singular Instance of good Fortune and was particularly interesting to me. Nottingham at the Moment was about four Leagues distant. In about an Hour and a half they were alongside. The Party consisted of 4 Men. On Approaching the Vessel they appeared quite elated, raising their Paddles and appearing delighted to see us and holloaing "Chemoo, Chemoo,"<sup>1</sup> which is "Barter." They were good looking Men with agreeable Features, black Hair, olive Complexions but not darker than a dark European. They had Mustachios on the upper Lip and a Tuft of Hair on their Chins à la Vandyke. They were dressed in Seal Skins with the Fur turned inwards. Their Canoes were about 21 feet in Length and 20 Inches in Breadth, a Frame Work of Wood within, covered with Seal Skin. The Paddle is about six Feet in Length, the Sides covered with Ivory from the Sea Unicorn. They use the Paddle across the Canoe, inclining first one Side and then the other. They were very fat, and, I understand, the Women are as plump, arising from the Food they live on, Blubber and Oil. They had few Things to barter, a few Curiosities, and Implements for fishing in the making of which they are very ingenious. It is to be regretted that so little is known of these interesting People. The Hudson's Bay Company should direct an Esquimaux to be sent over who could learn English and a most beneficial Trade might be established. Captain Davison considers they were coming from the North on their Way to the East Main Coast where he thinks they winter. But this is all Conjecture. Captain Davison is fearful they are Cannibals, having about three Years since when on Shore at the Saddleback found a Woman's Hand near a Fire. If this is the Fact their Countenances must be very deceitful. We have made each of them a Present of a Hatchet, a Kettle, two Spoons and Iron Hoops. The Moment they received them they put them to their Tongue.

Tuesday the 25th Sept. Almost calm. Yesterday the Sun passed the Line but no Equinoctial Gales. Therm. 29. Miles 49. Lat. 63.20, Lon. 76.

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<sup>1</sup> So written in diary. Meant, I suppose, for some part of the verb tchimmer-toark, to barter.

Wednesday the 26th Sept. Wind E.S.E. all Night. Beautiful Day. Passed some Icebergs in the Night. In the Evening passed a very large Iceberg, about 6 Miles distant.

Therm. 30. Miles, 48. Lat. 63.20, Lon. 74.13.

Thursday the 27th September. Light Winds all Night S.S.E., beautiful Weather. Running along the East End of Charles [Island].

Therm. 30. Miles, 66. Lat. 62.58, Lon. 74.48.

Friday the 28th September. Light Winds with Calms, E., E.N.E., S.E. Charles is an Island of the same Character as Nottingham and Salisbury, between Lat. 62 and 63, Lon. 74, 75. This Morning the East Main or Labrador Coast in Sight; high mountainous rocky Country, the Northern Shore within 5 Leagues; the same Character covered with Snow, (the Distance across about 50 Miles). In Sight near Lakes Inlet, surrounded by Icebergs which in the Sun have a most beautiful, transparent Appearance though adding to the Dreariness of the Scene. The little Progress we make has induced Captain Davison to put the Men on short Allowance, there being 110 Persons on Board.

Saturday the 29th September. Light Breezes during the Night. In the Morning running along the N. Shore. Cape Look Out. After Dinner abreast of the Upper Savage Islands surrounded by Icebergs. Flocks of Wild Ducks and of Gulls.

An Iceberg 150 feet high, 200 in Breadth. It is supposed that to every Foot above the Water there are 6 below. Thus this immense Mass of Ice would be 900 feet to 1050 in Height.

Therm. 36. Miles 49. Lat. 62.34. Wind S.S.E., N.E. for a Moment, light Winds.

Sunday the 30th September. Wind S.S.E. Calm till towards the Evening; when off Point Look Out near the Upper Savage Islands a violent Storm commenced from the S.S.E.

Therm. 31. Miles 76. Lat. 62.27. Lon. 70.52.

Monday 1st October. Storm more violent, S.S.E. Surrounded by tremendous Ice Bergs Towards Evening North Bluff in Sight.

Therm. 31. Miles, 44. Lat. 62.21, Lon. 71.5.

Tuesday 2nd October. Storm continuing from the same Quarter. Lake's Inlet in Sight. Immense Ice Bergs.

Therm. 32. Miles 76. Lat. 62.55, Lon.

Wednesday the 3rd [October]. Continuation of Storm. Wind S.S.E., no Observation.

Thursday the 4th [October]. Wind abated; towards Noon almost calm.

Therm. 32. Miles, 85. Lat. 62.27, Lon. 71.16.

Friday the 5th [October]. Wind at last from N.W. but light Breeze. Towards Evening a calm, and Hopes disappointed.

Therm. 32. Miles, 53. Lat. 62.7, Lon. 70.2.

Saturday the 6th [October]. Calm the whole Day. Quite unusual.

Therm. 29. Miles, 18. Lat. 62.2. Lon. 69.53.

Sunday the 7th [October]. Calm all Night except an Interval of half an Hour with the Wind at S.E. In the Morning calm. These continual Calms are a Sort of Phenomenon at this Season and in these Regions of Ice and Dreariness. Our Situation begins to be, if not critical, at least rendering Forethought and Care necessary. We are 110 Persons on Board and have only Provisions and Water for about five Weeks and have 2000 Miles in a direct Line to sail before we reach the Orkneys. The Weather continues to be foggy. On clearing up to-day we found ourselves close to a gigantic Ice Berg. Hoping to find Water we despatched a Boat to it. Our People found no Water but filled the Boat with Ice which was quite without Salt. This was the largest Mass of Ice we have seen, 300 feet in Height, 300 in Length, 300 in Breadth. These Masses of Ice are formed near the Land and are broken off by the Winds and driven out to Sea. Continued Falls of Snow add to their Size.

At Noon off the Saddleback. The Saddleback is one of the middle Savage Islands, so called from the Resemblance its Appearance has to the Back of a Saddle. It was off this Island that the "Prince" met with the Accident this Year, when her Escape was so providential.

Extract from Captain Davison's Log Book:—"Tuesday the 24th of July, 1821. At 3 a.m. it being a fresh Breeze, foggy with Rain we perceived the Ship drifting on an Island of Ice close to us and the Current was so strong that we could not get clear and it took us in the Midships and stove in the Starboard Side from the Bends upwards. The Eddystone and Lord Wellington on each Side of us just escaped. On Surveying the Damage we found 36 Timbers broke in the lower Deck, the Planks stove in halfway from the fore chains to the main chains. The Part stove in was only 6 Inches from the Water. Had there been a Breeze of Wind or the least Sea she must have gone down, or had she been alone her loss was inevitable. By putting the Cargo on Board the Lord Wellington and lightening and with the Assistance of the three Crews the damaged Part was repaired. The Appearance even now is frightful." On the 21st July the Discovery Ships, the "Fury," Captain Parry, and the "Hecla," Captain Lyon, left the Prince when off Terra Neva, a short Distance to the East of the Saddle Back. Non si male nunc—et olim sic erit.

Towards the Evening we had at last a fair Wind from the N.W. which continued all Night, going 7 Knots.

Monday 8th October. The Middle Savage Islands and Saddle Back are in Lat. 62.10 and Lon. 68-69. (Distance made 1641 Miles.) Fine Breeze going 6-7 Knots. N.W. At 12 o'clock Cape Resolution bore N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. Distance 8 Miles. We may now consider ourselves clear of Hudson Straits in which we have been 17 Days. The Island of Resolution is a large mountainous rocky Land without Trees or any Sort of Vegetation, the same Character as Charles, and Nottingham. It is between Lon. 66-65 and in Lat. 61 and 62. It was here the "Prince of Wales" was driven ashore in 1818. During our Dinner we were agreeably surprized by a Report from the Officer on Deck that the Edystone was in Sight. At 3 she came near us and Captain Bell came on Board. Our Hope to get Water and Provisions from him was disappointed as his Situation was even more critical than ours, having 88 People on Board and only three Weeks Provisions. I recommended Captain Bell to go North about and gave him a Writing, at his Desire, to this Effect. He brought the Despatch Box on Board which after reading the Report of the Southern Department I returned. At this Time Button's Islands, high Rocks, were in Sight.

At Noon Therm. 28. Miles 143. Lat. 61, Lon. 65.

(The Edystone arrived at Moose on the 19th August, sailed the 16th September entered the Straits on the 27th [September].

Tuesday the 9th October. Wind N.W., beautiful Weather.

Therm. 29. Miles, 115. Lat. 60.52, Lon. 61.13.

Wednesday the 10th October. Wind N.N.E., fine Weather.

Therm. 29. Miles, 139. Lat. 60. Lon. 56.54.

Thursday the 11th October. Wind N.E. Snow Storms.

Therm. 34. Miles, 157. Lat. 59.21, Lon. 51.54.

Friday the 12th October. Wind N.E., fine Weather, heavy Sea. At 8 o'clock this Evening about 15 Leagues to the South of Cape Farewell which is the most southern Point of Greenland.

