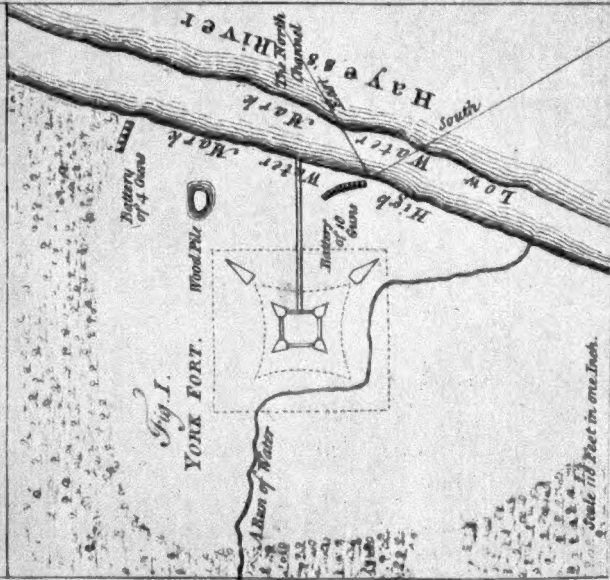
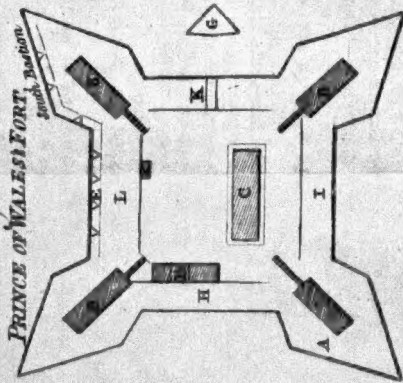


PLANS of YORK and PRINCE of WALES's FORTS



- A. Magazine
- B. Store Houses
- C. Dwelling House
- D. Office
- E. What is built of Stone Parapet
- F. Governors Cook Room
- G. A Gardening in behind the Gate.

Fig. II.



The Original Plans Ranquart was 43 Feet but the Gov. was sure that 35 Feet would do very well. I was ordered therefore to lay the Foundation 35 Feet thick as H. K. When the Cannon was 37 1/2 the run of the Wall so L was pulled down & Built up according to the Fort Plan M. I. and K not done yet.

Scale 114 Feet in one Inch

F
5697
.C5K6

THE FOUNDING OF CHURCHILL

Being the Journal of CAPTAIN JAMES KNIGHT,
Governor-in-Chief in Hudson Bay, from the
14th of July to the 13th of September, 1717

Edited, with a Historical Introduction and Notes,
by JAMES F. KENNEY, M.A., PH.D., F.R.Hist.S.,
Director of Historical Research and Publicity in the
Public Archives of Canada



WITH 5 ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO
THE HON. ROBERT JAMES MANION
M.C., M.D., C.M.
MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS
FOR
THE DOMINION OF CANADA
AT WHOSE DIRECTION
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TERMINAL PORT OF CHURCHILL
IS BEING COMPLETED
AND UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES
THE FIRST SHIPMENT OF CANADIAN WHEAT
WAS MADE THEREFROM
ON THE 18TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1931
THIS BOOK
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

THE Journal of the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading-post at Churchill river, now published for the first time, will, it is hoped, prove to be a worth-while addition to the scanty collection of original sources for the early history of Hudson bay that are available in print. The conversion of Churchill harbour into one of Canada's great ocean ports, an undertaking now approaching completion, may lend a certain timely interest to the document; but it has its own intrinsic value as a narrative of events and a picture of pioneer life in the Canadian northland, and also as an example of a class of records that are of fundamental importance for the story of the bringing of European civilization into that vast region. In the Introduction an attempt has been made to give the journal its setting in history and to indicate its significance, as well as to present a sketch, more nearly complete than has hitherto been possible, of that remarkable "adventurer of England," Captain James Knight.

The editor wishes to express his thanks to Dr. A. G. Doughty, Keeper of Public Records for the

Dominion of Canada, for permission to use the transcript of the Churchill journal and other documents in the Public Archives of Canada, and for valuable suggestions and advice; to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for assistance repeatedly given in verifying texts and supplying fresh information; to Dr. H. P. Biggar, Chief Archivist for Canada in Europe, and to Miss Doris G. Godfrey, of the staff of the Canadian Archives in London, for help in locating, and securing transcripts of, illustrative sources; to Professor Arthur S. Morton, of the University of Saskatchewan, for reading the manuscript and pointing out various emendations required therein; and to Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons for their courtesy and care in transmuting a text of curious character into the publication here presented. It should be unnecessary to add that none of these individuals or institutions bears any responsibility except for such merits as the book may possess.

JAMES F. KENNEY.

OTTAWA, CANADA,
18 *September*, 1931.

