

HBCA B.22/a/21
Brandon House 1818-19

Journal of a Journey from Red River to Martins Fall near Albany Factory in Hudsons Bay with Astronomical Geographical & Minerological Observations made on the said route: also a Journal of Occurrences & Meteorological Observations made at the same Place (Brandon House)

by
Peter Fidler
Brandon House

May 1818

26th *Tuesday.* At Noon Mess^{rs} Sutherland¹ & Finlayson² arrived here from Carlton House at the Elbow of this River; They have had a good Trade there this Year in both furs & provisions – They left their House about the 2nd May, but have been long on the passage owing to the shoalness of the water; They left their 5 Boats above Grand Rapid, expected to be here tomorrow. The Beaver Creek³ Batteaux will have great difficulty in reaching this, being so long before they started, that the water falls off[f] rapidly daily; since the Ice drove by about 5 Weeks ago. They were obliged to send a considerable quantity of Fatt &c back

¹ James Sutherland (1778-1844) was born at Ronaldshay, Orkney Islands, and engaged with the HBC in 1797. He was stationed at Edmonton House as a writer (1798-1803), and then as a writer at Cumberland House and Green Lake. He became a Trader and Master at Cumberland House from 1808 to 1811, and then assigned to the Winnipeg District (1811 to 1813). After a furlough home in 1813, he was put in charge of the Winnipeg and Western Winnipeg Districts (1814 to 1816). That is how he enters the story here. He was imprisoned by the NWC and Cuthbert Grant on 9 May 1816 while stationed in the Qu'Appelle. Thereafter he was put in charge of the Swan River District (1816-1818) and thereafter in charge of the Forks (1818-19) and Swan River (1819-21). After the merger of the HBC and NWC he was made Chief Factor of the Saskatchewan District (1821-22), and finished his career as Chief Factor at Severn (1823-25). Thereafter he was on medical leave and retired to the Red River Settlement in 1827. He married Jane Flett (1785-1835) with whom he had seven children. After Jane died, he married an "Indian woman." Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *The Hudson's Bay Company: Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Edmonton), 482; HBCA B5.

² Duncan Finlayson (1795-1862), from Dingwall, Scotland, entered the HBC service in 1815, and served the next four years at the Qu'Appelle, Fort Hibernia, and Beaver Creek posts. He quickly caught the attention of his superiors and in 1820 became Colin Robertson's replacement as head of the Peace River District. His stature continued to rise as Clerk of Edmonton House (1821-24), and he became a Chief Trader in 1828 (Fort Garry), and a Chief Factor in 1821 (Columbia). In 1839 he became Governor of Assiniboia. He was a favourite of George Simpson, and became his brother-in-law when he married Isobel Simpson. He retired from the fur trade in 1859, but then became a member of HBC's London Committee. HBCA B5. Gerald Friesen, "Finlayson, Duncan," *DCB Online*. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals: Reports from Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Edmonton, 2016), 346.

³ Beaver Creek was a Hudson's Bay Company post located on the west bank of the Assiniboine River about two km upstream from Beaver Creek. It was a sub post of Brandon House. Beaver Creek itself, flowed into the Assiniboine River from the west just downstream from the confluence of the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle rivers near St. Lazare, Manitoba.

in carts some distance below their House – James Inkster⁴ & family arrived here, & his son Jack 12 years of age had the Misfortune to get his Thigh broke a few days back by a Cart blowing over upon him, carrying a Light Canoe: Men at the House variously employed – Mr Garrioch⁵ to accompany the Swan River Boats to the Factory YF

27th *Wednesday*. The Swan river Boats arrived that was built at Carlton House. They are heavily loaded & considerably injured by the shoalness of the water, The NW Batteaux all left this a week ago for the Forks: they have left at Riviere Qu'appelle above 300 Bags pimmican they could not take down – They have 7 Batteaux – Men as usual –

[Fo. 2]

28th *Thursday* Above 130 Tents of Stone Indians tenting on N side this River, amongst the Woods to be out of the way of the Mandans, who are constantly of late at bitter enmity with each other, The Stone Indian Chief of this party sent here for a little Tobacco, sent a fathom to him – he & party have traded their provisions at our House above; Men as usual

29 *Friday*. Men variously employed about the House – Took an account of the Remains of Trading Goods, Stores &c left here – The 5 Swan river Boats getting ready to embark for the Forks – water falling fast;

30th *Saturday* Mr McDonald⁶ came here; he left all his Six Batteaux a considerable distance from this, they have had great difficulty owing to their leaving their House so late: – The Water is falling fast daily – In the evening 4 Swan river Boats went away for the forks.

⁴ James Inkster (1773-1854) was born in Orphir, Orkney Islands, and joined the HBC in 1796. He worked as a Cooper at Albany until he was transferred to Brandon House in 1805. Here he married a Cree wife. He worked at Brandon House until 1821 as a Cooper and Boatbuilder and retired in 1823 to settle at Red River. He died in 1853 in the Red River Settlement. HBCA BS.

⁵ William Garrioch was born around 1785-86 in the Orkney Islands, and was probably the son of Magnus Garrioch who had been a “Tailor” at Moose Factory until 1795 when he returned to Scotland. William entered HBC service in 1807 as a “Writer” at York Factory. In 1810-11 he was transferred to the Saskatchewan District, and a year later to the Swan River District. He would stay in this district until his retirement in 1822, when he moved to the Red River Settlement. In 1814 he was promoted to Second Trader and it was noted in 1815-16 that he was “a very Steady young man & capable of conducting the business of a District.” In 1818 he was promoted to “Trader” at Swan River. He was 33 years old at the time. He married Nancy Sutherland (nee Cook) in 1810 and the marriage was solemnized in 1821 at Fort Douglas. He died and was buried in the Red River Settlement in 1844. HBCA B.239/d/139-216a; B.239/g/2; B.60/d/2a; B.213/d/4-6; B.63/f/1; E.4/2.

⁶ This is probably Donald McDonald (B) as he is the only McDonald in the district at this time. In 1818-19 he was a Bowsman stationed at Fort Hibernia. He was from Bulleshire, Scotland and entered the HBC service in 1812-13. In 1818 he was only 24 years of age at this time, and would become a Steersman in 1820. He worked mostly in the Swan River District until 1824 when he was transferred to Red River. He was discharged from the service in 1825. HBCA BS; B.239/B.239/d/204-216a; B.239/g/1-6; B.63/f/1.

31st *Sunday* – Early this morning a Man came from the Boats that went away Yesterday, says that James Morwick⁷ the Guide has got bruised much between two Boats – Sent Tho^s Favel⁸ down in his place, he is engaged to be pilot and Steer a Boat down to Martins fall,⁹ to fetch up about 80 or 100 pieces of Goods the Governor wrote for to Albany Factory as there was little Goods came out in the Ship last fall – Pisk Kipling¹⁰ & 2 Men remains here a Day Longer & then to embark in the small Boat built by James Inkster for himself. The Men left here for the Summer are James Inkster, Charles Fidler,¹¹ James Anderson,¹²

⁷ James Morwick came from Harra in the Orkney Islands. He was born in 1777, and entered HBC service in 1796. By 1818-19, he was a Steersman/Guide stationed at Swan River. He would work most of his career in this district acting as Guide in the Swan River District until 1832. Thereafter he retired to the Red River Settlement. He was married by custom to Sarah Sabiston as early as 1819, and the marriage was solemnized in Red River in 1840. He died there in 1865, HBCA B.239/d/188-216a; B.239/g/1-11; B.63/f/1; E.4/1b.

⁸ Thomas Favel (1780-1848) was born at Fort Albany to John Favel and a Swampy Cree woman named Titameg. He entered HBC service at the age of 14 in 1793 as a Labourer at Fort Albany. He married a Cree woman by the name of Sarah Trout by the custom of the country in 1797. By that time, he was working Inland out of Fort Albany. In 1805 he was working in the Red River district and became a Steersman in 1812. By 1814, he was working out of Brandon House under Peter Fidler. He was dismissed from the HBC's service by Fidler in 1816 for refusing to accompany him to Jack River. While he would re-enter the service of the HBC in 1821 (Steersman at Beaver Creek), it is clear from this journal that he was also hired temporarily to accompany Fidler to Martins Fall in 1818. He became a freeman in 1822 and retired to the Red River Settlement settling in St. Andrews. He died in 1848. HBCA BS.

⁹ Martins falls (Martin's Falls) was a fur trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company on Albany River. It was opened in 1794 and was probably named in honour of Humphrey Marten (Martin), Chief Factor of York Factory, the post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the shores of Hudson Bay at the mouth of Hayes River. Martin's Falls was renamed in 1795 as Ernest House (in honour Ernest August, 5th son of King George III). The post was closed in 1799. In 1818, with the increase in fur trading and as another post in the region, Gloucester House, was becoming insufficient to handle the trade volume, the Hudson's Bay Company reopened Ernest House under the name of Martin's Falls.

¹⁰ Thomas Pisk/Peask Kipling was born around 1792, at Albany House. He worked inland from Albany House and was at Brandon House by 1808 where he worked until 1812. From 1813 to 1815, he was a Labourer at the HBC post at Portage La Prairie, and in 1815-16 was stationed in the Manitoba District where he stayed until 1817 as a Runner and Interpreter. In 1817-18, he was temporarily in charge of Brandon House. In 1818-19, he was and Interpreter at the Forks, and from 1819 to 1822 he was an Interpreter at Isle a la Crosse. In 1822-23, he was again in the Lower Red River District where he stayed as a Steersman until 1825. In 1825 he left the HBC to settle at Red River. He rejoined the HBC in 1828 and shows up in the Columbia Department where he worked for the HBC until 1860. He was appointed to be in charge of Cape Disappointment in the Oregon from 1852-55, and thereafter was paid as a Labourer. He lived with his family (he had married Marguerite Plouffe Villebrun) at Cape Disappointment and took a 640 acre claim adjoining Peter Skene Ogden in 1846. HBCA BS; B.22/d/1-5; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/g/1-32.

¹¹ Charles Fidler (1798-1886) was the son of Peter and Mary Mackegonne (a Native). Charles entered the employ of the HBC in 1812 as a Labourer, working his whole career in the Winnipeg, Swan River and Red River Districts at Brandon House, Curling River, and Fort Dauphin. He quickly became a Steersman and eventually took over from his father as the Master in charge of Fort Dauphin when his father became ill in 1819. The following year (1820-21) he was posted in the Swan River District as an Assistant Trader. He retired in 1821 to the Red River with his wife, Anne Sanderson. He died in the RRS in 1886. HBCA BS; B.239/d/210 & 216a.

¹² James Anderson (1775-1856) came from Walls/Stenness, Orkney Islands, and he joined the HBC in 1796. He worked as a Tailor in the Churchill until 1799, and thereafter at Brandon House until 1819. From 1819 to 1823, he was a Tailor in the York Factory district. He went Free to the Red River Settlement in 1823. He was married to May Demoran, a Saulteaux woman, and they had at least 12 children. He died at St. Andrews, Red River Settlement, in 1856. HBCA BS; B.3/d/112-133; B.239/d/204, 210, 216a.

Peter Henderson,¹³ Finlay Murray¹⁴ & Michel a Canadian Brulee now engaged for the Summer after the rate of 20 £ yearly, but he has a large family of Children which is against entering into a long agreement with him; at 8 AM Mr Sutherland & one Man embarked in a Small Bark Canoe – & self & a Canadian in a Buffalo skin Canoe: for the Forks – The Beaver Creek Batteaux we learn have reached the Grand rapid, but much of the Pimmican got wet – Mr Sutherland passed Beaver Creek the 17 Ins^t at night put up in Company with the Boats that

[Fo. 2d]

went away Yesterday. James Morwick I hope will in a fortnight be able to steer again – Mr Duncan Campbell¹⁵ is also in Company with us, he lately came from Jack River or Norway House, to Swan river on the last Ice & is going with 1 Boat & 1 Canoe with Provisions to Rain Lake to meet our Montreal Canoes, as they may be in want of provisions before they reach that place Mr Finlayson & Campbell accompany the 4 Boats down to the Forks. – met Cap^t Grant an Indian¹⁶ & received from him one Bear skin: part of Credit due us.

June 1818

1st Monday. About 130 Tents of Stone Indians crossing over the River from the N to the S side where they have been since the melting of the Snow, out of the way of the Mandans & they are continually in dread of early every spring – They

¹³ Peter Henderson (1795-1863) came from Thurso, Caithness, Scotland. He entered the service of the HBC in 1812 serving as a Labourer, Blacksmith and Bowsmen. He was stationed at River Qu'Appelle in 1815, Fort Hibernia (1816-1818), and at Brandon House (1818-23). He became a Freeman in 1823 and retired to the Red River Settlement. He officially married Charlotte Yorstone, a Cree woman, in 1829. He died in 1863 and was buried at St. Andrews. HBCA BS; B.239/d/165-216a' B.239/g/1-3; B.63/f/1.

¹⁴ Finlay Murray was born about 1797, and came from Stonoway, Scotland. He entered the HBC service in 1816 serving as a Labourer first at York Factory (1816-17), then Brandon House (1817-1819), and finally the Red River District (1819-21). He returned to Scotland in 1821. HBCA B.239/d/188-216a.

¹⁵ This is Duncan Campbell. He was a clerk hired by Colin Robertson in Montreal in 1814-15 for the HBC's Athabasca Campaign. Prior to this he was in the employ of the NWC as a clerk and interpreter in the English River District. He had served there with Colin Robertson. When he reached Jack River in the later summer of 1815, Campbell and his brigade were sent to Lake Athabasca as an advance party to rally the Indians and begin the construction of Fort Wedderburn. When John Clarke went to winter on the Peace River, he left Campbell, Roderick McKenzie, and fourteen men to hold Athabasca Lake for the HBC. Campbell was left in charge of Fort Wedderburn in the winter of 1815-16, and in the 1815-16 Outfit, he kept the journal there. In the spring of 1818, he returned to Jack River where he swore an affidavit to James Bird about his capture and imprisonment by A.N. McLeod (NWC) in September of 1816. He returned to Fort Wedderburn in the fall of 1818 and was there until the spring of 1819. Thereafter, he returned to Canada. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1871* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1939), 604, 607. E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, Volume II (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), 341. List of Men and Accounts, NWC 1805, Masson Papers, McGill University Library. HBCA B.39/a/6; B.190/b/1, fos. 6-10d, 23-23d; B.239/d/210, fo. 23d. LAC, C3, Vol. 8 (Selkirk Papers), 2501-2502; C15, Vol. 60, 15,683-15,686.

¹⁶ According to Peter Fidler's Report of the Manitoba District in 1820, Captain Grant, or *Oc ke now es cum*, was an Indian formerly from Severn Factory who resided at the half way bank (on the Assiniboine River between Brandon House and Portage la Prairie), with 6 or 8 others, and had two houses built in the European manner. The rest lived in tents, and the whole was enclosed with Pickets. They had gardens like a little farm, where they remained during the Summer, but at the latter end of the Autumn they dispersed to hunt furs. HBCA B.51/e/1.

are very troublesome to us for Tobacco &c before we started from Brandon House – our People at the Rapid was obliged to divide amongst them near 500 lb Pimmican – at 3½ AM we all embarked together but soon left the Boats, got to Root River about Sun Set where we put up – we searched for the Cannon & Carriage left there by the NW last spring but we could not find them.

2nd *Tuesday* – at 3½ AM we got away & passed 9 French Batteaux mostly all on Shore repairing them – they left Brandon House 20th Ins^t. They have 100 Pieces in each of 90 lb. put up at 8 PM – fine weather.

3rd *Wednesday*. at 4 AM got away, and owing to the shoalness of the water & numerous Sand banks it was Sun Set before we reached Grants Village,¹⁷ where we put up: got from them some Sturgeon – the Men are most of them preparing for war against the Sioux Indians. – much ground planted & their Houses & Tents all surrounded with Stockades:

4th *Thursday* Pass Portage de Prairie – many Bungees here but have nothing – went 2 Miles below and put up.

5th *Friday*. The Indians told us that our People from Big point House¹⁸ in the Manetobaw lake had all lately embarked for YF. We got underway at Sun rise, obliged every day to stop near 3 hours to dry the Parchment Skin Canoe to prevent its rotting. at 8 PM put up –

6th *Saturday*. Got underway at 3½ AM & put up at 8 PM. many sand bars which detain us much.

7th *Sunday* at 5 PM reach Birsay¹⁹ where Magnus Spence²⁰ & several others have settled at this Spring – it is a very good situation on N Side the river – They

¹⁷ This is the settlement of Captain Grant, or *Oc kee now es cum*, on the Assiniboine River between Brandon House and Portage La Prairie. It encompassed 6 or 8 others, and Captain Grant had two houses built in the European manner. The rest lived in tents, and the whole was enclosed with Pickets. See previous citation for Captain Grant.

¹⁸ Big Point House (also sometimes referred to as the Manitoba Lake House) was built as a trading outpost in the Manitoba District in 1815. It was located on the western shore of Lake Manitoba about 8 miles north of the entrance of the White Mud River. It was called “Big Point” because of the great quantity of timber growing on it. In February of 1819 it was moved south to the mouth of the White Mud River by William Brown. It is unsure how long the house lasted after 1820.

¹⁹ Birsay Village was a settlement of former HBC servants, some of whom had come from Birsay, Scotland. It was located on the Assiniboine River some twenty-two miles west of the Forks. The settlement would last less than two years.

²⁰ Magnus Spence (Spense) (*b.ca.* 1764-1845) came from Birza (Birsay), Orkney Islands. He entered the HBC service in 1783 as a Labourer at York Factory. By 1784 he had been sent inland to Cumberland and Hudson House, and he would stay Inland for the rest of his career. By 1788 he was categorized as a Bowsman and Canoeman, and by 1791 he was classified as a Steersman and it was noted that he was a good linguist to the Blackfeet and Blood Indians. By 1809 he was considered an “old servant and steady man” and wintered in the Saskatchewan District. By 1815, however, he was listed

have got about 4 Bushels of wheat, half as much Barley & some potatoes in the Ground & are now hawling wood to make their dwelling Houses, they mean to build 5 Houses for as many families within a Picket enclosure to keep their Horses from being stolen as the Bungees are much ad[d]icted to Horse stealing in the Summer Time – remained here an Hour & then embarked – Jack Spense²¹ Steered one of our Boats & guided the other over the rapids below to the Forks, gave him one fathom Tobacco for his Trouble – went about 4 Miles below and put up.

8th *Monday.* at 7 PM arrive at the Forks, all well – Mr Graham²² been here 10 Days ago from the Sioux Country – he has made very poor returns in that Quarter, he left his House 3rd April – he says Mr Robert Dickson²³ has gone down with his Son by Pra[ir]ie du Chien – Trade here 8 Packs off Mr Stitts²⁴ Indians done little here this Winter – Grant²⁵ the NW Partner came down from Pambina

as an old man at 54 years of age who had been in the service for 35 years. He was stationed at the Qu'Appelle Post and had been demoted to Labourer. It was in that year that that he was considered “unfit for service any longer” and had consequently gone free. As noted in this journal of 1818-19, he would be one of the founding members of the Birsay Settlement on the Assiniboine River some 22 miles west of the Forks. This settlement however lasted less than two years and the residents moved to the Red River Settlement. Magnus had married a Cree woman early in his career and had numerous children. He died at St. Andrews, Red River Settlement in 1845. HBCA B5; B.239/f/1; B.239/d/125-175; B.63/f/1; E.4/2.

²¹ This is probably John Spence (Spense) born in Rupert's Land ca. 1792, and he is probably the son of Magnus Spence. He is the only Spence listed as a Steersman in the Upper Red River district. In 1815-16 he wintered at the Qu'Appelle post, with Magnus Spence, and is listed as a Steersman. From 1816 to 1818 he is listed at Fort Hibernia and Swan River. In the accounts of 1818-19, when Fidler hired him temporarily, it is noted that he had left the service two years previous. He settled at Red River and is listed in the 1827 Red River Census beside Magnus Spence. HBCA B.239/d/175-204; E.5/1.

²² Duncan Graham (1772-1847) was born in the highlands of Scotland in 1772 and immigrated to North America in 1794. He worked as an independent fur trader on the St. Peters River and at Devils Lake. During the War of 1812, he fought on the side of the British and after the war he joined the HBC. York Factory accounts for Canadian servants in 1819-20 note that had wintered in the Upper Red River district (probably south of the US border) in the winter of 1818-19, and at Lac Traverse, in Sioux Territory, in 1819-20. It also noted he had been in the HBC service for four years. In 1820 he quit the HBC and joined the NWC. In 1834 he retired from the fur trade and moved to Wabasha, Minnesota. He died in 1847 at Mendota, Dakota. HBCA B.239/d/210. “Captain Duncan Graham, an Historical Profile,” https://fullereriksen.familygenes.ca/members_data/0016ab/histories//Graham,%20Duncan%20History130927.pdf

²³ Robert Dickson (b.ca. 1765-1823) was born in Dumfries, Scotland, and was a fur trader in the early 19th century. He was active in the War of 1812, rallying various Indians groups to the side of the British. He was in the Northwest in 1816-17, and became involved in a futile plan to provision the Selkirk Colony with beef. He also tried to persuade Wisconsin settlers to move to Red River. This plan was abandoned when Selkirk died. Dickson died at Drummond Island in 1823. Robert Allen, “Dickson, Robert,” *DCB Online*.

²⁴ This is John Stitt. He came from Dumfriesshire, Scotland and worked for the XY Company in the early 19th century. When the XYC merged with the NWC, he worked for the new concern. By 1809, however, he working as the post manager for HBC at Pembina. He would work as a trader at posts around the Forks (Pembina, and Netley Creek) for the rest of his career. In 1815-16, he was considered “A weak unactive character.” He was present at Red River during the Fur Trade Wars and was trusted by Chief Peguis. He represented the HBC at the Selkirk Treaty negotiations at Red River in 1817. He retired to the Red River Settlement in June of 1819. HBCA B.239/d/175-204; B.160/1-3; B.63/f/1, fos. 4d-5.

²⁵ This is probably James Grant who was a Clerk of the NWC at Fond du Lac from 1805 to about 1816, when he was arrested by Lord Selkirk. He was made a partner of the NWC in 1816, and in 1818-19 was a NWC proprietor at Red River. He retired from the fur trade in 1821. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relative to the North West Company* (Toronto: The

where he wintered some days ago in 14 Skin Canoes – having made a deal of Provisions there – The Colonists has Sown a considerable quantity of Grain of various kinds also Potatoes – and if the Season is favorable they will have as much as will serve all of them next Year. Mr Stitt has 10 Kegs Potatoes & 3 of Barley sown, in one of the freemens Gardens, but badly enclosed – a Small store built here the only work done. Water low in the Red River, but rather more than in the N branch –

[Fo. 3d]

- 9th *Tuesday*. Laying here waiting the arrival of the Boats from Brandon House
- 11 *Thursday*. 5 Murons²⁶ crossing the river opposite Fort Douglas²⁷ Their small crossing machine filled with water and one of them was unfortunately drowned, sunk & could not be found.
- 12th *Friday*. Found the Muron not 40 yds from where he up set & buried him. Anxiously expecting the Arrival of the Boats.
- 13th *Saturday*. A Canoe of ours came here from Montreal which place she left 25th April, manned principally with Iroquois who are engaged (40 in all) to go to the Peace River to winter & hunt beaver for the Winter & to Voyage in Summer, they are all engaged for 2 years – Several others of our Canoes from Montreal is soon expected – for the Athapescow Country, Mr Colin Robertson²⁸ coming up for the same place at the head of our party, he has been as well as Mr Spenser²⁹ tried at Montreal but both honorably acquitted for alleged crimes committed by them in Red River – The former was taken down in 1814. This

Champlain Society, 1934), 450. Harry W. Duckworth (ed.), *Friends, Foes, and Furs: George Nelson's Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804-1822* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 286.

²⁶ These are the De Meurons, a group of Swiss demobilized mercenaries, who fought with the British in the War of 1812, some of whom were hired by Lord Selkirk to serve as a protective force for the Red River Colony during the Fur Trade wars.

²⁷ This was the fort built by Colin Robertson after he re-established the Red River Settlement in fall of 1815. It was built on the west bank of the Red River a few miles below the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

²⁸ Colin Robertson (1783-1840) was born in Perth, Scotland, and entered the service of the NWC in 1803. In 1809 he left their service and in 1814 entered the service of the HBC with the goal of expanding the HBC presence in the Athabasca. As he passed Jack River in 1815, however, he found the dispersed Selkirk Colonists there and agreed to escort them back and re-establish the Red River Settlement which he did in September of 1815. In March of 1816 he captured the NWC Fort Gibraltar at Red River and arrested Duncan Cameron. In June of 1816, prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks, he left the colony after a dispute with Governor Semple. Thereafter he travelled to York Factory to return to London, but the ship he was travelling on, the *Prince of Wales*, got caught in the ice and he was forced to winter at Moose Factory. In June of 1817, he left Moose Factory for Canada, where he would be tried and acquitted for his actions in 1816. He stayed in the HBC until 1840, when he died. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 480.

²⁹ This is John Spencer (1790-1863). He was born in England and joined the HBC in 1806. In 1814, he became a councillor and the sheriff of Assiniboia, and was responsible for enforcing the Pemmican Proclamation. He was arrested by the NWC and taken to Montreal. After he was released, he continued to work for the HBC until he retired to the Red River Settlement.

Canoe brot up Letters & Montreal Newspapers – They inform us that Three Missionaries are coming up by the first Canoes to remain at the Red River Settlement – Three of the NW Light Canoes gone by York in Upper Canada and one of them daily expected here – Mr McLellan³⁰ & Reinhard³¹ not yet tried for the Murder of Mr Kevney³² in 1816. but soon expected to take their tryals. – They inform us that Lord Selkirk & party who left Fort Douglas 8 Sep^r last had reached Montreal by way of Pra[i]rie du Chien, Washington &c – & that Capt. Mathey³³ & another had de[s]cended the Mississippi last fall in a Batteau to New Orleans where they embarked for New York. – & at present in Montreal.

14th *Sunday*. The Iroquois Canoe was sent away to Norway House with the Letters, Papers &c for the Governor. 100 Canadians are engaged for us for the Northward, mostly Bow & Steersmen – at 6 PM Mr Alan McDonell³⁴ arrived from Montreal with the NW Letters – Mr Grant went to Portage des Pra[i]rie with

[Fo. 4]

³⁰ Archibald MacLellan/McLellan (d. 1820) entered the NWC in 1792 and became a partner in the concern in 1805. In 1815 he was sent to Lake Athabasca, and took a prominent part in NWC attack on the Selkirk Colony. In 1818 he was tried in Quebec for the murder of Owen Keveny. He was acquitted and retired from the fur trade in 1819. He died in Upper Canada in 1820. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents related to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 479-80.

³¹ Charles de Reinhard, an employee of the North West Company, accused of killing Owen Keveny.

³² Owen Keveny was killed by NWC men on the way to Fort William in September of 1816. He was a native of Sligo, Ireland, and was employed by Lord Selkirk to recruit colonists in Ireland. He then was chosen to lead this second party to the Selkirk Colony in 1812. He stayed in the settlement as Governor Miles Macdonell's second in command, but in 1813, Keveny travelled to York Factory to make arrangements for a third party of settlers about to arrive. He then returned to Britain and, in 1815, he requested Selkirk obtain an appointment for him in the HBC. In 1816, he set out for Red River from Albany House to restore order there, but was arrested at Bas-de-la-Rivière by the NWC in August of 1816 and sent under guard to Fort William. On 11 September he was murdered by a Métis named Mainville and Charles de Reinhard, an employee of the North West Company. Hartwell Bowsfield, "Keveny, Owen," *DCB Online*.

³³ Jacques Frederick Matthey (1777-1850) was born in Switzerland and was an officer of the de Meuron regiment hired by Lord Selkirk to lead a band of soldiers to Red River and act protectors of the Settlement. He arrived in the RRS with Lord Selkirk in 1817 but was required to leave by Colonel Coltman that year. He returned to the Settlement in 1818 and remained there as a military commander. He soon alienated both the de Meuron settlers and George Simpson and left for England in 1824.

³⁴ This is likely Allan McDonell (*b.c.* 1776-1859). He was born in Scotland and came to BNA with his family thereafter. In 1799, Allan joined the fur-trading company of Forsyth, Richardson and Company as an apprentice clerk and came to the northwest for the XYC. When the XYC merged with the NWC in 1804, he served as a clerk in the new company at Fort Dauphin. During the years of conflict between the NWC and HBC, he remained in the Fort Dauphin and Red River departments becoming a NWC partner in 1816. He was one of the NWC partners at Brandon House when the Metis sacked the HBC post in 1816, He was later arrested by Lord Selkirk at Fort William in 1817 as an accessory to the murder of Robert Semple at Seven Oaks. In 1818, he, along with 13 others, was indicted by a grand jury at York, but he was never tried. With the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821, McDonell was made a Chief Trader and placed in charge of the Swan River district at Fort Dauphin. He stayed here until 1826 when he was transferred to the Timiskaming district. He became Chief Factor there in 1828. In 1835 he was appointed to the Rainy Lake district where he stayed until 1841. He was granted a furlough in 1841 and retired thereafter in 1843. He settled in Montreal with his wife, the daughter of Aeneas Cameron. He died in 1859. Elaine Allan Mitchell, "McDonell, Allan," *DCB Online*.

14 Skin Canoes in Carts to meet their Batteaux there and to lighten them – Lagemonier³⁵ a freeman returned from Brandon House, he says all the Stone Indians have pitched away –

15th *Monday* Two Days since Six NW Canoes went with Provisions to Riviere Winnipeg. – Sent away 6 Men & a Boat to lighten our others coming down at the rapids – but they returned short

16th *Tuesday.* in the Evening our Boats arrived with Mess^{rs} Finlayson & Campbell from Brandon House – we hear from Indians our Beaver Creek Boats are not got to Grants Village yet; & that they left a considerable part of their Cargo at Brandon House – about 240 pieces Provisions of 90 lb Each – having only 60 in each Batteaux and a great deal of it very wet, owing to the leakiness of the Batteaux & the frequent places they are obliged to drag them over

17th *Wednesday.* Got some few necessary articles from the Colony for the 2 Batteaux which is going to Martins fall for about 80 or 100 pieces of Goods, the Governor wrote to Albany for last fall as there was so little sent out in our Ship

18 *Thursday.* Most part of our Trade at Brandon House we put on board the Swan River Boats and got all things in readiness to Embark Tomorrow – Mr Stitt & 2 Men remain here.

19th *Friday* In the afternoon we all got underway Mess^{rs} Sutherland & Finlayson for Norway House – Mr Campbell with one Boat & Canoe with upwards of 60 Bags Pimmican to go to Rain Lake to meet our expected Canoes from Montreal – Self 12 Men also go away to Martins fall in 2 Boats – Mr Campbell & us to keep Company till we reach Portage d’Isle in the Winnipeg river near which the tracks part – took with us 100 Drest Skins 54 Buffalo robes & 53 Bags Pimmican – the 2 former & near half of the Latter to be delivered to the Albany Settlement as they are very short of the whole. went down 5 Miles & put up at Mr Monkman’s farm³⁶ – Rain & thunder in the night.

³⁵ This is likely Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière (Lagemonière) (c. 1777-1855). He was born in Quebec and joined the NWC in 1800, and served in the west until 1806, when he returned home to marry Marie-Anne Gaboury. They then moved to Pembina and later Cumberland House. He worked as a provisioner for Miles Macdonell and the Selkirk Settlers in 1812-13. In 1815-16 he journeyed from Red River to Montreal on snowshoes to inform Lord Selkirk of the attacks on the Red River Settlement by the NWC. For his efforts, Selkirk gave him a grant of land in Red River. On his return he was captured by the NWC but was released. He would thereafter serve the HBC as a voyageur and messenger, and he became a farmer in Red River. J.M. Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 135.