Therm. 38. Miles, 145. Lat. 58.59, Lon. 47.18.

Saturday the 13th October. Wind N.W., blowing hard.

Therm. 40. Miles, 214. Lat. 58.50, Lon. 40.31.

Sunday the 14th October. Wind N.W., blowing hard.

Therm. 44. Miles, 211. Lat. 58.50, Lon. 33.45.

Monday the 15th October. Wind W.S.W. Blowing hard, carried away the Main-top-gallant Mast. Sailor much hurt. Iceland lies between Lat. 63 and 67 Degrees North, and between Lon. 11 and 27 Degrees West.

Therm. 49. Miles, 223. Lat. 59.1, Lon. 26.33.

Tuesday the 16th October. Wind, W., W.N.W., W.S.W. This Afternoon an immense Quantity of Porpoises about the Ship, indication of Storm which we had at Night from the S.W. Still steering our Course. Blew very hard in the Night. Sailing under Fore Sail and Main Top Sail, close reefed.

Therm. 51. Miles, 208. Lat. 59.5, Lon. 19.11.

Wednesday the 17th October. Wind W.S.W., N.W. and N., fine Weather. There having been a Mistake in the Second Glass it having been 30 Minutes instead of 28 Captain Davison has deducted two Degrees from the Distance run, thus 15.15 instead of 13.15.

Therm. 53. Miles, 207. Lat. 58.49. Lon. 13.15, [corrected as above to] 15.15.

Thursday the 18th October. Wind N.N.W., N.W., fine Weather.

Therm. 50. Miles, 181. Lat. 58.55. Lon. 9.30.

Friday the 19th October. Wind N.N.W., squally. Owing to the Hour Glass, or rather the Second Glass having been 30 Minutes instead of 28, Captain Davison's Calculation is ahead of the Ship 95 Miles. It shows the Necessity of the Ship having a Chronometer. At 5 o'clock abreast of the Flanin Islands and at 7 the Lewis—the most northern Island of the Hebrides. Passed 5 Ships to-day steering to the West for America, probably from the Baltic.

Therm. 50. Miles, 104. Lat. 59.17, Lon. 5.17.

Saturday the 20th October. N.W. till 12 o'clock. During the Night violent storm from the S.E. Hard Disappointment. Went to Bed with a fair Wind hoping to arrive in the Morning. Driven out to Sea. Carried away Mizen Jib Boom.

Sunday the 21st October. Hard hearted Wind S.S.E. blowing hard.

Therm. 47. Miles, 72. Lat. 59.40, Lon. 5.43.

Monday the 22nd October Continuance of the same Wind. Barra, a small uninhabited Island, in Sight; very melancholy.

Tuesday the 23rd October. Wind right ahead S.S.E.

Therm. 50. Miles, 93. Lat. 59, Lon. [?]

Wednesday the 24th. Wind S.W. Barra and Rona in Sight two barren Islands between Lat. 59 and 60, and Lon. 6 and 7. At 3 o'clock running along the Scotch Coast, the County of Sutherland, which is a bold mountainous Country, high Rocks of a conical Form. Cape Wrath the most northern Point.

Thursday the 25th October. Arrived at Stromness.

Friday the 26th October. Crossed the Pentland Firth. Boisterous Passage. Arrived at Thurso after 12 Hours Sailing.



Saturday the 27th October. Left Thurso at 7 in the Morning.

Sunday the 28th October. Inverness, 165 Miles.

Monday the 29th. Perth, Highland Road, 120 Miles.

Tuesday the 30th. Edinbro, 45 Miles.

Wednesday the 31st. Left Edinbro.

Saturday Nov. 1st. London, 405 Miles.

END OF DIARY.



## APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX [A].

## UNION OF THE COMPANIES.

*Extract of Letter to Governor Williams.*

[From the Hudson Bay Company? 1821.]

28 Mar. You will receive herewith a new Commission as Governor in our Territory of Ruperts Land in Place of the Commission of Governor in Chief, which is hereby revoked. A Commission of Governor is also sent to Mr. Geo. Simpson but dated one Day after Yours, so that in all Cases when you may both be present you will preside as the Senior Governor at the Councils. In Point of Fact you will both be in the Northern Department this First Year and we have given Mr. Vincent a special Authority to preside at the Council to be held at Moose Factory, but Mr. Garry after conferring with you and Mr. Simpson will determine according to Circumstances whether it is most expedient that you or Mr. Simpson should proceed to Moose to act as Governor.

## MINUTES OF MY PROCEEDINGS.

[*Extract from letter of N. Garry.*]

To the Earl of Dalhousie.

New York, the 11th May, 1821.

I take the Liberty to forward a Letter I have received from the Foreign Office introducing me to your Lordships Notice but as my Time will not permit my visiting Quebec I have availed myself of the polite Offer of Mr. Laws to convey it to you by him—but I should not thus have troubled your Lordship did I not consider the Letter might contain other matter than an Introduction—that it might contain some Particulars of the Termination of the Disputes between the Hudson's Bay and North-West Company. In thus addressing your Lordship I trust it will not be considered as presuming in me in taking the Liberty to inform your Lordship that I am waiting in New York the Arrival of Mr. S. McGillivray whom I expect to arrive every Day, to proceed with him into the Interior of the Hudson's Bay Country, finally with him to carry into Effect the Arrangements which have been made in London between the two Companies. I am uncertain whether your Lordship is acquainted with the Particulars of the Arrangement but if your Lordship should wish to receive any Information it will afford me great Satisfaction to receive your Lordships Commands to this Effect or if your Lordship should have any Directions to give me on my proceeding into the Interior I need not assure your Lordship that they will be punctually attended to by me.

LETTER FROM N. GARRY TO GOV. WILLIAMS.

Fort William, 5th July, 1821.

Dear Sir :

I am happy to learn from Mr. McKenzie your safe Arrival at Jack River House and considering you will be anxious to receive further Advices as to the Nature of the Arrangement entered into with the North West Company I have thought it to be advisable to forward to you by a light Canoe sundry Letters and Papers which are marked at the Foot of this Letter. The North West Company having made Fort William the principal Depot of their Trade have a very large Supply of Goods in Store and as from the Manner in which the Trade under the new Arrangement will be conducted, the keeping up of so considerable a Depot would be useless and would only incur great Expense and Risk it is in Contemplation to send forward as large a Proportion as may be practicable and thus it is probable it will be found expedient to supply from hence the Posts of the Athapascan, Saskatschewan, English River, Cumberland House, Fort Dauphin and the Red River. \* \* \* \*

The Canadians in the Service of the Hudson Bay Company exceeding so much the Number which will be required, it will be expedient not to renew the Engagements of such Men whose Time is expired, and, even though it should be done with some Sacrifice, to annul the Engagements of others who may be willing to retire. \* \* \* \*

I consider it will be advisable, till we meet, that your Communication on the Subject should only be general and particularly as to the Names of the Chief Factors and Traders.

Believe me to be, &amp;c., &amp;c.,

NICHOLAS GARRY.

To William Williams, Esq., Governor of Ruperts Land.

Fort William, 11th July, 1821.

Wednesday the 11th July. After Dinner Mr. McGillivray came to me stating the Partners of the N. W. Company were ready to sign the Covenant of the Hudson's Bay Company which was done by the following Gentlemen who accordingly received their Commissions:—John Thomson, John Macdonald, James Leith, Alexander Stewart, J. G. McTavish, George Keith, John Dugald Cameron, James Keith, Angus Bethune, John McBean, Chief Factors: Thomas McMurray, Donald McIntosh, Allan McDonell, D. W. Harmon, Roderick Mackenzie, Joseph McGillivray, William Connelly, Peter Warren Dease, J. F. Laroque, Alexander Stewart, Alexander Macdonald, John Thomson, Donald McIntosh, Thomas McMurray, Chief Traders.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thursday the 12th July. It was contemplated to have a Meeting of the New Concern, but it was too late to arrange a Plan of Appointments to Posts. Thus it was put off to Friday, which was again altered to Saturday from a Motive of Superstition. Considering that the best Plan to open the Business was to have a general Meeting I mentioned my Intentions to the Chief Factors. They however protested against it as being a bad Precedent in admitting the Chief Traders. On my communicating this to the Mr. McGillivrays, Mr. Simon immediately found out that the Commissions stated that the Factors were only Members of Council in Ruperts Land. Thus no meeting in regular Form

of Council could be convened. Much Discussion took place on the Subject. At length after a great deal of Reasoning with the Chief Factors they all declared through a Deputation, excepting three, that any Suggestion from me as to their Posts would be attended to, and all this in a conciliating proper manner.

\* \* \* \* \*

The whole Body of Chief Factors declared I had only to express my Wishes; thus they were appointed and every Difficulty here thus removed.

Thursday the 12th July. A Meeting or Council was to have been convened to-day but the Papers and Arrangement of Posts not being ready it was put off till to-morrow—some of the Partners, Catholics, disliking the Day considering it to be ominous—hinted they should prefer Saturday.