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| I. THE DISCOVERY OF CHURCHILL | 3 |
| II. THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AT CHURCHILL | 15 |
| III. CAPTAIN JAMES KNIGHT | 23 |
| IV. THE SECOND FOUNDING OF CHURCHILL | 49 |
| V. THE FATE OF CAPTAIN KNIGHT | 75 |
| VI. THE LATER HISTORY OF CHURCHILL | 90 |
| THE JOURNAL | 109 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 191 |
| INDEX | 201 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| | PAGE |
|---|--------------|
| JOSEPH ROBSON'S PLANS OF YORK FORT AND PRINCE OF WALES FORT | frontispiece |
| From Robson's <i>Account of six years residence in Hudson's Bay</i> (1752) | |
| "JENS MUNCK'S WINTER-HAVEN" AT CHURCHILL | 11 |
| From Munck's <i>Navigatio Septentrionalis</i> (1623) | |
| CAPTAIN KNIGHT'S WILL | facing 88 |
| From the original in Somerset House, London | |
| SAMUEL HEARNE'S VIEW OF PRINCE OF WALES FORT | ,, 104 |
| From Hearne's <i>Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the northern ocean</i> (1795) | |
| JOSEPH ROBSON'S PLAN OF CHURCHILL HARBOUR | ,, 112 |
| From Robson's <i>Account of six years residence in Hudson's Bay</i> (1752) | |

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the Introduction, and in the notes to the Journal, matter within double quotation marks is a reproduction, as nearly exact as is possible, of the original ; matter within single quotation marks has been more or less normalized in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Reference numbers within square brackets are to the pages of transcripts in the Public Archives of Canada. Dates prior to 1 January, 1751, are given in Old Style, except that the year is treated as beginning on the 1st of January, not the 25th of March.

I. THE DISCOVERY OF CHURCHILL

WHEN and by whom Hudson bay was first made known to Europeans is not certainly known. The vague evidence of early maps indicates that Hudson straits, at least, and perhaps the bay, had been found by some of the maritime peoples of the West—most probably the Portuguese—in the sixteenth century.¹ But the earliest clear and definite information we have is that of the voyage of Henry Hudson, who with his ship *Discovery*, outward bound from the Thames in search of a north-west route to Asia, sailed into the waters of the great inland sea on 3 August, 1610. Turning down the eastern coast, Hudson proceeded southward until he found himself blocked at the bottom of James bay. This lower bay and its western coast, possibly as far north as Cape Henrietta Maria, were examined, and then Hudson went into winter-quarters in the south-east corner, apparently not far from the site of the later trading-post of Rupert's House. When navigation opened in the following June part of the crew mutinied, cast Hudson and several of his men adrift in a shallop, and with great

¹ Cf. Llewelyn Powys, *Henry Hudson* (New York: 1928), p. 130. Ortelius's maps of 1570 show Hudson, or perhaps Ungava, bay with the legend "Baia dus medaus."

suffering and difficulty sailed the ship back to England. No punishment was inflicted on the survivors;² on the contrary, at least two of them, Robert Bylot, who navigated the *Discovery* homeward, and Abacuck Prickett, a landsman who has left an account of the voyage, and probably a third, Edward Wilson, the surgeon, were employed on the larger expedition that was sent out the following year.

Hudson's undertaking had been financed by an association made up of prominent noblemen of England and leading merchants of London, joined with the Muscovy and East India Companies. The report brought back of the successful passage of Hudson straits, and of the great sea which lay beyond, seems to have convinced every one that the north-west route had been discovered. The original association expanded into a company of some 288 persons, including many of the great dignitaries of the kingdom, to whom, on 26 July, 1612, King James I granted a charter under the title of the "Gouvernor and Company of the Merchaunts of London, Discoverers of the North-West Passage." Sir Thomas Smith was named first governor, and Henry, Prince of Wales, "Supreme Protector of the said Discovery and Company." When the charter was granted the new company's expedition was already three months on its way. It was under the command of Captain Thomas

² On 24 July, 1618, before the High Court of Admiralty sitting at Southwark in Surrey, four of them were brought to trial and found "not guilty." Cf. Powys, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-6, 190-8.

Button,³ "servant" of the Prince of Wales, and consisted of the ship *Resolution*, in which Button himself sailed, and Hudson's *Discovery*, of which a Captain John Ingram was master. The instructions, dated 12 April, 1612, and ostensibly drawn up by Prince Henry, directed Button to proceed to the western end of Hudson straits and then, "remembering that your end is West, we would have you stand over to the opposite Maine, in the Latitude of some 58 degrees, where, riding at some Headland, observe well the flood; if it come in SOUTHWEST, then you maie be sure the passage is that waie; yf from the NORTH OR NORTH-WEST, your course must be vpp into it."⁴ It was fully realized that a considerable portion of the barrier of the American continent still lay ahead, but no doubt seems to have been entertained that an open channel would be found leading into the Pacific ocean.

The Button expedition sailed from Gravesend on or about 15 April, 1612, passed safely into and through Hudson straits, and, striking directly across sea on a course south-west by west, came up against the land

³ He was a native of Glamorganshire who had served for many years in the navy under Queen Elizabeth. After his return from Hudson bay he was knighted, and held for a time the post of Admiral of the King's ships on the Irish coast. He died in April, 1634.

⁴ The charter, instructions, and other documents relating to the North-West Passage Company are published in Miller Christy (ed.), *The voyages of Captain Luke Foxe and Captain Thomas James*, Vol. II (London: Hakluyt Society, 1894), pp. 635 seqq. The editor's introduction gives a valuable summary of our knowledge regarding the early exploration of Hudson bay.

at a point which they estimated as $60^{\circ} 41' N.$, somewhat to the north of Churchill. Button in disappointment named the spot "Hopes Checked," and turned southward, doubtless because his instructions directed him to go to the latitude of 58° . On 15 August they arrived off the mouth of Nelson river, in approximately 57° , and, putting in for repairs, found themselves compelled to remain for the winter. Many of the crews died, among them Button's sailing-master, Francis (?) Nelson, after whom the place was named. The larger ship, the *Resolution*, was abandoned, and in the following summer exploration to the northward was resumed in the *Discovery*. By 15 July, 1613, they were again at "Hopes Checked," and from there Button continued his fruitless search for a western passage as far north as 65° , in the channel which he called "Ne Ultra" but which was later named "Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome." Then he turned and set sail for home, arriving in London in the latter part of September.