³⁶ James Monkman (1775-1865) came from Whitby, Yorkshire, England and entered the HBC service in 1793. He served mostly at Severn Factory on the Hudson’s Bay from 1793 to 1815, the last few years as an Assistant Trader. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1816, and between 1818 and 1887, the Monkman family established saltworks in the Lake

20th *Saturday* Embarked at 3½ AM & one of the Swan River Boats got broke in a rapid & wet the provisions – The water is very shoal – stopped till 11 AM when Mr Sutherland came up to us &

[Fo. 4d]

accompanied us a little way to give his final directions to both parties – when we separated and put up at Dead river³⁷ near Sun Set – Muskettoes very numerous.

21st *Sunday* at 3 AM embark & put up near Stocking point on East side Lake Winnipic not far from the entrance of the Winnipic river near Sun Set – remarkably hot this Day & generally very little wind.

22nd *Monday* Very heavy Thunder & rain in the Night, which made our Tents 6 Inches under water – at 3 ½ AM got underway & arrived at the Canadian House near the entrance of the river at 6 AM – Saw Mr McDougald³⁸ here & 2 Clerks. Campbell, Thompson & McMurray altho here kept out of the way as they expected we were come purposely to carry them away Prisoners – as no Boats of ours have been this way these several years past which confirmed them in that opinion; only remained 10 minutes & embarked, but obliged to stop for rain just above – remained 1½ Hours when the weather cleared up and we embarked got over the first Quicksilver fall and put up there at S[un] set – water low here, but all the small rivulets falling in are entirely full of water owing to the very heavy rain that fell last night – In the evening very heavy Thunder & a Deluge of rain – that lasted 2 Hours.

23rd *Tuesday*. Got to next Portage called the White Earth & left it at Noon put up on the upper side [of] the Portage de Bonnet at 8 PM all over, and the Boats about

Winnipegosis region. He was married to a Cree woman named Mary and had at least ten children. He died in 1865 and was buried at St. Peter's Church in the Red River Settlement. HBCA BS.

³⁷ Dead River, or Riviere aux Morts, is today known as Netley Creek. It enters the Red River from the north side some 6 miles from Lake Winnipeg. According to John McDonnell of the North West Company, the river was named Riviere aux Morts because a camp of Assiniboines, Crees and Saulteaux were killed there by the Sioux. It was a favoured camping spot of the natives of the region. John McDonnell, "The Red River," in W. Raymond Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen (eds.), *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 79.

³⁸ This is Duncan McDougall who was born in Scotland and joined the NWC around 1801 as a clerk. In 1803 he set up a post known as Fort George River in Quebec to challenge the HBC on the Bay. He stayed there until 1806. By 1810 he had joined the Pacific Fur Company and oversaw the building of Astoria in 1811. He was involved in the sale of the post to the NWC and in 1813 rejoined the NWC. McDougall became a partner of the NW in 1816 and in 1817 travelled to Fort William. There he agreed to take charge of the Winnipeg River district moving there in fall of 1817. He died at Bas-de-la-Rivière on 25 Oct. 1818. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "McDougall, Duncan," *DCB Online*.

half way up the Rapid. – Mr ____ & Duncan Campbell³⁹ & Conolly⁴⁰ passed us on their way to Fort William in one Canoe; the Latter is to have a share this Year – and to winter at Cumberland House –

24th *Wednesday.* The Men got up with the Boats, & we embarked at 9 AM and put up above the Bonnet Lake at 8½ PM – In the chart that accompanies this Journal the whole of the Portages, their Length – all the rivers & creeks & that is the whole distance we go as well as the Lakes and any other remarkable thing – is inserted drawn on a scale of 5 Inches to 1° of Latitude

[Fo. 5]

June 1818

22nd *Monday.* Courses &c up Winnipeg river S50E1½ Canadian House on West side a fine creek opposite – S50 E3 – two old houses formerly here on West side, near a century ago. E½ S1 Old Point Foutre House formerly on East side, a steep grassy bare bank E½ S½ a rapid go up it with a line on West side, but the way down is on the East side. Three small rocky I^s fall 1¼ feet ____ [?] & a small creek on the West side E1¼ 200 yards wide, rocky and Grassy banks, carried on West side about 130 yards good – Launch the Boats on the East side or Left, a stout creek on the same side of the portage for Canoes is on W side, but we carried 80 yds on East Side & Launched there the Boats 20 yd – fall 9 Feet on an Island in the river – the Creek 6¼ feet fall at its junction with the river. all the creeks now very full of water owing to the late very heavy rains; Three hours in getting all over the Portage. left it at 2 PM Water here about 9 feet perpendicular lower than it was about 10 years back – E½ a rocky Island, hand up the Boats on the right hand side 10 yds, a kind of Pudding Stone here green and black, very curious, the water eats out the colours & the rest of the Stone projecting – E1 S½ carried on an Island 30 yards – 2 feet fall each these last places, a small river falls in on the East side & a rapid at the mouth of it – In half an hour we got over the Last Portage, ran it down as we returned, but

³⁹ This is John Duncan Campbell (1773-1835) who was born in New York and emigrated with his parents to Canada during the American Revolution. He entered the employ of the NWC as a clerk some time before 1799 and was sent to the Upper Fort des Prairies. He became a partner of the NWC in 1803, and from then until 1819 he was in charge of the English River department. During the Fur Trade Wars, he was deeply involved in the struggles at Red River, and in 1819 he was arrested by the HBC at the Grand Rapids. He was kept prisoner for several months before he was sent to Canada where he was released. After the union of the HBC and NWC he retired to Cornwall, Upper Canada. He died there in 1835. He was married to the native daughter of Patrick Small, and John Macdonald of Garth. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relative to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 431.

⁴⁰ William Conolly (1787-1849) was born at Lachine, near Montreal, and entered the service of the NWC as a clerk in 1801. In the winter of 1803-04 he was at the Rat River House, and in 1818 was made partner of the NWC. In 1819, he was put in charge of Cumberland House. At the union of the HBC and NWC in 1821, he was made Chief Trader in the new concern, and in 1825 he was made Chief Factor. From 1824 to 1831 he was in charge of New Caledonia, after which he retired. He died at Montreal in 1849. He married a Cree woman named Susanne in 1803, and the couple had six children. One of his daughters married James Douglas. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relative to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 443.

shipped a Deal of Water by one of the Boats, E1 S¹/₄, SSW¹/₄ 150 yards wide; Oaks on West side SE1 S¹/₄, S1 W¹/₄ a round woody Island on West side SE1 E1 a creek on WS, wide, low banks, small poplars and a few small oaks in places E1 N³/₄ a Large Island, Keep on the right of it, a bay on the East side & arrive at the Quicksilver, or Great Eddy Water falls carry on the tight 336 yds Rocky, The whole fall about 19 feet, as we came back we lowered the Boats down empty except the upper brink⁴¹ – Cross a small bay 60 yds, and carried on the same side but we put up at lower one. Upper fall about 6¹/₂ feet perpendicular –

[Fo. 5d]

23rd *Tuesday.* Began to work at Orise, Track at upper one very wet owing to the late very heavy rain; pretty stout Oaks here; upper portage 110 yds steep at lower and 20 yds SSE1 a wide reach⁴² and a Grass Island called Duck Island just above the Fall, arrive at White Mud portage on East side, about 190 yds long, a narrow track thro the Woods, level fall 11¹/₂ feet all perpendicular, hand Boats over three brinks E1 N¹/₄ 3 to 400 yds wide & 2 woody Islands, a few pines, Good Oak on White Earth portage & many Plumb trees, a bay on the East side & a small river falls in there, S1 E¹/₂ and arrive at the little Bonnet portage on East side 160 yds – Smooth Rocks. The water on this Portage has worn several holes in the rocks like Kettles – 8¹/₂ feet fall; – close at the head of the fall less water by 4 feet perpendicular than in the times of highest water – S1 E¹/₃ **Latitude here 50° 26' 47"** taken 26th August; The Sun is now to[o] high to take the Double Meridian Altitude as my sextant only extends to 123° – which is the reason of my not attempting to take any Altitudes till we arrive at Osnaburgh House, arrive at the Big Bonnet Portage on left or East side, 50 yds to the foot of the Hill from the landing place. 27 yards up the hill 230 yards tolerable, 70 yds bad, 200 a small hill about halfway over; 110, then 90 yds a swamp, 460 yds more open and dryer, low and flat. 18 Minutes walk over the Portage, now very wet & dirty: arrive at the Portage 2.55 PM got all over & the Boats ²/₃ of the way up the rapid; Launching them in 4 places near 30 feet fall in all ²/₃ . Heavy show[er] of Rain at 1 PM. Mr Campbell & Conolly passed us here; they inform us there are 9 Boats & 11 Canoes from the Saskatchewan belonging to us, the Canoes are for the Northwards & part of the Boats for the low Country. –

⁴¹ The edge, border, or verge of a steep place.

⁴² A “reach” is a segment of a stream or river suggesting a straight level uninterrupted stretch. It may be an expanse, or widening of a stream or river channel. It is similar to any arm, though an arm may bend and have multiple reaches. A level stretch between rapids.

Water shoal in the Saskatchewan – he tells us that Mr Decoygne⁴³ has got no trade in the Athabascow this year – Mr McFarlane⁴⁴ to Summer at Isle a la Crosse our people

[Fo. 6]

are building on the same spot I did in 1809

24th *Wednesday*. Large Oaks upper end Bonnet portage – and a fine lower open place, for a small farm. a fine bay on the left above the Fall – Course of the Fall SE¹/₂ SE W¹/₄ at 9.35 AM left the Portage SSE¹/₂. SW1 S³/₄ Three quarter of a mile wide, It a short current ___[?] 20 yds SSE¹/₄, S1W³/₄ Lower over fall – ESE¹/₄ carried 20 yd on left ESE¹/₄ & carry on ES 20 over a rock; The Canoe portage on West side 60 yd – Fall 6 feet high called Lower war fall – attempted to Observe the ☉ DM al^t, but too high for the Sextant, to observe for Latitude as we return when the Sun will be lower; The Pinnawa falls in on the left just above the upper war fall & lower end Lac du Bonnet – Left the Portage at 1¹/₄ PM – a kind of a Creek at it, S1E1/20 handed up the Boats 10 yards & narrow & enter Lac du Bonnet, went thro' it S1 E4 about 1¹/₂ mile wide, two Islands near the bottom, SSE³/₄ 2 woody Is ___[?] & excessively hot, pass on the WS the Islands, then a narrow & ripple, SSW1¹/₂ wide, then a Narrow & ripple, SWb¹/₄ 1 mile wide or more & 3 small Islands below, one of them Called Loutits small – 3 poplar Trees on it near the head of the reach, SSE1 about 300 yards wide; The last reach much more, Steep muddy banks on East or left hand side we go at the upper end of the reach & a strong shoot current, River here about 100 yards wide; several small creeks on East side SWbS¹/₂ Strong current & began to Track on West side, fine shore. SEbS³/₄, SSW1¹/₂ fine steep woody banks,

⁴³ François Decoygne (Decoigne) was born in Berthierville, Quebec, and was a clerk for the NWC at Fort George on the Saskatchewan River by 1798. By 1804 he had become the senior clerk in the NWC's Athabasca department, and from 1806 to 1810 he was on the Winnipeg River and on the South Saskatchewan. In 1813 he built the NWC Rocky Mountain House at Jasper, and the year after he travelled to Fort William. In 1814, Colin Robertson engaged him to return to the Athabasca for the HBC where he was bound at this point. He worked for two years at Lesser Slave Lake, but in December of 1816, the NWC seized his post and supplies. By 1818, dissatisfied with the HBC, he left the west to settle in Montreal. Marjorie Wilkens Campbell, "Decoigne, François," *DCB Online*.

⁴⁴ This was John Stewart McFarlane (McFarland) (b. 1797) from Glasgow, Scotland. He entered the service of the HBC as a writer in 1810 and was initially stationed at Action House. By 1814-15 he was Master and Trader at Paint Creek but never rose higher than a Clerk. Running afoul of James Bird in 1815, he was sent to Fort Wedderburn in the Athabasca in 1816 where he opposed the NWC actively. He was arrested by the NWC and confined for a time at Fort Chippewyan. From 1817 to 1821 he served in the English River District at Isle a la Crosse and Green Lake. In 1821-22, George Simpson noted that McFarlane was a "trifling creature full of buffoonery incorrect as a clerk and possessing no talent as a trader." He was tolerated only in consideration of his long service. In 1822, he returned to Glasgow. His wife by custom of the country (Margaret Bruce, the daughter of Benjamin Bruce) and their five children were baptized at Norway House in 1823. In 1824 they joined him in Glasgow. John Stewart McFarlane and Margaret Bruce were legally married in Glasgow, Scotland in 1825. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1939), 231. HBCA B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/f/12; B.239/g/2; E.4/1a.

200 yards wide put up on West side at 8 PM. Water rising, Light Airs Northerly & very hot weather

25th *Thursday* Got underway at 3:50 AM. John Easter one of the Three Murons we have with us has a very sore foot and cannot track. Steep banks and woody SSE1 Strong rapidy current & stony. SEbS1¼ – SbE1 – ESE1¼ White River falls in here on the Right – now very full of water a perpendicular fall at its mouth, and full of Rapids above about 20 yards wide, about 1/5 the size of Winnipic River at

[Fo. 6d]

Present, the late very heavy rains have swol[[l]en it considerably above its usual height, hawl up a rapid 20 yds on right 1½ foot fall; ESE1¼ & carried on West side 20 yds 4½ foot fall; just above it on same side carry 60 yds 7½ feet fall, & then go round a small bay about 100 yards & carry at the 4th Portage on WS 15 yards rocky, but hawled up the Boats with a Line, about 2 feet fall – only ¾ mile These 4 last portages by the River – NE¾ moderate current, a stout creek on W Side just above the 4th Portage & arrive at the Barrier Portage 40 yds on West side, fall 8 feet, over two rocks, Launched the Boats in two places at this portage 1¾ hour in getting all over at EbN¾ & arrive at Grand Gally a fine smooth rock portage on W side 120 Yards fall 8¼ feet the shoot included just above it which last we hawled up by a Line; steep rocks. – Water here 6 feet 4 Inches lower than the highest high water mark formerly – EbN¼ & carry on W Side 120 yards 9½ feet fall. good portage 1½ on this portage, EbN¼ & carried 160 yards on W side good fall 8½ feet stopped here at 5 PM, then carried all over and put up Strong wind at South & Cloudy.

26th *Friday* at 4¼ AM got underway; Thunder & Rain last night ENE½ Latitude 50° 7' 52" taken August 24th a creek on the West side, NNb½, EbN½ lower banks, Neb E½ very strong current, only about 80 yards wide and strong ripples all up the last reach – Small oaks on every rocky point, none in the bays, NE1 and come to the head of the Pinawa which the NW Canoes go down in years of very high water; now not an Indian light Canoe could go down it without frequently carrying – NE¼ up Jack Easters creek a small part of the river on the left, a ripple at the head of it & very shoal, ENE1 & arrive at Grand Rapid 3 feet fall carry on WS 20 yds rocks, many Islands in the river on the right & some of them large arrived at grand rapid at 8 AM & left it 9½, ENE¾ – NE¾ NEb N2 half a mile wide & two Islands in the reach, stopped here from 11 to 3½ making

[Fo. 7]

2 Oars & 1 Sweep to steer with – E^{1/2} narrower a current – E^{1/2} an I^d on the right. Eb N^{3/4} wide and arrive at a Barrier called by our Men the Hammer fall Carry on the N Side 110 yards over smooth rocks, fall 5^{3/4} feet always perpendicular decent arrive at it at 5 PM left at 6^{1/2} – track the Boats up the lower part to the unloading place 40 yards; here Mess^{rs} Thompson & McMillan proprietors of the NW Company passed us on their way to Fort William in one Canoe. Thompson has his family with him; NbE^{1/2} about 1 mile wide and 2 Islands; low ground, and a kind of hill or rising ground on the right, a narrow at end of last reach 70 yds wide & very strong current 200 yds NbE¹ – The Canadian Masters put up here for the Night, NbE^{1/2}, 150 yds wide and we put up at 7^{3/4} PM on left side, Mr Campbell with 1 Boat & Canoe still ahead which they got whilst we were detained mak^g the Oars & Sweep; he left for me a few lines on the last portage.

27th *Saturday* – at 3.40 AM got underway; at 3^{1/4} The NW people passed us. went N^{3/4}, NNE^{1/4}, NE¹S. about 500 yds wide, steep rocks in many places, Nb W^{1/2}, NE^{1/2} & arrive at the Slave Fall at 4.55 found our people waiting for us where they slept last night – in years of very high water carry out of the bay below on W side – 15 feet fall, takes its name from 2 Sioux or Slave Indians taken prisoners by the Soteux about 40 years ago, who threw themselves before this fall & drowned themselves rather than be kept Prisoners by the Souteaux. left the portage at 8^{1/6} AM which is steep at lower end 100 yds over – a great swell at the unloading place below – about 60 yds wide – Nb E^{1/3} a bay on the left and a fishing Creek, then narrower N^{3/4} & N^{3/4} two Islands, Nb W¹ high rocky banks, small firs &c at 9^{1/6} arrive at a Portage 100 yds on NS. fall 8^{1/2} feet, very rocky – NW^{3/4} a ripple & hand up on left 10 yds by a line, NNW^{1/8} & Carry on left 90 yds a steep fall & arrive at 12^{1/3}. 18 feet high – came up to 8 Canoes of the NW from Isle a la Crosse Big Paul the Guide They

[Fo. 7d]

have 16 Packs each Canoe, apparently many drest Moose Skins amongst the Packs, only one Pitch at this fall – 1.25 on this portage NW 80 yds & carry on same side This a point of Poplars 300 yds level, wet at times in the middle fall 7 feet high got here at 2 PM & left at 5 PM. NbE^{1/2} a bay on the left above the Portage. NNW^{3/4} These 3 last Portages called McKays falls – NbE^{1/2} several Islands, NE^{1/4} Neb E¹ about 2/4 mile wide and Islands for two Miles, NNE^{1/2} & enter a narrow ENE^{3/4} 50 yards wide, NbE^{3/4} & arrive at a Portage 120 yds rocky; fall 12^{1/2} feet, ; very rough rocks on Portage bad carrying on Right hand, Tom Favel badly

28th *Sunday*. Left the Portage at 5.25 AM. Tom Favel our Guide still badly, carried over & launched the Boats in a Kind of Creek before we started, – sailed a little last night, NbE¹/₄ – NEbE¹/₂ several Islands, E¹/₄ a ripple ENE¹/₄ a ripple, NE¹/₂ – ENE³/₄, ESE¹/₄ wide several Pine Islands, a strong ripple ENE¹/₄ several Islands ³/₄ mile wide, ENE³/₄ strong ripples in places, ESE¹/₂ and enter a wider place S4 a deep bay on the left & one Island in the Middle, the upper end of last reach two Houses built last fall on the right by McDougald for us & Laurier for the NWC. we got very little Trade, the NW the greatest part, McDougald had a Man frozen to Death a Canadian within sight of the House & was found next day & buried there, passed the Houses at 12³/₄, the river here about 1 Mile wide, high Land in the bay on the right rocky & small Pines & firs; E3 high rocks on both sides and small firs, a few Islands in this reach, SE¹/₂, SSE¹/₂ – ESE³/₄ high steep smooth rocks bare, small firs on the right; ¹/₄ mile wide, half way thro this last reach a small bad river comes from the Woody Lake; a bay ³/₄ mile deep on North side opposite the small river & a bay on S side, un the Bay ib tge North side a fishing creek, arrive at portage d'Isle; fall 3 feet, the Portage is on the S side 60 yds. but we hawled up the Boats on the opposite side. 1¹/₄ hour in getting over it, with the 3 Boats with a line

[Fo. 8]

ESE¹/₂ bare high rocks and small firs, on both sides, here the Tracks part, and we separated from Mr Campbell & party, one Boat & Canoe accompanies him to Rain Lake with Pimmican he expects to be there in 6 or 7 Days more, parted with him at 5 PM, went NNE¹/₂ on N side a burnt wood Island, NEbE¹/₂ – two small bays on the left and a rocky P in the middle of the Channel, SE¹/₂E ¹/₄ mile wide a bay on the right, all Islands on our right since we parted with Mr Campbell, here we have a view of 4 Miles along the French Track about 1¹/₂ mile wide – E¹/₂ a deep bay on the left NNE¹/₄ two bays on the right 2 miles each deep. N2 ³/₄ wide a creek on the right about half way this last reach on the West side, with a heavy fall in it, put up at 7¹/₂ PM on W Side. Calm at Night, in the day variable and hot; Mr Campbell promised to leave me a letter under a certain Stone at Portage D'Isle on his return with the News from Montreal

29th *Monday* At 3¹/₄ AM we got underway, Strong wind a head or NE-NbE²/₃ amongst Islands, a bay on the right 2 Miles deep NbW¹/₂ & arrive at Deer fall, carry on the right 90 yards, rocky 8¹/₄ foot fall, got here at 4²/₃ & left at 6¹/₆, NW¹/₈ narrow and a strong pulling place, NNE¹/₄, WNW³/₄ high steep bare rocks & very small short firs on them in places, NWbN¹/₂, NbE¹/₄. 1³/₄ mile wide on the left, then enter McNabs Lake called by our Albany Men, as they used formerly to give names to any place who would give them the most Grog; & it was the common custom when ever they passed it afterward, if the person was in Company to give all hands each a Dram. went thro' McNabs Lake the

following courses NEbN3, NEbE2, EbN $\frac{1}{2}$, SEbS $\frac{1}{2}$, a big I^d & a ripple hawl up 20 yards, SEbS1, E $\frac{3}{4}$, NEbN $\frac{1}{3}$, NEbN $\frac{1}{4}$ from here on South side 3 Portages & 2 small Lakes to Portage d'Isle House, perhaps not 5 Miles off by our Guides account, a kind of narrow & a burnt pine Island opposite the entrance; Keep the NW side in McNabs Lake; being the shortest, shoal between the Gravel Island & the Main narrow. McNabs Lake continued

[Fo. 8d]

NbE2, NNE1, NbE1 narrower, ENE $\frac{3}{4}$ bank of Sand on N Side, NEbE $\frac{3}{4}$ an Old Canadian House on the left & a road to Red Lake in Indian Canoes, but small & many rapids & Portages EbN $\frac{1}{2}$ end of McNabs Lake, ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ strong current ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ steep rocks 80 yds wide – SSE $\frac{1}{2}$, ESE $\frac{1}{2}$. E $\frac{1}{2}$ up a small part of the river, the main branch on the right Latitude 50° 18' 42" taken 21st August at upper side the Portage of 410 yards; pretty good pine & Fir this afternoon – a steep hill 15 yds at upper end Portage. Fall 10 feet? got here at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM & put up – and laid some of the rollers right to hawl the Boats over tomorrow – the small Creek continues farther on, scarce room for the Boats to turn the little distance we have come up it – Strong Wind at NE overcast, night calm; Plenty of Plumb Trees on this Portage – pretty Level and Good.

30th *Tuesday.* at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM began to carry & left the Portage at 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM, & went SbE $\frac{1}{4}$ & carry on the right 80 yards called Kettle fall. 15 feet almost perpendicular fall; very steep to take the Boats up – owing to the shoalness of the water we carried over the small rocky Island – here we saw the first Silver Fir growing here. No Sturgeon higher than this Fall, being so very steep & high they cannot pass it: WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ left it at 11 AM & got to the 3rd one at 11.35 fall 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet in 3 brinks, carry on the left 150 yds thro the Woods, here take the Boats empty up by water, leave this Portage at 2.5 PM & go thro a kind of Narrow Lake, SSW $\frac{3}{4}$, SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ -SWbS $\frac{1}{2}$, SE $\frac{1}{2}$, ESE1, ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ a narrow & strong current EbN $\frac{1}{2}$, ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ a ripple & put up at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM & angle many Jack & Perch, hawled up by a line at the ripple below; Griese rocks all along in places above the 3 last Portages below generally Granite.

July 1818

1st *Wednesday.* At 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM Embarked & went thro Weggs Lake the following Course & Distances, NNb $\frac{1}{4}$, EbN4, one mile below this a Communication for Small Canoes to the Woody Lake there

[Fo. 9]

being 5 intervening Portages; a Narrow $\frac{1}{8}$ mile wide: ESE $\frac{1}{2}$, SEbS $\frac{1}{4}$, SbE $\frac{1}{3}$, S1, SSE1, SE $\frac{1}{4}$, ESE1, SEbS $\frac{3}{4}$ a narrow. These last 7 Courses a kind of Lake variable in breadth to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile, & enter the Old Soldiers Narrow about 60 yards

wide deep & steep rocks on each side went thro it ESE¹/₄, NE¹/₂ a bay on the right 1¹/₂ mile deep, NE¹/₂ & enter a kind of Lake near one mile wide ENE¹/₂, NEbE¹/₂, ENE1 Latitude 50° 10' 16" taken August 20th. ENE¹/₂, E3 Scarts point on the left N75E3 Secondary Rocks in this Lake & Granit & mostly small fir thro a narrow ESE3, & enter a wider part, along it ENE1-E¹/₂ S1¹/₄, E³/₄, & keep on the left a wide opening on the right towards Eagle Lake NNE1, NNW¹/₄. (NWbN¹/₂) in a narrow steep rocks & some current 20 yds wide – NbW³/₄ & enter a Small Lake called Wa pin a pan 2 Miles wide, thro it NNb1, N40E3¹/₂ end of the Lake, two old Houses here on the left & enter short kind of river, strong current, very fine Silver Firs on right hand side, N¹/₂ & enter a Lake called Ska bee che wan – NEbE1, NbE1 here we found Edward Mowat⁴⁵ & two of the Albany Men, they wintered here last winter & made about 14 Packs of Furs – reached the House at 5¹/₂ PM – said the latter part of the day, rain in the afternoon; They are now catching a good many Tickameg – McPherson⁴⁶ from Rain Lake passed here from Rain Lake where he wintered for us, with 2 Boats & one Canoe, he has made very little Trade & expended all his Goods – he arrived here 4th June & left it the day after; he is to go down it is said to Montreal as a Witness: left here 4 Bags Pimmican to serve us on our return to Red River – at Scarts Point, Clay banks, Gravel & land on the Shore

2nd Thursday Left the House at 5¹/₂ AM; got before we started some good new[s] caught Tickameg, went in the Sha bee che wan Lake as before NNW³/₄, N1¹/₂ & enter a narrow NE¹/₄, WbN¹/₂, NE¹/₂ & opens again 2 mile wide – ENE ¹/₈, N40E1¹/₂ & enter a river ENE¹/₄ & carried 90 yd on left, good smooth Rocks, Fall 6³/₄ feet arrive at it 9¹/₃ & leave it 11¹/₃. Strong wind NE drizzling rain,

Plenty of Thorn Trees at the Portage – a small kind of wood called Rain wood begins here – and the Oaks do not grow further Eastwards in this Track. ENE¹/₄ & enter a Lake 3 mile wide in places, thro it NEbE1¹/₄, NE2 & enter a narrow steep rock on W side, ENE¹/₄, ENE¹/₄, NE¹/₂, N¹/₈, NNW¹/₄ Cedar grows here. – NEbN1 100 yards wide, NEbE¹/₄, NNW¹/₂ a ripple, WbN1¹/₂ and enter a Lake cross it NWbW3, extends on the right 4 miles & enter a river N¹/₈

⁴⁵ Edward Mowat (ca. 1778-1862) came from Stromness, Orkney Islands, and joined the HBC in 1801. He worked his entire career at the inland posts of Albany Factory as a Steersman and then a Clerk after 1817. In 1828 he became an Outpost Master and then a Postmaster in 1830. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1831. He had a wife named Mary and they had at least eight children. HBCA B5.

⁴⁶ Donald McPherson (d. 1819) was born in Scotland and entered the HBC service 1811 as a Writer/Clerk. He was posted first to Albany Factory and then its inland post, Henley House until 1814. Thereafter, he appears to have been posted to Lac La Pluie (Rainy Lake) where he wrote the District Report for 1816-18. He was by this time categorised as a Master. He was captured and imprisoned by the NWC in 1816, and on February 24, 1819 he drowned at Lac la Pluie. HBCA B5; B.3/d/133-139; B.105/e/1; B.239/d/204.

& carry on left 40 yards good, 8½ feet fall & steep, great eddy below and bad unloading place

3rd Friday – At 3¾ AM got underway – Indians came to us last night, but they have nothing. NWbN½ & carried 70 yards on the left; kettles here in the rocks 2 feet deep & 1 diameter. fall 5 feet, Then went WbN¼ & carried on an Island 20 yds fall 7½ feet – The water has risen in the Ska bee che wan Lake 18 Inches perpendicular this Spring – or within this Month past, several Kettles worn in the Solid rocks 8 feet above the present level of the Water, left the portage at 6.55. Sky clearing Cedar on the upper portage, rocky all along every day, NW¼ 80 yards wide, WNW¼, NNW¼ a small creek on the left N¼ a ripple and stony Island, NbE¼, NNW¼, ENb½, NNb1, NNb1¼ a bay 2 miles deep on the right, NNb½ a shoot of Current, NNW¼, 100 yard wide, NNb¼, NE¼, EbN½, NEbE15 a river falls in on the left, NebN½ a bay on the right 2 miles deep; thro a narrow NNW¼, ENE1 a small Lake 1½ wide NEbE1¼ narrow EbN½. SEbE½ Sutherland point on the left & a sand bar & Moose horn Island. E¾ high rocks ENE1, NNE¼ a ripple & hawl the Boats up with a line NNE¼ a small Lake 1 mile wide thro it N40E1½ & enter a river. N40 E¾ & carry on left 60 yards. Fall 12 feet & steep arrive at it at 4¼ PM, pretty good woods, Pine & Poplar and not quite so high rocks as usual, left the Portage at 6½ & went up the river EbN½, NE¼ 100 yds wide a small Island a Portage on the left about ¼ mile long over a hill, used when the water is high to avoid the falls a

[Fo. 10]

little above us; it leads into a small bay in a Lake above – narrow between rocks & Current, EbS¼, NEbE¼. 300 yds wide & a rocky Island, NEbE¼ steep rocks on both sides & put up at 7.8 PM. Our Guide thought it too late to reach the unloading place at the Portage.