\* \* \* \* \*

Friday the 13th July. The Chief Factors protested against the Traders attending the Meeting. Mr. Simon McGillivray pointed out that the Commissions were so worded that they [the Chief Traders] were only Members of Council in Rupert's Land and thus no regular Meeting could be convened. On looking at my own I found my Commission was to the same Effect. Thus I have no Power here and every Act is on own Responsibility.

#### TO GOVERNOR WILLIAMS.

Fort William, 17th July, 1821.

Dear Sir,—I did myself the pleasure to address you on the 5th Inst. and am happy now to inform you that all Matters are arranged here and the Machine set in motion.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Appointments of Officers to Posts which I have made are:—Athapascan Department, comprehending Fort Chipewyan and Posts on the Lake; Slave Lake and River; Peace River and New Caledonia; James Leith, Chief Factor, Chief of Dept. Edward Smith, Chief Factor, William Mackintosh, Joseph McGillivray, Peter W. Dease, Hugh Fanis, A. R. McCleod, Chief Traders.

New Caledonia, John Stewart, Chief Factor.

Cumberland House, William Kennedy, Chief Factor.

Columbia, John Haldane, J. D. Cameron, Chief Factors; James Macmillan, Chief Trader.

English River, James Keith, Chief Factor; J. F. La Roque, Chief Trader.

Saskatchewan, John Rowand, Chief Trader. It will be necessary to appoint a Chief Factor to this Department with such additional Outfit as you may deem necessary.

York Fort, J. M. McTavish, Chief Factor.

Moose Factory, Angus Bethune, Chief Factor.

Lesser Slave Lake, William Connolly, Chief Trader.

Red River, James Bird, Chief Factor.

Upper Red River, John McDonald, Chief Factor.

Fort Dauphin, Allan McDonell, Chief Trader.

Lake Winnipic, J. W. Dease, Chief Trader.

Lake Nipigon, Roderic McKenzie, Chief Trader.

Pic, Alexander McTavish, Clerk.

Michicopoton, Donald McIntosh, Chief Trader.

Fort William, Alexr. Stewart, Chief Trader.

Lake Huron, John McBean, Chief Factor.

River Winnipic, Thomas McMurray, Chief Trader.

Timmiskamain, Angus Cameron, Chief Trader.

James Sutherland, appointed Chief Factor of Saskatchewan [see above].

Churchill, John Charles, Chief Factor; John Lee Lewis, Chief Trader; A. McDonell, Clerk.

AT NORWAY HOUSE THE 11TH AUG., 1821.

Mr. Fidler's Maps at York Factory should be sent to England. Assured him that he should remain in the Service. That he shall receive a retired Share. To remain this Winter at Norway House with Mr. Robertson.

\* \* \* \* \*

Finding we could not form a Council we had a Meeting of Arrangement. In the Afternoon Mr. Leith arrived which gave us the full Number.

Sunday the 12th August. The great Distance Mr. Leith had to go to this Post rendered Dispatch so necessary that we were forced to hold a Council on this Day.

In the Morning Mr. West performed Divine Service. Married a Daughter of Mr. Kennedy to a Clerk of the Hudson Bay Company and christened 31 Children. Mr. West had before married 25 Couples and christened 121 Children.

Held a Council of Indians. Chiefs from Isle la Cross, Athapascan, Upper Slave Slake, Copper Mine River. Assured them they would receive the same Treatment as heretofore. Two Chiefs replied. Their Answers were artful, complaining of the Poorness of their Lands, &c., and making no exact Promises.

\* \* \* \* \*

I recommended all the Chief Factors and Chief Traders to be liberal to the Indians, and by no Means to reduce the Standard of Trade, which would be a most ruinous Policy. In my Address to the Indians at Lac La Pluie and at Norway House I stated distinctly this would not be the Case.

At Norway House the following Chiefs were present:—Pannetowin, Cut Thumb; Athapascan. Chipewzan, Le Grand Jeune Homme—Slave Lake.

Stinking Grass, Isle la Crosse.

[Speech to Indian Chiefs]. "You will have heard that the two Rival Chiefs have made Peace and that the Trade will be conducted under the Anglois or Hudsons Bay Company. This Union is not made to oppress the Indians but rather to benefit them and they will always find that the Industrious and Good will be protected, that around them they will see many great Chiefs of both Parties—that all are now united. This great Chief Mr. Leith you will see amongst you in the Athapascan. Two other great Chiefs of the Anglois whom you were accustomed to see will not visit your Lands this Year. One, Mr. Robertson, is required to guard the large Stock of Goods which you see in our Warehouses and which can only be entrusted to a great Chief, the other Mr. Clarke is unhappily forced to go to Montreal from Ill-health. Mr. McGillivray represents the North West Company—the French. I have the Honor to represent the Anglois or Hudson's Bay and we all assure you of Kind liberal Treatment. I shall return to my Lands where I shall meet your great Fathers who are on the other Side of

"the Water. They all know you—are delighted when they hear of your good Conduct but will visit with their Discipline the Idle and Dissipated. I have ordered you a Present of Rum and I request you to enjoy it quietly and without Intoxication."

Cut Thumb answered he believed my Assurances; that their Country was poor, we must not therefore expect too much, but they would do their Duty.

Stinking Grass said He likewise believed our Assurances though a Bird had whispered the Contrary to his People, but he wished I should make him the Assurance that the Standard would remain the same and direct the Chiefs in his Presence not to alter it. That soon I should return to my Lands—that before me the other Chiefs were nothing and might forget what I directed them to do.

I here assured him they were very great Chiefs and would keep their Promises. The Council ended in their asking for a Present of Rum for their Relations. The Chiefs were fine personable looking Men but all dressed in the European Manner.

\* \* \* \* \*

Clerks of the North West who had entered into a new Partnership :

Alexander Fisher—Lake of the Two Mountains.

John Siveright—St. Mary's.

Geo. McBride—Timiskamingue.

Thomas Fraser—Timiskamingue.

William Henry—New Caledonia.

Cuthbert Cumming—Fort Dauphin.

Have received the Emolument of Shares for the last two Years.

Delivered to Mr. Simpson the following Commissions requesting Him to deliver them, on the Hudson's Bay Covenants, and Messrs. McGillivray's full Power being executed :—

John Haldane, Chief Factor, in the Columbia.

John Stuart, Chief Factor in the Athapascan.

Edward Smith, Chief Factor in the Athapascan.

Donald McKenzie, Chief Factor in the Columbia.

William McIntosh, Chief Trader, in the Athapascan.

Hugh Farris, Chief Trader, in New Caledonia.

John Rowand, Chief Trader, in the Saskatchewan.

John Lee Lewis, Chief Trader, in the Columbia.

James McMillan, Chief Trader, in the Columbia.

A. R. McLeod, Chief Trader, in the McKenzie River.

If Mr. McGillivray's full Power is not executed Mr. Simpson will then write to the Committee for Instructions.

Letter to Mr. Vincent. Notice of Arrangement. Intending to retire he is appointed Chief Factor. The Governors being at a fixed Salary and at pleasure no Arrangement for Retirement could be made in any other Way.

"As Mr. Williams and Mr. Simpson will be in the North a Special Appointment as President to preside at Moose is made out. You will take care that correct Accounts are transmitted as usual up to the 1st June to be closed and that all Expenses relating to the Outfit of 1821-1822 are separated and charged to the new Concern. All personal Accounts for Wages are to be closed at the same Date, after which Wages and Debts for Goods taken up will fall under the new Arrangement, but the Company will allow Interest on the Balances left in their Hands the same as before."





## APPENDIX [B].

## ROUTES.

Names and Number of Portages and Décharges from Fort William to the Bas de la Rivière.

1. Décharge des Paresseux.
2. Portage de Montagne.
3. " d'Ecarté.
4. Décharge de Rose.
5. Portage de l'Islet.
6. " de Ra [*illegible*].
7. " de Couteaux.
8. Décharge—no name.
9. " "
10. " Boulanger.
11. Mauvais Décharge.
- 12.
13. Décharge de Bateau.
14. " des Epinettes.
15. Petit Décharge du Portage du Diable.
16. Portage du Diable.
17. " du Chien.
- 18.
19. " du Jardin.<sup>1</sup>
20. " du Lac froid.
21. " de la Prairie.
22. " du Milieu.
23. " du Savanne.
24. " du Cloutier.
25. " la Pinte.
26. " de Pine ?
27. " des Français.
28. " des Morts.
29. " des deux Rivières.
30. Small Décharge.
31. Portage de grosse Roche.
32. " de petite Roche.
33. Décharge des Courchins.
34. Portage de l'Islet.
35. " de Bouleux.
36. " de l'Isle.
37. 1st Portage la Croix.
38. 2nd Portage la Croix.
39. 3rd Portage la Croix.
40. 1st Portage neuf.

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<sup>1</sup> Jourdin, or Jordan.