Both in going down to Port Nelson and in returning therefrom Button must have passed by Churchill, but it is quite probable that it was not noticed, since the entrance is not conspicuous from the sea. Cape Churchill, the promontory to the eastward, he seems to have named "Northerland" head, and the district to the south "New Wales."⁵ Samuel Purchas, in the 1625 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, reports that Button had stated to him his confidence of the

⁵ *North-West Fox* (in Christy, op. cit., I, 170, 176).

existence of a western passage, based chiefly on the movement of the tide: in the summer of 1613 "he found about lat. of 60 degrees, a strong race of a tyde running sometimes Eastwarde, sometimes Westwarde, whereupon Josias Hubbarde, in his platt, called y^t place Hubbarts Hope, as in the map appeareth."⁶ Josias Hubart was an experienced Arctic mariner who had accompanied Button's expedition, but of his "platt," or chart, nothing further is known. The "map," however, to which Purchas alludes, is that which Henry Briggs, professor of astronomy at Oxford and noted mathematician of the day, contributed to this edition of *His Pilgrimes*,⁷ on which "Hubbart's Hope" is represented as a large inlet in the neighbourhood of Churchill. It should be noted on the one hand that Button's locality, about 60°, is a whole degree too far north for Churchill, but, on the other, that the observation of a tide running sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, suggests the presence of a coastline running in the same direction, which could only be in Churchill, otherwise Button's, bay.⁸

During the next few years following Button's

⁶ *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London: 1625), III, 848; new ed., XIV (Glasgow: 1906), 412. Cf. Christy, op. cit., I, 171, 178, 241; C. C. A. Gosch, *Danish Arctic expeditions 1605 to 1620* (London; 1897), II, 140-4.

⁷ In the Glasgow edition it is reproduced at page 424 of Vol. XIV.

⁸ This last is Luke Foxe's interpretation. Cf. *North-West Fox* (Christy, op. cit., II, 335-6). It is clear that both Foxe and James expected to find the passage of Hubart's Hope at the bottom of Churchill bay.

return the Company of Merchants Discoverers sent out at least three more expeditions in search of a north-west passage, one under a Captain William Gibbons, relative and companion of Button, and two under Robert Bylot, with whom was associated an experienced navigator named William Baffin, but none of these visited the western shores of Hudson bay. The next to do so, and the true discoverers of Churchill harbour, came from another nation.

King Christian IV of Denmark, who, after his minority, assumed the government in 1596, was an enthusiastic promoter of the maritime activities of his people. In 1616 an East India Company was organized at Copenhagen under his patronage, and in November, 1618, its first expedition sailed for the East, going by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The following spring the king sent out one of his ablest mariners, Jens Munck, or Munk, to seek the much-mooted shorter route north of America.

Jens Munck was born on 3 June, 1579, the son of Erik Munck, a Danish nobleman of distinguished career. When he was only seven years old his father fell into disgrace and was imprisoned, and from the age of twelve Jens supported himself by a career on the sea. After winning the highest reputation in the mercantile service he was, in March, 1611, at the outbreak of a war with Sweden, commissioned a captain in the Danish navy. There he won equal fame, and all his experience, including several voyages into the Arctic ocean to the north of Europe, made him the

obvious selection to command the expedition in search of the north-west passage.

The second in command was a Danish nobleman, Mauritz Stygge, and with the expedition went two English pilots, William Gourdon, or Gordon, and John Watson. They, doubtless, had previously sailed in American Arctic waters, and it is just possible that Watson had been on Button's expedition. The naval force consisted of the small frigate *Unicorn* (*Enhiörningen*), carrying 48 men, and the sloop *Lamprey* (*Lamprenen*), with 16; two men died and three recruits were added before the departure from Norway, making a total of 65 that set out for Hudson bay.

The expedition left Copenhagen on 9 May, and Karmsund, in Norway, on 30 May, 1619, and was at the mouth of Hudson straits on 11 July. Because of ice, and of waste of time in examining Ungava bay, mistaken for Hudson bay, they did not reach the western end of the straits until September. Then, like Button, of whose explorations he must have had some knowledge,⁹ Munck struck straight across the sea in a south-westerly direction, and on 7 September brought the *Unicorn* into Churchill harbour, discovered, it would seem, by accident. Two days later he was joined by the *Lamprey*.

Stormy weather and the increasing cold decided

⁹ Even if neither Gordon nor Watson had accompanied Button, they would have known something by hearsay of his voyage. There is a short notice thereof in the third edition (1617) of *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 926.

him to go into winter quarters. The two ships were brought up about a Danish mile, or four and a half English miles, from the entrance of the harbour, and across the stony flats to the protection of a promontory on the western shore—the sloop well on shore, the frigate in a dock built of timber and stones. This indicates a location close to that of the old fort, and present factory, of the Hudson's Bay Company. Stores were brought ashore and apparently placed in houses built to protect them, but the crews were left to pass the winter on ship-board. The heavy brass cannon were lowered into the hold of the *Unicorn*;—two iron falconets, left on deck, were damaged during the winter while firing a funeral salute.