4th Saturday. at 4.5 AM got underway & went NNE¼ a ripple & small creek East side & 3 small rock Islands, ESE¼, ENE¼ & arrive at the Carrying place on right hand side; 660 yards pretty good, very steep at both ends. take the Boats up on opposite side & launch them at 4 places about 20 yards each – Fall abt 32 feet in 4 places, got to the portage at 4.35; Thro small poplars carry over a small rocky hill ⅓ of the way over – got all over the Portage & the Boats up at 11 AM – Latitude 50° 34' 20" taken 17th August. NE8b½ a small river falls in on the right from Cedar or Kee shik Lake, wide at the mouth like a small lake, NWbN¼ & carry on the left 60 yards very rough rocks – river very narrow here between high Rocks & very strong shoot of current, ran down it as we returned – The Rocks a mixture of Granat Sand stone in crooked layers The shoot about

3 feet high, some time past at this shoot the water has been 13 feet higher, NWb2, left the Portage at 1 PM. NW¹/₄ a bay on the left & upper end of the long Portage to avoid those we have lately passed, & enter a Small Lake 1¹/₂ mile wide, WNW¹/₂ WNW¹/₂ , WNW1 & now again enter a Grassy river near 200 yds wide NNE³/₄ a small creek & Lake on left, NbW¹/₂, NW¹/₂, several grassy & sandy bays in the Small Lake and many Ducks, Geese &c. lower end hard steep clay banks in places, N¹/₈ and pass Paw quash river on the left about 20 yards wide comes from the Red Lake. NebE²/₂ 100 yards wide – NNE¹/₂ a fine grassy bank on opposite side at mouth of the Paw quash river, passed it at 3 PM – fine high pine & poplar on both sides, very little current; the Paw quash river opens West, no rocks about the Mouth of that river, but low flat & Grassy, good wood & pretty banks on the left; E¹/₂, SSE ¹/₂ –

[Fo. 10d]

a small creek on the right & a larger one on the left opposite. SSW¹/₂ rocks on both sides, SWbW¹/₄ a small creek on the right – NEbE¹/₂ small poplars except about Paw quash river; There Stout fir and Pine SE¹/₄ two small creeks just opposite each other, SWbS¹/₄ two more small creeks opposite each other SbW¹/₂ a fine flat grassy place on the left, ESE¹/₂, SE¹/₄ a nice point on the left or West side, EbN¹/₂ a small Creek on each side opposite each other, NNE¹/₂, NbW¹/₂ two small Creeks one on each side. Sailed all the way from the upper end of the Lake beyond Paw quash river. Strong wind West, flying Clouds, Small Creeks always one on each side opposite each other. I never observed the like before except at Sepaywisk in Nelson River track, altho I have been a great way thro' these Northern parts of this Country, NEbN¹/₂ formerly a willow Island on the right; a swamp on the left EbN³/₄ river wider & 2 small Creeks one on each side opposite each other as usual a Grass Island and a good Tickameg fishing place at the small bay. NbE¹/₈ & carried thro woods on the right 230 yards good, lower end steep, here we put up at 6¹/₂ PM but carried nothing over, Angled several Jack here.

5th *Sunday* – Got all over the Portage & left it at 7.17 AM – fall 11³/₄ feet, lower end perpendicular NNW¹/₈ & carried on the right 70 yards thro woods good & level, fall 8¹/₄ feet. rocks here like spiders webs on the Surface, a very hard substance left the Portage at 9.55, NNW¹/₈ - NW¹/₄, Nb¹/₈ small creek on the left, E¹/₄ 60 to 80 yards wide easy current in General all the way from Lake Winnipic, SE¹/₈, EbS³/₄ wider & an Island in the Middle, sandy shores in places as we have seen little sand since Lake Winnipic, enter Lac Sal⁴⁷ at 11 AM and go thro it the following courses & Distances, it is full of Islands and narrows – from 10 Miles to 60 yards wide SbS1 Latitude 50° 36' 36" taken August 16th on our return,

⁴⁷ Lac Seul

ESE¹/₂, SE¹/₂, ESE¹/₂ S4, SEbE¹/₂, S72E3 along a kind of narrow S65E11, SE1 wide, ESE¹/₂, E³/₄, & enter a narrow, an old French

[Fo. 11]

House built in 1807 – SSE¹/₄ along a narrow SSE¹/₂ Site of an old French House built about 1764 on the left hand side: The narrow about 200 yards wide, SEbS¹/₄ an old Albany House on the right & enter a wide opening 15 Miles wide across it S30E2, SEbS¹/₄ & put up at the entrance of another narrow at 7¹/₄ PM – Calm hot weather forepart of the Day, afterwards light airs at SSW – Some time back water in this Lake 5 feet perpendicular higher than now – some Cedar along this Lake in particular spots

6th *Monday* – at 3.35 AM got underway & went in Lake Sal as yesterday in the Narrow EbS³/₄, SSE³/₄ an opening on the left E1, EbS1E a shoal point SSE¹/₂ hanging Island, where the Albany Men hung an Indian near 20 years ago for severely wounding Magnus Birsay.⁴⁸ enter a wide opening on the right goes towards Egg Lake, keep pretty near the NW side of the Lake from point to point, SebE¹/₂, E¹/₂, E¹/₂ N4, EbN¹/₂ across an opening on our left EbN2, E2, EbN¹/₂, N76E2 & pass the place where Mr Stitt⁴⁹ was building it with 10 Men & 2 Boats from E¹/₂ N¹/₂ Albany near 10 years ago, when Mr Haldane⁵⁰ & Men would not suffer our people to build, but drove them all out of the Lake, after our Men had cut down a quantity of wood for Building – E¹/₂ N¹/₂ & came to the Canadian House, a Mr Nicholas Master & 3 Men. They are catching plenty of Tickameg. – very fine woods here mostly of the Silver fir. The NW built here in 1806. They have made here about 16 packs of furs this winter: E³/₄ N¹/₂ – NE¹/₂ E¹/₄ & enter a narrow NbE2 & becomes wide again –, Nb¹/₂ N4 & pass between R – NE¹/₂ N3 an Island where the NWC^o make their fall fishing of Tickameg & hawl them to their House – NE¹/₂ N2, NNE¹/₂ & pass the Beggars Stone a very Large roundish single stone above 10 feet high laying on rock Island along narrows NbE1, NEbN2, NEbE¹/₂ about ¹/₄ mile wide The narrow here, NEbN1 an opening on the right, N¹/₂, NNW³/₄ a narrow abt 100

⁴⁸ Fidler here probably means Magnus Birston, as no Magnus Birsay has been found. Magnus Birston (b.ca. 1769-1837) came from Ronaldshay, Orkney. He entered HBC service in 1790 and worked as a Middleman/Bowsman/Steersman inland from York Factory until 1814. From 1814 to 1819, he was the Outpost Master at Oxford House. From 1819 to 1821, he was the Assistant Trader at Island Lake. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1821. He died there in 1837. HBCA BS.

⁴⁹ John Stitt. See previous citation.

⁵⁰ John Haldane (b.c. 1775-1857) was a native of Scotland and joined the XY Company about 1798 and was one of the 6 wintering partners who became a partner in the NWC in 1804. In 1802 he was at Lake Athabasca in competition with Peter Fidler of the HBC, and after joining the NWC he as put in charge of the Monontaqué, west of Lake Nipigon. In 1812 he was a t Pic and in 1813 at Athabasca. In 1814 he was in the Saskatchewan. After the Union of the NWC and HBC in 1821, he was placed in charge of the Columbia District. George Simpson, however, did not get along with Haldane and in 1823 he was transferred to the Lake Superior District where he remained until his retirement in 1827. He died in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1857. Elizabeth Arthur, "Haldane, John," *DCB Online*. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents related to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 453.

yds wide, NbS^{1/2}, NbW^{3/4} Latitude 50° 29' 47" taken 14 August on our return. NNW^{1/2}, NWb^{1/4}, NbE1, NNW^{1/4} & put up at 6.50 PM. Small poplars & firs all along on left,

[Fo. 11d]

since we passed the Canadian House; nearly opposite the Canadian House, a communication to Fort William which road the NW passes into this part of the Country. The NW house built on a low Sandy flat point, and Good Potatoes grow there notwithstanding, Wind S to SW fresh breezes & clear. sailed most part of the day, dark coloured rocks all the way in this Lake, where we put up a fine low sandy point.

7th

Tuesday Got underway at 3.55 AM and continue still thro Lake Sal, NNW^{1/2}, NWbN1, NEbE^{1/2}, ENE^{1/2}, EbN1, ESE^{1/4}, – ENE^{3/4}, NE^{3/4}, N1^{1/4} & thro a narrow NNE^{3/4}, N^{1/2} and a deep bay on the left, NbE4 & enter a river: at 9^{3/4} AM – saw 3 Indians near it and got from them a little fresh Meat – The river about 200 yds wide & very little current. Musketos very plentiful last night, very few for 10 days before, heavy Thunder and Rain just after starting this Morning, went up the river Blackwater, low grassy sides with Rocks in some places, no perceptable current, NbE1^{1/4} a creek on the left, ENb^{1/2}, NE^{1/3}, EbS^{1/8} & came to a strong rapid, hawled up the Boats on right hand side 80 yards, river here about 15 yds wide carry the most part of our Cargo; fall about 3 feet, left the fall at 11.5 and hoisted sail. ENE^{1/4}, SE^{1/4} about 60 yds wide all along, EbS^{1/4} a small creek on the right, EbN^{1/4}, NE^{1/8} – SEbE^{1/4}, NE^{1/4} wider, NNE^{3/4}, EbS^{1/4} a small bay on the right ¹/₃ mile deep, NEbN^{1/2}, ESE¹/₁₆, NbE^{1/4} another similar bay on the right & a creek, NW^{1/2}, WbN^{1/3}. Vincents rock on the left – near NbE^{1/2} two small bays opposite each other, the right called Norns bay, NNE^{1/8}, ENE^{1/2} very small scrubby Junipers in many places. SEbE^{1/4}, NEbN^{1/2}, N^{1/2} frog rock on the left a good sleeping place, ESE^{1/2} & enter Peter Borstons Lake from ¹/₂ to 2 miles wide, go thro it SEbE2 & enter a small creek, in this Lake the wind was so strong that it broke our Boat Mast & tore out the Thaft & one Plank out of the side of the Boat, which detained us from 2 PM to 4¹/₂ & proceeded up the narrow creek, Latitude at entrance 50° 40' 15" taken 13th Aug^t.

[Fo. 12]

high Pines & Junipers in this Creek, narrow just room to work the Oars and no more, very easy current, went up the Creek SE^{1/8}, SSE^{1/8} near NE^{1/8}, very much Eachwaymamis river on the way to York Factory, near N^{1/2} water fallen near one foot these last 10 Days, a small creek on the right, NW^{1/2} a small creek on the right, NbW^{1/4} a creek on the left and formerly a lopt pine, now only 5 feet of the Stump remaining, very close tall Junipers & Pine all along this Creek,

NEbN¹/₂, ENE¹/₈. SSE¹/₂, NEbE¹/₃, (a small creek on the right at the bottom of the last reach.) a small creek on the right; E¹/₃, NE¹/₃ a stout creek on the right, N¹/₄, WNW¹/₈, NbW¹/₄ small creek on the left, NbE1 small creek on the right & a steep bare rock on the left. NNE¹/₄ and arrive at Shorts fall 3 feet high, hawl up by a line on the right a Portage on same side 20 yds – go about 100 yds farther & carry every thing over an Island 20 yards, a good fall 4³/₄ feet high – very curious rocks here, worn into a number of kind of Kettles, put up on the Portage at 7¹/₂ PM.

8th *Wednesday.* Got away at 3.46 AM. & went up the Creek as before NbW¹/₈ – NE¹/₄ much drift wood in the river here, N¹/₈, SE¹/₈, NE¹/₈, N¹/₂, NbE1, NNE¹/₈ a stout creek on the left, NNW¹/₈ – NE¹/₄ very large creek on the right, NE¹/₈ rocks on the right & Dry land just there, N¹/₂, NE¹/₈, NbW¹/₂, NNW¹/₄, NbE¹/₄ dry high bank on the right & firs, near NbW¹/₂ a nice creek on the right, N¹/₈, NNW¹/₈, N¹/₃ a rock on the right, NWbN¹/₈, N¹/₈ – NNE¹/₈ bank fallen down a little on the right, N¹/₈, steepish banks here on both sides but most on the left, NE¹/₈, NbE¹/₈ an Indian Portage on the left to clear the two Cat falls a little above us and some ripples, E¹/₈ NNE¹/₈ & arrive at Cat fall at 6.15 hawl up on the left 20 yds, Fall 3 feet, NNW¹/₆ upper Cat fall 9¹/₂ feet Launch the Boats 30 yards & carry every thing the same distance South end of the Portage steep got to it at 7.10 & left it at 8.33 NNW¹/₁₆, W¹/₁₆, W¹/₁₆ a creek on the right & a small Lake, WSW¹/₁₆ – SSW¹/₆ a creek on the left & Indian Portage carries into it a little

[Fo. 12d]

way up it from below the Cat falls. NNW¹/₈, WNW¹/₈, NNW¹/₈ – NbE¹/₄, NW¹/₈, NE¹/₈, NW¹/₄ a small creek on the right WbS¹/₈, N¹/₈. W¹/₈ steep bank on the right and rocks in the River, WbS¹/₈, WbN¹/₆ water 21 Inches lower now than when it is the highest, near N¹/₂ a good creek on the left, NWb¹/₈, a small swampy Lake on the right & a small creek runs thro' it, W¹/₈, NWbW¹/₈ & carry 35 yards on the left hand called Pancake rock, fall 5¹/₂ feet, between rocks 7 feet wide, arrive at the Portage at 9.32 & leave it at 10.35, NW¹/₈, W¹/₆ a strong shoot 4¹/₂ feet fall, hawl up the Boats with all in on the right, steep rocks on the left, Portage on the right 80 yards through the Woods, may be ran down, called Wind fall left at 11.27 W¹/₂ wind fall wood across the river; very steep high rocks on the Left, Good pines in several places, WbS¹/₄, WSW¹/₈ an Island go on the right, steep rocks, NNW¹/₄ and arrive at Lively fall at and leave it 11.55 hawl up by a line a portage on the left 80 yards, Fall 3¹/₄ feet, leave the Lively fall at 12.35, N¹/₄, NE¹/₈, N¹/₁₆ a small creek on the right. N¹/₈, NW¹/₈ NbW¹/₄ head of Large Island, S¹/₈. Indians lay here the same Summer Magnus Birsay [Birston] was wounded & the Indian hung with the Intention of Killing our people as

they returned from Martins fall – but their provisions falling short, they were obliged to disperse before our Men got back here – They had cut two tracks thro the narrow point of Land the better to shoot our people as they came back. NNW1/16 & enter All hands Lake about 400 to 500 yards Diameter NW¹/₄ across it & enter a very narrow creek, the Willows meeting across it, can make no use of the Oars here, set all with the poles & even then we can make but very slow progress. enter it at 1.5 PM, NNW1/16, WN1/20, SSW1/20, W1/16, about NW Course 1¹/₄ mile by the river & abt ³/₄ mile straight & carry 240 yards on the left, very little water here tho a good deal at the last rapid, the greater falls in on the left at the Big Island above, good level portage, full of small stones & small firs, arrive at

[Fo. 13]

it 2.5, a small pond at N end where we load the Boats. This fall perhaps about 4 feet, but very narrow & full of Large stones, WSW¹/₈ from the Portage, left at 5.8 PM, steep high rocks on the left about ¹/₂ mile above the last portage, at 5.45 got to Pigeon Portage, on the right 40 yards long, narrow, go up it & carry nothing 1¹/₂ mile by the river from the last portage to this but so narrow we can make no use of the Oars, Course NNW. leave it at 5.55 and arrive at Bougrants rock portage 20 yards good Boats taken up by water, Course from Pigeon Portage to this about NbE – left it at 6.35, arrive at Burnt wood Portage at 7.7 & carry every thing 90 yards on the right, level, high hill close on the right, leave the Portage at 7.51, above this creek clear of overhanging willows, all below this to All hands Lake scarcely room for the Boats to pass. here it is that Mr Haldane sent a Clerk & 2 Men about 10 years ago, to fall the largest Trees growing on either side to fall across this narrow creek. there were above 700 Cut down for the avowed purpose of blocking up the road that we could not pass, but it was luckily a year of high water & a number of Boats together that our people made way thro' it in a few Days: Creek wider above but still not room to work the oars & the woods at least 10 yards from the water edge. went NE 2 miles and arrive at the Height of Land Portage at 8.24 where we put up – the Creek still keeps further on but very narrow, not fit for an Indian Canoe – low flat wet sides: and little current, blackish water The Creek perhaps continues 3 or 4 miles farther:

9th *Thursday.* Began to carry over the Height of Land Portage at 4.30 AM and got all over at 9 & left it at 9.35, Portage 830 yards over pretty level, & swampy in the Middle about 150 yards deep in wet seasons, Course over the Portage NWbN¹/₂ mile into a narrow creek, still use poles. N 100 yards & the creek widens & we use oars, NEbN³/₄, NNW¹/₄ – ¹/₄ mile wide & horse shoe grass but slender, NbE¹/₄, NNW¹/₃ an opening on the left makes an Island, NNE¹/₄, NbE¹/₄. 100 yards wide & an Island here in

[Fo. 13d]

years of high water, big stones here & narrow, N¹/₄ 50 yards wide NEbN¹/₈ steep rocks here on the left and firs, NW¹/₈, these narrows called Jack Richards creek, NbE¹/₂ and enter Osnaburgh House Lake or Misk quog gay mew enter it at 11 AM – & go thro the Lake the following Courses NNE¹/₈ & widens to 2 Miles, NNE2 Bests rocks, Neb N2, ENE2, NEbE¹/₂ & ¹/₂. ENE¹/₄ N1¹/₂. Buish shistus rocks in the Lake, NEbN1 x ¹/₂ NE1&1/2 x 1¹/₄ – several small Islands here which has a great effect on the Compas, keeping it at least 6 points from its position it ought to have –, NbE¹/₄ E4 & put up at 7.7 PM – for these last 8 Miles a large opening to the Westwards & the river fall in there that communicates with the Cat Lake: hot weather & little wind –

10th *Friday.* at 3¹/₄ AM we got underway & went in Osnaburgh Lake ENE¹/₂ E4 & enter a narrower part EbN³/₄ Cedar point on the left – NEbS¹/₂, NbE1 East side of the Portage on the Lake over a large point of Land. Remained here from 5³/₄ to 8¹/₄ AM for rain – ENb3, ENE¹/₂ E3, NE¹/₂ N2¹/₂ a deep bay on the left ENE6 across it – Called the Great Traverse ENE1¹/₄, E¹/₂ N1¹/₄, SEbS³/₄, amongst Id^s SEbS³/₄ then a kind of Narrows SEbE¹/₂, NEbN¹/₂, SE¹/₄ an old Fishing House the Osnaburgh Men fish at in the Fall ESE³/₄, SE¹/₈ narrow & current, NEbE¹/₂ a small river on the right called Pedlars Path where the NWCO pass to this country thro from Fort William. N2, NNE2, N2¹/₂ & arrive at Osnaburgh House at 5 PM, & found 3 Clerks here & 2 men, some of the NW Canoes had only passed here for Fort William a few Days back – very sandy at the House, low & flat, extensive gardens here, but only in wet Summers produce any thing: small Pines thro this Lake and some Cedar. the Lake extends 5 or 6 miles further Northwards – The House is on the West shore & was built about the year 1790. – fish scarce here in winter, now they are catching plenty of Tickameg. – To leave part of our Cargo here & take the remainder to Martins fall – they tell us we shall be 6 Days before we reach that place. Sailed part of the Day –

[Fo. 14]

[Folios 14-d to 15d consists of *Astronomical Observations taken at Osnaburgh House 1818* – omitted here]

12th *Sunday.* at 6¹/₂ AM we left Osnaburgh House for Martins fall. went across the Lake EbS1¹/₂ and entered a narrow or river went down it S¹/₄, SSE¹/₄, ESb¹/₂, SE¹/₈, NE¹/₈ a strong pulling up place here NEbE³/₄ across a small Lake, NEbN¹/₂ and carry 275 yards on the left, fall 6³/₄ feet: tolerable good portage 2 or 3 bridges on it over narrow Swamps, Dark Greenish Shistus rocks, the Strata lies from NW to SE with veins of hard cherts, black in their layers, and some

patches of veins of white Flint or like it, left the Portage at 9.35 & went in a Lake near 3 miles wide, NEbN¹/₂ , ENb¹/₂ N⁴ narrow, EbS¹/₂ a river on the Right to Pes cu cog gan, EbN³/₄, NE¹/₂, a large Branch goes off on the right, keep the left side NNE³/₄, NE¹, NEbE¹/₄ a narrow, white rocks and very shoal, lower the ripple by the Line 20 yards – EbN¹/₂, NE¹/₂ S³/₄. Johnstons Island, NNE¹ strong current all along. N¹/₂ a ripple, NNE¹/₈, NEbE¹/₈, NE¹/₄, E¹/₂ a shoal ripple & enter Deer Tent Lake between two & 3 miles wide EbN¹/₄. Nb¹/₂ a part of the Waters go out on the right – Two high Hills on the Same side, also one hill on the left all near the Lake covered with woods: go down the left branch of the river; Water very clear and many Trout in it about 1¹/₂ to 2 lb weight, SSE¹/₄, NEbN¹. E¹/₄ Rosies point on the left, NNb¹/₂ only 50 yards wide. NE¹, ENE¹/₄ – NNE¹/₄, NEbN¹/₄ 300 yards wide, NbE¹/₂ and arrive at the Smooth Stony Portage on the left at 3.20 PM, sailed with a strong wind most part of the Day. carry all over & put up Portage 660 yards, at ²/₃ of the way, swampy in places, got all over at 6.25; An Indian came to us here, got from him 2 sturgeon but very bad on[e]s – Evening Calm & Clear and a frosty air – All this day scrub pines & Birch, very little Poplar, The 3 hills near Deer Tent Lake perhaps 400 feet high. formerly a noted place for the Grey Deer. – Rocks & swamps allmost all along – seems to be similar to about Oxford House in the Track from Winnipic to the Bay.

[Fo. 16]

13th *Monday.* at 4.20 AM got away from the Carrying place. lower end carries into a bay; the river on the right. also a small river falls in here near the Loading place on the left: Morning Calm & Clear – ENE¹/₄ river falls in here, ENE¹E, ESE¹/₄, ESE³/₄ ENE¹/₄ a back creek on the right & many rapids we have passed NbE¹/₄, NEbE¹ a back creek on the left, sometimes go down when the water is high, to avoid the Bad Cok e a me falls – SE¹/₈ rapid, E¹/₄, ENE¹/₄, NNE¹/₄, NNE¹/₄ a ripple, NNE¹/₂ and Carried on the left 50 yards good, Called the lick in the hole, two brinks at this Portage about 4 feet high, a rapid just below 20 yards long & strong, left the Portage at 6.38 arrive at it 5³/₄ AM ENE¹/₄ a ripple lower down on the right, but keep the left side close, NE¹/₄ a bay, carry on the right 230 yds, good, rocky, lower the Boats in a Creek fall 15¹/₂ feet called the High Cok e a mis, fall very steep, arrive at it 7¹/₂ & left it at 9²/₃, ENE¹/₄ a bad rapid, ran down it, the Portage on the right 50 yards, very strong, shipped some water, EbN¹/₄ and arrive at the 3rd Cok e a mis fall, called the Swift one on NS 50 yards, fall 7¹/₄ feet. very steep, left it 10.35, E¹/₈ a bad rapid called lower Cok e a mis, carry on N Side 200 yards good, but we ran it down, a branch falls in here on the right which falls out of Deer Tent Lake, N¹/₂ rapidly, NEbE¹/₃ – rapidly ¹/₃ mile wide, NEbN³/₄ easy current & 120 yards wide to 600 & deep easy current, ESE¹/₂ low, swampy, small pines &c all along this day

D.N. Alt \odot SS	120° 46' 0''
	<u>1' 30</u>
Latitude 51°15' 8''	<u>120° 44' 30''</u>

taken on the right hand side near the entrance into the upper Elbow Lake. river here 600 yards wide, low flat sandy shores, but some poor pine a little lower on left. ENE³/₄ across one Corner of upper Elbow Lake & enter the river again – Lake 8 miles long on the right, NbW1, 600 yards wide all a sandy bottom, a stout Creek falls in here on the right, N¹/₂ fine shores & rather higher on the left NWbN¹/₂, all burnt wood on both sides about 15 years ago.

[Fo. 16d]

Sugar bag Creek falls in here on the left, from the Lick in the hole portage; high ground on the left & North of it firs 200 yards wide since the Elbow Lake. Sugar bag creek 60 yds wider at the lower end, which the Indians generally go in with their Canoes, NbE¹/₂ a small creek on the left and an old Log Tent, where our people were froze in in the fall some years ago, E¹/₂ sandy banks; near N30E¹/₂ high sandy banks on the right, and lower on the left; a stout creek on the left. N30E1 a hill on the right has a very fine appearance some distance above; A Creek on the right, hills on both sides comes nearer the river; a Creek on the left got here 3 PM – High Granit rocks on both sides & low grass at the river – NNE³/₄, D³/₄, NE¹/₂, ENE¹/₂ pines & stony shore. these last 2 reaches and river about 50 yards wide & stronger current (very little above almost like a Lake) called the Black ripple NNE³/₄ Creek on the left, NNE³/₄, NEbN¹/₂. these two last reaches lower banks & sandy 150 yards wide, very easy current, steep rocks on the left, & a fine gravelly shore on the right, narrower & a strong ripple 60 yds long. NEbN¹/₈, NNE¹/₈, NEbN¹/₈. 300 yards wide easy current, Charleys ripple we passed last, near NEbN⁴ above 600 yds wide in some places easy current, a strong short current near the middle of this last reach, fine gravelly shore on the left, now we enter among rapids 80 yards wide, NWbN¹/₄ strong rapid; a stout creek on the left where we put up at 6¹/₂ PM to make 2 Oars – several very fine springs of very clear cold watter runs out of the Bank here. Clear Weather, Strong breezes at NW, afternoon less wind;

14th *Tuesday.* at 4.10 AM got underway. EbS¹/₈. SSE¹/₈ not more than 18 yards wide & deep & strong current, NE¹/₂ – NNE¹/₄, ENE¹/₄ little poplar point, NE¹/₄ a ripple in every reach. SSE¹/₄ an Indian portage on the left to avoid the two Shakespear Carrying places a little below us, SWbW¹/₂ stopped here above half an hour, a thick fog cannot see to go

[Fo. 17]

down the rapids Latitude 51°25' 27" taken August 3rd on our return; SSE¹/₄ rapids, SEbE¹/₂, a bay on the right go round it, river here full of large rocks above water, all a strong rapid. fall about 4 feet. ENE¹/₄, NE ¹/₄ upper Shakespear portage on the left 100 yards good, wet at lower end, lower down, carry nothing, arrive at it 5:50 leave it 7.5. NE¹/₃ rapidly current. The 2nd Shakespear Portage on the left 310 yards. good, hand down the Boats, very shoal, lower end of the Portage Swampy, a steep sand bank at at [sic] the upper end. Fall 8 feet in many brinks NbE¹/₂ all shoal, steep bare sand bank on the left, NNE¹/₄ lower end of the Indian Portage, a small creek on the left SE¹/₄, ENE³/₄ wider and shoal, SSE¹/₄ a nice stout creek on the right.-ESE¹/₈, NE¹/₈, SE¹/₈ banks near the water getting higher than above, a ripple in every reach, EbN³/₄ a steep bare sand bank on the left, NEbN¹/₃, a river Dye wood falls in here on the right near 80 yards wide, shoal and comes from the SEbS, pass it at 9²/₃ AM. SW¹/₈ a rapid, WbN¹/₂ ¹/₄ mile wide and an Island. NbW³/₄, fine, stony, sandy, grassy level shores. last reach wider than above, near NbE² two or 3 small creeks on each side, NEbE³/₄ narrow & fishing Point. NNE¹/₄, NEbE¹/₄ a large Island at the end of this last reach, keep on the left side of it #12, – SE¹/₄ rapidly, ENE¹/₂ strong current rapidly & narrower – ENE² among Islands 400 yards wide, a hill a head the beginning of the Snake falls, from so many Snakes found about them & no where else in this track, ripply current & shoal, best water on left side the Islands, a creek on the same side & end of the Islands & narrower, S¹/₂ Badger hill on right perhaps 600 feet above the river & near it, round hill, bears from this South by Compas SSW¹/₄ – SEbS¹/₂, EbS³/₄ strong current. NEbE¹ a hill right a head appears to run NWbSE – river wide shoal & ripply S¹/₈ – a bay on the right 1 mile deep & 9 Islands in it, keep close on the left E¹/₈, NNE¹/₈ all rapidly current, SSE¹/₄, SWbS³/₄ ¹/₃ wide thro the Hill SWb1 & 1 from ¹/₃ to ¹/₈ mile wide a stout creek on the right comes from Badger Hill. The Hills on both sides about 4

[Fo. 17d]

miles apart, S¹/₄ 100 yds wide & ripples, SW¹/₄ a rapid, S³/₄ 400 yards wide. SE³/₄ ³/₄ mile wide & Islands & lopt pine on the left. EbN¹/₂ Eachawaymamis river on the right, saw here 4 Canoes of Indians, they have nothing to Trade except a few Succors, NbW¹/₂ a fine pine Island, NNE¹/₂ 300 yards wide & one Island; steep sandy banks on the left & a creek N³/₄ and Carry at the upper Snake falls on right side 430 yds thro the woods – good road – Falls 17 feet high in several brinks Large Pine & Poplar on this portage – arrive at it at 4¹/₃ PM. very hard close grained Stone & sharp, saw a few bits of Limestone at the Portage yesterday – got both Boats over the Portage in 31 Minutes with the assistance of the 3 Indian men, left the portage at 6.2 very shoal & rapidly just below it – EbS¹/₄ shoal & strong, NE¹/₄ strong current, NbE¹/₂ strong rapidly current, E¹/₄

strong current, NE ½ D° – and carry on the left 155 yards, a steep hill at both ends of the Portage particularly at the lower, good, fall 20 feet high in 4 Brinks a Boat & 1 man in it drove down it some time ago – Man drowned & Boat broke all to pieces, many kettles worn in the Rocks at this Fall, left it 7.34 & went NEbE½ rapidly current, Good pines about these Snake Falls. E⅛, NEbE¼ a hill at the last Portage on the North side; – high steep, bare sand banks, just below last fall, NEbN½ & came to the 3rd & last of the Snake falls, carrying place on the North side 190 yards steep at both ends – stop here at 7.56. The strata nearly in the direction of the river. –

15th *Wednesday* – ran the Boat down the fall with all in – can only be done in years of Low water, left it at 5:35 AM. Steep brink, narrow & bad eddy boiling waters & dangerous even now tho' the Water is shallower than in general. The Indians left us gave them 15 lb Pemmican amongst them went NEbE¾ fall about 6 feet, NbE½ ¼ mile wide & an Island on the right, NbE¾, NNW½, NNE½ an Island & lopt pine Jacob Corrigals, NEbE½, NNE¼, E¼, EbN1 600 yards wide and an

[Fo. 18]

Island on the right, a few Elm trees on it the only ones we have seen in this track, a hill near on the right. NEbE½ & enter Mim min is cow Lake, & go thro it as follows – EbN1, SbN1, E½N2, ENE½E2½ about 3 Miles wide or more, a large I^d on our left – & a narrow where I took the

D.cN Alt ☉SS 119° 35' 45"

1' 30"

119°34' 15" Latitude 51°32' 9" N

a hill on the right called Big Cats look out hill near 400 feet high all hilly round this Lake, Strata large & veins of purple ENE½E¾ rather wider, NE½, ENE1¼, E½N2¼ about 5 miles wide – having passed the large Island on our left. E½S¾ enter river a rapid 60 yards an Indian portage on the right. SEbE¼ & carry on left or North side 90 yards, good, fall 8¾ feet high: The rocks at this fall lay directly across the current, Strata white Quartz like flint in veins, left the Portage at 3.2, SSE⅛ rapidly current WbN½ rapidly current, SW⅛ strong rapid & same course ¼ mile strong current and wider & lower end of the Indian Portage on the right, a small creek on the same side, SSE⅓ a stout creek fall in here on the right & a high round hill on same side, then a ripple & steep white sand bank on same side, ESE½, S¼ all ripples – about 100 yards wide. ESE¼ & then enter a Lake about 3 miles wide, SEbE1. ESE2½ then narrower, ESE1½, EbS1, E¾ 100 yards wide and put up at 5.50 PM for rain on a low sandy point on the right.