41. 2nd Portage neuf.
42. de Chaudière—to arrive at Rainy Lake Post.
43. Portage of Lac des Bois.
44. Portage du Rat in Lake of the Woods. Lat. 49.10. From hence the Line is to run down West. The Rocky Mountains become the boundary Line between British Territory and United States.
45. Grand Décharge.
46. Portage de Terre jaune.
47. “ de la petite Roche.
48. “ de Terre blanche.
49. “ de la Cave.
50. “ de l'Isle.
51. Chute à Jacco.<sup>1</sup>
52. Portage of Pointe du Bois.
53. “ of petite Roche.
54. Roche brûlée Portage.
55. Chute d'Esclave.
56. Portage de [?] Bougnal.
57. “ du grand Rapide.
58. “ des Dalles.
59. “ of White River.
60. “ Cataret.<sup>2</sup>
61. Décharge du Grand Galet.
62. Portage du Grand Galet.
63. “ du Roche Capitain.
64. “ de la petite Roche coupée.
64. Décharge du Bassin.
65. Portage of White River.
66. “ “ “
67. Décharge of White River.
68. Portage de l'Anse [?] de Bonnet.
69. Roche brûlée.
70. Portage de Bonnet.
71. “ Roche de Bonnet.
72. Terre blanche.
73. Portage des Chênes.
74. “ de Milieu.
75. Décharge de Minette.
76. “ de l'Islet.
77. Portage des Eaux qui remuent.
78. A Décharge before arriving at the Bottom of the River Winnipic.

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<sup>1</sup> Jacobs Falls.

<sup>2</sup> Cantor in Diary. Keating's Long, II, p. 145 has P. du Cantara.

## ROUTE FROM LONDON TO YORK FORT AND RETURN TO LONDON.

Month.	Place.	Miles	Time.	Lat.	Lon.	
Mar. 29	London.....			51°30	0	
“ 30	Liverpool.....	207	1 Day 1 Night	53°22	3°10	
April 6	Amity .....		7 Days			
May 10	New York.....	3300	3½	40°40	74°11	
“ 23	Steamboat .....					
“ 24	Albany .....	170	1			
“ 25	Sandy Hill .....					
“ 25	Whitehall .....	70	2			
“ 26	Lake Champlain ..	120				St. John in Upper Canada.
“ 27	Montreal .....	25	2	46°33	73°13	To LaPrairie 18 S. Lawrence 7
June 12	“ .....		16			
“ 18	Uttawa .....		6			Embarked on the Ottawa or Grand River.
“ 19	Mattawa .....		1			Little River— Petite Rivière
“ 20	Nipissing.....		1			
“ 21	French River.....					
“ 21	Lake Huron.....					
“ 24	Drummond's Isl'nd .....		4			
“ 25	Sault S. Mary's.....		1			Straits connect- ing L. Super- ior and Huron
“ 26	Lake Superior.....					
“ 27	Michicopoton.....		2			On the E. side.
“ 29	Pic River .....		2			
July 1	Fort William.....	1500	2	49°15	89°30	
“ 6	Point.....	30				Embarked on this Day.
River ..	“ 21 Camenestiquia .....		21			
“ 22	Dog Rivulet.....					
Portage	“ 23 La Prairie.....					This Portage is the Height of Land which divides Cana- da & Ruperts Land.
River ..	“ 24 Savanne .....					Or Devil's L.
“ 24	Mille Lacs.....					
“ 24	Windigo .....					
“ 25	Lac Doré .....					
River ..	“ 25 Maligni .....					Or Sturgeon L.
Lake ...	“ 25 La Croix River.....					
“ 26	Vermillion Lake.....					

ROUTE FROM LONDON TO YORK FORT AND RETURN TO LONDON.—*Continued.*

Month	Place	Miles	Time	Lat.	Lon.	
July 26	Nemiagan Lake.....					[Nemaukan L.]
" 27	Rainy Lake.....	500	6	47	94	Hudson's Bay Post.
" 28	Rainy Lake River.....					
" 30	Lake of the Woods.....					
" 31	Portage du Rat.....					
" 31	Winnipic River.....					It is from this Portage the Line is to run W. to Rocky Mountains forming the Boundary between America & England.
Aug. 2	Bas de la Rivière..	400	5	51	96	
" 4	Red River.....	80		50	97	
" 6	Embarked.....		2			
" 9	Norway House....	320		52	99	Crossed Lake Winnipic.
" 16	Embarked.....		7			
" 18	Oxford House....	229	3			
" 23	York Fort.....	220	5	56-39	92	
		7162				

*Route from Norway House to Great Slave Lake.*

Norway House, Lat. 52, Lon. 99.

Mouth of the Saskatchewan in Lake Winnipic, Saskatchewan Grand Rapid, 90 Miles to Norway House. Portage of Grand Rapid, 1000 Yards.

Roche Rouge, 100 Yards.

Lake Travers.

Grand Décharge.

Cedar Lake.

Mud Lake.<sup>1</sup>

Sturgeon Lake, Cumberland.

Rivière la Maligne.

Beaver Lake.

Pente Portage, Carp Portage.

Grand Rapide, Bouleau Portage.

Lac de Bouleau, Portage de l'Isle.

Portage des Epinettes.

Lake Miroir.<sup>2</sup>

Pelican Lake or Chitiqui.

Lac des Bois.

Portage de Traite, or Frog.

The Waters to this Portage discharge themselves into the River Winnipic and augment those of the River Nelson. The River which is entered after

<sup>1</sup>(Muddy Lake.)<sup>2</sup>? Lake Heron.

passing the Portage is the Missinipi or Churchill River. English River discharging itself into the Hudsons Bay at Churchill.

Portages de Bareil, de l'Isle, and Rapid River.

Lac la Ronge.

Lac de la Montagne.

Otter Lake, Otter Portage.

Portage du Diable.

Portage des [*illegible*], du Galet, des Morts, de Hallier.

Lake de l'Île de l'Ours.<sup>1</sup>

Rapid qui ne parle point.

Portage du Canot tourner.

Portages du Bouleau, des Epingles.

Lac de Souris.

Lac du Serpent.

Lac Croche.<sup>2</sup>

Grass River.

Knee Lake, Croche Rapid.

Lac du Primeau.

Lac de Shagoiu.

Isle à la Crosse Lake, so called from the Indian Game of La Crosse.

Rivière la Creuse.

Isle à la Crosse Fort which is in Lat. 55.25, Lon. 107.48.

Isle à la Crosse.

Rivière Creuse.

Lake Clear.

Lac du Bœuf.

Rivière la Loche.

Portage la Loche or Methy. Portage la Loche is 1000 feet high; from its Summit a magnificent View.

(This Portage divides the Waters which discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay from those which flow into the Northern or Frozen Ocean and is in Lat. 56.24, Lon. 109.15. The Portage is 11 Miles. At about  $\frac{3}{4}$  Distance is a small Lake which a little relieves the Voyageurs.)

Red Willow River.<sup>3</sup>

Elk or Athapascan River taking its Rise in the Rocky Mountains.

Fort Chipywan, Lat. 53.38, Lon. 110.26.

Canoes despatched 1st August from Rainy Lake arrive end of September.

From Cumberland House [on Sturgeon Lake] the course is changed, the Saskatchewan taking a S. Direction to near Carlton House where it divides itself into two Branches, the one taking a S. W. Direction through the Stone Indian Country towards the Height of Land which forms the Boundary of the Hudson Bay Territory on this Side and divides that Territory from the Lands of the Assiniboin and Black Foot Indians. From thence the Course is N. W. to Chesterfield House where the Red Deer River, connecting it with the Buffalo Lake joins it. From this Post it is called the Bow or Arkaw River which takes its Rise in the Rocky Mountains. The Main Branch [of the Sas-

<sup>1</sup> Black Bear Island Lake.

<sup>2</sup> Sandy Lake.

<sup>3</sup> This river runs into the Clear Water River from the south.

katchewan'] takes a Westerly Direction running through the Lands of the Blackfoot, Fall, and Blood Indians to Hudson's House then South to Eagle Hill Creek, then North to Fort George, then West to Fort Augustus or Edmonton to the Rocky Mountains where it takes its Rise.

Geo. Deschambault, Son of Colonel Deschambault, at the Athapascan; to take Care of him.