The winter does not seem to have been unusually severe for Churchill, but the Danes were quite unprepared for that climate, and their surgeons were incompetent to render medical assistance. After Christmas scurvy attacked the entire personnel, and out of the sixty-five men who sailed from Norway only Munck and two sailors were alive when the ice broke up in the following June. The *Unicorn* was left where it lay in a dock on the flats, but the *Lamprey* was successfully launched, and in it Munck and his two companions sailed out of Churchill harbour on 16 July, 1620. On 21 September they arrived once more in Norway.

There is evidence that preparations were under way in Denmark to send a second expedition to Hudson bay in 1621, but for some reason the project



"JENS MUNCK'S WINTER-HAVEN" AT CHURCHILL

was abandoned. Jens Munck continued to serve honourably in the royal navy till his death, which occurred, it would seem, on 24 June, 1628, while he was on active service in the Thirty Years War. In 1624 he had published at Copenhagen a valuable account of his voyage to Hudson bay under the title *Navigatio Septentrionalis*.¹⁰

This work contains, among other illustrations, a map of Hudson bay and straits and the earliest representation of Churchill, a curious bird's-eye view showing the ships in harbour and some of the activities of the crews on shore. Munck named the surrounding country 'New Denmark,' and Churchill harbour 'Jens Munck's Winter-haven,' or, adopting an English word, 'Jens Munck's Bay.'

Nicolas (?) Jérémie, who from 1709 to 1714 was in command at Fort Bourbon, as the French called York Factory during the period of their occupation, published in 1720 a description of Hudson bay and straits in which he gives a brief account of the coming of the Danes, and their wintering at the "Rivière Danoise": They suffered much misery, and were attacked by a malady from which all died. The ice breaking up in the spring carried away their vessel (in the preceding paragraph he speaks of 'vessels') with all that was in it except one cannon of about eight-pounder calibre. This cannon was still there,

¹⁰ There is a new edition by P. Lauridsen (Copenhagen: 1883), and an English translation in C. C. A. Gosch, *Danish Arctic expeditions, 1605 to 1620*, Vol. II: *The expedition of Captain Jens Munk* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1897).

except the breech-trunnion, which the natives had broken with stones. The natives, when they arrived at the place in the following summer, were astonished at seeing so many strange corpses, and at first fled in terror. But curiosity brought them back, and, according to their report, they would have had the finest spoil that had ever been made were it not that, ignorantly applying fire to the powder, they caused an explosion which burned the house and all it contained. Those who came afterwards obtained only nails and other objects of iron which they gathered among the ashes.¹¹

Part of this story may have been based on the inferences of Jérémie or other Europeans, but in the main, no doubt, it represented a tradition which had persisted for a hundred years among the Indians and spread as far as York Fort.

After Munck's withdrawal no further exploring expeditions, so far as we know, visited the western side of Hudson bay until 1631, when Captain Luke Foxe in the ship *Charles* from London, and Captain Thomas James in the *Henrietta Maria* from Bristol, both arrived upon the scene. Foxe, who first went north to the entrance of Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, and thence made his way southward along the western coast, was in Churchill bay, or "Hubart's

¹¹ Jérémie, *Relation du détroit et de la baie de Hudson*, 7-9: in Jean Frederic Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au nord* (Amsterdam: 1720; also later editions). There is a translation by R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace, *Twenty years of York Factory 1694-1714* (Ottawa: 1926)

Hope," on 5 August, and, on the morning of the 6th, could, as he says, "see the bottome of Vainely *Hoapt Hubbert*." ¹² That day he passed by the mouth of Churchill river, but did not enter. Five days later, on 11 August, James arrived in Churchill bay, having, as well as the ice would permit, sailed directly across Hudson bay. He, too, recognized that this was the place "which heretofore was called *Hubberts Hope*, which was the very place where the passage should be, as it was thought by the understandingest and learnedest intelligencer of this businesse in England." ¹³ The reference was probably to Henry Briggs, who had been consulted in regard to the plans of both Foxe and James. On James's map the place is named "Briggs his Bay." Although he says he coasted around the bay, James does not mention Churchill river. Foxe returned to England this same autumn, after having completed a remarkable work in geographical exploration. James wintered at Charlton island, in James bay, and in the following August passed Churchill on his way to investigate the waters to the north-west, but apparently was well off shore, and in any case makes no record of observations.

After the return of Foxe and James there was a long lapse of public interest in Hudson bay as a possible route for the trade of the East. When white men next came to the Bay it was to make of that region itself the centre of another kind of commerce.

¹² *North-West Fox* (Christy, op. cit., II, 335).

¹³ *The strange and dangerous voyage of Capitaine Thomas James* (Christy, op. cit., II, 597).

II. THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AT CHURCHILL

ON 2 May, 1670, his most sacred Majesty King Charles II granted a charter of incorporation to "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," confirming to them "the sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas . . . that lie within the Entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights, together with all the Lands and Territories upon the Countries, Coasts, and Confines of the Seas . . . aforesaid, . . . with the Fishing of all Sorts of Fish . . . together with the Royalty of the Sea upon the Coasts within the Limits aforesaid, and all Mines Royal . . . and that the Land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantations or Colonies in America, called Rupert's Land."¹⁴ The Company was organized under the patronage of the king's famous cousin, Prince Rupert, who became its first governor, and at the instigation of two French fur-trading adventurers from Canada, Pierre Esprit Radisson and his brother-in-law, Médard Chouart des Groseilliers, who, disgusted at

¹⁴ *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), pp. 237-42.

the impediments imposed on their Indian trade by the French authorities, had turned for support to the English. The first expedition was sent out in 1668: it consisted of two vessels, but only one, the *Nonsuch*, commanded by Captain Zachariah Gillam and having Chouart on board, penetrated into Hudson bay. They sailed to "the Bottom of the Bay," the southern part of James bay, spent the winter there, and returned in 1669 with a great cargo of furs. Equipped with its charter, the Company adopted the policy of maintaining permanent trading-posts, called "forts" or "factories," at which the furs were obtained by barter with the Indians through the year. The ships from England brought out the merchandise and provisions required for the coming year, reloaded with the furs accumulated, and, unless untoward circumstances prevented, returned home the same autumn. The early posts were Charles Fort, at Rupert's river; Hayes Island, in the Mous-sebee, or Moose river; and Albany Factory, at Chychewan river. At Charlton island, for a considerable number of years, a station was maintained each summer as a terminal point for the voyage of the ships from England and a clearing-house for the various trading-posts on the Bay, to which, by means of small vessels, "yachts," "sloops," and "hoys," the furs and other products of their trade were assembled, and from which the European goods and supplies were distributed. For more than a decade after the creation of the Company no foundation was made outside

James bay, although in the summers of 1669, 1672, and 1680 a vessel was sent to trade at the mouth of the Nelson river. In 1682 it was decided to make there a permanent establishment, and two ships were dispatched for the purpose. This first foundation was broken up in the following winter by Radisson, who in 1675 had returned to the French service. But in 1683 a new lodgment was made by Captain John Abraham, and in 1684 Radisson, having once more attached himself to the Hudson's Bay Company, effected the surrender to them of the French fort on Hayes river.¹⁵ The two rivers, Nelson and Hayes, are separated at their mouths by only a narrow tongue of land. The first English post was on the northern embouchure, Port Nelson, not far from where Sir Thomas Button had wintered, and at one time it was intended to have a factory on each river;¹⁶ but Port Nelson was soon abandoned and a permanent establishment maintained only on the Hayes river, at what became known as York Fort, or Factory. The Port Nelson or Hayes river post was from an early date, if not from its origin, independent of the governor who had charge of 'the Bottom of the Bay,' and in 1685 its first subsidiary foundation was made at New Severn river.

In 1685 Thomas Phipps, hitherto warehouse-keeper in 'the Bottom of the Bay,' was ordered to Port

¹⁵ Radisson's narrative of these events has been published in *Report on Canadian Archives 1895* (Ottawa: 1896), pp. 1-83.

¹⁶ H. B. Co. Minute Book 206, f. 15 [pp. 70-1].

Nelson to become governor, although Captain Abraham was left there for another year as deputy.¹⁷ In the following summer Abraham with the *Hayes* sloop made a voyage of exploration northwards from Port Nelson, during which he entered and examined the mouth of the Churchill river, being, apparently, the first European to do so since Jens Munck.¹⁸ It now received the name Churchill, in honour of Lord John Churchill, afterwards famous in history as the first Duke of Marlborough, who, on 2 April, 1685, had been elected governor of the Company in succession to the Duke of York, then become King James II. When Abraham returned to England he appeared before the Company's committee, on 13 October, and gave a report of his discovery.¹⁹

Nothing seems to have been done at the time, but on 8 February, 1688, the committee adopted a programme for the coming year, one provision of which was "That Churchill River Bee Settled this yeare with a Good Shipp a Competent Cargo for Trade and Materialls for White Whale ffishings."²⁰ The presence in large numbers of the *beluga*, or white whale, in the neighbourhood of Churchill was noticed by several early observers, and, doubtless, had been reported by Captain Abraham. However, on

¹⁷ H. B. Co. Minute Book 207, f. 30^v [pp. 125-6].

¹⁸ A journal of this voyage is mentioned in a list of the Company's papers given to Sir Edward Dering in 1698.—H. B. Co. Memorial Book 701, first page.

¹⁹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 208A, f. 40 [p. 207].

²⁰ H. B. Co. Minute Book 210, f. 8^v [p. 36].

7 March the committee, after debate of the uncertainty of the whale fishing at Churchill river and the great charge thereof, did not think well to proceed therein this year, but resolved to send a small cargo for trade and to make a settlement.²¹ Two ships were sent to Port Nelson, the Company's own *Dering*,²² Captain James Young, or Yonge, master, and the hired ship *John and Thomas*, Captain Leonard Edcombe. Instructions were given that the *John and Thomas* should bring home the cargo from Port Nelson, while the *Dering*, with the *Colleton* yacht,²³ already there, were to proceed from Port Nelson to Churchill river and establish the post. The *Colleton* was to remain at Churchill and the *Dering* to come back to Port Nelson and winter. With these orders, and a commission from James II to George Geyer at Port Nelson to be Governor of the northern parts of Hudson's bay, and in particular of Port Nelson, New Severn, and Churchill River,²⁴ the two ships *Dering*

²¹ *Ibid.*, f. 10^v [pp. 47-8].