16th *Thursday.* at 4.3 AM got away. Rain last night & wind at SSE, thick fog & very rain like this morning went in Sandy narrow Lake as last night EbN³/₂ from 1 to 4 miles wide EbS²/₂, narrow & current NEbE¹/₄, EbS¹/₈, sandy bays and small stones on both sides in places in the Lake we have just passed NEbN¹/₈ a strong rapid. ESE¹/₈, E¹/₈, NE¹/₄ all a very strong rapid carry on the N side at last rapid about 200 yards. NE¹/₈ a rapid – ENE¹/₄, SE¹/₄ strong current, wide above & 2 Islands, E¹/₂, ENE¹/₈ a ripple & 2 Islands. E¹/₄ a rapid 30 yards, SbE¹/₈ ripples and enter

[Fo. 18d]

lower Elbow Lake, a bay 4 miles deep on the right, EbN³/₄, NEbE¹/₄ 1¹/₄ mile wide ENE³/₄ a river on the left, or opening – go down the river EbN¹/₂, NE¹/₄, EbESE¹/₄ a strong rapid 20 yards long SE¹/₄ a strong rapid 60 yards long. SE¹/₈ an other strong rapid 60 yards long SE¹/₈ & carry on left 200 yards, very curious rough blocks of very hard dark & white stones, with layers of very hard dark over the rest, full ¹/₂ mile long: a Sturgeon Sparring place here in the Spring, found a great number heads here the Ind^s had left some time ago & split & dried the bodies, a very bad shoal rapid we have passed perhaps 35 feet perpendicular in all & those included we lately passed; & those before this morning perhaps nearly the same height. lower this down with a line, the others on Poles ENE¹/₂ down the rapid and enter E ā be met Lake at noon & go thro it the following courses NEbE¹/₂. NEbE² a stout creek on the left & 6 penny point ESE², SEbE¹/₂ a deep bay & E ā be met river falls in in another deep bay on the left SEbE¹/₄, SEbE¹/₄ narrower here ENE¹/₈ & ¹/₈. SSE ³/₄ 4 miles wide & a strong ripple at end of the course & narrow, SEbE³/₄, ESE¹/₄ steep red sand bank on the left. ESE¹/₂, SEbE²/₄ narrows again SEbS¹, SbW³/₄ a small river on the left & an opening on the right called Mat ā wā a road for the Canadian Canoes to Fort William. opens West, ESE³/₄ Cloustons point on the left. SSE³/₄ a big I^d on the right S¹/₃, SWbW¹/₄ Latitude here 51° 22' 42" North taken 28th July on our return – enter the river S¹/₄ 2 very strong rapids generally carry at both, ran them down, W¹/₈, SW¹/₄, SE¹/₂ all rapidly enter a Kind of Lake, a bay 4 miles deep on the right, E¹/₄ – EbN¹/₂, SEbS¹/₂, & ¹/₄ ripples ESE³/₄ generally ¹/₂ mile wide and put up on the left at 6.58 PM – foggy all day and Calm.

17th *Friday* – at 3.55 AM got underway and went EbS³/₄ 1¹/₄ mile wide & several small pine Islands a ripple: SE¹/₈ a ripple, EbS¹/₂ 200 yds wide, SSE³/₄ Lake Kit che wan ripple, SSE¹/₄ a ripple E¹/₂ wider, ESE¹/₂ Unsons lopt tree on left SSE³/₄ a small Lake & a way on the right to S^t Anns Lake in Canoes, SE¹/₄ narrower &

[Fo. 19]

and a ripple, the whole of these ripples may be set up with Poles, SbW¹/₂ Eagle point on the left EbN², SSE¹/₂ poplar fall EbN¹/₂ a creek on the left & small

lake 1½ mile wide we pass thro' EbS½ ENE½ N3½ high Sand point on left ENE½ N3½ another point on the same side ENE½ N2. a river fishery weir river falls into this lake on the right NE2½ & enter the river – Geo. Sutherland river also falls out more to the right which does not join again till we come below Gloster Lake. This lake we have just passed thro called Mak ā ba ton Lake, or the Cloud closes up the opening, Lake in some places above 2 miles wide, round stones on the Shores & sandy in places; a deal of small poplar this day. no land in sight down the Lake we have just come thro enter the river at 2¼ PM. down at EbS¼ 100 yards wide a ripple NE¼ a cut track thro' the Woods to Gloster Lake on the left, perhaps 3 or 4 miles NNE – ENE½ an Island river here 400 yards wide. EbS¼ current, NNE⅛, EbN⅛ a strong rapid carry place on the right, but run it down, NbE¼ all a bad rapid – very strong called 3 mile fall or perhaps 6 mile fall about 50 yds Portage, NEbN¼, NbE¼ a rapid, N¼ a ripple, NNE¼ an I^d and ripple. NEbE¼ a rapid. ESE¼ a rapid. low banks small poplars & birch & some pine. E¼ a very strong rapid 3 mile fall a portage on the South side about 300 yards long. but we ran it down. ENE½, NE⅛ a ripple, N¼ a ripple & small Island on left, NEbN¼ a rapid, NW½ all a shoal rapid, George Sutherlands river part falls in here on the right from the Lake above, which is much worse than the one we have now come down, a 'Track cut thro' the woods here to Gloster Lake, N¼ an Island, ENE¼ near 500 yards wide, easy current, NbW¼ & enter Gloster Lake at 4.40 PM. Latitude here July 25th on our return – 51° 23' 42" N. Gloster House WbS 3 or 4 Miles & the Lake extends 4 or 5 Miles above the House or more, went down the Lake along the right shore NEbN¼. NE½ N4½ & enter the river N⅛, here took some Lunar Observations on our return as follows. The estimated Latitude being 51.27 used in Computing the Observations

[Fo. 19d]

[Half of Folio 20 taken up with “Astronomical Observations made lower end of Gloster House Lake”]

17th (*cont'd*) a good angling place for Trout & Pike where the observations was made, EbN¼, NNE¼. Thick fog till noon then flying Clouds & light airs at South, enter the river at 5.35 PM a fine gravel shore on the right where the observations was made. ENE¼ 120 yards wide, little current & deep, low shores, a creek on the left; black smooth hard rocks on the right, SE⅛ strong current ENE¼ a ripple, SE¼ a rapid & an Island, SSE¼ strong current. hawl up here, NEbE½ wider, E¼ ¾ mile wide on the left & 3 Id^s EbS ½ a rapid, SEbE¾ a ripple, SEbE½ high Pine Portage

[Fo. 20]

on the left; carry 220 yards good. several shoal brinks hand the Boats down the upper part & run the lower with all in – Steep bank upper end of the Portage, Thunder and Rain at night.

18th *Saturday.* at 3.53 AM got underway, N^{1/2} a ripple. ESE^{1/4} an opening on the right the last part of Sutherlands river falls in here, from Mok a bat ton Lake. ENE^{1/4}, ENE^{1/2} a fishing place on the right in a kind of Creek, they fish at from Martins fall House, NNE^{1/8} a ripple, NbW^{1/4}, NE^{1/4} wider and Islands keep on the left of them & at 5.3 arrive at a Portage & carry & Launch the Boats on the left on an Island 40 yards, Good, Fall 8^{1/2} feet – get all over in 42 Minutes – Strata at this Fall E & W in many ridges, Transition Rocks & Granate, a kind of Slate the upper strata, the Slate breaks on in the usual masses of a white kind of Flint or Cherts, thro the Granate in places. The Granate ridge 4 feet thick, The Slate finly [sic] shining to the Sun like the outside of a ripe Plumb. Left the Portage at 6.10. NW^{1/8} – & ^{1/8} a large creek on the left. ENE^{1/4} and enter a small Lake the last to the Sea Coast, called Moo soo wā ke Lake ESE^{1/2} a fall comes in on the right. NE^{3/4} ^{1/2} mile wide & an Island on the left & a small fishing house our people fish at in the fall from Martins fall house NE^{1/2} a bay on the right ^{1/4} Mile deep – a good place for wild fowl, very swampy – found here 2 Tents of Indians & got from them 5 Sturgeon for which we gave them some pimecan – They are all very black, and tough and of a small size – This is a poor Country for Moose & Deer – our Guides Brothers wife Grandmother & Grandson here – They have 4 Canoes & Trade at Martins fall, remained with them near an Hour & went away as we expect to reach our Journeys end to Day. NNW^{1/4} down the river & carried 60 yards over an Island on the left – here took the following Lunar Ob^s on our Return July – fine gravel shore in the Lake above at the Small fishing House, & thick pretty small Poplars – The other side low & swampy, fall 4^{1/2} feet –

[Fo. 20d]

[Next ^{3/4} page “Astronomical Observations taken at the first Portage below the Moos saw a ke Lake 1818 July]

Went W^{1/16}, ENE^{1/16} a ripple. NEbN^{1/8} strong current, N^{1/8} a strong rapid 20 yards carry at it coming up, NNE^{1/8}, NW^{1/16} Strong current, WbN^{1/4}, NNW^{1/4} all a very crooked strong rapid. ENE^{1/8} a strong rapid, N^{1/8} & carry on the left 40 yards over a smooth rock, good sharpening Stones here, a kind of wrag fall 6^{3/4} feet got to it at 8.51 & left at 9.50, then went N^{1/2} and carry at the Big fall on the left 390 yards good, in two falls

[Fo. 21]

run down the lower one, upper one 160 yards where we hawl over the Boats, rather wet in the middle, two small creeks over which is two bridges: The

Indians came up to us we passed this morning – The relation of our Guide says he will accompany us back to Red River to see his Mother: – Fall 11½ feet the upper part, lower part 5½ feet. Took here the DbA M^t Alt \odot SS 118°44' 45''

– 1' 30''
Latitude 51°27' 50'' 118°43' 15''

left the Fall at 1.28 PM. ENE½ a ripple, NEbN¼ a ripple and Island & a very strong rapid 40 yards, lighten coming up on the N side called Snake rock, near NE½ an Island on the right, river from 80 to 200 yards wide, steep banks in places on the left side, NNE¼ two Islands one called the Island of Gallalee carry over it 40 yards here took the following Lunar Observations on our return 23rd July 1818. [Rest of Folio consists of a table of these Observations]

[Fo. 21d]

NE½ and Island, NE¾ wider, high steep bare rocks in the middle of the river, a rapid – water has been here 9 feet higher than it is now. NE½ narrower and a ripple. Mr Best⁵¹ upset here in a small Canoe formerly – a strong rapid 40 yards, SE⅛ a ripple & a river falls in here on the right, 20 yards wide but shoal, NE¼ rip[p]ly current, EbN½, rapidly current, a steep bare bank on the right, NEbE¼ here we met Mr W^m McKay⁵² with a Boat & large Canoe going to Osnaburgh with Goods; the Canoe to return to Martins fall for another Cargo. – They have been at Albany Factory which he left 27th June, remain with them about one Hour, gave them a little pimman, They seem to go on very slow, but their European Provisions occasions their stopping early every day to cook it: parted with them at 4½ PM & went NEbN¼ all a strong rapid. NEbE½ a very strong rapid called Tom Fletts fall, NE¾ strong rapidly current ENE¼, Nbe½ a rapid & Pine Island & head of Martins fall – NE½ a strong rapid. EbN¼ & arrive at Martins fall House at 4.39 PM. found here a Mr Smith⁵³ about 10 years in this Country & 2 Men – No Gardens & all the Houses much out of repair – delivered the Pimman, Drest Skins, Buffalo robes & Bags fat except so much as will serve us back to Osnaburgh House. Took the following

⁵¹ This is John Best who entered the service of the HBC in 1773, serving his entire career of 32 years in the Albany District. He was the Inland Master at Osnaburgh, Cat Lake, Red Lake, Blood River, Dauphin and Martins Falls from 1785 to 1803 when he retired to his home in Scotland. HBCA BS.

⁵² William McKay was born at Albany Factory between 1793 and 1795 to “Mad” Donald McKay and Hannah Sutherland. He entered the service of the HBC in 1817, and served first as a Labourer, then Steersman, Guide, and finally Postmaster. At this time (1818-19), he was a Steersman out of Berens River. He became a Guide in 1824 in the Winnipeg District, and a Postmaster in the Island Lake District in 1828. He served as Postmaster thereafter at Trout Lake and Berens River until 1871. He went free in 1871 and died in 1887. HBCA BS; B.239/d/195-216a.

⁵³ This is John James Smith (1791-1850) from London, England. He joined the HBC in 1808 and was posted to Albany Factory. In 1814, he was made an Assistant at Gloucester House, and in 1818 was put in charge of Martin’s Fall. He performed badly that year, and was demoted to an Assistant at Henley House in 1819-20. He was discharged in 1821 and became a Free Hunter. He retired to the Red River Settlement around 1824. He died and was buried at St. Andrews, Red River in 1850. HBCA BS; B.123/e/2.

Observations at Martins fall House, The Overcast weather during our short stay there prevented me from making any other. [7 lines of observations]

19th *Sunday* Cloudy weather.

20th *Monday.* Heavy rain all last night & this Day with the Wind at NE. could not repair the Boats. The Goods came here for us

[Fo. 22]

about a month ago; but they are considerably short of what was wanted, and many of them Articles not requested that has lain many years in the Factory and quite rusted: Got our cargo ready about 66 Pieces, There was 4 Bundles of Brazil Tobacco sent up for us, not written for by Mr Bird, which on luckily examining before we left the House, we found to be quite Moldy & not worth carrying away which we left.

21st *Tuesday* Rain all night & until 2 PM. This day when it cleared up, and we got underway and left Martins fall House⁵⁴ & carried over the fall 250 yards on the left, pretty good, upper part thro' a point of woods – rest over flat rocks, Fall 8½ feet Two Indians came down the river in a small Canoe with a few Skins – a fine stout creek on NW side a little above the House; Several holes like Kettles worn in the Rocks at this Portage, Granate & black stone here – a good angling place for small Trout

22nd *Wednesday.* at 6 AM we left Martins fall Portage and got to Fletts rapid at 8¼, lighten the Boats and hawl up it by a line a very strong and steep rapid, proceeded on and arrived at the Island of Gallalee Portage at 7 PM where we put up after carrying every thing over, To Launch the Boats in the Morning Portage 70 yards, pretty Good, Fall 9¼ feet; The Indians who we met near Martins fall passed us on their way back – A Boy & Girl belonging to Mr Brown⁵⁵ late Shallop Master at Moose factory who unfortunately was froze to Death last winter in setting hooks under the Ice near the Tent, The 2 Children one about 8 the other 6 years old had the precaution to keep the fire alight &

⁵⁴ Fidler fails to mention the trouble he and his men caused at Martins fall, as it reflects badly on his leadership and handling of men. The District Report of Martins Fall for that year notes that: “Mr. Fidler permitted two of his Men halfbreeds who were in a great state of insubordination to entice an Indian belonging to Martins Fall (Sacheyicappo) to accompany them to Red River. The acquaintance of two days these Men formed with the Indians Wife was I am given to understand their motive. This is a very material and annual loss to the Company as Sacheyicappo was one of the best hunters at Martins fall.” HBCA B.123/e/2, fo. 2.

⁵⁵ This is Joseph Brown (1772-1818) who came from Sudbourne, Suffolk, England, and joined the HBC in 1789. He worked at Eastmain and Moose Factory as a sailor and then as a Shallop Master. He left the HBC in 1816 to settle in the Red River Colony. He died on or about 15 February 1818. HBCA BS; B.135/f/1-9.

was fortunately found by an Indian in hunting 3 Days after & both taken care of by him – This was in the Month of Feb^y last

23rd *Thursday.* Took some Lunar observations here before we got from the Island, which we did at 7.14 AM. Tom Favel our Guide unable to Steer since yesterday morning – having several boils on his back – so we have only 4 oars now in one Boat, till he

[Fo. 22d]

is able to steer again; Arrive at the Big fall at 10.5. some small bits of Limestone here, saw 2 Indians here with their familys, they have nothing, one of them a relation to our Guide whose Mother is in Red River, is determined to see her, tho I have dissuaded him all I can – left the Big fall at 3.35, repaired one of our Boats here – get to next portage at 4 PM & leave at 5.25, another ¼ mile above, carry at it on W side the Island 60 yards where we lowered down as we went towards Martins fall – Fall 4½ feet, called the Heckle fall or long Race of Moosowake, very curious rocks at the Heckle Portage on the surface like Spiders webs, hard, black & very sharp, some parts projecting above the rest like Knives standing on end Showers of Rain at Noon. The Indians assist us carrying.

24th *Friday.* A shower of Rain in the night, got underway at 4.23 AM 2 ripples which we pole up & go ¾ mile and carry 30 yards, and Launch on the East side the Island. Fall 3 feet, All black rocks here about, hawled up the first rapid below Moo sā wa kee Lake & then took here some Lunar observations: we got to the next Portage at 10.25 a new Track cut thro' the woods a little above the old one we passed 18 Inst., high bank at the bottom of this fall on the North Side, we stopt here the 17th Ins^t in going down, at 3.40 we broke Pisks⁵⁶ Boat, stopped here to repair her & made one Steer oar we much wanted, took the Boats up by water.

25th *Saturday.* at 4:18 AM got underway. and entered Gloster Lake at 9.35 AM, where I took some observations for Longtitude: Tom Favel our Guide still unable to do any thing for Boils. at 10.50 got away again and at Noon took the following Observation for Latitude at the Mouth of the River into Gloster Lake, The House 3 or 4 miles off near West

Dck. Alt \odot SS $116^{\circ} 9' 45''$
 – $1' 52''$
Latitude $51^{\circ} 23' 42''$ $116^{\circ} 7' 53''$

[Fo. 23]

⁵⁶ Thomas Pisk Kipling. See previous citation.

Got to the first Portage up the River, above Gloster Lake at 4.5 210 yards on left hand side, good, tracked up the Boats with all in & got over it 4.45 very heavy rain, & put up here.

26th *Sunday.* Rain all night & this day till 3.42 PM when it cleared up; Wind strong from the Northwards – & got to the Slippery Portage at 6.35 & carried all over on the North side 160 yards, good Got a few Trout from the Indians, they have angled in the River about 2½ lb each, very red, & fine eating

27th *Monday.* at 4.25 AM left the Slippery Portage, entered the Mok ā ba ton Lake at 6.35 & got thro it at 3.25, stopped 1½ Hours drying the coverings &c., a fine low sandy point & bay – put up at 7.10, I steered one Boat thro the Lake as we had a head wind – Tom Favel can do nothing; put up at the She mat tow wā

28th *Tuesday.* at 4.35 AM got underway & at 9¼ enter Eabemet Lake fall stop here 1¼ hour & took the following Observations

Dckⁿ Alt ⊙SS 114° 51' 45"

1' 52"

114° 49' 53" Latitude 51° 22' 42"

The Boats got to the head of the Falls at 1.50 where I took the Observation, lower part go up on the N side; upper part on the South side, hawl all up, carry nothing, very strong about 150 yards. Gave the Indians 1 pint of Spirits each for assisting us on the Portage & fishing – young Ducks &c they gave us. put up at 8.3 PM a good way thro the Eā be mit Lake – Sailed a little in the afternoon – The Indians behind drinking

29th *Wednesday.* Thunder & rain in the night, at 5.56 AM got away & at 6¼ Arrived at the West end of E ā be mit Lake – & the beginning of the rapids, a creek on the SS just at the foot of the rapid & entrance of the Lake, carried 210 yards on N Side where we handed down, very strong. 1.5 in getting up it. at 9.53 the 2 Boats left the Portage. The other Portage on N Side 560 yds got to it at 2.25; into a back bay carry when the water is high, did not carry here going down. began the Rapid at 2.30

[Fo. 23d]

and it was 6.30 before both Boats got over this long & strong rapid. I went over the Portage into the bay above then crossed over a point of land to the head of the rapid, very level & good, put up at Nē tā wan ga Lake at 7.15, steepish rocks & slept in the Woods. an old hut here, from last winter – Indians came up with us at up putting time.

30th *Thursday.* at 4.2 AM got off & arrive at the Portage at 3.42 PM left it at 5.10, here we overtook Mr McKay, with one Boat & Canoe we met above Martins fall. This Portage is called by the Albany people ½ way in Time from Martins fall to Osnaburgh House, They went on & we put up in Company at 7.12, rain this afternoon & very heavy at Times. put up in the first narrow above the last portage on the right.

31st *Friday.* At 4.36 AM we All embarked together & to keep company till we arrive at Osnaburgh altho this will retard us 2 or 3 Days, as we go on better than them; but we can well assist each other in Launching the Boats at the Portages at 11.50 got to lower Snake fall, which is not 8 yards wide at the bottom. a great Manneto by the Indians, portage very steep at the lower end, WSW & ESE the Strata lays here, left it at 3.42 & put up at the 2nd or Middle Snake fall at Sunset & loaded the Boats, ready to start early in the Morning.

August 1818

1st *Saturday.* Got ready to start at 4¼ AM, but found Tom Favels boat greatly sunk in the water & Goods wet in her took every thing immediately out & found a piece of the Caulking had hawled out in dragging her over the Portage – repaired her, loaded & proceeded as we cannot open & dry the Goods till near noon, where we may find a convenient place, put some of the wet Bales in the other Boat to lighten us. – I hope the Powder will sustain little damage. – got to the upper Snake fall at 8.10 where I got all hands to carry over all the wet cargo & we proceeded ab 3 miles above where we found a good spot, here we opened, spread & dried every thing, & at 2 PM the other Boats & Canoe came to us & the

[Fo. 24]

Albany people proceeded on, & we got every thing well dried & packed up again: nothing worse except some of the red Leather Looking Glasses; At 5 PM got every thing well packed again & we embarked, made an Oar here, – at 7¼ PM we came up to where the Albany Men had put up, here we also stopped – a River just above where we dried our Goods on the small Pine Island, on the S Side called Chay pus quy ow River

2nd *Sunday.* at 4.40 AM embarked all in company; very rain like; got to the Shakespear & over the lower one on N Side. 310 yards, lower end Swampy, upper end fine level & dry put up here 2 Boats cargoes carried over. Sandflies rather troublesome.

3rd *Monday.* Began to carry at 4.55 AM & left the Portage at 6.40 and got all over the upper Shakespear at 10¼ & left it, a hawling up place just above it & at the head of the upper ripple to the Dck at \odot SS 111° 48' 30"

1' 52"

111° 46' 38" Latitude 51° 25' 27"

at 2PM passed the creek where we slept at & made Oars the 2nd day from Osnaburgh & put up at 6.8 just above the 2nd ripple above the Creek. The Men complain of the mouldy Pemmican which is near done, tho they had at Martins fall 18 Day full allowance of Pemmican & 5 Days Pork & Flour or 12 Pieces Pork & 60 lb flour. I at last found that this scarcity was their giving the Albany Men Pemmican who are in Company as the usual allowance is only 18 Days from Martins fall to Osnaburgh in a Boat 5 Men & 40 pieces Goods.

4th *Tuesday.* At 4.49 AM got underway, Thunder & rain before we started, arrive at the lower Cook e ā me at 4.10 PM – 180 yards N Side, rocky good, got all over & put up, heavy Thunder & rain, took the Boats up by water:

5th *Wednesday.* at 4.44 AM got off, cloudy, got to the next Portage at 4.56 leave it at 6.12 – To the 3rd at 6.23 leave it 8.36 about 60 yards on South Side called Swift Cook ē ā me, hawl up

[Fo. 24d]

on the South side with all in, very strong all the way to the High Cook e ā me, which last place we left at 1.20 PM got to the lick in the hole Portage at 4.2 left it 5.6 & stopped at the foot of the last ripple below the Smooth stony Portage at 6.4 – Our Men has now nothing to eat owing to their carelessness & giving it away to the Albany Men, told them to use the flour served out for their winters allowance at Martins fall 5 Men off [sic]them 20 lb each, and for all hands to live on that to Osnaburgh, when each man who has not got his allowance shall have the quantity each person uses out of his flour allowed him when he gets to Red River – as they have been so wasteful it is nothing but just they should be in part sufferers as they want now 5 Days of their full allowance being served to them: we have Pimmican left at Osnaburgh to serve us to Ska be chewan where we left 4 Bags to serve us to Red River:

6th *Thursday.* Two Days ago Mr Atkinson⁵⁷ & an Indian had came from Osnaburgh to meet us & now in Company. at 4.44 AM got away, cold clear frosty morning – being very early in the Season at 7.2 arrive at the Smooth stony Portage and

⁵⁷ There were two Mr. Atkinsons in the Southern (Moose/Albany) Department at this time. George Atkinson Sen^r, Master and Explorer (1777-1830), and George Atkinson Jun^r, a Clerk. HBCA B.135/d/107 & 101. Also see, Glyndwr Williams, "Atkinson, George," *DCB Online*.

left it 1.2, stopped at the upper bad shoal ripple at 6.25 PM Strong wind ahead, & fine Day, Mr Atkinson met us near upper Elbow Lake. we keep company.

7th *Friday.* at 4.43 AM embarked – got to the upper portage below Osnaburgh House 9.58, left it 12.31 hawl the Boats up with all the Cargo in, Cold clear calm morning at 3.1 PM arrive at Osnaburgh House; All well here, but getting at this Season as usual very few fish – one of the Mens women died here 8 Days ago. They say scarce a day has passed since we left the House 12 last Month without rain – in consequence The Potatoes look extraordinary well, as being planted in fine sand: very few Indians been here since our departure. Fine weather thro’ the Day.

[Fo. 25]

8th *Saturday.* Put false Keels to our two Boats, as the others were worn even with the bottom: & got every thing ready to go away for Red River tomorrow;

9th *Sunday.* at 9.35 AM left Osnaburgh House for Red River. The Indian Man & his wife accompany us, he is determined on seeing his mother, which he has not this long while past, 4 Men going down to Martins fall in a Canoe for Goods & when they return here, Hugh Linklater & family⁵⁸ is to come up to Red River to Settle; we take part of his property with us: Light Airs at South: at 5.2 PM we put up at the lower side the Grand Traverse. Showers of Rain in the Day.

10th *Monday* – Made whilst at Osnaburgh the 7 & 8th Inst many Astronomical observations which is inserted at the time we passed in July. at 5.14 AM we got underway, rain till then, stopped for rain in the course of this Day Three several times, in the whole three Hours at 7.15 put up near where we did going down. Strong wind ahead, evening nearly calm.

11th *Tuesday* – at 4.27 AM got underway & arrived at the height of Land Portage at 3 PM & got all over at 7.38 – many blue berries all along. now entirely ripe – stoped in the Day 1³/₄ hours to dry the Boats coverings: Thunder & a little rain in the Day. Muskettoes now very plentiful water 7 Inches higher in the Creek at the South end of the Portage than when we passed.

12th *Wednesday.* at 4.29 AM we got away; a large creek just below Pancake fall on the South side, put up on cat Portage all over at 6³/₄ PM, & dryed the coverings;

⁵⁸ Hugh Linklater/Linkletter (c.a. 1782-1865) was born in Rupert’s Land, and from at least 1813 to 1816 he was Steersman, inland from Albany House (Osnaburgh, Henley and Martins Fall Houses). According to this account, he and his family were going to settle at Red River. The 1827 Census of Red River lists a Hugh Linklater who was 45 years old, was married, and had three children. He died at Red River in 1865. HBCA B.135/d/139-107; E.5/1.

us, leave it at 10.16 & get last portage at 12.42, stopt 35 Minutes above, Pisk wet some things in his Boat by running down a rapid, leave the portage at 3.19 and arrive at the Canadian House where I went ashore to hear the Red River News, Sorin & Young McKenzie here Donalds[?] Son, stopt at the House 29 Minutes & again embark. The Barley & wheat ready to cut down, seems to be a good crop, also Potatoes, at 5½ PM enter Lake Winnipic & go to Stocking point & found it so dark that we was obliged to stop, altho we intended to

[Fo. 28]

go all night; put up near Stocking Point at 10.14 PM – before this stopped one Hour, & repaired Tom Favils Boat. The Canadians exultingly told us that 40 Murons was going to leave the Colony as the Grasshoppers had destroyed their Crops. The NW are ever ready to spread all the bad news they can.

28th *Friday.* at 4.25 AM we embarked, slept on a small rock till day light, arrived at Red Deers Island at 8 AM, sail^d all morn^s with a light wind – Capt. Mathey & 8 Canoes passed the French House at 5 PM on the 25th Instant, we go on very slowly in a very great measure owing to our Guide Tom Favil, notwithstanding all I can say to him, at 7.8 PM entered Red River & put up, Sailed the Latter part, middle of the day Calm. beyond Hunters point in the Lake a very heavy storm has been from the NW ward about a Month or 5 weeks ago that has broke almost every tree down for near 6 miles along the edge of the Lake, & twisted all the rest in a very surprising & powerful manner – I never observed the same but one in the Saskatchewan River in May 1802, where the woods were all broken down but only about 300 yards wide

29th *Saturday.* Rain & Thunder all night & got off at 6.20 AM & passed Dead River at 11.20, sailed some reaches above it & put up for rain below Hillers⁶⁰ old House at 1¾ PM & at 4.7 cleared up again & we embarked, put up at 7 PM on the North side

30th *Sunday.* Embarked at 4.50 AM & at 6 AM passed a Canoe Man taking care of some Goods, belonging to us Mr Loggan⁶¹ & others had left, they are gone to

Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.) *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 465-66. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Clarke, John," *DCB Online*.

⁶⁰ William Hillier joined the HBC in 1811. He was hired to organize and lead a group of men to directly confront the aggressive NWC. He sailed for York Factory with Miles Macdonell in 1811 and accompanied him to Red River in 1812. He was assigned to the East Winnipeg District. During the winter of 1813-14, he wintered on the Red River just above Dead River (Netley Creek). He left the HBC in 1814-15, on the pretext that he had not been properly supported. J.M. Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography* (Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg Press, 1999), 111.

⁶¹ Robert Logan (1773-1866) was probably born in Jamaica to a West Indian planter who moved to Montreal in the 1780s. He joined the NWC in 1801 and served at Sault Ste. Marie until 1814. In that year he was recruited by Colin Robertson to outfit his Athabasca Campaign, and accompanied Robertson west. In 1815-16 he wintered at Ile-a-la-Crosse and from

the Colony, but to return soon & go to Rain Lake, at 10³/₄ AM arrived at the Image plain⁶² & left it at 12 oClock. I went by Land 2¹/₂ hours good walking – one ¹/₂ hour from Image to Frog plain.⁶³ at 5 PM our Boats arrived & unloaded: Just as I arrived Mr Roderick McKenzie⁶⁴ & 8 Canoes were ready to Embark for Montreal, he & some others are going down as witnesses there for things committed by the NWC in the Athapescow Country. Mr Graffenreid⁶⁵ also went

[Fo. 28d]

down to Montreal; Mr McKenzie in a Single Canoe with 8 Canadians left Norway House 15 Aug^t with Letters for Montreal but they all happened to be on shore together in the Day time & they neglected to tye the Canoe, when a gust of wind drove out the Canoe, & before it was perceived by any of the Party she was driven out of their Depth with all the Letters, Papers, Clothing, Provisions &c &c. & drove out to sea near 30 Miles from Norway House: luckily another boat came up the next day & took them all up – about 16 Days after as some of our People were going from Cumberland Ho. to Norway House they found the Canoe driven on Shore near 10 Miles to the Westward & every thing recovered, even the paddles, but the Clothing &c was spoilt by rain or water, when the Papers were got, they were sent away to Montreal in a small Canoe with three men: Peter Knight⁶⁶ also goes down to Montreal as evidence as a partner & 2 Clerks last Spring took all our Furs, from Deer Lake House in

1816 to 1818 was put in charge of establishing Rock Depot at Swampy Lake. In 1818-19 he was the Master in charge of Lac La Pluie, and in 1819 was appointed Sheriff of Assiniboia at the Red River Settlement. In 1825 he purchased Fort Douglas and the Windmill at Point Douglas from the Selkirk Estate and became a settler and businessman. From 1825 to 1839 he was a Councillor of Assiniboia. He died in the Red River Settlement in 1866. HBCA BS. J.E. Rea, “Logan, Robert,” *DCB Online*.