*Route from York Fort to Athapascan Lake.*

	Days.
To Rock Depot . . . . .	3
" Oxford House in Knee Lake . . . . .	2
" Norway House, Lake Winnipic . . . . .	3
" Grand Rapid, Saskatchewan. . . . .	2
" Lake Bourbon.	
" Cross Lake.	
" Cedar Lake.	
" Saskatchewan River.	
" Cumberland House, Saskatchewan.	
" River la Maligne.	
" Pine Island Portage.	
" Beaver Lake.	
" Lake Bourbon.	
" Lake Mousse. <sup>2</sup>	
Portage de [ <i>illegible</i> ] or Frog Portage.	
From hence is the Track by the Burntwood River, Nelson Lake, Split Lake, and Port Nelson River. This would appear to be much the best Route to York Fort. Provisions might be sent from the Saskatchewan and a Provision Post established at the Frog Portage.	
English River, Misinipi or Churchill.	
Black Bear Lake.	
Grass Lake. <sup>4</sup>	
Primos Lake. <sup>4</sup>	
Isle à la Crosse Lake.	
Fort Superior, excellent Soil, White Fish.	
Clear Water Lake.	
River la Loche or Methye Lake.	
Portage la Loche.	
This Portage is the Height of Land which divides the Waters which discharge themselves into Hudson Bay from those that run into the Frozen Ocean and is considered the North-West Boundary of the Hudson Bay Territory. It is 13 Miles in Length. The Height of Land is about 1000 feet and is in Lat. 56.20, Lon. 109.15.	
Clear Water River.	
Athapascan or Elk River.	
Fort Chipewyan or Fort Wedderburn. <sup>5</sup>	

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<sup>1</sup> North Saskatchewan.  
<sup>2</sup> Moose.  
<sup>3</sup> Grass River.  
<sup>4</sup> Primeau Lake.  
<sup>5</sup> F. Chipewyan was the N.W. Co. establishment. F. Wedderburn that of the H.B. Co.

If Boats should be used for the Athapascan Department it would be advisable to build them in the Athapascan or Elk River. Thus the Transport of the Boats over the Portage of La Loche, which would be so difficult as to render the Use of Boats impracticable, would be avoided, the Boats from York taking the Goods to the Portage and receiving the Furs which would be transported over the Mountain; the Athapascan Boats in the same Manner.

*York Factory* is situated in Lat. 57.1 North, Lon. 92.36 W. Miles.

*Hayes River.* About 8 Miles of this River the Boat may be carried up by the Tide; the Rest of the Distance is a strong Current which requires them to be towed . . . . . 52  
*Steel River.* Must be towed up . . . . . 27

This River communicates with Fox's River which runs into Split Lake.

*Hill River* to the first Fall near the Rock Depot . . . . . 32  
*First Fall* to the Head of Hill River . . . . . 30

In this Distance there is a Series of Shoals—strong Rapids, innumerable sunken Rocks and many Décharges.

*Swampy Lake.* . . . . . 7  
*Jack Tent River.* Many Rapids and five Carrying Places.. . . . 10  
*Knee Lake.* . . . . . 47  
*Trout River.* Many Rapids, two Carrying Places.. . . . 13  
*Holy Lake, or Bottomless Lake* . . . . . 30  
*Small River* . . . . . 5  
*Bathapan Winnipic Lake* . . . . . 15  
*Eachawaymann's Brook*<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 24

In dry Seasons no water runs in this Brook. There are several Beaver Dams kept in Repair and in dry Seasons the Canoes must wait the Brook filling up.

*Hair<sup>2</sup> Lake.* The Cross Lake communicates with the Nelson River .. 7  
*Lakes and Rivulets* . . . . . 35  
*Play Green Lake* . . . . . 14  
*Lake Winnipic by the E. Side* . . . . . 300  
*Red River to the Forks* . . . . . 43

From York Fort to the Red River . . . . . 710

Communication to the Red River by Canada. Montreal by the St. Lawrence to Lakes Ontario—Erie—St. Clair, Huron and Superior. The Falls of Niagara may be passed by a Portage of 10 Miles.

Route by the Mississippi. Miles.

From Fort Douglas to the Forks at Pamina<sup>3</sup> . . . . . 90  
 Pamina Otter Tail Lake Portage . . . . . 200  
 End of Otter Tail Lake Portage . . . . . 10  
 A small Lake which discharges itself into the . . . . . 4  
 Leaf River—the Length of which is . . . . . 90  
 River de Corbeau. . . . . 60  
 Falls of St. Anthony in the Mississippi . . . . . 300

Miles . . . . . 754

<sup>1</sup> Echiamamis.  
<sup>2</sup> Hairy Lake.  
<sup>3</sup> Pembina.

## MEMORANDUM RELATING TO THE ATHAPASCAN DISTRICT.

In the Athapascan River are a Number of Mineral and Salt Springs and from the Rocks a Substance issues which has the Smell of Tar and which the Indians mix with the Gum of the Pine to pitch their Canoes.

Besides the usual Track there is another, by which the Portage la Loche would be avoided, striking off from Clear Water Lake to Buffalo Lake and entering, after a Portage, the Red Willow River which joins the Athapascan. Sir Alexander Mackenzie explored this Route, but did not approve. This Track should be again explored.

There is likewise another Route which is worthy of Consideration and should be carefully explored, namely from the Athapascan Lake to Deers Lake which was explored last year (1820) by Mr. J. P. Audrier.<sup>1</sup>

The Black River enters the Athapascan Lake about 30 Miles East of [illegible] House. Several Portages, one 4 Miles—Black Lake, Hatchet River, several Rapids. Small Lakes, full of Rapids. Lake Wollaston, 70 Miles, Swan River, full of Rapids and Carrying Places. Deers Lake, Wappiscon River to the Frog Portage or Portage de [?] Traite and English or Churchill.

The District called New Caledonia may extend from N. to S. about 500 Miles and from E. to W. 350 to 400 Miles. The Post at Stuarts' Lake is nearly in the centre of it and lies in 54.30 N. Lat. and 125 W. Lon.

Frasers River which Sir Alex. Mackenzie considered to be the Columbia River rises in the Rocky Mountains within a short Distance of the Peace River. The Natives are called Carriers—but they call themselves Tacullies[?] which signifies People who travel on the Waters.

Berens House is situated on the West Bank of the Athapascan and Elk Rivers about 60 Miles from Fort Chipiwywan; full of Moose Deer and Buffalo. The Soil is here fertile. Grain and Potatoes might be raised. This District rendered 52 Packs Fur in 1821.

The Distance [from Portage La Loche] to Fort Chipiwywan is about 160 Miles. It is down Stream, and loaded Canoes take three Days. The Wood is Pine and Poplar with Birch here and there and the Country is stocked with Buffalo, Moose and Red Deer. The Moose is the Elk. It is said they shed their Horns every Year. Hardly to be credited when their ponderous and immense size is considered.

## NAVIGATION OF CHURCHILL RIVER.

York Fort, 1st Sept., 1821.

The Navigation of Churchill River from the Frog Portage to the Split Lake by Way of Burntwood River is by no means difficult either with Boats or Canoes and from Split Lake and York Factory it is much the same with the Difference that the Portages or rather the Falls are of that Nature that the Boats cannot be taken up by Water so often above Split Lake as below because the Falls are more perpendicular, consequently heavy Craft such as Boats have to be hauled across the Land which creates much Delay in Comparison with the Canoe which is lighter and thus more easily transported. The Time that it would occupy to go from York Fort to the Frog Portage, which is near the Forks of the River Wappiscon (which here joins the Churchill near the Kettle Fall), with loaded Boats by this Route will be in my

<sup>1</sup> Or Andrier



opinion 45 to 50 Days or perhaps less and with Canoes from 32 to 36. Upon an average of several Years which I have passed [on?] the Nelson River I am of opinion that it should not be attempted to descend to York Fort earlier than by leaving Split Lake from the 20th to the 25th June when the Banks of the River will be clear of Ice. In Regard to Provisions there may be some Objections to following this Route but this can be the only Objection, for it is well known that the Nelson and Churchill River's Posts do not at all Times procure Provisions for their own People. Consequently Depots of Provisions must be brought from Cumberland House and placed at Split Lake, Burntwood Portage or Nelson House and the Frog Portage whereas in the present Route which is followed the Supplies are already in the Way and it will require considerable Expense to convey the Provisions from Cumberland or Norway House to the Nelson River Route.

On approaching the Sea at the Mouth of the Nelson River the Banks are very high and the Water shoal, and where the Banks might be the means of Shelter and Safety from bad Weather there is no Water for Craft of any Size and even lower down towards the Sea allowing there was even Depth of Water sufficient it is so much exposed as to render it very hazardous as a Roadstead for a Vessel. For Canoes and Boats when loaded the Point of Marsh is frequently the Cause of great Delay. From this Point a Bank runs out nearly three Miles and it is seldom smooth enough for Vessels to pass over when the Wind comes from the Sea and there is no possibility of Landing if overtaken by a Storm.

## APPENDIX [C].

## NOTES ON THE RED RIVER, OR LORD SELKIRK'S, COLONY.

Grant of Land 1811. First Arrival of Settlers in 1812. Lon. 97.0 West of London. Lat. 50 N. about 40 Miles from Lake Winnipic and near the Confluence of the Red River with the Assiniboine. Destruction of the Colony in 1815. Governor Semple's murder in 1816. Mainville, the Bois Brulé, was at Lac la Pluie when I was there and at large, though he had confessed that he had murdered Mr. Keveney; and Cadot who was with the party at the time of the Murder threatened to murder Mr. Bird or myself.