²² One of several *Derings* that were at various times in the Company's service. This was a pink, or special type of ship with narrow stern, of 120 tons, formerly named the *Edward and John*, which the Company bought in February, 1687, for £500, and renamed *Dering*.—H. B. Co. Minute Book 209, ff. 7^v, 8 [pp. 39-40, 42].

²³ The *Colleton* yacht was one of the small vessels kept by the Company in the Bay. When the French from Canada in 1686 captured the forts at 'the Bottom of the Bay' they also took the *Colleton*, and sent the majority of their prisoners on it to Port Nelson.—London, Pub. Record Office, C.O. 134—3, p. 37; Pub. Arch. Can. H. B. State Papers 1673-96, pp. 152-4.

²⁴ London, Pub. Record Office, C.O. 134—1, p. 259; Pub. Arch. Can., H. B. State Papers 1673-96, pp. 166-8.

and *John and Thomas* sailed from Gravesend on 6 June, 1688. The day before leaving Captain Young had been given £7 for the purchase of cattle and pigs to be taken to Churchill.²⁵

The instructions regarding Churchill seem to have been carried out in the main, but not until 1689. Captain Young, who had wintered at Hayes river, proceeded to Churchill early that summer. The land party was under the charge of Thomas Savage, "carpender," an old servant of the Company,²⁶ and included Elie Grimard, one of Radisson's French companions who had followed him into the English service; Henry Kelsey,²⁷ then a young man whose four years of apprenticeship had expired in the spring of 1688; and a boy from the Northern Indians beyond Churchill, perhaps a slave, who had been with the Company at Hayes river for some time.

A site was chosen farther up the harbour than that where Jens Munck had wintered,²⁸ and work was begun at building. But on the 1st or 2nd of August, when considerable progress seems to have been made, the whole, with much of the stores, was burnt to the ground; we shall see Captain Knight declaring that

²⁵ H. B. Co. Minute Book 210, f. 19^v [p. 91].

²⁶ Cf. H. B. Co. Minute Book 212, f. 4 [p. 14].

²⁷ On Henry Kelsey, see C. N. Bell, "The journal of Henry Kelsey," (*Trans. Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society*, new ser., No. 4), (Winnipeg, 1928); A. G. Doughty and Chester Martin (eds.), *The Kelsey Papers* (Pub. Arch. of Can. and Pub. Record Office of Northern Ireland), (Ottawa, 1929); J. F. Kenney, "The career of Henry Kelsey," (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, third ser., Vol. XXIII (1929), sect. ii, pp. 37-71).

²⁸ Cf. p. 119, *infra*.

the party "sett it a fire to Run away by the light of it."²⁹ On 4 August such goods as had been saved were put on the ship, and on the 5th they sailed for Hayes river, arriving two days later.

Henry Kelsey was brought to Churchill to act as envoy for bringing in the Northern Indians to trade. In 1688 instructions had been sent to Governor Geyer 'that the boy Henry Kelsey be sent to Churchill river with Thomas Savage, because we are informed he is a very active lad, delighting much in Indians' company, being never better pleased than when he is travelling amongst them; nevertheless would not have him too soon trusted amongst those unknown natives, without a pledge from the Indians.'³⁰ On 17 June, 1689, probably very soon after their arrival at Churchill, Kelsey and the Indian boy set out for the north in a shallop called the *Hopewell*, commanded by Captain Young. We have Kelsey's account of this adventure, "A Journal of a voyage & Journey undertaken by Henry Kelsey to discover & Endeavour to bring to a Commerce y^e northern Indians Inhabiting to y^e Northward of Churchill River & also y^e dogside Nation."³¹ On account of the ice very slow progress was made, and on 27 June, when Kelsey and his Indian companion were put ashore, they were only some twenty leagues from Churchill. On foot they travelled northward, it would seem at least 125 miles.

²⁹ P. 120, *infra*.

³⁰ H. B. Co. Letter Book 602, f. 5; *Reports of Committees of the House of Commons*, II (1803), p. 274; *Kelsey Papers*, p. xxiv.

³¹ *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 25-32.

They met no Indians, but the boy became panic-stricken through fear of Eskimos, and on 12 July flatly refused to go farther. Kelsey in disgust turned back for Churchill, where the two arrived on the 28th. Aside from its forecast of the remarkable resourcefulness and physical stamina of Henry Kelsey, the only interest of the journey is that it seems to have been the first occasion when the musk-ox was seen by a white man.

Neither Kelsey nor, so far as we know, any person else, brought in any trade to the short-lived post at Churchill. But it would seem probable that Captain Young took advantage of his stay to engage in some whale fishing. In spite of its resolution of 7 March, 1688, the Company had sent out in that spring's ships a "Harponeer," one Edward Mills,³² and after Captain Young had returned to England with the *Dering* in the autumn of 1689 the Company's minutes record, for the first time, the sale of the product of such fishery. On 18 December they sold by auction twenty-eight casks of "White whale blubber oil,"³³ probably the sole return for the whole expense of the Churchill adventure.

³² H. B. Co. Minute Book 210, f. 19^v [p. 91].

³³ H. B. Co. Minute Book 211, f. 30^v [p. 134], f. 33 [pp. 141-2]; Minute Book 212, f. 2 [p. 6], f. 2^v [p. 8], f. 3^v [p. 14].