⁶² Image Plain was a landing spot on the west side of the Red River in what would become St. Paul’s Parish. It was located slightly north of Frog Plain. Popular legend had it that the location often caused a mirage that could be seen in the sky.

⁶³ Frog Plains was an expanse of wet meadow land about five miles north of Fort Douglas on the west side of the Red River. It is today part of West Kildonan. These wetlands held water most of the year, and were populated by small frogs. Not surprisingly, fur traders, Metis and settlers named the area Frog Plain. As noted in this journal, it was also a location where canoes and York Boats often stopped.

⁶⁴ This is Roderick McKenzie (Junior) (1791-1830). He was a native of Gaerloch, Ross-shire in Scotland, and entered the HBC service in 1811 as an Apprentice Clerk. He was a Writer in the East Winnipeg District in 1812-13 and was at Red River in 1814-15. He joined John Clarke’s Athabasca Expedition in 1815. He remained in the Athabasca for two years, and in 1818 travelled to Montreal to give evidence against the NWC. On his return from Montreal in 1819 he became District Master at Lac la Pluie, where he remained until 1822. Thereafter he became Chief Trader at Fort Alexander and then Churchill. In 1824 he became Chief Trader at Split Lake in the Nelson River District, and in 1825 the Chief Trader at Portneuf. He died at Portneuf in June of 1830. HBCA BS. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (London: The Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1938), 454.

⁶⁵ This is Lieutenant Frédéric de Graffenried (1792-1871). He was an officer of the disbanded Regiment de Meuron and was sent to Red River in 1816 in advance of Lord Selkirk who had hired him. Prior to this he had been sent to Lac La Pluie, with 22 De Meuron soldiers and a handful of Canadians, to reinforce the post.

⁶⁶ Peter Knight joined the HBC as a 36-year-old Labourer in 1806. He came from Stromness, Orkney Islands, and worked most of his career in the Churchill District, at Deers Lake, Nelson House and Churchill Factory. He was promoted to Steersman in 1809, and remained in this capacity until 1821, when he disappears from the accounts of the HBC. He travelled to Montreal in 1818-19 to testify against the actions of the NWC in the Churchill District, and when he returned, he worked as Steersman in the Island Lake District and at Red River. HBCA A.32/15; B.42/d/88-97; B.239/165-216a.

the Churchill Department. The Grasshoppers has made Great havoc in the Crops at the Colony particularly in the Barley scarcely leaving any, the 3rd August they came in great Clouds from the SWestward & in two Days there was scarcely any barley left standing & in some places they did great damage to the Potatoes & wheat; The Fishery this Summer has been bad, owing to the very low state of the Water, but our People at Fort Daer get plenty of Dry Provisions from Botteneau⁶⁷ & other freemen tho at the very high price of 12 lb for one Dollar: None of our People yet arrived here from York Factory; The NW are making an excellent House & fine Stockades of sawn Oak, Grant rem^d up all Summer – Mr Angus Shaw⁶⁸ who was an old Trader in the North for the NWC. but absent Many years came up & is gone towards the Saskatchewan River – Old Peltier & several other persons were taken down as witnesses for the NWC in July. Fine weather.

[Fo. 29]

31st *Monday.* Busily employed in examining & drying some of the Goods that got wet in Pisks Boat in running down a rapid in Winnipic River. but nothing damaged: packed all up again: Sent a Letter down by Peirish 10 Miles for England as our Gentlemen who Embarked for Montreal was to remain there till 6 oClock this morning – where Mr Logan left his Family whilst he went up to the Forks.

September 1818

1st *Tuesday.* Got every thing ready to send one Boat & 5 Men to Norway House with 40 Bags Pimmican & a part of the Goods we now brought up from Albany: Yesterday 2 of our Men with Boys came from Brandon house with 6 Cart Loads of Pimmican left there in June, The Indians have been very quiet all Summer; water very low in the River – and a very dry season scarce a single shower of Rain all summer; all the Potatoes & Garden stuff quite burnt out as also the 2½ Bushels of Barley sown there – when 3 Inches high all killed by the Great drought – These 3 Summers past remarkably little rain – as also very little Snow in winter; quite different from what it used to be.

⁶⁷ This is, likely, Charles Joseph Bottineau. Bottineau came from France or Boston, and arrived in the northwest around 1787, as a voyageur for the North West Company. In the period 1803 to 1808 he acted as a voyageur and hunter for Alexander Henry around Pembina. He stayed in the Pembina area thereafter, probably working for the NWC. From the evidence in the Selkirk Papers, he also acted as a hunter for the Selkirk settlers wintering at Pembina in 1815. In 1816, he refused to take part in the Battle of Seven Oaks. He died near Grand Forts, North Dakota in 1824. HBCA BS.

⁶⁸ Angus Shaw was born in Scotland and entered the service of the NWC as a clerk about 1787. He played an important role in establishing the NWC posts on the North Saskatchewan River and became a partner in the NWC in 1792, but gave up his shares in 1808 becoming an Agent of the NWC. Between 1802 and 1814 his activities were centered mostly around the Great Lakes but by 1814 was again prominent on the plains and took a leading role in the dispersal of the Selkirk Colony in 1815. He was arrested by the HBC in 1819 but was released. After the union of the two companies in 1821 he continued on as a Montreal Agent of the HBC until his firm (McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co.) failed in 1825. He died in 1832 in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Gratien Allaire, "Shaw, Angus;: DCB Online.

2nd *Wednesday.* at 9 AM Sent off a Boat & 5 Men to Norway House with Pimmican & some particular Goods they want in the Saskatchewan River, at 10 AM also loaded the whole Six Carts lately came here with Pimmican from Brandon House, 36 Pieces of Trading Goods – I remain here expecting the Arrival of Mr Sutherland every day: Mr Stitts Gardens & wheat looks pretty well, having had a tolerable quantity of rain here this Summer. The Rain Lake Indian Chief a Metis arrived here yesterday with a few men by way of Fort Dair, Colonist[s] now very busy cutting down their wheat which will be a tolerable crop notwithstanding the great havoc made by the Grasshoppers early in August – The Murons have been very busy building their Houses this Summer. They are a very industrious people, by far the best Settlers here of any other Nation:

[Fo. 29d]

3rd *Thursday.* Went round the greater part of the Colony – very great additions & improvements during the time I have been absent at Martins fall. – in the evening very badly. – I am told that amongst the whole of the People who had barley that there may be preserved near 60 Bushels from the Grasshoppers. very few Oats were sown last spring. – The Catfish during these 3 Summers have also been very scarce & much inferior to what they used to be; but fortunately vast numbers of Buffalo have kept pretty near Fort Dair all Summer, & the Freemen have well supplied all the People, but their price is high 12 lb of any kind of Dry provisions valued at one Dollar.

4th *Friday.* Thunder and Rain in the night, Sent away 5 Men to bring up a large boat belonging [to] the Company about 12 Miles below left by Mr Loggan & party. The NW Grant Master at their Fort all Summer has got the Whole now enclosed with pickets, The 3 Sides all sizable Oak Trees 14 feet above the Ground all sawn – he paid for sawing them when brot to the spot after the rate of 12 Dollars for 108 Pickets; or 52 logs sawn in two. Some days the 2 Men with one Saw split in two, 9 of these logs p[er] Day: about 980 encloses the whole space, they will run near 8 Inches at least on an average.

5th *Saturday* Went round the Muron Settlers to agree some to make some buildings here & saw boards – as there is not 2 Mens work for 2 Days done here since 19th June last, altho there has been sometimes above 20 Men fed by Mr Stitt but he could get nothing done: The Murons are they say busy in getting in their Little Crop & making Cellars to secure their potaotes in for the Winter: but engaged 2 Canadians able Men to saw Boards – In the Spring 4 Murons were engaged to cut down & square logs for Buildings & put them on the spot for 8^d each log:

6th *Sunday*. Went to Mass – all the Murons & Canadians there, but none of the Scotch people – the 3 Priests or Missionaries, are very

[Fo. 30]

much beloved by all people – and they take great pains & trouble to learn the young Brulees their Catechison &c &c – they almost daily visit every Indian & Free Canadians Tent to instil into their minds religious principals, they are indefatigable – a Considerable quantity of Timber they have got on the spot, ready squared, where they intend to build their Church, it is almost opposite the Mouth of the Assiniboine river on the E side the Red river, They have about 350 yds in front, it is a very good situation, They have about 9 Men belonging to them, & I am told before they left Canada to come here this Spring that a subscription was made for them amounting to above 2,000 £ Sterling – but that the NWC would not subscribe the least to them. Many of the Indian Women are daily attending the Priests to receive Instruction, Confession &c &c. & the Priests say the Country is far better than they at first imagined it to be – Every Sunday they have Prayers three times a day – which is very regularly attended; The whole Three Priests dine with the Governor until their Buildings are completed. – Four Indians arrived from Lac La Pluie, but have nothing with them – Delorm who has been in the Colony & HBCos Service these 3 years went down last fall for an evidence on behalf of the Colony, but got seemingly seduced by the NW Company at Montreal & came up this Summer for them. he is now at their Post at Pambina – he is no acquisition to either party.

7th *Monday*. Got the lent of a Pit Saw from one of the Murons as the Company has none here, to saw boards here, as the 3 small low dirty hovels we have here are a disgrace to the Service; wherein Mr Stitt & 10 Men remained since last fall. Sent 3 Men to make a Saw Pit & cut down wood about 2 or 3 Miles up the Red River: 2 of the NW Men with Carts & horses came here from Brandon House, they say they had a remarkable Hail Storm at Portage des Prarie coming here –

[Fo. 30d]

one of our Beaver Creek Batteaux laying here, and people frequently taking away the Nails – got her hawled up & burnt & all the Nails collected to use again for the same purpose next Spring.

8th *Tuesday*. A sharp frost in the Night the first we have had this fall – 4 Men rafting down building Logs: water rising fast in the Red River, owing to heavy rains

above – at 7PM Mr McBean⁶⁹ the NW Proprietor arrived here in one Canoe and 7 Men; This is the first time of his being in this part of the Country – we understand he is to winter at Riviere Qu’Apelle, Mr Grant at Pambina who is also a late partner: McBean left his 8 Canoes for this Quarter at Rain Lake Bostonais Pangman⁷⁰ returned with McBean, one who was the Most forward in the destruction of the Colony.

9th *Wednesday*. Little rain – Tom Favil & 2 Men who are here I desired Mr Stitt to employ them about the House but they received no orders from him to do any thing; The Rain Lake Chief & 2 Indians returned, he got a present of Rum &c from the Colony: he says he & party are going up to the borders of the Sioux Country direct & kill a number of Beaver and be down here again before the Ice sets in – but I much doubt he will not make his promise good: he was very active during the American war for the British & rec^d suitable presents from Government on that account – one Man hawling up logs from the Waters edge to build a Shop the first thing for the Store Keeper Mr Henry Eustace⁷¹ to retail out the Goods to all the Settlers & which Shop is to be now on the Companys account: The Goods are charged on the Invoice from England at 75 p[er] Cent advance, but to be retailed out at 100 p[er] Cent above their original cost in England. Several Sturgeon now appears in the River, they have been very scarce all Summer, which is attributed to the Shoalness of the water: at 8 PM one of our Canoes arrived from Montreal with a young Mr Forrest⁷² &

⁶⁹ John McBean (1778-1854) entered the fur trade in 1800 with Forsyth, Richardson & Co to serve as a Clerk in the Northwest. He joined the NWC in 1804 at Fond du Lac, and became a partner at Fort William in 1816. He was put in charge of the Lower Red River Department in 1818-19. After the amalgamation of the HBC and NWC, in 1821, he was made a Chief Factor and appointed to the charge of Lake Huron district, where he remained until he retired in 1837. He settled at Berthier, Lower Canada, where he died in 1854. HBCA B.S. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934). p. 461. Harry W. Duckworth (ed.), *Friends, Foes, and Furs: George Nelson's Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804-1822* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 412.

⁷⁰ This is Peter “Bostonais” Pangman (1791-1850). Peter or Pierre Pangman was born in 1791 in the Saskatchewan River valley and was the son of the NWC trader Peter Pangman Sr. and a native woman. As noted here, he was an employee of the NWC, but in 1812 had begun his fur trade career in the employ of the HBC under John McLeod. He soon left the HBC and by 1815 was in the employ of the NWC as an interpreter and took a leading role in the dispersal of the Selkirk Colony in 1815. He, along with other Metis “Chiefs” Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw and Bonhomme Montour, signed the document that banished the Selkirk settlers and HBC from the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. Bostonais was also prominent in the 1816 destruction of the Selkirk Colony and was later arrested in 1816, standing trial in Upper Canada. He was not convicted and was released. He died in 1850 at St. François Xavier in the Red River Settlement, the very settlement he tried to destroy.

⁷¹ This is Henry Eustace/Euastace (*b.ca.* 1796), a clerk from London. He joined the HBC around 1814, and in 1816-17 was posted to Carlton House as a Clerk. Thereafter, he served as a Clerk in the Red River District until 1821-22. In that year George Simpson noted that he was a tolerable clerk but was addicted to Liquor. He also noted that he had resigned in 1822 and settled at Red River. HBCA B.239/d/175-216a; B.239/g/1; B.239/f/12.

⁷² Grant Forrest (1800-1878) was the son of Henry Essex Forrest (1763-1834) of Montreal (via Ireland, West Indies, and New York) and was born in 1800. His connection to the Red River Settlement was through his father who was the Canadian secretary to Lord Selkirk. In 1818, Grant Forrest travelled from Drummond Island to resupply Point Meuron, and he then continued to the Red River Settlement carrying warrants for the arrests of NWC agents. He returned to

9 Men; The Canoe left Montreal 23rd July & Mr Forrest only came with her from Drummonds Island; The principal purpose of the Canoe being sent up here is with Warrants to Apprehend near Seventy People concerned in the Destruction of the Colony as well as for several Crimes committed by the Partners, Clerks & Servants of the NW Company on the Hudsons Bay Company in various parts of this Country; some of the Acts committed more than 10 Years ago – also a Warrant for Mr Skein Ogden⁷³ a NW Clerk for Murdering a Cree Indian at the Green Lake House 3 years ago because the Indian wanted to Trade with us. It is judged best not to attempt to execute any of the Warrants this fall: altho' there [are] several in this vicinity – because the Fort Douglas is a scarce place in winter for Provisions to Maintain all the Prisoners besides want of proper accommodations to secure them: but in the spring near the time of Embarkation it is at present intended to execute them. – Most all our Gentlemen with the exception of Capt Miles McDonell⁷⁴ & Mr

Montreal, and in July 1820 travelled to the Red River Settlement bringing with him a supply of goods he hoped to barter to the colonists, though he was warned not to barter them for furs. In 1821 he escorted Colonel Dickson to Prairie du Chen, and in 1824 was back in the Red River Settlement acting as an accountant at Fort Douglas. In 1824, he also married Mary Allez (1805-1838), the daughter of John Allez and Mary Macdonell/McDonald, a surveyor who had immigrated to the RRS in 1822 from Guernsey, in the Channel Islands. She was the niece of Alexander MacDonell, Selkirk's Administrator at the Red River Settlement until the end of 1822, and engaged as schoolmistress at the Red River Settlement. The couple left the RRS in 1825, and in 1827 Grant was a Clerk for the HBC at Lake of Two Mountains. In 1849, he was book keeper/accountant in the firm of Price & Company of Quebec. He died at Chicoutimi in 1878. Ashworth P. Burke (ed.), *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Colonial Gentry Vol. II* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1895), 746-47. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), 438. HBCA B.223/c/1, fo. 349; B.134/g/6.

⁷³ Peter Skene/Skeene/Skein/Skeen Ogden (1790-1854) was born in Quebec to Loyalist parents. After working for the American Fur Company, Peter joined the NWC in 1809 as an apprentice clerk. In 1810 he served at Île-à-la-Crosse, and by 1814 he was in charge of the post at Green Lake. During the fur-trade wars with the HBC, he was known for his violence and bully tactics. In 1816, HBC Clerks reported that Ogden killed an Indian who had traded with the HBC. To avoid prosecution, the NWC moved him to British Columbia and Oregon territory. When the HBC and NWC merged in 1821, Ogden was distrusted but George Simpson argued for his reinstatement. In 1823 he was made a Chief Trader and put in charge of Spokane House, and a year later in charge of the Snake River Expedition. In 1830, Ogden was sent north to establish Fort Simpson near the mouth of the Nass River, and in 1834 was promoted to Chief Factor and administered Fort Vancouver in the late 1840s. He retired to Oregon City, Oregon in 1854 and died the same year. Glyndwr Williams, "Ogden, Peter Skene," *DCB Online*.

⁷⁴ This is Miles Macdonell/McDonell (1769-1828). He was appointed Governor of Assiniboia by Lord Selkirk. He was born in Inverness, Scotland and emigrated with his family to the Mohawk Valley, New York, in 1773. The family resettled as Loyalists in Lower Canada in 1783. Miles had become an ensign in the King's Own Regiment in 1782 serving until 1784. He farmed in Upper Canada and in 1794 was a lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment rising to the rank of Captain in 1796. In 1811, Lord Selkirk selected him as governor of Assiniboia despite the fact that many of his relatives were in the NWC. Macdonell had trouble with this venture from his arrival in the RRS in 1812. This included feeding the colonists, which led to the Pemmican Proclamation of 1814, and the restriction of hunting buffalo on horseback. Harassed by the NWC, and unable to control the situation, he surrendered to the NWC in 1815. He was taken to Canada by the NWC to stand trial but was never tried. He returned west in 1816 and helped capture Fort William with Lord Selkirk, and recaptured Fort Douglas in the January of 1817. He then assumed the duties of Governor of the colony through the spring and summer of 1817. Thereafter he returned to Upper Canada. He died in 1828 at Pointe Fortune on the Ottawa River. Herbert J. Mays, "Macdonell, Miles," *DCB Online*.

McNab⁷⁵ are gone to the upper Province of Canada to attend the tryals that is to take place at York or Sandwich – Lord Selkirk is also gone there & then when those tryals are determined it is said his Lordship intends proceeding direct for England, to endeavour to get the future Law proceedings to be determined in England as the Judges of Canada are so intimately connected with the NW Company & thought on that account to be partial to them.

10th *Thursday.* The 2 Sawyers finished sawying flooring for a Shop to retail Goods out in to the Settlers – There is the Copies of two Petitions on behalf of the Scotch & Muron Settlers to the House of Lords & Commons, to be fairly copied & Signed by them all, & to be transmitted this winter to London, claiming protection from Government on behalf of themselves against the Mischief still threatened against them by the NW Company

11th *Friday.* Water rising in the River

12th *Saturday.* Got all the writing nearly finished & the Settlers signed
[Fo. 31d]
the Petitions to Government

13th *Sunday* – at 2 PM 2 of our Men with 3 boys came here from Brandon House & brought down 19 Bags of Pimmican & 100 lb Dry Meat; they are come for Goods as we have long expected the Arrival of Mr Sutherland & the Boats for this Quarter – There is very few Men now at the Houses, & the Indians beginning to come in in Numbers; all well above – at 6 PM Mr Forrest & the Montreal Canoe returned to that place with Letters & papers & I expect they will reach their Journeys end by Water if even common expedition is used altho' the Canoe was long in making the Voyage hither Wrote several Letters & sent by them for England as I had no opportunity since June: Two of the Priests in a Boat with 5 Men went to Fort Dair, the first time any of them has gone there – Our Men was 6 Days coming down from Brandon House –

14th *Monday.* Rain in the night.

15th *Tuesday* 4 Canoes loaded belonging to the NWCo arrived from Fort William – Most part of the Wheat all stacked it is imagined the whole will amount to 700

⁷⁵ This is probably Dr. John McNab (1755-1820) entered the service of the HBC in 1779 serving as Surgeon and Chief of Albany Factory (1779-1799), and Churchill and York Factory (1801-1809). He returned to England and retired in 1812. In 1816, he accepted an offer from the Earl of Selkirk to serve him until 1817, when he intended to return to Fife. He died in Montreal by 1820. HBCA BS.

Bushels when Threshed – Water still rising in the River – our Crop here of wheat very backward owing to its being sown 3 weeks after the proper time. –

16th *Wednesday.* a NW Batteaux arrived with Goods from the Winnipic River House

17th *Thursday* Eight NW Carts arrived from Brandon House to carry up Goods – as little can be taken there in Canoes the water very shoal in the Assiniboyne River – Yesterday several of the Settlers Cos Old Servants came for Supplies from the Colony from the Village they are forming 3 miles above the white Horse plain & to be called Birsay after Magnus Spense from the Parish of that name in the Orkney Islands it is about 22 Miles above Fort Douglas; also Yesterday arrived a Colony Boat from York Factory arrived at which place

[Fo. 32]

she had been and left YF about 5 August, & brought up 2 Cows, one Bull: 3 Pigs or 2 Sows & one Boar, also 22 Cwt of Bar Iron & some other articles for the use of the Settlement The NW Craft all arrived at the Forks having 7 Canoes & 1 Batteaux

18th *Friday* The NWC sent away 10 Carts with Goods to Brandon House, & 5 Canoes went up there with 10 pieces only in each on account of the shoalness of the water: I am very anxious that our Craft should arrive from Norway house, as all the NW are arrived & gone to the different Houses. The 2 Sawyers cut 137 Boards of 10 feet each: They are engaged at 1 Dollar each p[er] Day which will come to near 1/6 p[er] Day sterling besides their Provisions

19th *Saturday* Mr McDonell⁷⁶ went to Birsay & measured out in breadth 14 Lots of land of[f] to be 100 Acres each, breadth in front 220 yards each, where several of the HBC old Servants are settling, with Old Magnus Spense. it is called Birsay after the place of his native parish in the Orkney's, they have chosen this situation about 22 Miles above Fort Douglas, as being nearer to the Buffalo grounds in Winter when the fish are scarce

⁷⁶ This is Alexander McDonell, Selkirk's Agent in charge of the Red River Settlement at this time. Alexander Macdonell was born around 1774 in Inverness, Scotland. In 1813, he volunteered his services to Lord Selkirk who engaged him in 1814 to recruit colonists for the Red River Settlement. In 1815, he accompanied them to Red River in the company of the new Governor Robert Semple. In September of 1815, Semple appointed him as second in command to Colin Robertson, who was then in charge of the Red River Settlement. After Robertson left the Red River Colony in June 1816, Macdonell was appointed as second in command to Robert Semple. When Semple was killed at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816, Macdonell took charge of the colony which was dispersed. Macdonell re-established the colony in March of 1817 and guided it for the next few years. Selkirk's death and the merger of the HBC and NWC greatly reduced his influence, and he alienated both settlers and the HBC. By 1824, George Simpson considered him "disaffected" and one of the most dangerous men in the colony. Given his ostracism from the HBC, he left the colony in 1828. Edith Burley, "Macdonell, Alexander," *DCB Online*.

- 20th *Sunday*. Mr Storg⁷⁷ the Colony Master at Fort Dair & Botteneau their principal Hunter arrived from that place – Went to Mass – one of the Bruleé girls asked in the Church a 2nd time with one of the Muron's settlers. Three days ago the Colony sent away people to Trade rice with the Indians near Bonnet Lake but having met the Indians in this river, they have all returned together this Day. They have been too long in sending there to trade it. The NW at Winnipic river having got the best part but this has been a scanty Summer for it in those places. on the 18th one of the Leech Lake Bungees stabbed a young Soteaux woman here – and it was with difficulty made up between the parties; the upper country Inds all went away the next day: – The whole of the Corn & part off the Potatoes taken up: Grant, the NW Proprietor not yet gone up to Pambina where he is to Winter.
- [Fo. 32d]
- 24th *Thursday*. Self with Men & 6 Carts left the Forks for Brandon House with Goods: none of our people yet returned that went down to the Factory 3 Months ago – got to Birsay at Sun Set & put up there: we expect to Reach Brandon House in Six Days.
- 25th *Friday*. Left Birsay at 6 AM & put up in sight of Portage des Prarie point at 5 PM – very fine weather: Mr Monkman accompanies us a little way farther, he is going to the Big point House in Mannetoba Lake:
- 26th *Saturday*. at 5½ AM we got away & in 4 Hours arrived at the Portage Point; Then went afterwards 2¾ Hours and got to the Musk rat creek⁷⁸ & put up pretty early. Mr Monkman left us in the Morning –
- 27th *Sunday*. at 5½ AM got off & in 4½ Hours got to some small Lakes where we stopped some time to rest the Horses; and in 2¼ Hours more we reached the Bad woods,⁷⁹ now pretty good Road – & 1¼ Hour more we reached the Miry Creek & put up.
- 28th *Monday*. at 5½ AM got away & reached the rice Lakes in 4½ Hours, here we stopped 2 Hours & saw an Indian who had nothing – & in 5½ hours more we reached the Root River, we put up there; we keep more to the right than the usual road, as it is better crossing that River, than lower down.

⁷⁷ Joseph Storg

⁷⁸ According to Peter Fidler, Muskrat Creek flowed south out of the White Mud River just west of Portage la Prairie. Also known as Riviere Aux Champignons, it marked the western border of the Selkirk Treaty. See Fidler's Map of the Red River District, 1819. B.22/e/1.

⁷⁹ The Bad Woods was a long narrow strip of dense Spruce woods on the north side of the of the Assiniboine River some 30 miles west of Portage la Prairie. It is today known as the Spruce Woods Provincial Park. In earlier days, Nor'Westers Alexander Henry the younger and John Macdonell called it *La Grande Trembliere*.

29th *Tuesday.* at the usual time we got away & in 4½ Hours we got to the edge of the Plain – over all the hilly ground, and in 1½ hour more reached Brandon House & found all well – 34 Tents of Indians. James Inkster has been obliged to hire two Men to assist him with his few men whilst the Indians were drinking – last night in a drinking bout one Indian split the Skull of another with an Ax, & he died instantly – They are very frequently climbing over the Stockades of the fort & are otherwise very Troublesome – seeing as very few people about the House – Mr McKenzie the NW Summer Master at Riviere Qu'appelle here these 4 Days, he is going down to the Forks to remain there all winter. Our People are very much troubled by the Indians, & we have so very few people there.

[Fo. 33]

30th *Wednesday.* Indians all drinking – and the whole is encamped at our House: French sent away to hunt, The Buffalo are about 16 Miles from this House.

October 1818

1st *Thursday.* The 5 NW Canoes arrived here from the Forks – Our Men went on Hunting: Yorstons Guide⁸⁰ the NW Cree chief rigged and a grand silver breast ornament given him – This I imagine to be as a partizan to them in case at any time they might require the Aid of his Services in any dirty work about the Colony.

2nd *Friday.* Three Carts & Men went to the Forks with Pemmican & to meet our Boats to bring up Goods by Land – also sent down several Parchment Skins to our House there, Sent one Cart & Goods to Beaver creek House: Geo McRae⁸¹ one of the Colony men accompanied us up going to Beaver Creek Ho. & wrote to Geo Setter⁸² to Trade as many Horses as he possibly could for the use of the Colony, and to purchase them as cheap as possible – Some of our Indians went away & others drinking –

⁸⁰ Yorstons Guide was also known as Little Rattlesnake and Michel aque thoo, and, as noted here, a principal chief of the NWC Cree. See Fidler's Report of the Red River District for 1819. HBCA B.22/e/1/, fo. 12d.

⁸¹ George McRae, from Scotland, shows up briefly in the employment records of the HBC. He was first hired in 1816, as a Boatman, and wintered in the Manitoba District. In 1817-18 he was transferred to the Colony as a Labourer. That is the last that is found of him. B.239/d/188 & 195.

⁸² This is George Setter from Westra, Orkney Islands. At this time, he was the Assistant Trader at Beaver Creek. He shows up first in the Brandon House accounts of 1810-11 as a Labourer, and in 1814-15 is listed as a Bowsman there. In 1815-17 he was posted to Qu'Appelle and Fort Hibernia as a Steersman, and in 1817-19 as an Assistant Trader at Beaver Creek. He spends the rest of his career in the Winnipeg (Upper Red River) and Swan River Districts becoming an Interpreter in 1824 and a Postmaster in 1827. From 1832-34, he was posted to the HBC Experimental Farm and finished his career in the Swan River District as a Postmaster. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1837. HBCA B.22/d/1-4; B.239/165-216a; B.239/g/2-16.

3rd *Saturday*. Two Men cutting wood for Charcoal – The greater part of the Indians pitched away: They very much want debt as usual, but we are yearly such great losers by giving them, that it is best to give none – only advanced debts to 2 or 3 Men. Water is now as high in the river as the first of June last – but too shoal to come up in any reasonable time with Loaded Boats – One Man constantly looking after horses, his sole attendance whilst they are out,

4th *Sunday*. The last of the Indians pitched away. – an Ind Big nose came from Beaver creek house lately all well there 4 days ago. Mr McKenzie NW went to the Forks with 2 Carts and Horses he is to remain there all winter as master.

5th *Monday* 3 Men cutting poplar for charcoal: Charles & one Man put up 3 Haystacks thrown down by the Indians & the Wind Mr McBean a proprietor of the NWC went from here to Qu'Appelle with 12 Carts loaded with Goods, before starting he & Poitras

[Fo. 33d]

the NW Master here this winter came over & we agreed to give only one Skin in Goods for a Large Beaver skin – whereas than last few years we have regularly given two on both sides – also agreed to send from neither House to Indian Tents, but to allow the Natives to bring in the few furs they kill here – as by this means we purchase them cheaper, as there is always an unavoidable unnecessary expense when we go to the Tents for them – a few days ago Butterflies and the Blue bottle flies pretty numerous. Jn^o Lyons⁸³ a freeman & his Family here these 10 Days – Traded a Tent for a Freeman got 25 lb Beat Meat for each Skin it contained – This is cheap Trading as we usually give only ½ pint mixt rum (Leeward Island) with 4 waters to one of Liquor.

6th *Tuesday*. Charles Fidler & one Man got 12 Axel Trees for Carts to be ready when wanted. others as yesterday. Took here the Double Meridian Altitude of Suns

SS 69° 57' 0"

— 2 20

Latitude 49°42' 2" North 69° 54' 40"

7th *Wednesday*. 4 Indians came in with Dry provisions Traded and they went away: They speak of going soon to the Mandan Villages to purchase Horses, as they are friends The Men variously employed.

⁸³ John Lyons was born in Rupert's Land and entered the HBC service in 1797. By 1813 he is listed as a Steersman, wintering at Brandon House. It was also noted that he "an obstinate Servant but a good hunter." In 1816-17 he went "Free". HBCA BS; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-188.