Captain von May engages the Colonists. Received from each Colonist one Louis d'or. . . . Walter von Husser, the Commissary, receives one Hundred Louis d'or and 300 Acres on his Return the second Time. He is directed by the Swiss Government to report on the State of the Colony; if his Report is favourable there will be no want of Colonists. He appears to be a Gentleman admirably fitted for the Situation, a Countenance that bespeaks honourable Feelings and a most enlightened Mind, a Nobleman and related to William Tells Family, whose Costume he wears, which is most becoming. He is a Man of general Information, speaking French, German, Italian, an excellent Latin Scholar. A Man with such Firmness, possessing a kind Heart and Powers of Perswasion, and thus having perfect Command over the Colonists. How different from the Governor. \* \* \* \* \*

The Swiss People do not appear well selected. Mr. von May appears to consider Numbers more than Quality. Mr. von Husser is a Catholic but tolerant. If I am deceived in his Character I will never judge a Man again. His Countenance is the Image of his Mind and this Mind a most beautiful one.

Military Protection and Laws must be introduced at the Colony or it will become a Nest of Brigands and Robbers, well directed it may become anything. Can never give Profit to Lord Selkirk's Family. \* \* \* \*

A Lieutenant's Guard with 25 to 30 Men would be adequate. If the Grass hoppers return next Year I fear the Colony must sink. If the Indians fire the plains, which might be the Case in the Event of War Parties opposing each other, it would be dreadful in its Consequences to the Colonists as it would drive away the Buffalo and thus their Means of Subsistence.

Mr. McDonell requested me to represent to Mr. Colville the Inexpediency of sending out more Colonists or Goods till it is ascertained whether the Grasshopper appears again. Goods to the amount of £7000 came out this Year. These Goods are exclusively Mr. Colville's or Lord Selkirk's.

Mem. To request Mr. Colville not to charge Interest to the Colonists on their Debts. The Rental too high :—

100 Acres first year . . . . .	Nothing.
“ “ second “ . . . . .	20 Bushels.
“ “ third “ . . . . .	30 “
“ “ fourth “ . . . . .	40 “
“ “ fifth “ . . . . .	50 “

with Liberty of Redeeming the whole by paying 500 Bushels at once. The present Price of a Bushel of Wheat in the Red River is 10sh. per Bushel.

\* \* \* \* \*

I fear Mr. Colville will have much Trouble. The Hudson Bay Service is put to much Inconvenience by the Arrival of the Colonists. They have now the Use of a Warehouse but it is to be feared the Council may object to this.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Situation of the Colony appears to me to be this at the present Moment. Either strong, prompt Measures must be adopted, a complete Change and Cleansing, or the Colony must become the Receptacle of a lawless Banditti and a most dangerous Thorn in the Side of the Hudson Bay Company. \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

The Heads of the Colony are men without Energy or Foresight and without Virtue in every Sense of the Word. \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

The Petition sent to his Majesty's Government for military Protection is a poor Performance and is signed by so few and these so little respectable that it cannot produce the Effect it prays for. \* \* \* \* \*

One of the Family, a near Connection of Lord Selkirk's should come out, nothing can be done without. The Sieux, a warlike Race of Indians threaten the Colonists.

The Sauteux are cowardly. When the Sieux are dissatisfied they revenge themselves by shooting the Horses with arrows.

Colony Boats left Red River 17th June arrived at York 2nd July. Started from York 17th at Norway House 13th August under Charge of young McDonell. Men mutinied.

Price of a Horse at Swan River 3 or 4£.

Thomas formerly Governor of Moose, Man of Considerable Talent, Good Manners and Address and commanding Disposition, Prudent well meaning and honourable. Thinks unfavourably of Colony, fears much Annoyance from the Indians. The Presents which must be made to them every Year to keep them quiet will amount to a large Sum. From the great Distance from the civilized World it will only afford Means of Subsistence. The Produce it will be impossible to sell. Could Supply the H. B. Company with Spirits.

Tariff with the Indians :—Gun=15 Skins. 1 Fathom Cloth=10 Skins.

Scotch Settlers .. . . . . .	221	of all Ages.
Meuron Settlers .. . . . . .	65	"
Canadians .. . . . . .	133	"

419

154 of whom are Females

Numbers of free Men at Pamina about 500.

## APPENDIX [D].

## BIBLE SOCIETY.

Sunday the 2nd Sept. After Divine Service in the Afternoon we had a Meeting to arrange an Auxiliary Bible Society at which Mr. West wished me to take the Chair—which of course I did. Several very excellent Resolutions were passed. I subscribed £50 for the Company and £120 was subscribed altogether. Knowing the Sentiments of the Committee I was anxious to encourage the Meeting feeling it would encourage religious Feelings in the Country. When in Montreal I had attempted the same Plan but in a different Way. I had induced Mr. McLaughlin and Mr. Bethune to become Members of the Auxiliary Bible Society there and I had wished to have introduced a Correspondence with Mr. West and through him to have induced all the Officers and Gentlemen in the Company's Service to become Members, thus drawing their Attention to more serious Thoughts and introducing in the Country religious Feelings which hitherto have been so much neglected.

\* \* \* \* \*

Indeed even in the best Hudson's Bay [men] too little Attention was given to religious Matters.

The Readiness of the Gentlemen to subscribe shows that they only wanted Encouragement to think rightly.

## APPENDIX [E].

CANADIAN VOYAGEUR'S SONG.<sup>1</sup>

Derrière chez nous, il y a un etang?

Ye, ye ment.

Trois Canards s'en vont baignans

Tous du long de la Rivière

Légalement ma Bergère

Légalement, ye ment.

Trois Canards s'en vont baignans

Ye, ye ment.

Le Fils du Roi s'en va chassant

Tous du long de la Rivière

Légalement ma Bergère

Légalement, ye ment.

Le Fils du Roi s'en va chassant

Ye, ye ment.

Avec son grand Fusil d'argent

Tous du long de la Rivière

Légalement ma Bergère

Légalement, ye ment.

<sup>1</sup> See Gagnon, pp. 12, 23, for versions of the popular French Canadian ballad "En roulant ma boule," which is variably sung in the west of France.—Ed. Trans. R.S.C.

## APPENDIX [F].

## YORK FORT.

York Fort is situated on a Point of alluvial Land which separates the Mouths of the Nelson and Hayes River. Throughout the whole of Hayes River the Country has an uniform, low, flat and swampy Appearance. The Soil consists of decayed Moss immediately under which there is a thick Bed of tenacious bluish Clay, containing imbedded rolled Stones. The Stream continually encroaching upon some Points and depositing its Spoils in others renders the Banks alternately steep and shelving. The Plains above are covered with stunted Larches—Poplars, Alders and Willows. Hayes River is formed by the Junction of the Shammattwa and Steel Rivers and the latter River is likewise produced by the Union of the Fox River, which runs from Split Lake, and Hill River. During the Ascent of Steel River the Banks gradually increase in Height and in the lower Part of the Hill River they exceed 300 feet. These high clayey Banks are broken into conical Hills by the deep Ravines which open into the River.

Beaver Lake is distant from Cumberland House about 40 Miles to the Northward, Carlton House about 240 to the West and Edmonton about 300 from Carlton. Both Houses on the Saskatchewan.

## APPENDIX [G].

## INDIANS.

Among the Northern Indians or Chipewyans Pictures of any kind are in great Estimation for they generally consider them as Charms and frequently request them from us in the Fall of the Year to ensure Success during the Winter. However silly and erroneous this Idea may be it often makes them exert themselves more than they otherwise would, as they imagine while in Possession of a large Picture Misfortune is completely shut from their Tents and the Manito or God of Animals is not so apt to be out of Humor with them. The Beaver is easier taken in his Lodge—the Moose easier approached in calm Weather and the Martins enter the Traps without Hesitation. With the Picture a small Piece of Tobacco is generally wrapped up and on all Occasions of Feasting and Ceremony this Tobacco is made use of by the Men who smell it, but the Females are not allowed to handle this Treasure, which would be considered a Profanation. Pictures of about 12 to 18 Inches to cost from 6d to 2 shillings would be of much Service, with a few better than the common for the more deserving Hunters. Any bold Representation of the Animals of this Country, an Indian approaching a Moose from behind a Bush, others in the Act of drawing the Beaver from the Vault and small Landscapes with Animals, Beaver House, &c. In short any kind of Pictures to them would be very acceptable and would pay well.

Copper Shields or of Tin with Paintings of a frightful Animal, red Color, will please the Plain Indians.

The Indians who trade to Churchill are the Southern or Crees or Knis-tenaux, the Northern or Chipiwyan, and the Esquimaux. The two first are much addicted to the Drinking of Spirits, to the Esquimaux it is unknown. Plurality of Wives is allowed amongst the three Tribes. The Cap of the two first is simply a Yard of Cloth which being doubled one Side is sewn and the Top. The Cap is afterwards ornamented with Beads, Tape, &c., and worn entirely loose on the Head.

For Stockings or Leggings they take half a Yard of Cloth which they cut in Halves—each Half they double and sew up the open Side which finishes the Stocking. When the Stocking is put on the lower Part comes down to the Ankle and extends upwards above the knee. The Rest of their Dress consists in a Sort of Robe of dressed Deer Skin.