III. CAPTAIN JAMES KNIGHT

AT the time when Churchill River Factory was disappearing in smoke the man who was to re-found it twenty-eight years later was living in a retirement, probably not quite voluntary, from the service of the Great Company.

James Knight, who was possibly a native of Berkshire,³⁴ and probably a shipwright by trade, entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company on 16 May, 1676.³⁵ He seems to have been successively employed in building, or re-building, the factories at Rupert's river, Moose river, and Albany river. Writing in his journal at York on 5 March, 1717, he says: 'It has been my misfortune always to have nothing but fatigue and trouble in this country, for when I first came into it we had nothing but a little place not fit to keep hogs in, and the Company's goods all lying without doors in tents not fit to preserve them; and when I went to Moose River there I built a good house fit to accomodate ourselves and goods in; and

³⁴ Cf. p. 87, *infra*.

³⁵ The H. B. Co. account books show that he received "sea wages" from 16 May to 15 August, 1676, and "lande wages" from 15 August, 1676, to 10 August, 1681.—Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

after that I went to Albany river and did the like again.' ³⁶ As is indicated by his journal at Churchill, it must have been in 1679-80 that he built the new factory at Albany.³⁷ In 1680, when the question of the appointment of a deputy governor came up, the committee, on 28 January, 'resolved to choose one in the Country, and Mr. Farr and Knight being in nomination, Farr is supposed the best qualified for that command, but the resolution of it is put off, to the next committee.'³⁸ Farr received the appointment,³⁹ and Knight came home in the autumn of 1681, giving the committee 'a good account of the state of the country, both Indians and Factories.'⁴⁰ We hear of various payments being made to him: £20.0.0 on 16 November; £68.10.4 on 28 November; £50.0.0 on 5 January; and, on 3 February, in full of balance due, £50.0.0, to which was added £16.0.0 'for a gratuity for all his good services at Hudson bay.'⁴¹ The esteem in which he was regarded is indicated by the frequency with which he was consulted in the preparations for the expedition of 1682, which were unusually extensive because of the intention to make a settlement at Port Nelson: on 20 January he is to give directions regarding the guns,

³⁶ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 33^v [p. 112].

³⁷ Cf. p. 156, *infra*.

³⁸ H. B. Co. Minute Book 203, f. 11^v [p. 30].

³⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 37^v [p. 105].

⁴⁰ H. B. Co. Minute Book 204, f. 24^v [p. 70].

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, f. 30 [p. 88]; Minute Book 205, f. 1^v [p. 3], f. 7 [p. 23], f. 11^v [p. 41].

on the 24th regarding the powder, on 10 February regarding clothes, on 1 March he is to examine the ship *Albemarle*, etc., etc.⁴² We are not surprised, then, to read that on 8 February, 1682, "M^r James Knight Shipwright is this day Entertained in the Compa^a Service & is to goe the next Shippe as Chiefe at Chychewan [Albany] and because he has bin a faithfull and true Serveant to the Comp^a & finde him able and dexterous in their business have agreed wth him for £70: - : - p. annum To commence from the time he shall arrive at Hudson bay";⁴³ nor that on 11 May the committee, having considered James Knight's abilities, have constituted and appointed him Deputy Governor at Hudson bay, and have added to the salary stipulated on 8 February £30, making £100 per year as Deputy Governor and Chief Factor of Chychewan.⁴⁴ Some difficulty arose, for on 28 May the masters of the *Friendship* and *Lucy*, the two larger ships destined for James bay, were forbidden to receive Knight on board without a warrant, but on the same day the order was rescinded, and on the 29th, it would seem, the ships sailed.⁴⁵

The Company had given him permission "to take over a boy wth him to waite upon him but shall not be any wayes chargeable to the Compa,"⁴⁶ and as he was debited this year with the cost of a sea passage

⁴² Ibid., f. 9-9^v [pp. 30-1], f. 10 [p. 33], f. 12 [p. 45], f. 14^v [p. 58].

⁴³ Ibid., f. 11^v [p. 42].

⁴⁴ Ibid., f. 24 [p. 100], f. 27^v [p. 117].

⁴⁵ Ibid., ff. 29-30 [pp. 124-7].

⁴⁶ Ibid., f. 25^v [p. 108].

for his brother, Richard Knight, we may assume that this brother went with him to Hudson bay as his personal attendant.⁴⁷

For the next three years the minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company contain little regarding James Knight. In 1685 he returned to England in the *Owner's Goodwill*, Richard Lucas, master, which arrived in the Downs on 26 October. Thereby, it would seem, hang several tales. When Knight went out as deputy governor in 1682 the governor in 'the Bottom of the Bay' was John Nixon, with whom, it will be seen, he had established good relations.⁴⁸ But Nixon returned home in 1683 and his successor, Henry Sargeant, proved to be no friend of Knight. To his antagonism the influence of another private quarrel was added in making certain Knight's recall without prospect of immediate re-engagement. Allusion has been made to the fact that in the winter of 1682-3 that adroit Frenchman, Pierre Esprit Radisson, had out-manœuvred the Company's garrison at Port Nelson, finally capturing the survivors, including the governor, John Bridgar, and sending them prisoners to Quebec. When Bridgar at length reached London, on 5 July, 1684, he found that his captor had changed sides again, and had gone to Hudson bay in the English interest. Radisson came back that same autumn, and his services appeared so valuable that his word was practically law with the Company's committee,