- 8th *Thursday*. All the Freemen pitched away, Men piled up one Charcoal kiln – very strong gale at West
- 9 *Friday*. 2 Stone Indians came here, we suppose as Thieves. Men as before
- 10th *Saturday*. Men constantly at work cutting & piling wood to make charcoal of for smiths use.
- 11 *Sunday* Two of the NW Horses missing supposed to be stolen by the two lately come here.
- 12 *Monday*. All hands cutting wood & covered the 4th Charcoal Kiln about 9 Chords of wood each.
- 13 *Tuesday*. Men as usual about the Charcoal Kilns – Heavy Thunder and rain in the Night.
- [Fo. 34]
- 14th *Wednesday*. Finished covering the 4 Charcoal Kilns with Earth &c. 2 Men got mud for repairing the Chimneys – 2 Canadians came from the Forks & inform us of Mess^{rs} Sutherland and McKay⁸⁴ having arrived there from Norway House. and to start for this place very soon – Cooper⁸⁵ & Charles⁸⁶ finished making small Kegs, set fire to the Charcoal Kilns
- 15th *Thursday*. An Indian arrived here our Trader, he is just now returned from the Mandans & has Traded 4 Horses with them but at a high price – Two Men rep^d the 2 Chimneys in the new House built this Summer for Mr Sutherland as he is expected to winter here. – Ice $\frac{3}{4}$ Inch thick on the standing water, but I expect the whole will dissolve – again being too early in the Season to remain. Sent 2

⁸⁴ This is John Richards McKay (1792-1877), the Trader and Clerk at Beaver Creek. He was born at Albany Factory to John McKay Sr. and Mary Favel. He was educated in England and joined the HBC in 1808 as a writer at Albany Factory. In 1809 he joined his father at Brandon House and was then posted first to Pembina, and then to Riviere Qu'Appelle where he supervised its reconstruction in the fall of 1815. In 1816 he married Harriet Ballenden at Brandon House (in 1858 he married Catherine Smith). 1816-17 he was a Trader at Fort Hibernia, from 1817-19 a Clerk at Beaver Creek, and from 1819-24 he was posted to the Upper Red River district as Trader and Clerk. At the time of the Coalition of the NWC and HBC in 1821, he was in charge of Brandon House. In 1821-22, George Simpson noted that he was sober and honest, a tolerable Clerk and Trader, but somewhat too extravagant with Indians. He noted that he would be discharged the next season if he did not improve. McKay retired to the Red River Settlement in 1824, but rejoined the HBC in 1831. Thereafter, he served as a Clerk and Postmaster at Portage and Fort Ellice. He was dismissed in 1844, but rejoined the Company in 1846 and worked as Postmaster at Partridge Crop, Riviere Poule d'Eau, Shoal River, Touchwood Hills, and various Cree camps. He retired for the final time in 1859, and died in 1877 at Fairford Mission. He was buried at St. Clements in Red River. HBCA BS; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/f/12. T.R. McCloy, "McKay, John Richards," *DCB Online*. R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), 446-47.

⁸⁵ James Inkster worked as a Cooper, as well as a carpenter, at Brandon House at this time. See previous citation.

⁸⁶ Charles Fidler. See previous citation.

Boys with Horses to meet Mess^{rs} Sutherland & McKay as we soon expect them here. Lyons & our Bruleé hunter accompanied them.

- 16 *Friday*. Charles hewing cart axel Trees, others variously emp^d about the House except 2 Men who constantly must attend the Charcoal Kilns – very thick snow for ½ an hour at 8 AM covered the Ground ¾ Inch deep, strong wind WNW
- 17 *Saturday* Men variously employed:
- 18 *Sunday*. Strong Gale at W with Snow at 9 AM 4 Inds stole 3 Horses & 2 foals belonging to Jn^o Lyons, before one of our men who was not 50 yds from them 1 mile from the House – when he wanted them to let them alone, they pointed their Guns at him – & he was obliged to let them go away with them – he thinks they are Stone Indians. The Indian who lately came from the Mandans told me that they had sent a Message by him for us to send Goods there to trade Beaver skins. he supposes they may have near 200 – Lyons & the Boys ret^d at Night saw 3 Carts at Bad woods but no officer with them:
- 19 *Monday*. snow most part of the afternoon & fell 2½ Inches Sent the Hunters away to hunt – 5 Carts of NW men went
[Fo. 34d]
on hunting at 9 AM kill^d 10 Cows and returned loaded at 5 PM Received a Letter from Mr Sutherland yesterday, and this Day packing by things to be ready to go to the Manetoba when he arrives. Men as usual.
- 20th *Tuesday* Arrived at 3 PM 3 Carts of ours with Goods from the Forks – also our Hunters returned with 7 Buffalo, the wolves having eat 3 others, river in the morning full of floating Ice; at noon ran clear Men at the coal kilns.
- 21st *Wednesday*. Several Stone Indians arrived at both Houses but have very little: Peirish Peltier came here from Pambina hills, says 3 Horses of his was stolen sometime back. Men as before
- 22nd *Thursday*. All hands quenching the charcoal kilns, Morn^g river full of floating Ice but at 11 AM ran clear. Inds went back
- 23 *Friday*. Men as yesterday. a few Stone Indians came in with Dry provisions.

- 24 *Saturday.* at 11 AM Mess^{rs} Finlayson,⁸⁷ McKay & Loutit⁸⁸ came here on horse back from the forks – Seven Days on their Journey with Six Carts. Mr Sutherland to remain at the Forks all winter: mostly Freeman who have brought up the Goods & paid at the same rate as last year 10/ for 100 lbs. Our men at the House as before quenching one Charcoal Kiln daily – there being Six in all.
- 25th *Sunday* – Mr Finlayson to be Master at Beaver creek House with Mr McKay – busy opening and assorting the Goods for both places.
- 26th *Monday* Sent away Six Carts to Beaver Creek well loaded with Trading Goods &c. Took Charge of the House from James Inkster who has been here all summer – Men at the Charcoal kilns –
- 27 *Tuesday* Our 3 Gentlemen went away for Beaver Creek Ho all on horse back – 2 Men mudding the Houses. our men from the Boats arrived here, having unloaded & hawled them out of the water at the Portage des Prarie; very fine weather. They have done very wrong in leaving the Boats so soon as
[Fo. 35]
 very probably the River will not freeze over for some time & they might have got the Goods & Boats here by water a considerable expense would have been saved in convey^s them here – also the Boats would have been very useful next spring to carry down the property: obliged to engage Freeman to convey up all the property in the two boats at the rate of 6/6 for 90 lb. – as the Men behaved very badly in leaving the Cargo before the River froze over it would be nothing but just that the 2 Boats crews paid all the expenses of carriage from where they left the Goods to this place.
- 28th *Wednesday.* Sent away 8 Carts; – 6 to bring up the Goods from the Boats & the other 2 to carry provisions &c down to Mr Sutherland at the Forks – as it is a very bad place for living in winter, besides there are above 20 persons there of all descriptions: told our men to haul up the Boats well and pull all the grass from about them that fire may not burn them in case the Grass takes fire in the spring. Sent away the Men to Beaver Creek House who came up with & from the 2 Boats. Men here got mud to repair our chimneys; particularly the two new ones built this Summer which smoaks so very much. There is no living in the House.

⁸⁷ Duncan Finlayson. See previous citation.

⁸⁸ This is Henry Loutit/Louttit [A] from Stromness, Orkney Islands. He was born about 1799 and joined the HBC in 1817 as a writer. He was first posted to the Forks as a Clerk (1818-19) and then served in the Swan River District until 1820. In 1821 he was posted to Norway House in 1821. George Simpson remarked of him in 1821-22 that he was a steady and active young man, a good Clerk, but no trader. He was to be rehired at an augmented salary at the expiration of his contract, but he returned home in 1823. HBCA B.239/d/204-216a; B.239/f/12; B. 154/d/11&17.

- 29th *Thursday*. The Men at home at work at the Chimneys, pulled down the new one nearly to the foundation – very fine weather.
- 30th *Friday*. Some freemen & Indians came here with Dry provisions to Trade. the price agreed upon 15 lb p[er] skin in common cheap articles – but 30 lb for Cloth Shirts, Kettles &c &c. Men finished the Chimneys. James Inkster & Charles Fidler making benches &c &c. to carry on boat building here in Winter – very fine Day – 3 Indians passed here for the Saskatchewan river who are relations of some of the Co^s Servants who have recently settled at Birsay 22 miles above the Forks on the Assiniboyne river.
- 31st *Saturday*. Sent 2 Men to Tent & cut firewood & 2 Men to saw boards for the new House above. others variously employed mudding
- [Fo. 35d]
- Strong wind Northerly, Swans flying to the Southward

November 1818

- 1st *Sunday*. 2 Canadians came from the Forks with 2 Carts:
- 2nd *Monday*. Cooper & 3 Men getting Timbers for Boats to build 2 here for the Company & 1 small one for James Inkster as he proposes settling at the Colony next spring – 2 Men repaired & heightened the Chimneys: heard the Packet from England out by our 2 Ships had reached the Forks – A Mr Williams⁸⁹ came out as Governor in Chief of the HBC Territories the NW informed us
- 3rd *Tuesday*. Rain till 9 AM Men as yesterday getting Boat Timbers – 2 Mudding the Smith's Shop, The Men returned from the Boats with every thing and have well

⁸⁹ This was William Williams, who was appointed Resident Governor of the HBC Territories in 1818. He came from Wales and was of resolute courage and boldness, if not efficiency. In 1819, he retaliated against the NWC aggressions by capturing a number of partners and servants of that Company at Grand Rapids and sent them to England for trial. For this action, the NWC issued a warrant for his arrest, and George Simpson was sent out by the HBC as a backup in case Williams was forcibly removed. At the union of the NWC and HBC in 1821, Williams was appointed Joint-Governor with Simpson and in 1822 was given charge of the Southern Department. He was recalled to England in 1826, and he died in 1837. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), 473.

secured the Boats – Thomas Halcro⁹⁰ Smith & W^m Dunnet⁹¹ came here. they remained all the time in care of the Goods where our other men very improperly left them. They have also broached a Keg of Rum & taken out ½ pint each man, all very wrong – it is said the Canadians & Murons were the first to propose it. a Few Stone Indians came in

4th *Wednesday*. Men variously employed. Indians returned.

5th *Thursday* at Noon 4 Carts & 3 Men came from Beaver Creek House & brought down 8 Horses traded there for the Colony, 4 Men finished the Smiths Shop, 3 with the Cooper at the Boats Timbers, 2 Men sawying – & 2 getting wood for them. Made 500 Candles for the Winter, others mudding the Houses & Chimneys – one Man constantly employed taking care of the Horses – when two & two are chained & locked together the Inds cannot so well steal them expeditiously

6th *Friday*. Sent 3 Men away with the Hunter with Carts to get meat – James Inkster & one Man looking for pines for Boat Building returned but say they can find none fitting for the purpose – but we must have some should we go 30 miles off – others at the House variously employed.

[Fo. 36]

7th *Saturday*. Sent away 4 Men 4 Carts & Horses for Goods to the Forks & took down Dry provisions for Mr Sutherland as that is a very poor place, and requires considerable supplies from other places. – Much Ice driving in the River these two Days – Men variously employed.

8 *Sunday*. Men returned from hunting with 4 Cows – a few Stone Indians came in to Trade Dry provisions – fine warm afternoon – some Ice still driving.

9 *Monday* Sent 3 Men to get wood to saw into Sleds near the Moose Hills; 2 Men sawing boards. – 2 cutting & hawling some firewood in carts – Smith & one Man daily employed in the Smiths shop making Tools &c – One of the

⁹⁰ Thomas Halcro (1781-1854) came from Orphir, Orkney Islands, and entered the HBC in 1804. He served as Blacksmith at Churchill Factory and York Factory from 1804-18, and then was transferred to Brandon House where he served as Blacksmith for one year (1818-19). Thereafter, he was posted to Red River and the Upper Red River District until 1824, when he went Free and settled in the Red River Settlement. He married Mary, a Cree woman, and they had at least six children. He died in the Red River Settlement in 1854. HBCA B5; B.239/d/165-216a.

⁹¹ This is William Dunnet/Dennet (1780-1864) from Ronaldsha, Orkney Islands. He joined the HBC in 1796 and worked as a Boatman inland from York Factory his entire career. From 1811 to 1814 he was a Steersman and Runner to the Indians in the Saskatchewan District. In 1815-16 he went home due to ill health, but by 1818-19, he was again a Steersman in the Swan River District. Thereafter, he worked briefly as a Steersman at Ile-a-la-Crosse, and in 1822 he retired to the Red River Settlement. By that time, he had a long-term relationship with Sophia Ballendine, and they had at least four children. He died at St. Andrews, Red River Settlement in 1864. HBCA B5; B.239/d/165-216a.

Colonists Sons here (Murray) he is looking after our Horses – settled with the Hunter & agreed with Jn^o Lyons to kill us 50 Cows at 2 skins p[er] animal exclusive of what our prior engaged hunter may kill – to sent 2 men with each of them to bring the meat home to the Tents.

- 10 *Tuesday* Men as yesterday – our Hunter informs me that there are good pine near the Pine fort near 20 Miles off sent him & Charles Fidler to examine it & in the evening they returned, says there are plenty of excellent pine there to serve in Boat building many Years – very little Ice driving – two men constantly employed in making all the necessary things for Boat Building – The 3 Men returned having found & cut down and barked enough to make 20 Sleds when sawn also Cart shafts & made a saw pit – 4 NW Horses stolen.
- 11 *Wednesday.* Men variously employed
- 12 *Thursday.* Sent away our 2 Hunters & 4 Men towards the Moose Hills: The others sawying & other necessary work
- 13 *Friday.* a Stone Indian came in with Provisions – There is a band of them about 120 Tents to remain about 40 Miles from this up the Sourie; They are now making a Buffalo pound – Cooper finished making Boats Tongs – & other preparations for Boat building. he will be daily employed about. other as before. [Fo. 36d]
- 14th *Saturday.* 2 Canadians came from the Forks and brought me a Letter from Mr Sutherland who says that he & the Colony are going to send a party of Men to the Mandan Villages on purpose to Trade Horses for the Colonists. & that he is sending one Man with some Goods to Trade what furs they may have – They are to pass a new road by way of Fort Daer on purpose to take La Grave⁹² a Canadian as Interpreter who has been remaining at the Mandan Villages many years & who has there a Wife & Children. Mr Archibald McDonald⁹³ to

⁹² This is François La Grave, a former North West Company trader, who travelled to the Missouri with a NWC party in 1793, and who remained behind when the rest of the expedition returned to the Assiniboine River. He, along with another NWC man, deserted from the Company. La Grave maintained his connections with the Mandan for many years, and, as here noted, had a wife and children at the Mandan villages. W. Raymond Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen (eds.), *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders Among the Mandan and Hidasta Indians, 1738-1818* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 50.

⁹³ Archibald McDonald (1790-1853) was employed by Lord Selkirk to recruit colonists in Scotland in 1812. He arrived in the RRS in 1813. He was appointed to the Council of Assiniboia to aid the colony's governor, Miles Macdonell, and during the winter of 1814–15 he served as one of Macdonell's principal lieutenants. When the colonists were forced out of the settlement in June of 1815, McDonald proceeded with them to Jack River House. While the settlers would return to the settlement in the fall of 1815, McDonald returned to England and prepared a written account of the events that led to the abandonment of the RRS. This account was published in London in 1816. Later that year he joined Selkirk in Montreal, and led a group of disbanded De Meuron soldiers who aided in the capture Fort William. McDonald then returned to

accompany them. Several Stone Indians came here with Dry provisions and some wolves, also a few Crees accompanied them – Some of the Crees have lately been at the Mandan Villages. Men variously employed. – river clear of Ice except about the edges Heard that Mr McDougall⁹⁴ NW Partner died lately at Winnipic river

15th *Sunday* The 2 Sawyers came for provisions & returned. Indians also traded & went away.

16 *Monday.* 2 Men hawling firewood & others variously employed

17 *Tuesday.* Sent away 3 Men & 2 Boys with Carts & Horses to find our Hunters to bring home fresh meat – Cooper daily employed in making ready for Boat building; in the evening Thomas Fidler⁹⁵ came from the Big Point house Manetoba Lake – with a Letter from Mr Brown⁹⁶ the Master, there wanting several small articles to be made by our Smith. – very few fish to be got there now. he came in 2 Days a great distance at this season & carrying every thing on his back. he says there are 25 Men on the Manetoba establishment at 4 Houses. River froze over.

18th *Wednesday.* Smith & 1 Man working & making a Pit saw neck – a saw set &c for Manetoba. Several free Canadians came here with Dry provisions to Trade 3500 lb & upward – in 7 Carts – The Mens employ as usual.

[Fo. 37]

Montreal and sailed for England in the fall. In 1818 he returned to the Red River settlement to assist in the administration of the colony. In 1820 he joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk and was posted to Ile a la Crosse. In 1821 he was transferred to the Columbia Department where he spent the rest of his career. He retired to Quebec in 1848 and died in 1853. Jean Murray Cole, "McDonald, Archibald," *DCB Online*.

⁹⁴ Duncan McDougall. See earlier citation.

⁹⁵ Thomas Fidler (1795-1875) was born to Peter and Mary Fidler in 1795 at York Factory, and joined the HBC in 1812. He served as a Clerk at Brandon House (1815-16), and an Interpreter and Clerk at Beaver Creek, Manitoba House, and Fort Dauphin (1816-21). His superiors' views of him ranged from being a useful servant in tripping to Indians (1816), to being handy but disobedient, addicted to rum, and afraid of Indians (1820-21). He retired from HBC service in 1822 and settled in the Red River Colony. He was buried in St. Clements, Red River Settlement, in 1875. HBCA *BS*; B.51/d/4; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/175-216a.

⁹⁶ This is William Brown (1790-1827). He was born around 1790 (34 years old in 1824) and came from Kilmaurs, East Ayrshire, Scotland. He joined the HBC in 1811 and was first a writer in the Churchill district. By 183 he was a Trader at Deers Lake. He shows up as an HBC servant as early as 1814 as a Trader at Deers Lake. By 1817, he was the Master of the Manitoba District. From 1819-1821, he was the District Master of Athabasca. After the Union of the NWC and HBC, he was made Chief Trader and sent to the New Caledonia or Western Caledonia. He established Fort Kilmaurs in the Babine Country, north-west of Fort St. James, in 1822. He stayed there and was instructed in 1824-25 to extend the fur trade in that quarter, and further north and west. He was prevented by illness from doing that and in 1826 he was granted a furlough because of his sickness. He died at Edinburgh on March 17, 1827. E.E. Rich (ed.) *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), 431. R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land 1821 – 1831* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940). HBCA B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/g/3-7.

- 19th *Thursday* – Traded with the Freeman: The Men returned from the Hunting Tent with 4 Buffalo. – Smith making Awls for Beaver Creek Ho. The Freeman returned to their Tents
- 20 *Friday* Men variously employed – very badly these two Days.
- 21 *Saturday* Thomas Fidler returned to Manetoba & sent Charles with him to fetch some of my property left there June 1817 – The Men variously employed. Sent Dry Provisions to Mr Brown.
- 22nd *Sunday*. Three Men & 3 Carts came from the Forks with some Goods & the Mens things left there before. They have been 7 Days coming up. – Yesterday the NW here went from home killed 7 Cows skinned them & brought them all home by 3 oclock. our Men says that 2 Men a Cart & Horse was to leave the Forks two days after them & to pass by Manetoba with Letters for Cumberland House – They are expected here in 3 or 4 Days more –
- 23rd *Monday*. Many Stone Indians came here & a few went to the Canadian House with Dry provisions – Men variously employed – Snow fell 4 Inches.
- 24th *Tuesday* – Men variously employed.
- 25 *Wednesday*. The Stone Indians finished Trading & they all went away. One Man casting Ball in a Mold that casts 10 at once – of sheet Lead as the Ball brought up is much too few for the trade here – having all the Athapescow Country to supply & the rest of the most distant posts. he cast 62 lb. two men getting firewood as usual. 2 Hawling home Boards for flooring
- 26 *Thursday* Clear & Calm and very cold Men variously employed – & turned one of our Stables into a Store as ours are too small to contain every thing we expect to Trade this Winter. Mr Hesse⁹⁷ a NW Clerk came here from Riviere Qu’Appelle – he was sent to take charge of their post at River Winnipic where Mr McDougal died lately
- 27 *Friday* Men variously employed.

⁹⁷ Charles Hesse was a clerk in the NWC and probably a Metis (he was called a “creole” by George Nelson). He was at Grand Portage in 1799, and working for Alexander Henry in the Pembina region in 1804. Peter Fidler lists him a “Free Canadian” in 1814, and he is listed in NWC account books for 1816-20, and due wages in 1816. He died in St, Louis, Missouri in 1837. Harry W. Duckworth (ed.), *Friends, Foes, and Furs: George Nelson’s Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804-1822* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 406-407.

28 *Saturday*. Sent 5 Men for Meat to the Hunting Tent. The others at the House employed about various Jobs. at 3½ PM came here

[Fo. 37d]

Mr Archibald McDonald & Pisk Kipling who left the Forks 10th Inst & Pambina the 17th with 11 Men in all to go to the Mandan Villages. They had Horses & Carts with them, but the Snow falling a good deal since they came away, rendered travelling with Carts very bad. They came here for Dogs & Sledges &c – They left the remainder of their party 2 Days walk from this at the woods edge from Pambina. Mr McDonald complains bitterly of the very refractory behaviour of some of the Canadian Servants who accompany him. Old La Grave the Mandan Interpreter is obliged to be hawled the whole way being unable to walk. As only one of the Companys Servants have gone with them I intend to send another to Trade & bring here what furs they may Trade: They came here on Horseback.

29 *Sunday*. Our Men came home with meat

30 *Monday*. Getting things in readiness to send with the Mandan Party. also put by more Ammunition as what they have taken from the Forks will be too little if they have any tolerable quantity of skins – as the Colony people only go there to Trade Horses. Men at home variously employed.

December 1818

1st *Tuesday*. Laid the floor over the Cabbin: hawled home Boats Timbers – 19 Animals killed at the Hunting Tent since they first went there – put Grass & earth over the New floor. Sawyers came home yesterday having finished for the present. Some freemen came here with Dry provisions to trade – Our 3 Men returned from the Forks with a Horse & Cart & some Goods, not having been at the Manetoba Charles Fidler & 1 Man returned from Manetoba with my things: The french Hunters went away to Tent & Hunt they have like us two hunters employed. they are near 70 of all ages & Sexes.

2nd *Wednesday* at 10 AM Mr McDonald & Pisk returned with 10 Dogs. 4 Sleds. to join their men & goods they left 2 days Journey from this, I also sent one Man with them with 80 lb of Ammunition & some other articles: They are

[Fo. 38]

to send here by Freeman the Carts and Horses they had with them from Pambina: 2 Men sawying Boat Timbers Sent one Man to bring home our Horses, to be ready to go to where we intend getting pines for Batteaux building about 18 Miles off. – Smith daily employed att his duty; others variously employed.

- 3rd *Thursday*. Sent away 4 Men with 4 Carts & Horses loaded with Trading Goods for Beaver Creek House; also sent Letters by them for Cumberland House & the Athapescow Country. – also sent away James Inkster & 6 Men to cut down, collect & saw wood for Boat building. also sent Charles Fidler on horse back to shew them the place where the Wood is growing – at Dusk he returned. The Freeman returned to their Tents – only 3 Men now at the House. fine weather these two Days:
- 4th *Friday*. Put up some shelves &c in the House; a few Stone Inds came here with Dry provisions – Smith putting up a Cabbin for himself in the Indian Guard room – Wm Dunnet came here for his Shirts &c – he is to go direct to Carlton house where Mr Cook resides on purpose to run to Indian Tents.
- 5th *Saturday*. Traded with the Stone Indians & they remained the whole Day which is rather unusual – as they generally go back the next day. 3 other bands of Stone Indians & Crees also arrived at our house which is a very busy day – they have some furs with them & a considerable quantity of Dry Provisions. Anderson & his Son hawling home firewood in Carts as there is now very little snow on the Ground – Strong wind West & Cold
- 6th *Sunday*. The Stone Indians all Traded & returned – The Crees remain here yet: received Letters from Beaver creek – it is said the NW intend next spring to build close to us at Beaver Creek & abandon their House at Qu'Appelle as the Indians are so very troublesome to them every summer when they are alone – they have also lately had many Horses stolen. & besides their Men refuses to Summer again at their old place
- [Fo. 38d]
- 7th *Monday*. Sent 2 Men for boards lately sawn for Sleds. A Stone Indian came in with provisions – our 2 Wood cutters came home & to remain here and to go from here daily to cut firewood; Bad snowy weather – Two freemen with their families came here from Beaver creek House on their way to the Forks, Men at home employed about the House.
- 8th *Tuesday* – Smith finished making his Cabbin – Charles put up his & the Cooks 1 2 Men came here with the Keels for three Boats & other wood from the Pines about 18 miles off. Men as usual.
- 9th *Wednesday*. Several Stone Indians came here with a deal of dry provisions – not a single one went to the NW House – Sent men away for more Boat wood left the Carts here as the Snow is now too deep to make good us[e] of them Smith

employed at his duty. The 2 freemen went to the Forks & sent by them some things to Mr Sutherland he wanted. Bad weather at Night & Strong Gale at WNW.

- 10th *Thursday*. Indians Traded and all went away – Smith making Indian Awls
- 11th *Friday*. Cleaned out the warehouses & put all the Beat Meat in bags – in the evening James Inkster returned from the Pines having got wood enough cut down for three Boats. 2 Men constantly sawying the Logs into Boards for the Boats Some men came home with boards.
- 12th *Saturday*. Men employed variously about the House & sent more for wood. Poitras Son returned from Swan River.
- 13th *Sunday* Vast numbers of Buffalo within sight of our House very cold weather these Days past which has driven the Buffalo to the river for shelter at the Woods.
- 14th *Monday*. 2 Men making Sleds – 2 cutting firewood & Smith at his duty. Charles Fidler killed 2 Buffalo near here –
- 15th *Tuesday*. Sent for the Meat killd yesterday – 2 others hunting 2 Men making Sleds – our 2 Men killed nothing – a Freeman pitched away to hunt Buffalo.
- 16th *Wednesday*. Turned 9 Sleds. Angus McAuley⁹⁸ badly – an Indian came here from Cree Tents for both parties to fetch some provisions & a few Skins – neither side will send – as we shall get their property cheaper when they bring it to the Houses. Men came home with Boards from the Sawyers Tent 18 Miles off – Smith making some necessary tools for the Carpenter or Boat Builder. – Some of the Crees are lately gone to the Mandans to Trade Horses and to carry back to his Friends the Hair of the Mandan lately killed by the Stone Indians when three of them was on a visit to the Cree Tents – The Stone & Mandan Indians are always at war with each other – Charles & the Smith also cleaned all our new Guns – got home the last of our sled wood. –

[Fo. 39]

⁹⁸ Angus McAuley was born about 1795 (age 25 in 1820-21) in the Isle of Lewis, Scotland. He entered the service of the HBC in 1815-16 as a Labourer at Fort Hibernia. In From 1818 to 1822, he worked as a Labourer at Brandon House. On August 29, 1822, he died on the way to the Red River Settlement from Norway House. HBCA B.22/d/6 & 9; B.239/d/175-216a; B.238/g/2.

- 17th *Thursday*. Three men sawing Sleds. 2 Men hewing Boat wood – Sent 2 people to bring home meat from the Hunting Tent, one of the Hunters came here & says they have killed 56 since they went away first to Tent.
- 18th *Friday* – Men variously employed.
- 19th *Saturday* Mens employ the same, Yesterday one of the Free Men came here and says that before Mr McDonald & Pisk got back to where they left their property: that all the Men had returned back to Pambina & left all the property behind them – but that one of our Indians had found the whole which he safely delivered back to Mr McDonald. – and that Mr McDonald had engaged a Freeman & one Indian to accomp^y him & our 2 Men – to the Mandans, but that 2 days after the Indian returned & the 4 people proceeded there with all the Goods nearly. The Indian has it in care & will soon either send or bring it here to our House – Mr McDonald agreed with the freeman to give him a Horse, a Gun & a suit of Clothes before he would consent to accompany them.
- 20th *Sunday* Sent 2 Men to look for our Horses & only found a part of them
- 21st *Monday*. Sent 4 Men with 5 Sleds for Boat wood. found the
[Fo. 39d]
rest of our Horses, 2 Men hewing boats Timbers Stems &c ready to split with the Pit saw. Two Creeks came here with 44 MB a very good trade for this part of the Country.
- 22nd *Tuesday* Sent 2 Men away for Boat wood, in the afternoon the others came home who went away yesterday.
- 23rd *Wednesday*. The Men returned with Boards & sent away others to fetch more. at 1 PM Mess^{rs} Finlayson & Loutit came here from Beaver creek House – They are both going down to the Forks the former on a visit to Mr Sutherland the latter to remain as his Clerk all winter – our Hunters came home for the Holidays –
- 24th *Thursday*. Men came home with boards – Smith repairing Axes for Beaver creek House. The men at home variously employed
- 25th *Friday* Gave the Men 12 lb fat & 10 Tongues & 1 pint rum each
- 26th *Saturday* Mess^{rs} Finlayson, Loutit & 2 Men went away to the Forks, sent all our men to the Hunting Tent for meat. at 5 PM Mr McDonald & Party came here

from the Mandans where They remained 6 days. and was as usual very hospitably used by them, they brought back 10 Horses & 166 Beaver skins of sizes also a few foxes. – They were 8 days on their Journey back – They learn from the Mandans that the nearest American was 300 Miles below but next spring they were intended to go up and settle at the Mandan Villages – our people only was at the upper village – but the furs traded part of them were brought to them to Trade – They are very dear with their Horses: having cost them above double the price they are got for in this river. There were 44 Houses in the Village.

27th *Sunday.* Men came home from the Hunting Tent with meat – took an account of what little property they brought back here also the Furs &c &c. Tom Fidler came from Manetoba yesterday

28 *Monday.* Mr McDonald & Pisk went to the forks, they are soon to send up for the Horses – sent away 6 Men to fetch home Boat Wood. Thos Fidler returned to Manetoba – at 4 PM 2 Men came here with Letters from the Governor in Chief at Cumberland House – they

[Fo. 40]

inform us that there is a very great scarcity of dry provisions in the Saskatchewan river – owing to great quarrels amongst the different tribes of Indians; and for us to purchase & encourage the Indians in this Quarter to make what they can

29th *Tuesday.* Two Men hewing staves for a cask about 140 Gallons on purpose to Salt Buffalo Tongues and meat in – Cooper making molds for the Boats timbers – our 6 Men came home with Boat wood – Told Henderson & Michel a Canadian to make ready to take dry provisions to Mr Sutherland at the Forks.

30th *Wednesday.* Sent 4 Men to fetch more boards – Michel could or would not catch one of his Dogs so this day was lost in send men to the Forks – Men home variously employed.

31st *Thursday.* Sent away Henderson & Valiere⁹⁹ to the Forks with dry meat to Mr Sutherland, Michel a half breed canadian who I had appointed, refused to go – so I put him off duty and he will soon go away to join his relations the freeman who is tenting near here – he is well away as he had a woman & Children – Some freemen came in with Dry provisions Our Sawyers came home for New Years Day – 4 NW men came from Riviere Qu'Appelle yesterday. – Two of

⁹⁹ This is Leandre Valliere a Labourer from Canada who had his winter residence at Beaver Creek. HBCA B.239/d/204.

our men came here with our grindstone from Beaver Creek House. – Thumbby¹⁰⁰ with several Crees and Stone Indians came into the House with furs & provisions: Traded with the freeman & he returned. Gave all the Indians a big Keg Liquor amongst them as a present.