Their Complexion is copper coloured; very dark Hair which they wear long and tied in a Queue.

It appears the American Government prohibit the Sale of Spirits to the Indians. This prohibition is however evaded as at the Sault S. Marys the Traders sell a Sort of Whiskey—a Decoction from Barley and Oats—to the Sauteux or Chipewyans.

Wanitoo the Sioux Chief who professes great Friendship for the Red River Colony is very powerful and commands 400 Lodges. Mr. Bourke describes him to be a drunken bad Character.

## APPENDIX [H].

### TRADE.

#### *Whale Fishery from Churchill.*

The Whale Fishery from which good Returns might be naturally expected cannot at all Times be depended on, as it is very liable to decrease or fail from various Causes, as late Seasons, Stormy Weather and more than all this Uncertainty of the Esquimaux resorting to the place for the Purpose of procuring Oil, nevertheless it is my Opinion that by proper Attention it may be much improved from what it is at present. In the Event of the Esquimaux reaching Churchill with the Sledges it is easy to detain them for the Purpose of killing Seals and Whales most of the Season, because they have their Families with them. On the Contrary if a few Men only arrive by Water in their Canoes it is very difficult to get them to kill Whales at all and then only for a few Days. Should a good Party say from 25 to 30 arrive and be employed from the 1st of June to the End of August, while at the same time our own two Whaling Boats are constantly employed in the Churchill River 20 to 30 Tons of Oil might be procured to the utmost. I wish even this Quantity may be, but if it should not no Loss will be incurred because the Men required for the Factory can perform this Duty and nothing is wanting to prevent our attending to the Esquimaux at Seal River next Summer but a Boat, which I hope we shall have before that Time. Whereas should a separate Business of it be made allowing we should attempt to extend it further much Expense will be incurred—as it will require a great Outfit of a Vessel, Men, and Lines, which I am confident would never be covered by the Oil they would procure any way to the North both by their own Exertions

and by the Esquimaux, and I am not certain if it would not prevent the few Natives who visit us now from bringing their Furs as they would wait till sent for.

It is singular that no Accounts have been procured of the Esquimaux who from all their Works appear to be the most enlightened and ingenious amongst the Indians.

I fear the old Hudson's Bay Servants are too fond of old Regulations to encourage a new Branch of Trade and Innovations.

New Branch of Trade towards the Sources of the Missouri and South Branch of the Saskatchewan.

I conceive that about 60 Men, Canadian Voyageurs, would be required for an Expedition towards the Sources of the Missouri, &c. Of these it would be necessary to leave about 30 to form a Settlement for the Blackfeet and Fall Indians near the Forks of the Red Deer River.

This Settlement would not require an expensive Outfit of Goods and Fox, Beaver and Buffalo Hides might be procured in sufficient Quantities to prevent any loss. To ensure Success in the principal Object of the Expedition about one Hundred Beaver Hunters say Illiquois Half Breeds and free Canadians would be necessary as little Dependance can be placed on the Industry of the Natives. A strong Party of these should proceed by Land with the Boats or Canoes as they ascend the River. The remaining Party might proceed by Land from Fort Augustus in Company with the Muddy River Indians or Piegans along the Borders of the Rocky Mountains.

I should conceive that the Nature of the Expedition should, before it is entered on, be explained to the Piegans and their Consent obtained and I should further think it necessary that a Party of the Hunters should be sent to prepare a kind of Fort or Store to put the Goods in when the Boats arrive.

Beaver are not I believe to be found in great Number at any great Distance north of the more northern Branches of the Missouri. A Settlement on the Waters of the South Branch [of the Saskatchewan] would not be advisable and I should recommend the Settlement to be formed on an Island in a Lake<sup>1</sup> which, if my Information is correct, lies between the Waters of the two rivers. Mr. Clarke and Mr. Heron would be well adapted for such an Expedition.

Expenses of a light Canoe from Montreal to Fort William :—

Canoe . . . . .	500 Livres.
Assets . . . . .	193
4 bags biscuits . . . . .	57.16
2 bushels pease . . . . .	12
250 lb. pork . . . . .	125
2 bushels corn and bags . . . . .	24
Equipment— 1 guide . . . . .	145.12
“ —13 men . . . . .	546
Pensions (expenses previous to departure), 10 days provisions . . . . .	520
Wages— 1 Guide . . . . .	800
“ — 1 Foreman . . . . .	400
“ — 2 Steersmen . . . . .	800
“ —10 Middlemen . . . . .	2500
Engagements 14 Men . . . . .	84
12 Gallons Spirits . . . . .	72

In Halifax Currency, £282 7s 6d.

6774.8 Liv.

<sup>1</sup> Bad Water Lake





Moose. It appears expedient a Vessel should run to the United States or Canada to convey Buffalo Robes, Moose Skins, &c., and to take returns of such goods as may be cheaper than in England.

Two Pound of Pemican a Day is considered a fair Allowance. It requires 5 or 6 lb. of Meat to make 1 Pound [of Pemican].

Beaver is the Standard to which all other skins are reduced and by which the Indians trade. For Instance should an Indian have the following Skins:—

Beaver, Whole or full grown.. . . .	30 = 30	Whole Beaver.
“ Half or cub.. . . .	11 = 5½	“
Otters, Prime, large . . . . .	1 = 2	“
“ “ small . . . . .	1 = 1	“
Fox, Black prime . . . . .	1 = 2	“
“ Red . . . . .	3 = 1½	“
“ White . . . . .	4 = 2	“
Martins . . . . .	9 = 3	“

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After the Trader has examined the Skins he tells the Indian his Trade amounts to 4 Tens and 7 mores [sic] at the same Time gives the Indian 47 quils, signifying that he will give him Goods. The Indian will perhaps take:

A Gun	= 11 Quils.
3 Yards Cloth	= 9 “
3 lb. of Powder	= 6 “
8 lb. of Shot	= 4 “
1 Large Blanket	= 8 “
1 Hatchet	= 2 “
1 File	= 1 “
1 3 Gallon Kettle	= 6 “

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*Standard for Trading Furs.*

Bear, Black . . . . .	1 Skin = 2	Beaver, Made Beaver.
“ Brown . . . . .	1 “ = 3	“
Beaver, Whole . . . . .	1 “ = 1	“
“ Cub . . . . .	2 “ = 1	“
Badger . . . . .	2 “ = 1	“
Cat, Prime . . . . .	1 “ = 1½	“
1 lb. Castorum . . . . .	1 “ = 1	“
Fisher, large <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	2 “ = 1	“
“ small . . . . .	3 “ = 1	“
Fox, silver . . . . .	1 “ = 3	“
“ cross . . . . .	1 “ = 2	“
“ red . . . . .	1 “ = 1	“
“ white . . . . .	2 “ = 1	“
Goose Feathers . . . . .	8 lb. = 1	“
Martins, prime . . . . .	2 Skins = 1	“
“ common . . . . .	3 “ = 1	“

<sup>1</sup> Blackcat or Pennants Martin.

Mink .. . . .	3	Skins = 1	Beaver, Made Beaver.
Otters, prime .. . . .	1	" = 2	"
" common .. . . .	1	" = 1	"
Wolf.. . . .	2	" = 1	"
Musquash'. . . . .	.8 or 10	" = 1	"

The Employment of the Labourers at Churchill in Winter is cutting down Trees for Firewood along the River, hauling the Wood to the Edge of the Water for the Purpose of Transport to the Factory. It is cut about 25 Miles distant.

The Boats from Inland generally arrive early in July and in 12 or 14 Days return back for their respective Settlements. The Mechanics and Labourers work in Summer from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.

*Standard of Indian Trade.*

1820 & 1821.

Cloth, common. . . . .	Yards 1	= 4	M[ade] B[eaver].
" second .. . . .	" 1	= 6	"
" superfine.. . . .	" 1	= 8	"
Duffie of Sorts .. . . .	" 1	= 3	"
Fox Tail.. . . .	" 1	= 3	"
Flints.. . . .	20	= 1	"
Guns, 3 feet .. . . .	1	= 10	"
" 3½ " .. . . .	1	= 11	"
" 4 " .. . . .	1	= 12	"
" Fowling .. . . .	1	= 20	"
Powder .. . . .	1 lb.	= 2	"
Tobacco .. . . .	½ lb.	= 1	"
Blankets, striped.. . . .	1	= 8	"
Rum .. . . .	¼ gallon	= 1	"
Shirt, flannel .. . . .	1	= 2	"
" cotton striped .. . . .	1	= 3	"
" white. . . . .	1	= 2	"
Soap. . . . .	1 lb.	= 1	"
Vermillion .. . . .	½ lb.	= 1	"
Hats, common.. . . .	1	= 2	"
Jackets, cloth.. . . .	1	= 3	"
Waistcoats.. . . .	1	= 3	"
Cards, Pack. . . . .	1	= 1	"
Beads, common.. . . .	¾ lb.	= 1	"
Shot .. . . .	1½ lb.	= 1	"

Fine Goods are sold according to the Invoice Price at the Rate of 3|- or 4|- for one made Beaver.