January 1819

1st Friday Men did nothing, gave then 1 pint rum each & a share of all the little European Douceurs &c at this House – Most of the Indians Traded and went away – Thick snow in the forenoon.

2nd Saturday. All the Indians Traded and went away – Michel & his family went away & Germain Monjunier¹⁰¹ also accompanied him – he ran away – he is an indifferent hand at the House – so the service will be rather a gainer than looser by both of them going away. – Sent 2 Men to look for

[Fo. 40d]

the Colony Horses left here lately by Mr McDonald. Men cleaning about the Yard & House – found all the Horses

3rd Sunday. Our Hunters returned to their Tents. in the afternoon several Cree Indians came here & paid part of the little Debt they were due us – they had a good Trade in furs considering the part of the Country & the laizy habits of the Indians.

4th Monday. 2 Sawying Boats Timbers, 4 went to the hunting Tent for meat: in the evening traded with the Indians

5th Tuesday. Indians went away. Men as yesterday & the Men came home with meat. Some more Indians came in with dry provisions –

6th Wednesday. The Indians traded and went away: Sent 4 Men for Boat wood & the 2 Sawyers went there, to finish all the logs that is required for finishing building three Boats Charles Fidler making sleds – one Man and a boy daily employed

¹⁰⁰ Thumbby, or Aspek, was a principal chief of the Cree in the region. See Fidler's Report on the Red River District for 1819. HBCA b.22/e/1, fo. 12.

¹⁰¹ This is Germain Monjeunier/Monjunier. He was a son of Germain Maugenest and a Native woman. He was born about 1788 in Rupert's Land (age 27 in 1815-16), and joined the HBC around 1808 as a Labourer at Albany House. From 1810 to 1814 he was posted to Brandon House, and from 1814 to 1816 as a Bowsman at Red Deers River. It was noted in 1815-16 that he was "useless except in working in Boats in summer." From 1816 to 1818 he was a Labourer at Fort Hibernia, and in 1818-19 he was a Labourer at Brandon House. He deserted on January 2, 1819. He seems to have been hired back, however, as he is listed as a Bowsman at Brandon House in 1821-22, and it is noted that he had been there the year previous as well. He shows up in the censuses of the Red River Settlement first in 1833 and is registered as "unmarried". He shows up again in 1846-47, and dies in the Red River Settlement in 1847. HBCA B.3/d/122-125; B.22/d/1-6; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-204; E.4/2; E.5/1-11. AM Censuses of the Red River Settlement.

hawling firewood. These short days & the wood so far off that they only make three trips p[er] Day. – Women cut out & sewed 69 Pemican? bags these 3 Days – Men came home with Boards –

7th *Thursday*. Yesterday the Smith began to make Batteaux Nails for Beaver Creek & will not be employed about any other duty till they and the Nails & Boat Iron work required for the three Boats. – he only makes 164 on an average daily – a Cree & Stone Indian came here, the latter had something the Cree nothing – they slept half way from their Tents

8th *Friday* Men variously employed.

9th *Saturday* Men came home with boards. others as usual.

10th *Sunday*. at Noon Mess^{rs} Finlayson & Todd¹⁰² arrived here from the forks 6 Days on the Journey. The Doctor is going to Beaver Creek House to get what horses he can trade there by us for the Colony two of the Colony men also came here for their Horses left here by Mr McDonald they had from the Mandans with them – what they have stooed the Colony in is upwards of 10£ each exclusive of the Mens wages for the Time – very bad weather in the afternoon.

[Fo. 41]

11th *Monday*. Sent 4 Men to the Hunting Tent for Meat. Cooper making a large Cask to salt meat in – at 4 PM Jo. Haywood¹⁰³ & one Man came here from Manetoba Lake for Provisions They have nothing to eat: – Two Indians also came here yesterday – No Indians about the Big point house. Old Kipling¹⁰⁴ from Big Point hunting this way buffalo:

¹⁰² William Todd (1784-1851) was born in Ireland and joined the HBC as a surgeon in 1816. He served in that capacity at Cumberland House (1816-18), the Red River Colony (1818-19), and Fort Wedderburn (1819-20) before returning home. Upon his return from Britain, he served as a Clerk and Surgeon at Pembina (1821-23) and York Factory (1823-27). He worked for a time in the Columbia District (1827-29), and became a Chief Trader while working at Brandon House (1829-31). Thereafter, he worked in the Red River and Swan River Districts, and died in Red River in 1851. HBCA *BS*. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals Including the Peigan Post, 1826-1834* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2020), 510-11.

¹⁰³ Joseph Heywood/Haywood was born about 1783 and came from Bolsover, Derbyshire, England. He joined the HBC in 1807 and worked first as a Labourer at Churchill. By 1814-15 he was a Steersman at Swan River, and from 1815 to 1817 at Red Deers River. In 1818 he was transferred to the Manitoba District as a Steersman, and he retired in 1820. It was noted that he was going home that year, but he shows up in the Manitoba District accounts for 1820-21. He returned home in 1822. HBCA *BS*; B.63/f/1; B.51/d/4; B.239/d/175-210.

¹⁰⁴ John Kipling/Kipling Senior (so named because he had a son named John Kipling Junior) was the native-born son of John Kipling (*b.c* 1743-1794) from Bishopton Durham, England, who had joined the HBC in 1766 and worked on the Albany River district (Henley House, Gloucester House) for most of his career. John Kipling Sr. was born about 1774, and entered the HBC service in 1794 as a Labourer and then Steersman inland from Albany House. By 1810, he was stationed at Brandon House and was still classified as a Steersman, but by 1815-16, it was noted that he had been an invalid for some years back. He was still classified as a Steersman, but by 1816 he was transferred to Manitoba District at Big

- 12 *Tuesday*. Men came home with meat – Indians returned –
- 13 *Wednesday* Early this morning Mr Finlayson & Todd went away to Beaver Creek House and two Men – Sent 4 Men to fetch home boards –
- 14th *Thursday*. Sent back the two Men to the Manetoba with Provisions to Mr Brown. Men came home with boards. Men at home variously employed at their respective Duty.
- 15th *Friday*. The two Colony men went to the Forks with the Horses Traded at the Mandans. Sent 2 away for Meat & 2 to bring home boards others as usual.
- 16 *Saturday* Several Indians came here with some furs & provisions Men as before. Men came home with boards & Meat
- 17 *Sunday* Traded with the Indians
- 18 *Monday*. Sent 4 Men for meat. Fannier & his 2 Sons came here with 978 lb Dry provisions. James Inkster put the first boat on the stocks. Others variously employed.
- 19th *Tuesday*. The Freeman traded & returned to their Tents about 16 Miles off: a few Stone Indians came here with dry provisions – also got some dry provisions from another freeman – at 11 AM Mr Robert Kennedy & Henderson arrived here from the Forks – the former came from England last spring & was left at Point Muron¹⁰⁵ by Capt Mathey in the Summer & walked from Rain Lake on the Ice – Valiere & Pisk gone to Pambina for Salt for us here. Thermometer at Sun rise 42 Degrees below the Cypher. Men variously employed
- 20 *Wednesday*. Sent 3 Men for Boat one – one Man badly Henderson hawled home wood, I heard that Bonneaus & Fanniers Sons had take away some Iron hoops left by Mr McDonald

[Fo. 41d]

Point and was classified as a Labourer and Fisherman. The accounts for 1820-21 list him as a “Netman” at Big Point House and note that he was “old, does very little – hunts occasionally.” In 1822 he retired to the Red River Settlement. He shows up in the Red River Censuses until 1849 when he is listed as an 80-year-old man. HBCA *BS*; B.3/d/125; B.22/d/1-4; B.51/d/4; B239/d/165-216a; E.5/1-11. AM, Red River Censuses 1846 & 1849.

¹⁰⁵ Point Meuron, located on the Kaministiquia River near its mouth, was about 9 miles from the NWC’s Fort William. It was originally used as an encampment by the de Meuron soldiers who, along with Lord Selkirk, captured Fort William in August 1816.

in care of the Indian who found & took such good care of their property when the men ran away and left it – but they both deny having taken any; others here at their duties.

- 21st *Thursday.* our Sawyers came home having finished saw^g all the wood there for the Three Boats – Smith constantly employed making nails for Beaver Creek Batteaux
- 22 *Friday.* The Sawyers splitting some of the thick plank brought home into boards for the Boats, others variously employed:
- 23 *Saturday.* Cooper put one tier of Boards round the first Boat. Henderson assisting him, Men as before
- 24 *Sunday* Yorstons Guide the french Chief & several Indians came in – but have little with them – he is quite dissatisfied with the NW as they only gave him a 2 Gallon Keg rum when he fully expected a big Keg. – also several Crees & Stone Indians came to our House with provisions & a few furs; salted 450 Tongues in the Big Cask – Busy trading with the Inds –
- 25th *Monday.* Finished trading with the Indians. Cooper & one Man constantly employed at Boat building – 2 Men sawed 2 Sleds – 4 pulling Oakum – bad weather –
- 26 *Tuesday.* Indians went away – Sent 4 Men to the Hunt^g Tent – Yesterday 2 Men came here from Riviere Qu'Appelle or Beaver Creek for Goods 2 Man sawying – Smith repairing Axes for our House above
- 27 *Wednesday.* Bad snowy weather one Man splitting Iron with the Smith men pulling Oakum
- 28 *Thursday* Sent back the 2 Men to Beaver Creek House with as much Goods as their Dogs could hawl – also sent Letters for Cumberland House – also sent 4 Men to the Hunting Tent for Meat, finished casting the last of the old sheet Lead into balls brought from the Factory this summer as the Ball from England were too few & the most distant places served first.
- 29th *Friday.* Men came home with meat from the Hunting Tent generally bring one Buffalo with 3 Dogs – 2 Men at Boat build^g & put down posts to carry on building another. Some Stone

[Fo. 42]

Indians came to Trade

30th *Saturday*. Sent 4 Men for Meat – Some Canadians came to the NW House here from their House at the Manitoba starving Yesterday sent away two men to cut down 650 Stockades, These with the 500 we had cut some time back will serve to surround our buildings – at 4 PM one of the Men came home & says Benjⁿ Gun¹⁰⁶ has cut his leg severely with an ax – sent a Sled & Dogs to convey him to the House: at 7 PM he got here – I hope he will be able to work again in 3 weeks –

31 *Sunday*. a few more Stone Indians came in with Provisions.

February 1819

1st *Monday*. Indians Traded and went away, also a few Crees came in with provisions. Men came home with meat from the Hunting Tent: others at Home variously employed sent one Man in place of he who got his foot cut to cut down Stockades – they take a weeks provisions with them –

2nd *Tuesday* Hendersons woman¹⁰⁷ delivered of twin Girls a circumstance rare in this country. both are very promising Children: Several Stone Indians came in all to our House. They have a considerable number of Wolfe skins with them:

3rd *Wednesday*. 3 freemen came here with 2600 lb Dry Provisions – also one Indian accompanied them with some more dry provisions – The Stone Indians returned and some others arrived with Provisions &c. at night a severe quarrel between the Cree Indian & one of the Freeman – the freeman was much cut with a hatchet & the Cree left for Dead by frequently jumping on him – Men variously employed.

4th *Thursday* – The Indian this Morning appears as if nothing had happened to him – The Freeman will soon be well – they all traded & returned to their respective Tents. Women made 60 More pemmican bags. – Sent 3 Men & 2 Boys to the hunt^s Tent for meat – Our Hunters are now doing but little but the NW ones

¹⁰⁶ Benjamin Gun/Gunn (1791-1847) was born in Kildonan/Kildermain, Sutherland, Scotland, and joined the HBC in 1813. He worked as a Labourer at Swan River (1813-1815), a Middleman at Fort Hibernia (1815-17) where he was considered “a very good Servant”, at Brandon House (1817-19), and as a 2nd Trader/Interpreter at Lac la Loche (1819-22). He spent the last winter of 1822 at Norway House. He went free to the Red River Settlement in 1822, and as late as 1825 he had an account at Upper Fort Garry. He moved to Elgin County, Canada in 1826 to join family who had moved there earlier. He died there in 1847. HBCA BS; B.63/f/1; B.89/d/5a&5b; B.154/d/11; B.235/d/18; B.239/165-216a; B.239/g/2.

¹⁰⁷ This is the wife of Peter Henderson (see previous citation). She was Charlotte Yorstone, a Cree woman.

still less which is one consolation that our neighbours dont do so well as ourselves Traded 9 Dogs from Ind^s to help home with our meat. 2 Men came from our House

[Fo. 42d]

at Beaver Creek.

- 5th *Friday*. Many Stone Indians came in with Provisions – our Men & boys came home with meat from the Hunting Tent
- 6 *Saturday*. Sent one Man & 3 Boys for Meat. Indians all traded and went away. The 2 Men cutting stockades came home for Provisions – They have cut down 550 – & part of them collected in heaps.
- 7th *Sunday* Sent away 4 Men with dogs & Sleds to Mannelobaw Lake for 8 Kegs rum taken there for us by the Manetoba people last summer. The 2 NW hunters left off their employment & will hunt no more – they agreed for 2 skins each animal the usual price, but when they wanted part payment for what they had killed they only received less than what was originally agreed upon. The NW has but little fresh meat in their House here – very warm weather almost every day
- 8 *Monday*. One of our Hunters came home with some fat & Tongues he Traded – Jn^o Lyons our other hunter killed 8 Cows Yesterday & cut them & laid them all up well – it was past midnight before he finished. Gun who cut his leg daily pick^s Oakum. Two people constantly employed Boat building. 2 Men as before falling, collecting & hawling Stockades, roofing sticks & several other things to the Rivers edge to raft down in the Spring: The other men variously employed.
- 9th *Tuesday*. One Man & 4 Boys went to the Hunting Tent for meat. Mens employ as before.
- 10 *Wednesday* Our Men returned from the Hunting Tent with 8 Dogs & 3 Horse sleds loaded with meat: hung up the salt Tongues to dry. One man making a Carriole others as usual.
- 11 *Thursday*. at 2 PM Mess^{rs} McKay & Todd with 2 Men arrived here from Beaver Creek, they left there with 8 Horses traded for the Colony, but the 2nd evening from their House, they lost the whole of them Next day they searched till near night – they suppose the Stone Indians have stolen them –

[Fo.43]

Jn^o Ross¹⁰⁸ accompanied our people from Beaver Creek. he has this winter walked all the way from Oxford House – he was for the Colony last fall. but refused Mr Laidlaw¹⁰⁹ so he was put off duty by him. Men at the House at their respective duties.

12th *Friday* Salted the Large Cask of Tongues, Bosses and other fresh meat. – Old Kiplings wife¹¹⁰ came here & one of her sons from the Manetoba hunting Tent, They are killing very few Buffalo there Mr Brown is now down at the Forks on a visit to Mr Sutherland Men as before.

13th *Saturday* Mr McKay & 2 Men went for Beaver Creek house with Trading Goods – also Mess^{rs} Todd & Jn^o Ross to the Forks – Charles Fidler & Henderson getting Boat timbers as those got in the fall are to[o] few. Gun as usual pulling Oakum – one with the Smith occasionally splitting Bar Iron & drawing it into rods for the purpose of Nail making – our Men return in the evening from Manetobaw with only 7 Kegs Liquor – the other two Mr Brown who had just returned from the Forks had detained by Mr Sutherlands order – as I believe we shall have enough now for the Spring Trade – first heard that

¹⁰⁸ John Ross was a long-time servant of the HBC and shows up in various accounts by 1803 as John Ross 3rd, a Labourer from Burra, Orkney Islands. By 1810, he was promoted to Bowsman at Swan River, but by 1815-16 was demoted to Middleman and Labourer (Swan River and Fort Hibernia). Presumably, he was growing older by this time. In 1817-18, he was assigned to the Red River Colony to work on the Hayfield Farm, supervised by William Laidlaw. This assignment was refused and Laidlaw dismissed him. Ross then ended up at Brandon House and on February 16, 1819 was re-engaged by the HBC at the Forks. Thereafter, he worked as a Labourer at Swan River (1819-21) and in 1821 went home. HBCA B.213/3-4; B.239/d/125-216a.

¹⁰⁹ William Laidlaw, the son of a Scottish farmer, was born around 1798. He was recruited by Lord Selkirk in 1815 to manage the home farm at Red River and accompanied Selkirk to Fort William in 1816. He arrived in Red River in January of 1817, and searched for a location for the farm which he located on the east side of Red River, a few miles from Fort Douglas. The farm, which Laidlaw called “Hayfield”, however, failed to show a profit. As a result, Laidlaw abandoned it in the fall of 1821. He blamed grasshoppers, drought, the lack of tools, and poor manpower. He left for the United States where he joined the Columbia Fur Company, and later the American Fur Company, trading on the Upper Missouri. He retired to Liberty, Missouri with his Sioux wife and five daughters. He died there in 1852. J.M. Bumsted (ed.), *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 135. Kathy Alexander, “William Laidlaw – Most Able Trapper.” <https://www.legendsofamerica.com/william-laidlaw/>

¹¹⁰ John Kipling Senior’s wife, Nancy (a Saulteaux Indian).

Mr Colin Robertson¹¹¹ was made Prisoner by Mr Black¹¹² of the NWC at the Athabescow Lake last fall – we do not learn any reason for so doing, and that Mr Sutherland had dispatched from the Forks to Rain Lake 2nd Inst. Letters received from our people relating the affair – they are expected to reach Montreal before the rivers break up of Ice.

14th *Sunday.*

15 *Monday.* One Man & boys hawling meat home every other day from our hunting Tent – 2 Men always employed at the Stockades & hawling – 4 Men getting ready to carry Dry provisions down to Mr Sutherland at the Forks. The NW Athabescow Packet arrived here – so ours has a fortnight start of theirs – Men at their respective Jobs.

16 *Tuesday.* Men variously employed about the House. Sent away 4 Sleds of Provisions with 4 Men to Mr Sutherland, as the

[Fo. 43d]

forks is a very poor place for living, and the distance is great to hawl the Meat 30 or 40 Miles from beyond Pambina – that when the sleds are well loaded when they start first, before they reach the Forks they are very light, the Dogs requiring so much –

17th *Wednesday.* Sent one Man & 4 Boys for Meat – others at their respective duty. Benjⁿ Gun now able to stir a little about – he has been & is daily employed pulling Oakum – Several Cree Ind^s came to the House but have little with them Charles getting wood for two Tubs. Cooper put Gunwails into the first Boat.

¹¹¹ Colin Robertson (1783-1840) was born in Perth, Scotland, and entered the service of the NWC in 1803. In 1809 he left their service and in 1814 entered the service of the HBC with the goal of expanding the HBC presence in the Athabasca. As he passed Jack River in 1815, however, he found the dispersed Selkirk Colonists there and agreed to escort them back and re-establish the Red River Settlement which he did in September of 1815. In March of 1816 he captured the NWC Fort Gibraltar at Red River and arrested Duncan Cameron. In June of 1816, prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks, he left the colony after a dispute with Governor Semple. Thereafter he travelled to York Factory to return to London, but the ship he was travelling on, the *Prince of Wales*, got caught in the ice and he was forced to winter at Moose Factory. In June of 1817, he left Moose Factory for Canada, where he would be tried and acquitted for his actions in 1816. He stayed in the HBC until 1840, when he died. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 480.

¹¹² Samuel Black (1785-1841) was born at Aberdeen, Scotland about 1785, and entered the fur trade with the XY Company in 1802. He continued with the NWC when the two companies merged in 1804. Black was particularly notable for the very violent role he played in the rivalry between the HBC and NWC between 1804 and 1821. For this reason, he was excluded from the new HBC in 1821, but he travelled to London to make his case to the London Committee, and in 1823 was posted to Fort St. John. He spent the rest of his career west of the Rocky Mountains, and in 1841 he was killed at Thompson's River Post (Kamloops) by a Shuswap man. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 150.

- 18 *Thursday.* Indians went away. Jack Spense & 5 Men came here from the Forks they are employed by Mr McDonell¹¹³ at the Colony to go to the Saskatchewan river to bring Horses for the Settlement that our people is to purchase for them. Jack Spense is manager & has at the rate of 3/ p[er] Day till his return. the others 2 shillings – and all of their expense born. They expect to be hear [sic] about Middle of June & have with them near 100 Horses. but I am doubtful that the Indians will plunder the greater part before they return back to the Forks. Bad weather in the afternoon; Man came with meat from the Hunting Tent, the boys rem^d there by bad weather.
- 19 *Friday.* Benjⁿ Gun now assisting the Smith in splitting & drawing out Iron into rods for Nail making – Men as usual.
- 20 *Saturday.* Men as before – 1 freeman & his 2 Sons came here with near 700 lb Dry provisions. our Men & boys came home from the Hunting Tent with Seven load meat one Buffalo nearly on each sled the general load – Two Stone Indians came here –
- 21 *Sunday.* Thumby & a few Stone Indians came here with Provisions – as he is a very good Indian, I rigged him and gave him a Small flag: & a big keg mixt rum.
- 22nd *Monday.* 2 Men & 4 Boys went to Hunting Tent – The Indians returned – several Stone Indians came here with a deal of Dry provisions – one Man hawling home Charcoal for the Smith. others at their respective duties.
- 23rd *Tuesday.* Benjⁿ Gun cutting firewood – Men & Boys came home with meat; Smith making rudder work for one Boat. and finish^d the first boat ready for the cealing – The Hunters left off hunting as I believe we have now enough killed to serve till June, if we get it all hawled home, They have killed for us since they went away in November 121 Buffalo – or 71 Cows & 50 Bulls –
- 24 *Wednesday.* Lyons returned to his Tent to kill Buffalo for James Inkster, James Anderson & Peter Henderson – to make dry provisions of as they talk of settling at the Colony in May next. Their families went with them to cut & dry it. – Sent 5 Men for Meat with all the Dogs & 4 Horses – Two of our men came here from Beaver Creek House for Goods – They inform me that 6 Horses out of the 8 that was lost when Mr McKay came down is found again – but that there are still two missing.

¹¹³ Alexander McDonell, the Administrator in charge of the Red River Settlement. See previous citation.

- 25 *Thursday.* at 3 PM Mr Laidlaw, Pisk & 3 Men came here from the forks – Their Smith one of them – he is come up to make Nails &c in place of ours who is to go down to the Colony a short time to make Plow Irons for them as their Smith is not able to do it – an hour after our other 2 Men returned from the Forks who had been down with meat for Mr Sutherland. our men came home with meat – Mr Laidlaw is come here for some dry provisions for Spring use before the rivers clear of Ice – to enable them to keep plowing &c &c.
- 26 *Friday.* Some Stone Indians came in with Dry provisions – These two Days Charles Fidler & Benjⁿ Gun Sawying wood for the Boats – Traded a Horse from a Stone Indian Men went to Hunting Tent for Meat.
- 27 *Saturday.* Made 16 Bags Pemmican. 1660 lb for the Colony The Stone Indians traded & went away – Men came with meat a Cree came for us to send to his Tent 8 Miles off for 6 Cows he has killed for us:
- 28 *Sunday.* Poitras the Canadian Master here came over & told me that they had 2 Men from Pambina on Friday last & had brought up news from York in upper Canada; he says that

[Fo. 44d]

all the tryals are over there – and that the two Companys are very agreeable together – but that the Athapescow & Fort William Business is not yet settled – all the rest amicably particularly what relates to the Colony – These matters I cannot believe & we must not believe every thing we hear from the Canadians above all other people.

March 1819

- 1st *Monday.* Sent 6 Men to the Indian Tent for the 6 Cows & in the evening they returned with them – all traded for Rum – about 7^d each at Invoice price – one Man came home from the Hunting Tent with 2 Horse sleds of Meat. The Colony smith began to make Nails & only finished 200 with great difficulty altho' he told me before he began that he could easily make 600 p[er] Day –
- 2nd *Tuesday.* Our Smith with & 2 Colony men went for the Forks with 9 Bags pimmican; sent 2 Men to the Ind Tents & they traded 2 more Buffalo & came home – our Mens women came here having dried a good deal of Meat for themselves as they talk of settling at the Colony. got home the Last of our fresh meat

3rd *Wednesday* at 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ AM Self & James McIntosh¹¹⁴ with a Cariole went to the forks on a visit to Mr Sutherland – Mr Laidlaw also accompany us and Pisk Kipling who has a load of Provisions for Mr Sutherland. overtook the Men who went away yesterday at 3 PM & put up in company 7 Miles short of the Bad woods a little before Sun Set. – left James Inkster in Charge of the House – The men to get charcoal burnt & Ice cut to lay by our spring stock of Meat in our Ice house. snow at times in the Day – put up at 5 PM –.

4th *Thursday*. Left our encampment at 4 $\frac{2}{3}$ AM – and left Pisk & the loaded sled at Bad woods – where we met 5 Manetoba men going to the Pine Creek for meat – at Portage des Prarie met 7 Colony men going to Brandon House for Pimmican as the Buffalo has all left near Pambina – wrote a few Lines to James Inkster to make Pemmican for them and load them well – put up 12 Miles below portage point at 7 PM.

[Fo. 45]

Several of the freemen who were hunting for the Colony have large quantities of Meat on their stages, but as the Buffalo are gone far away they demand above double of the usual price – I hope soon the Colonists will be able to have plentiful crops & stand in little need of the assistance of the Freemen –

5th *Friday* – at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM we left our encampment and reached Birsay at 11 AM where we remained one hour and got breakfast – arrived at Mr Sutherlands at the Forks at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM. all well – but little Provisions.

9th *Tuesday*. At 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM left the Forks with McIntosh – & put up in our old encampment insight of the Portage point at 7 PM – stopped at Birsay an Hour & got breakfast; The freemen there had all come in from the Buffalo, having laid up a Good stock & some of them are moving to the spots they intend to build at: Mr McDonald & Laidlaw went away yesterday from the forks with a boy – They intend going to see Mr Brown, but would not acquaint us that we might have written to him – The boy accompanies us till he meets their people coming with Provisions from Brandon House. cold weather for this season.

10th *Wednesday*. at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got away & reached Musk rat Creek at 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ – left it at 12 & only got to the Bad woods at Sun set where we put up. found here 2 of the

¹¹⁴ Fidler here means Robert McKintosh/MacKintosh, not James McIntosh. There is no other McIntosh in the district and Fidler's comments later in this journal make it clear that Robert is meant here. Robert was born about 1796 (age 24 in 1820-21) and came from Logie, Scotland. He joined the HBC in 1818 as a Labourer and was posted to Brandon House. As Fidler comments later, MacKintosh was sent to the Stone Indians to learn their language and by 1821 is posted to Beaver Creek as the Interpreter for the Stone Indians. He continues on as Interpreter at Swan River until 1825-26, and in 1826 returns home. HBCA B.22/d/6-12; B.239/204-216a; B.239/g/4-6.

Manetoba men going to their hunting Tent – Snow most part of the Day which detained us much

11th *Thursday* at 2 AM we started all in company & stoped 1¼ hours for Breakfast at 7 AM passed the Pine Creek at 3 PM. before this met 3 Canadians going to the Forks with another Packet from the Athapescow – parted with the two Manneroba Men 3 Miles East side Pine Creek – arrived at Brandon House at 8¾ PM – very cold weather in the evening – some Stone Indians had been in during my absence – met the Colony men ⅓ of the way from the Pine creek to the Bad woods loaded with Pimmican 23 Bags. The men at the House emp^dabt making Charoal

[Fo. 45d]

12th *Friday.* Smith daily making Nails – The Cooper has got 3 stroaks [strakes] round each of the other two & last Boats – The Men has got half our Ice to put in the Ice House to preserve the meat in the Summer. This day 3 Men and a boy came from Beaver Creek House – two of them is to go to the Forks with Provisions and the other to return with Goods to Beaver creek They started with 7 Horses to bring here for the Colony, but one fell by the way the 2nd Day (they have been 7 Days in coming) & another left 10 Miles from this House. – Our Men here all busily employed in getting wood &c for Charcoal. –

13th *Saturday* Mens employ the same. & got Ice out of the river a few Indians came in but have very little. the 8th Inst 6 Sleds of Colonists came here for more dry provisions

14th *Sunday.* All the Indians returned except one Tent

15 *Monday* Put the Colonists to work to make Pimmican – Yesterday McIntosh & our hunter brought here our 2 Carts from the Hunting Tent 2 Men still hawling out Stockades &c &c to the rivers edge – made 13 bags Pimmican – all hands put Ice into the Ice House – except the Trades people on Saturday sent 2 Men with provisions to Mr Sutherland; stowed by all our meat – 2 Indians came here but have very little

16 *Tuesday.* The Colonists returned with their Sleds well loaded of Dry provisions – to enable them to continue their farming before they can receive supplies by water from Pambina or this River. 2 Crees came here with a few furs – men variously employed & one Man cutting down 100 Stockades more that we may be certain of having enough. McIntosh badly.

- 17th *Wednesday.* McIntosh pulling Oakum. one Man with the Smith drawing out Iron for Nails – 2 Indians came here they have very little – all the Stone Indians that Traded here this winter have filled their pound full having got into it near 1400 Buffalo – they have gone to the N side this river ½ way to Beaver Creek House – very cold weather these several days past. The other men employed about the Charcoal making
- [Fo. 46]
- 18th *Thursday* Smith & McIntosh drawing out Iron into rods for Nail making. sent one Man to assist the other 3 in cutting wood for building roofing sticks &c – & 2 is constantly employed in hawling them out.
- 19 *Friday.* 3 Canadians came from the Forks & Mr Provencher the high priest¹¹⁵ accompanied them up. he sleeps at the Canadian House but to get all his victuals here – he soon came over after his arrival & got Dinner – but as this is Lent, we luckily have 4 Jackfish in the House – we shall accomodate him in the best manner the place can furnish him – The Canadians have brought up 3 Kegs of rum. – also received a Letter from Mr Sutherland informing that Mr McPherson¹¹⁶ a Canadian & Indian Lad were drowned last month at Rain Lake in crossing the river in a Canoe near a fall where it did not freeze – by the Canoe upsetting. McPhersons body was found next day. – The Athapescow packet of ours left that House 2 Days before he was drowned. – a Cree arrived here with 38 MB in good furs, the best Hunter we have seen this year Men as before attending coal making – we lighted the Kiln on Tuesday.
- 20th *Saturday.* Men’s employ as before. very cold weather.
- 21 *Sunday.* Mass said at French House, some of us attended, all the freemen nearly with their wives and Children; 25 Children baptised and he said prayers twice afterwards. so this was a very busy day with him there were upwards of 140 present of all ages & sexes – he dined & supped here as usual – supplied him in several things for his Journey to Riviere Qu’Appelle in the eating & drinking way – wrote letters to Mess^{rs} Finlayson & McKay to treat him in the best manner they were able –
- 22nd *Monday.* The Priest & 7 Canadians went to Riviere Qu’Appelle. Set 2 Sawyers to cut boards in case we require a Batteaux building to carry down the Provisions

¹¹⁵ Joseph-Norbert Provencher (1787-1853) was one of the two Catholic priests sent to the Red River Settlement in 1818 by Bishop Plessis of Quebec. They had been invited by Lord Selkirk to open a mission there and were given a grant of land on the east side of Red River, at the Forks (St. Boniface). Provencher was appointed Bishop and vicar general for the northwest in 1819. He would be responsible for attracting the Oblates and Grey Nuns to the northwest. He died at St. Boniface in 1853. Lucien Lemieux, “Provencher, Joseph-Norbert,” *DCB Online*.

¹¹⁶ Donald McPherson. See earlier citation.

& Furs traded here in addition to our two new Boats built here – 2 Men hawling out Stockades &c to the rivers edge. 2 Men attending the Charcoal Kiln – one Man with the Smith & 1 with the Carpenter 2 Hawling wood

[Fo. 46d]

2 cutting it. all busily employed – The Canadians have taken up with them 3 kegs rum they brought lately from the Forks – All the Freemen & families returned to their Tents – they are all directed to go down with their families to the Forks, but as that is a poor place for living, some of them demur. Traded a few good furs from one of the freemen.

23rd *Tuesday*: Men as yesterday – The Women made 1704 Candles weighing 325 lb to take down for the use of the low Country as it is quite unnecessary to have Candles from England: Thumbby & 2 other Crees came in but have very little with them. he brought back two Horses stolen by the Stone Inds last fall from here – but obliged to pay him more than their original cost.

24 *Wednesday*. Quenched the charcoal Kiln & find there is not $\frac{1}{3}$ of it burnt, owing to none of our people understanding the business – Men as before. – The Men came home having finished hawling all the stockades, roofing sticks, ridge poles & other wood to the river edge ready to raft down in the spring

25th *Thursday*. a very bad snowy drifting Day – men employed picking oakum – Smith & Carpenter at their respective duties

26 *Friday*. at 9 AM our 2 Men who went down with Provisions to Mr Sutherland returned – one of them has got both his feet froze this morning owing to his not drying his Socks. The Men cutting more wood for Charcoal.

27th *Saturday*. Sent 2 Men down to the forks with 700 lb Dry Provisions on the 2 Sleds for Mr Sutherland – as he is now obliged to support Mr Stitt & the People with him at Dead river. and no Buffalo is to be had at Pambina – Men finished piling the charcoal kiln & covered it & set fire to it – 2 Men const^y employed ab^t Boat building – one Man with the Smith drawing out Iron for Nails – put by goods to send to Beaver Creek House tomorrow. The 2 Sawyers helping to finish the Coal Kiln that we may be able to keep the Smith const^y at Nail Making – &c &c. Traded a Horse from Thumbby last Night – we got the Horse left by Jn^o Favil¹¹⁷ at Moose hill lately.

¹¹⁷ John Favil/Favel first comes into view when he shows up in the Brandon House accounts of 1811-12, as a Labourer making only 8£ per annum. From 1813 to 1815 he is posted to Qu'Appelle House, and in 1815-16 he is a Labourer at Turtle River, where it is noted that he is a "tolerable Boatman but impudent." From 1816 to 1818 he is a Labourer at Fort

- 28th *Sunday.* at 1 PM Governor Williams arrived here from Cumberland House which place he left 1st Ins^t Mr Donald Ross¹¹⁸ also accompanied him & three Men from Beaver Creek House; They came from our house at the Red Deers river direct to Carlton House up this River in 4 Days without passing by Swan river the usual route, but much the greater distance; one of our Men returned I sent away yesterday – says the Snow is very deep – & wishes to have some to accompany them: Sent two Men to bring all our horses home from above in case the Stone Indians steal them, as many are Tenting up above them.
- 29th *Monday* Sent the Man back again to take the provisions to the Forks. also sent 2 Men away 4 Miles below the House out of the way of the Stone Indians. Two men sawing boards – one Man attending the Charcoal Kiln, one Man assisting the Smith to split & draw out Iron for Nails, Charles repairing a Carriole for the Governor as he soon intends going down to the Forks. James Inkster the Boat builder, & one Man constantly at that duty, others hawling firewood.
- 30th *Tuesday.* Mens employ as yesterday & the 2 Men who went with the Horses cutting firewood. Traded 2 horses from Inds. a 2 Gall Keg Leward Island Rum each. The 3 Men returned to Bea: Creek
- 31st *Wednesday.* at 9½ AM The Governor in Chief went away for the Forks, sent 3 Men with him – Mr Ross also accompanied them an Indian came here with a few furs Charles Fidler assisting the Boat builder. The other men at the House variously employed

April 1819

- 1st *Thursday.* Snow this Morning – men variously employed at the House, 2 still sawing:

Hibernia, and from 1818 to 1823, he is Boatman at Beaver Creek and Brandon House. In 1823-24, it is noted that he goes free. At this point we lose sight of him, but the 1829 Red River Census lists John Favell's wife. Presumably, he died before this. HBCA B.22/1-6; B.239/d/165-216a; B.236/g/3-4; E.5/3.

¹¹⁸ Donald Ross (1797-1852) was born at Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, Scotland, to Roderick Ross and Janet Mackenzie. He joined the HBC in 1816 as a writer, and was posted first to York Factory. In 1817-18, was posted to Cumberland House where he stayed as a Clerk until 1823. In 1821-22, George Simpson noted that he was a very promising steady young man, and a good Clerk. In 1824, he returned to York Factory, where he stayed until 1828. In that year, he accompanied George Simpson, as his secretary, to the Columbia District where they wintered at Fort Vancouver. When Ross returned to the Northern Department, he was promoted to Chief Trader and granted a Furlough to Scotland. When he returned to service, he was put in charge of Norway House, where he remained for the rest of his career. He became a Chief Factor in 1840 and he stayed at Norway House until 1850 when he was granted a Furlough. This Furlough was extended in 1851 for reasons of ill health, and he would stay at Lower Fort Garry until he died in 1852. He married Mary McBeath in 1820, and they had at least five children. HBCA B.239/d/188-216a; B.239/g/2-39; B.239/f/12.

2nd *Friday.* The Indian who came here 31st Traded & went away – The Mens employ as before – The accounts brought by the Governor in Chief that up the Saskatchewan the Prospects for provisions are much more promising than in the Fall – but that the Indians there dispute much amongst themselves and the Traders even apprehend danger to Summer at Hudsons House & they mean to abandon that place for the season on that

[Fo. 47d]

account. The Muddy river & Soxeau Indians here brought a good many Beaver skins to Trade last fall. – at an outpost from Edmonton Ho. of ours & the NW people – Some Stone Indians came in the day time to steal our Horses, when the Traders fired & killed one of them – The Indians returned the fire & shot one of the Servants thro the thigh – who then made the best of their way for the House in the mean time the Indians stole the whole of the Horses belonging to both parties – who then all abandoned the Houses and went down to Edmonton House – In the afternoon Mr Provencher the Priest returned here from Riviere Qu’Appelle, in company with some Canadians – he has baptized 15 Children there & 25 at this place, & he desires all the freemen with their families will come down to the Forks this Spring. The NW intend build^s 10 Batteaux & our people 8 – They have got a large Store built near us at Beaver Creek –

3rd *Saturday* The Priest dined here – Quenched the Charcoal kiln – very little Coal – owing to none of our people understanding little about it, by which much labor is uselessly lost: yesterday one Man came from Mannetobaw with Axes to repair & a Letter from Mr Brown, they have got very little Trade there: – the Smith repaired their Hatchets, Chisels &c. 3 Men employed at the Boat building & 2 Sawying as usual.

4th *Sunday.* The Free Canadian young Men came to hear Mass but none of the Old Men Women & Children Priest supped here – he intends going down to the Forks tomorrow in Company with 2 Canadians – he has got 3 Horses as a present from Mr McBean¹¹⁹ the NW Partner at River Qu’Appelle. Tom Kipling¹²⁰ returned to his House with every thing he brought put in good repair

¹¹⁹ John McBean. See previous citation.

¹²⁰ Thomas Kipling was a son of John Kipling Senior, and was 18 years of age in 1820-21. He had been in the HBC service for 7 years. He shows up first as a Labourer at Brandon House in 1814-15, and the following year it is noted that he is “a good interpreter and smart boy”. Thereafter he is found in the Manitoba District, primarily at Big Point with his Father, as a Runner and Interpreter and was considered “active but fond of liquor”. His last year is 1820-20, and it is assumed that he quit the service with his father in 1821, and settled in the Red River Settlement. HBCA B.51/d/4; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-216a.

5th *Monday.* on Saturday one Man looking at the Horses all well Sent 2 Men to get Oak to Saw into Boards for the new Gates of the Fort – 2 Sawying as usual. – 2 Boat building, others variously employed. at 8 AM the Priest went for the Forks with 2 Canadians, wrote by him a Letter for Mr Sutherland

[Fo. 48]

6th *Tuesday.* Ducks first seen, being late for the Season – Brought home all the Charcoal. only very little for the quantity of Wood piled up, owing to none of us understanding well the method Got 10 Oak logs to saw into Planks for New Gates to the Fort – The sawyers came home having finished sawying the 40 Poplar logs for various uses. – Tyed up one fathom of Tobacco & sealed it & gave to Blindy, he with 4 others are going to the Mandan Villages – this Tobacco is sent as a present to the Mandan chief, and also sent him word that at the Full Moon just after the Missourie freezes over which will be the Beginning of December next we will send men there with Trading Goods and for all those who have any furs to barter to carry them to the upper Village & there meet us – and in case the Americans should go to settle there this summer as reported they intend to do – for the Natives to meet us at the Dogs house hill which is nearly in the direct road from this House to their Villages – Fitted out 2 Crees in every necessary to go far up the Soorie to kill Beaver – Two of our people came here from Beaver Creek House with Axes to repair by our Smith – They say there is great plenty of Buffalo all along the Road – Made Lye for Soap – Smith as usual making Nails for the Beaver Creek Batteaux – Cooper put the Gunwails into the 3rd new Boat – Rain in the evening – Snow still deep. The other men variously employed.

7th *Wednesday.* 2 Men hawled home the Oak Logs for Gates &c. 2 Men sawying boats cealing at the house & Plank to make 2 outer Gates. 2 Men cutting firewood – Smith repaired the Hatchets for Beaver Creek House & nail making for them –

8th *Thursday.* Sent & brought all the Horses home as the ground is bare of Snow in places, and the Stone or other Indians may steal them – one Man attends them in the Day and all at night to be constantly locked up in the Yard. The other men variously employed & 2 constantly sawying &c.

9th *Friday.* at 10 AM our 5 Men & Halcro¹²¹ the Smith returned from the Forks. the latter has been there 5 weeks making plow Irons &c

[Fo. 48d]

¹²¹ Thomas Halcro. See previous citation.

the Colony Smith could not manage to make – received Letters from York Factory all well there – plenty of Deer but poor prospects of Trade – The Colony can now get very little provisions from Pambina – as the freemen seems to refuse hunting any more for the Colony – as they say they are not paid according to their agreement last fall – early this Morning the two people who came from Beaver creek returned with all the Nails we had made, being sufficient for 9 Batteaux they have received in the whole – Left off hawling firewood as the Ground is now Bare in many places.

10th *Saturday.* Our Smith making Nails & Bolts &c for our 3 new Boats built here – Sent away 11 Men to cut collect & pile up 7 Cords of wood to make more Charcoal as what we have will not be sufficient to finish our work this Spring. they also finished covering it & was only absent 7 Hours – one Man remains at Home to Cook & take care of the Mens little property as several things are missing this winter, supposed to be stolen by the Indians. Yorstons Guide & 10 Other Indians arrived here on their way to the Height of Land towards the Mandan Villages for the purpose of Killing Beaver – they have nothing with them. Blindy who went to the Mandans a few Days ago by whom I sent a present of Tobacco & a Message to the Chief returned – having been only part of the way either fear or laziness, or both was the cause of their sudden return – I got the Tobacco again.

11th *Sunday.* Fitted out the Indians in Ammunition &c. they also got a Little rum from here & the NW House to encourage them to exert themselves well in Killing Beaver – They only went ½ mile off before they finished the whole, when they all returned and was very troublesome to get more – sat up most part of the Night on that account – Traded from them 2 Tents, but only got one of them the other we are to receive 3 weeks hence Yorstons Guide the NW Chief as usual was very troublesome Hot weather –

[Fo. 49]

12th *Monday.* All the Indians except 3 pursued their Journey to look after Beaver – Finished sawying all the Gates – cleaned out the warehouses & took an exact account of all our Cloth Blankets &c up stairs – Smith employed at his duty – 2 Men sleeps at the Coal Kiln to attend the burning of it. Charles & James disputed much – to send the former down to the Forks with Horses & to be out of the way – 2 Colony Men came here for Horses we have sold them for 5£ each – the Horses all to be regularly lotted – The Indians stole my Thermometer last Night – so cannot carry on the Meteorological Journal compleatly without it – Thumbby our Cree Chief pitched away who has been here this long time – Lent him a Horse & Tent for a short time Cleaned out part of the yard.

13th *Tuesday.* Charles Fidler instead of going down to the Forks with 2 horses for the Governor & Mr Sutherland in company with the Colony men – went away to the Indian Tents & James Inksters woman left her Husband & followed him – Men at the House variously employed – Lotted all our Horses; the Colony is to have 10 of them; 6 Still remaining here.

14th *Wednesday.* Sent away the 2 Colony Men & Smith with their Horses, also James Inkster sent his 4 Horses down in care of one of our Men who takes 2 Down belonging to us for the Governor & Mr Sutherland to ride on, being selected before the rest was allotted. also sent a 10 Skin Tent down – as the Horses as usual every spring – so I expect they will be 6 Days on their Journey down to the Colony. – Yesterday & this Day packed furs in the Inner press – Laughing Man & 3 other Indians came here with principally Beat Meat, engaged an Indian & sent him away with Letters to Beaver Creek & the Elbow

15th *Thursday.* Traded with the Indians & they all returned. Packed 25 Bundles of Furs in the Large press and 4 more in the Inner one – being the whole we at present have in the House There is 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ Packs of Beaver Skins only – which is a precious article particularly in these parts, La pane came here Yesterday with Beat

[Fo. 49d]

meat traded it for rum & again returned

16th *Friday.* Packed the last 4 Bundles of furs in the Large press – 29 at present in all – Smith & one Man making Rudder Irons for the Batteaux. – 2 Men finishing the Fur bundles – tyed up a bundle of Saganappie 1800 fathoms very useful for tying packages at the Factory to carry Inland – which saves a great deal of Money in hemp Line – One Man making Soap daily – other men variously employed.

17th *Saturday.* Early this Morning – found 2 Logs broke down out of a Door way – that has been logged & plastered up these 8 Years. and on examining our Goods we find 7 yards of Red Corded Cloth & 2 Yards of white Baize missing, but nothing else – I strongly suspect that some of the People from the NW House has done it – I sent over to the Master there to inquire about it, but could receive no satisfactory account. – 6 Brulees there he tells me is to go away to Riviere Qu'appelle tomorrow to assist navigating down their Batteaux – finished reeling, tallying & Marking our 29 Packs of furs already made – Sent away three of our Men with Carts & Horses near Pine Fort 20 Miles below to hew & bring home Pine Oars: – 2 Men constantly making the Necessary Iron work for the

Boats – Cut nose¹²² an Indian came here with a Colony horse he has had in his care ever since the Colony Men early in December abruptly went back – he has taken great care of it for which I made him a suitable present for his meritorious conduct as an example to other Indians who find any thing belonging to us & who take good care of it will be rewarded The Indian also brot here 10 pair of Snow shoe frames I told him to make in the winter – they will be ready for next Season – he very soon went back to his Tent – 5 or Six Canadian Brulees went from this to Riviere Qu’Appelle, they took several Horses and one Cart with them – Some few holes in the River Ice – The Maple Trees are now running well – but I expect this will be a scarce Season for Sugar –

[Fo. 50]

- 18th *Sunday.* Henderson went yesterday to the Indian Tents to bring home James Inkster woman, who lately ran away. she says she will never return to him again – tho’ he has allways been very kind to her –
- 19th *Monday.* Quenched the Coal Kiln – James Inkster & 1 Man caulking the small boat ready to cross the river when it is clear of Ice – Smith repairing horse Irons. – English Lad came here & nearly paid all his Debt.
- 20th *Tuesday.* Smith as yesterday. Carpenter & his mate Henderson caulking the small Boat & finished her. – 6 Men made 52 Bags of Pimmican 80 lb each. at noon the river Ice floated past no rise scarsely in the water – many thick drifts of Snow still unmelted – hot day and windy.
- 21st *Wednesday.* Men Made 52 Bags Pimmican – English Lad & family returned, gave him a small present of rum & ammunion on account of nearly paying all his debt – Launched the small Boat & crossed over the Indian & his family – There are now 7 Men remaining at the NW House. – our 3 Men came home with 16 Oars & 2 Sweeps roughly chopped.
- 22nd *Thursday.* 2 Men brought home all the Charcoal which I hope will be enough to do all our business this Spring – Made 50 Bags of Pimmican – Smith & one Man making Stem plates for the Boats Cooper & 1 Man caulking one of the Large Batteaux – All the Ice seems to have passed – and the water is low for so soon in the Season & I fear we shall have great difficulty as well as loss in getting down all the Provisions &c procured here & at Beaver Creek – In the afternoon the Indian I sent a short time ago to Beaver Creek returned – our people there has began to make their pemmican – the NW have already built there a good Store, & cut down wood for Stockades & hawling them home – The Indians

¹²² Cut Nose, or Pegwis, was a Saulteaux Chief friendly to the “whites” and the Colony.

within these 3 winters while alone has been so very troublesome to them which occasions their removing close along side us. Paid the Indian for take^s up the letters to Beaver Creek – our people expects to leave there about the 7th or 10th of May. The Breast a Stone Indian Chief & band

[Fo. 50d]

about 60 Tents crossed the Rapid river about 30 or 40 Miles above here – they intend to make dry provisions & come here about the 10th May – Cap^t Grant & 15 Bungees gone to the Mandans as friends.

23rd *Friday.* Carried up all the Charcoal – & 3 Men afterward at Oar Making. – Made 50 Bags more Pimmican – finished caulking & Tarring the 1st large Batteaux – the other men at the House variously employed.

24th *Saturday* 5 Men as usual making Pimmican & nearly finished the last of our fat – we shall have beat meat here to make 100 Bags Pimmican yet & I hear they have an over proportion of Fat at Beaver Creek, so I will write to bring it all down & have it mixed here; 3 Men making Oars. 14 Young Stone Indian Men came here – and remained 4 Hours & went toward the Mandan Villages – I suspect they are going there to steal Horses or kill any straglers of them. They traded a Horse here with one of the Men – & a spark caught ½ pint powder he had got as part payment & burnt his Jacket & hair & other parts a good deal but not dangerous – gave them all a Dram & 4 Inches Tobacco each & I believe they belong to the Breasts Gang – but we are very badly off – not a single person being able to converse the least with them in their own Language & they understand no Cree.

25th *Sunday.* Told 5 Men to get themselves ready to go down to the Portage des Praries to fetch one of our Boats up to carry down what will be left after loading the other 2 New Large Batteaux – They are to go there tomorrow in the Boat I am going to send down to the Forks with Provisions – as that is a poor place – & I expect they will have nearly expended all we sent them this Winter & Spring. at 2 PM Thomas Fidler came here from Manetoba & says both ours & the Canadian Master there told him that both our Boats were burnt to ashes, that the Crew so very preceptately left last fall – so we shall be under the necessity of building a Batteaux here – and have very little wood fitting for the purpose – but must be under the necessity of

[Fo. 51]

taking up the flooring & partitions in the House – as the water & Season will not allow us time to saw new Boards or rather Plank. The Men behaved in a very improper manner in leaving them & Cargo, before the River entirely set fast – the weather was so very favorable afterward that they could have got the

whole safely here & even a considerable distance farther if required Thomas Fidler tells me they have at Big Point only 2 Packs of Furs. 3 at Mannetobaw – 2 at Halketts¹²³ House and 8 at Fort Dauphin – They have lately got Beat meat & fat from the Indians sufficient to make 26 Bags Pemmican – so they will require no supply from us for their Summers Journey down & back from the Sea Coast – our Winters hunter came here – and as he is still due us a few Skins I agreed him to Hunt for this House during Summer – at 2 Skins p[er] Cow & 3 Loads of Ammunition

26th *Monday.* Strong Gale at SE & Hot. finished caulking our 2nd & last large Batteaux – Sent 3 Men to get & bring home Batteaux Timbers also 4 others for all the Boards & Slabs at the Saw pit for the same purpose, and every exertion must now be made to get a Batteaux built as soon as possible before the water becomes too shallow – Smith & one Man drawing out rods every scrap we can find to make Nails for her – as the Boards are very short 5 Len[g]ths instead of 2 – so many more will be required – 5 Bungee Men & 2 women who went away this Day fortnight to kill Beaver towards the Mandan Villages returned here not having seen a single one – I believe fear put them back short of the place they intended to go to – The 4 others still behind have made Skin Canoes & are descending the Sourie but little is expected from them as they embarked below where the Beaver are – They say the Sioux have been tenting most part of the Winter there & have killed the Beaver – but I suspect this is only told us as a cover to their fears. – and as an excuse for returning so abruptly; They only remained here 4 hours & went away to Join their families about a Days walk from here Water rose 6 Inches these 2 Days – but this day stationary.

[Fo. 51d]

27th *Tuesday.* Yesterday in the afternoon the Laughing Man & the Tobacco came here & brought back James Inksters woman to him – he gave them for their Trouble ½ a 10 Gallon Keg of Indian rum besides other things – Charles remains at the Indian Tents they came from this Day. – one of ours & 4 Men belonging to Mr Sutherland at the Forks came here, to assist & enable us to send Men up to help the Beaver Creek Batteaux down – They have been 5 Days on their Journey. James Inkster much wishes to go down to the Forks – but we cannot spare him till the Batteaux is made – Loaded the 2 Large Batteaux built here with 122 Pieces each – Men variously employed in working at the new Batteaux

¹²³ Halketts House was a short-lived post in the Manitoba district at St. Martins Lake in the Manitoba Interlake. It was built by Peter Fidler in 1816, and operated until at least 1820. See map that accompanies Fidler's Report of the Manitoba District for 1820. HBCA B.51/e/1.

28th *Wednesday.* at 8½ AM sent down our 2 Batteaux with 3 Men each – as I fear they & the Colony will require provisions before we go down & we hear they have none at Pambina – report says that 2 of Mr Grahams men have been lately killed & plundered of their Goods by the Bungees of Leech Lake on our peoples return to the Sioux country from Fort Douglas. 4 Men constantly working at the Batteaux & 2 at Nail making for her – but have I fear even to[o] little Iron to finish her Took down the flooring above my room & partitions in the Guard room to make the Batteaux. 4 Men getting ready to go to Beaver Creek tomorrow as they wrote for them to be there 2nd May. 3 Men made 9 Bags of Saskatom & Hard berry Pimmican & all the fat now used. frequent showers of rain.

29th *Thursday.* sent away this Morning Thomas Fidler & 3 Men to Beaver Creek House – 2 nail making – 1 Cleaned up the Warehouses – 4 Men at work at the Batteaux and nearly finished making her bottom – water rose 3 Inches these 2 days – Much rain in the Night & 3 Inches Snow on the Ground this Morning – Thumbby came here to leave some of his property. he says several Indians will be shortly at the House – to Kill Sturgeon which generally ascend about the 1st Week in May – Cold weather – Strong wind at SW – snow all gone nearly

[Fo. 52]

30th *Friday* – Mens Employ as yesterday. Rain at times & Cold.

May 1819

1st *Saturday* Got ⅔ of the sides of the Batteaux done – water rose a little; very cold weather. The last 4 & Yorstons Guide the Beaver hunters returned having amongst the whole only 10 Skins – they say the Sioux have killed all the Beaver this Winter – but I believe its only a story of their own fabrication – as I think fear is the sole cause of their unsuccessful return. Traded a Tent for Rum in the Evening – also one Otter & 1 Beaver – we have now not 3 Quarts of Liquor in the House Smith employed at his duty.

2nd *Sunday* about Sunrise it began to Snow & continued till 10 AM when it became fair – & fell 7 Inches. light winds at ENE – Jn^o Lyons one of our Freemen came here yesterday with some Beat Meat & fat to Trade.

3rd *Monday* – Many of the Crees & some Stone Indians pitched their Tents ½ mile off on North side the river – on account of firewood – they have nothing with them for Trade – gave them all a bit of Tobacco – they also asked much for rum – Finished the Batteau ready for Caulking – she is 35 feet long & 7 feet 3 Inches wide in the bottom – we have used upwards of 1000 Nails ab^t her, the

boards being 5 Lengths whereas they ought to have been only 2. – The other men variously employed about the House.

4th *Tuesday*. Caulked & Fatted instead of pitching or Tarring the Batteau & all ready to embark tomorrow – Cold cloudy weather – Snow still on the Ground. – Water fell 2 Inches these 2 Days In the afternoon – 3 Men & 2 Boys came here from Beaver Creek House with 15 Horses belonging to the Company and 4 Carts – The whole to go down to the Forks to remain all Summer to be ready to bring up Goods by Land. – They have been since 27th Ult. on their Journey – They also found the Horse left in February last & brought it here – They came away sooner than they intended – as a party of 14 Stone Indian young Men made a bold push 2 Days before to take away all the NWCo Horses from 2 Men who was looking after them near the House – the

[Fo. 52d]

people from the House saw this when they all immediately Sallied out armed & fired several shots at the Indians – they returned also several Shots, but at last all precipitately retreated. 2 of the Indians thought to have been then wounded – all the Horses were preserved. Our people expect to leave Beaver Creek 5th May – but they had still the 8th Batteau to build, the whole to caulk & fat – 120 Bags more pimmican to make – all the Dry Meat & Salt Tongues near 100 Bundles of 80 lb each & their Packs of Furs & Buffalo robes to tye up. – 2 Men has lately returned from the Elbow – Mr Cook¹²⁴ then ready to start for this place. – he is expected to Arrive with his 5 Craft at Beaver Creek House before our people leaves it – The NW are busily employ^d there in dragging down their Provisions ready to embark –

5th *Wednesday* – Loaded the Batteau with Provisions & sundries about 168 pieces of 80 lb each – she draws 17½ Inches water and at 1½ PM sent her away with James Inkster, Mr Kennedy,¹²⁵ & 3 Men – I was obliged to put in the 3rd Man

¹²⁴ This is probably William Hemmings Cook (c. 1766-1846) who was in charge of the Swan River District, headquartered at Fort Hibernia, close to the Elbow of the Assiniboine. He would return to Forks in the spring of 1819 and resign to settle in the Colony. He was born at St. Andrews, Holborn, London, England and joined the HBC in 1786. He worked first as a writer at York Factory, then worked inland for the next fifteen years. He became Master at Chatham House from 1791-94, in charge of Nelson River posts from 1797 to 1809, and then returned to York Factory where he was Chief in charge from 1809 to 1815. He retired briefly to Oxford Lake, but returned in 1816. In 1818-19 he was in charge of the Swan River district, retiring in April of 1819. He settled at Red River and had several Native wives and eight children. His son Joseph, worked with him in the Swan River district in his last year, and retired with him. Cook died in 1846. HBCA BS. Irene Spry, "Cook, William Hemmings," *DCB Online*.

¹²⁵ This is probably Alexander Kennedy (1781-1832) who at this time was Master at Cumberland House. He was born in the Orkney Islands at Braehead, S. Ronaldsay, and joined the HBC in 1798. He served at York Factory as a writer until he was made Master at Cumberland House in 1805. He was then Master at Moose Lake (1806-07), Drunken Lake (1807-08), Fort Hibernia (1808-11), Brandon House (1811-12), Red Deer River (1812-13), before returning to Cumberland House (1813-19). Thereafter he served at Norway House, Cumberland House, Spokane House, and Fort George from 1820 to

to assist in case she got aground to help to get her off again. – Water fell 2½ Inches yesterday. – Sent some Goods to Trade Furs, Sugar &c on the Journey down – but this has been a bad season for Sugar making the thaw being so long beginning & then continuing so rapidly without frosty nights – The Breast a Stone Indian chief sent his paper here for Tobacco – sent him one fathom – he & band are near the Rapid river coming down here – and have some dry provisions with them. This is the Chief I intend to send McIntosh¹²⁶ a young Hand with to learn their Language as we have not a single person in the Service who can speak the Stone Indian Language – always being beholden to Indian women – to act as Interpreters – which is never so trusty as our own people – he is a very active, Industrious Young Man & can write a little – we expect them here in a few Days.

6th *Thursday.* Men at the House cleaning out the yard & about the Houses – Smith at his duty – all the Crees pitched near the House along with the rest – Charles Fidler came over here – I did not

[Fo. 53]

see or speak to him – wrote a Letter to Mr Sutherland at the Forks – & Charles is to take it there tomorrow – he went back with the Indians & slept at their Tents. – one of our Men Anderson¹²⁷ plowed & sowed 2½ Gallons Wheat. – we expect Wheat, Barley & Potatoes from Carlton House by Mr Cook. – Smith made us a new Drawing Knife. 2 Men constantly attending all the Horses – Thumbby the Cree Chief pitched his Tent alone near the Stockades – all the rest of the Crees & Inds some distance on the other side the river on account of firewood Six NW men came from the Forks to assist down with the Craft. – a Freeman lately died at Pambina – he has been badly most of the Winter, getting much strained in wrestling with a Bear of last spring – before he killed it as he had no weapon nor even a Knife with him – The Buffalo are also far from Fort Dair – 2 Crees reported to be killed by the Sioux. – All the Crees now here – and many Tents of Stone Indians – & we are few Men at the House – most all the Stone Indians from Qu'Appelle pitching down this way as they are afraid of an Attack from the Mandans and other Missouri Indians –.

7th *Friday.* Early this Morning Charles Fidler went with a Letter to Mr Sutherland at the Forks – sent by him One Horse to remain there – Men cleaning out the Inner Yard. – Strong wind at N. – Last night some Indians made a bold push

1825. He became Chief Factor in 1821. After several trips to England, he served briefly as Chief Factor at Albany (1826-29). He retired, with his family, to the Red River Settlement in 1830, but died of Typhus in England in 1832. He was married to Aggathas and Mary Isbister, and they had ten children. HBCA BS.

¹²⁶ Robert McKintosh. See previous citation.

¹²⁷ James Anderson. See previous citation.

to steal the Freemens Horses who are tenting about 12 Miles below this House, but were all drove away without taking a single one. – There are now near the House Upwards of 150 Tents of Creees & Stone Indians.

8th *Saturday* – 2 Men on hunting but returned unsuccessful – altho many Buffalo are still near us. – Mens employ as before – Smith making 2 Locks for Boxes – several Buffalo crossed the river in sight of the House. – Some freemen came here with Beat Meat Traded with them and they returned – Most part of them intend going down to the Forks to see the Priests

9th *Sunday*. Strong wind these several Days at NE – water falling a little daily – Traded a few Drest Buffalo skins from the Inds – Sent our Plow & Harrow to the NW to plant their Garden –

[Fo. 53d]

10th *Monday*. Some of the Freeman pitched to the House – Sent 5 Men up to Grand Rapid to assist our Beaver Creek Batteaux over. The few at the House variously Employed, fencing a small Garden to sow seeds in –

11th *Tuesday*. Fenced the Garden & sowed a variety of seeds – Tom Kipling came here yesterday from Manetobaw Lake – very windy weather daily –

12th *Wednesday*. Men as before.

13 *Thursday*. Mess^{rs} Finlayson & McKay arrived here, they have made a very large Trade in Provisions &c at Beaver Creek House. & the Batteaux 8 from there & 2 Boats & One Batteau with Mr Cook from the Elbow arrived in the afternoon

14th *Friday*. Took every thing out of the Batteaux & rubbed them over again with fat & loaded them again.

15 *Saturday* All the Craft went away for the Forks. –

16 *Sunday* – Early in the Morning Self & Mr Finlayson went for the forks in 2 Wood Canoes – also sent 3 Men & 3 boys by Land with near 20 Horses – Mr McKay¹²⁸ remains in Charge of the House & 4 Men with him –

P. Fidler

¹²⁸ John Richards McKay. See previous citation.