<sup>1</sup>D. W. Harmon, in his "Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America," (Andover, U.S.A., 1820) gives the value of furs thus: Beaver, otter, muskrat, martin, bear, fox, lynx, fisher, mink, wolf, buffalo.

*List of Furs, 1821. [?Northern Department.]*

Badger .. . . .	305	Skins.
Bears, Prime .. . . .	878	"
Common and Cub .. . . .	154	"
Brown Bear.. . . .	193	"
Grizzly " .. . . .	110	"
White.. . . .	6	"
Beaver, Whole .. . . .	8995	"
Cub, Half .. . . .	3156	"
Castorum .. . . .	514	lbs.
Cats .. . . .	3053	Skins.
Deerskins .. . . .	390	
Feathers.. . . .	1689	lbs.
Firkers .. . . .	814	Skins.
Foxes, Cross .. . . .	277	"
"    Silver .. . . .	135	"
"    White .. . . .	1274	"
"    Red .. . . .	694	"
Hares .. . . .	884	"
Martins .. . . .	36937	"
Minx .. . . .	1389	"
Musk Rats .. . . .	82312	"
Oil .. . . .	17	Pipes.
Otter .. . . .	2660	Skins.
Common and Cub ditto .. . . .	520	"
Goose Quills .. . . .	163,527	

Value of above furs, £48,050.

*Southern Department.*

Beaver .. . . .	5312	Skins.
Half or Cub .. . . .	3102	"
Castomin.. . . .	337	"
Cats .. . . .	975	"
Silver Fox .. . . .	277	"
Cross .. . . .	331	"
White .. . . .	227	"
Martin .. . . .	31528	"
Musk Rats .. . . .	30602	"
Otters .. . . .	1528	"
Common ditto .. . . .	579	"

## APPENDIX [I].

## TREATY OF GHENT, 26TH OCT., 1812.

First Article relates to the Fisheries on the Coast of Labrador and Newfoundland, stating without any Prejudice to the Rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. N.B.—The Rights of the H. B. Company could not here be interfered with for they have no Establishment on the Labrador Coast.

Second Article.—It is agreed that a Line drawn from the most N.W. Point of the Lake of the Woods, or if the said Point shall not be in the 49th Parallel of North Latitude, then that a Line drawn from the said Point due North or South, as the Case may be until the said Line shall intersect the said Parallel of North Latitude and from the Point of such Intersection due West along and with the said Parallel, shall be the Line of Demarcation between the Territories of Great Britain and United States and that the said Line shall form the Southern Boundary of the Territories of his Britannic Majesty and the Northern of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. This Article involves a very serious Question as to the Hudson's Bay Company and particularly to the Family of Lord Selkirk as such a Line would strike off a very considerable Proportion of the Grant made by the H. B. Company to Lord Selkirk. This Line would run about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the North of Pamina. (48.57 N. Lat.)

Third Article.—It is agreed that any Country that may be claimed by either Party on the N. W. Coast of America Westward of the Rocky Mountains shall together with its Harbours, Bays and Creeks and the Navigation of all Rivers within the same be free and open, for the Term of 10 Years from the Date of the Signing of the present Convention, to the Vessels, Citizens and Subjects of the two Powers.

## APPENDIX [K].

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

*Curiosities.*

## Box No. 1.

- 1 Stuffed Black Beaver, full grown, caught in Winter in the Vicinity of Pelican Lake, near Cumberland House.
- 14 Pair Leather Indian Shoes embroidered.
- 3 Sioux ornamental Otter Skin Bags.  
Tail ornamented with Porcupine Quills.
- 4 Indian Bead Bags.
- 2 Ornamental Porcupine Quill Shot Pouches.
- 2 Nests—6 in each—ornamented Noggins made of Birch.
- 4 Nests—10 in each—ditto.
- 2 Drawings upon Board of Fish from the Muddy River Indians to the South of Edmonton House on the North Branch of the Saskatchewan.
- 1 Slave Indian Chief's Saddle, ornamented with Porcupine Quills. Back Trappings ornamented—Bridle—Platted Horse Hair with Medicine Bag attached—a superstitious Thought the Horse never can be sick.

- 1 painted leather Toggy with Porcupine Epaulets and trimmed with the Otter Skin.
- 2 Yellow Cross Beaks.
- 1 Mag Pie—the only one ever seen in the Country.
- 1 Pin Tail Pheasant or Speckled Grouse—in great Quantities.
- 1 Winter red-headed Twite—the only small Bird which remains the whole winter through.
- 1 White cheeked Duck.
- 1 small Hawk.
- 1 Whiskey Jack.
- 1 Ermine. Great many in the Country. Consider they would answer.
- 1 Red-headed speckled Wood Pecker.
- 1 Duck. White Cheek with brown Neck.
- 1 Orange coloured Martin.

## Case No. 2.

- Piece of Silver Fox.
- 2 Esquimaux dressed Deer Skin Blankets.
- 8 Buffalo Horns.
- 1 Horn, Rocky Mountain Sheep.
- 1 Buffalo Robe. Present from "Painted Feather," a Slave Indian Chief, adorned with Human Hair from Scalps of 11 of his Enemies whom he had killed in Battle; painted by himself and a Piece of Red Cloth taken from a Stone Indian with his Hair—killed in Battle.
- 1 Ornamental Buffalo Robe. A Present from a Slave Indian Chief, "Bull's Back Fat," with a Painting inside depicting his dangerous Situation when surrounded by his Enemies from whom he miraculously escaped.
- 6 Sioux Pipe Stems, ornamented with Porcupine Quills and Horse Hair.
- 4 red Stone Pipe Stem Tobacco Bowls [sic].
- 1 Small Stone Indian Bow—covered with Snake Skin.
- 11 flint Indian Arrows.
- 1 Kootonauc<sup>1</sup> Bow and Arrow with Quiver from Rocky Mountain Tiger.
- 1 Ditto, Ditto from Slave Indians.
- 2 Bows and 2 Dozen Arrows from [illegible] Ground Indians—near Carlton on the Saskatchewan.

## Case No. 3.

- Two Esquimaux male's dressed Deer Skin Winter Dresses.
- One Woman's ditto ditto
- One painted Leather Toggy ornamented with Epaulets, Porcupine.
- Five Pair of Esquimaux Gloves, Man's.
- One Pair, Children's.
- One Esquimaux Winter Hat.
- Three Pair Esquimaux Winter Shoes.
- Two Pair Esquimaux Deer Skin Winter Boots.
- One Pair Esquimaux Seal Skin paddling Gloves.
- Esquimaux Fish Teeth Ornaments.
- Six Horse Teeth Ornaments.

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<sup>1</sup> Knistineaux or Kootenay.

Esquimaux Spoons made of the Horn of Musk Ox.

“ Combs and Trinkets from the Sea Horse.

“ Child's Ornament.

“ Lamp and Kettle of Black Stone.

“ small Kettle.

“ Fishing Hooks, with artificial Bait and Line made of Deer Sinews.

“ Trinkets.

1 Piece of Whalebone. First Whale seen in Churchill River.

1 Skeleton Head of White Bear—shot by Governor Williams in the Straits.

1 Bag Country Salt—dug out of the Plains.

1 large horned Owl from Hudson's Bay.

1 Speckled Owl.

1 White Partridge or Ptarmigan in Scotland.

1 Brown Horned Owl.

#### Case No. 4.

1 Pair of Snow Shoes—Indian.

1 Esquimaux Bow and Arrow for killing Fish.

1 Canoe with Furniture.

1 Esquimaux Canoe, small.

2 Pipes.

#### Case No. 5.

Esquimaux Whale Canoe full sized with Whaling Apparatus—Harpoons.  
Bow and Arrow, Lances, &c.

#### *Memorandum.*

Ironmongery of every Description very bad. This is of the greatest Importance, the very Lives of the poor Indians depending on these Articles being good. Good Blacksmiths should be sent to every Post. Axes should be well tempered.

To send out a Quantity of Chalk to York and Moose to clean the Rooms and to Change the Watchmaker Mr. Fidget who has sadly neglected the Watches.

Beef on Board the Prince of Wales very bad, old black hard Meat. Captain Davison should have the Power of examining it.

To request from Mr. Harrison an Order for Guys Hospital for James Johnston.

Wednesday the 4th July [1821]. Mr. McGillivray laid before me a Letter from Lieutenant Franklin dated Fort Entreprize, Lat. 64.22, Lon. 113.6, requesting a Canoe might be sent with Provisions. Stated I considered it should be done.

- Dactylorhiza, 137  
Desmonium, 140  
"Tolerant" 157  
(The Scotch) "working six days in the year for the West" 140  
never mention their name, 111; Indian wordage do.  
Offering to rocks: 115 and to bad spirits  
Cannibalism, 117  
Goose Grass (cf. rhubarb)  
the Council, 125  
Testimony to chief, 143  
the West wants, 146  
A Swiss Catholic, 192  
Swiss Calvinist 157  
Mrs West met a good preacher 157