⁴⁷ Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

⁴⁸ Cf. p. 157, *infra*.

especially as regards the establishment at Port Nelson. On 30 March, 1685, he was appointed 'superintendent and director of the trade' there, and on the same day Bridgar was re-appointed to his old post of governor, replacing Captain Abraham who had been acting as stop-gap since 1683.⁴⁹ What Bridgar thought of the arrangement is not recorded, but it is evident that Radisson promptly refused to serve under him and was strong enough to extract from the committee the revocation of the other's appointment.⁵⁰ It was necessary to provide elsewhere for Bridgar, so on 15 May he was appointed to Knight's position as deputy governor in 'the Bottom of the Bay,' while Thomas Phipps, store-keeper there, was ordered north to take the command at Port Nelson.⁵¹ It might have been expected that this last post would have been offered to Knight, but perhaps the committee knew that he wished to return home, perhaps unfavourable reports had already been received from Governor Sargeant. In any case, the year 1686 saw James Knight far removed from both Nelson river and James bay, for which latter fact at least he may well, in after years, have thanked his stars.⁵²

⁴⁹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 207, f. 21^v [pp. 86-7].

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 24^v [p. 98].

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, f. 30^v [pp. 125-6].

⁵² Knight seems to tell the story in his own not too perspicuous way in his journal of 1717: "When they [the Company] had Actually promised me the Government of the Country & writt too y^e Governour if he thought fitt to come home to Leave me in Possession of y^e Country but the Next Year I was to Succeed him but Instead of me haveing what I Did Expect & w^t they Promised me their was 130

On 9 December, 1685, Knight appeared, in answer to summons, before a sub-committee of the Company and was examined regarding certain accusations made against him by Governor Sargeant, of which the most important seems to have been that he had surreptitiously shipped home beaver-skins on Leonard Edgcombe's *John and Thomas* in the autumn of 1684—that is to say, that he had indulged in that “private trade” which in the eyes of the Company was, of all crimes, the most heinous.⁵³ On 20 January, 1686, he produced certificates in support of his contention that the beaver-skins in question had actually been marked and shipped for the Company, and received by them, and on the 22nd four other certificates as to his fidelity.⁵⁴ But, clearly, the Company was not satisfied: as Sargeant was due to return with the ships this year, it would seem that the case was postponed till his arrival. Knight in the meanwhile received only £50 as an instalment on his salary.⁵⁵

Possibly in an attempt to rehabilitate himself, Knight in the following April joined with Robert

Guineas Given too the Secretary for him too Esspouse a Mans part & Recommend him too the Comp^y; w^{ch} he did so Effectually that he did gett me Remov'd by his false Reports & the Comp^y sent Over a Governour wth his Wife 3 Maids & 3 or 4 Men at y^e Comp^y Expense of Victualls & Drink & all y^e best was Converted too their Use he brought home a fair Acc^t toe y^e Comp^y w^{ch} I know'd was false but gave away the Country and all that was in it toe the French yett did gett his wages by his fair Acc^t,”—York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 52 [p. 183].

⁵³ H. B. Co. Minute Book 208A, ff. 6^v, 7 [pp. 27, 29–31].

⁵⁴ Ibid., ff. 12, 13 [pp. 56, 61]. ⁵⁵ Ibid., f. 13^v [p. 65].

Sandford, formerly trader at Albany river, in laying before the Company a series of suggestions by which, they claimed, the expenses in Hudson bay could be greatly reduced. The chief proposals were as follows: That only 36 men should be maintained at Albany, Moose and Rupert's rivers (at the time there were 89 men in the Bay, but this included the garrison of Port Nelson⁵⁶); that Charlton island should be abandoned, as a source of weakness and expense, and the house there demolished; that the yearly ship from England should go to Moose river; that oat-meal should be sent for presentation to the Indians, and that wheat should be substituted for some of the usual flour; that *wampum* should be obtained from New York; and that the design of sending Englishmen up to the heads of the rivers should be dropped as impracticable and instead the Indian captains who lived at a great distance off should be employed to persuade the Indians to come to the factories.⁵⁷ This last recommendation looked towards a pet scheme of the Company's for sending some of their employees to live with the Indians in the interior—a scheme which bore almost its only fruit in Henry Kelsey's famous journey to the western prairies in 1690-2—and may have had its origin in a desire of Sandford to justify himself for refusing to undertake such a mission in 1685.⁵⁸ Whether or not

⁵⁶ H. B. Co. Minute Book 208 A, f. 17^v [p. 87].

⁵⁷ Ibid., ff. 26^v, 27^v, 28-9 [pp. 136, 141, 144, 147-9].

⁵⁸ Governor Sargeant's letter of 24 August, 1685.—*Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, II (1803), p. 274.

the two men had any ulterior object in presenting their proposals, we know that Sandford was re-engaged as chief trader at Albany river,⁵⁹ while no offer was made to Knight.

Although Governor Sargeant did not come home in 1686 no alarm was caused thereby, for the ship destined that year for the establishment in James bay, the *Happy Return*, had been sunk by the ice in Hudson straits. But in February, 1687, news came from France that the French had captured all the forts in 'the Bottom of the Bay'; and in the following October many survivors of the disaster were brought to England in the Company's ships. Among them was Sargeant, and he lost little time in bringing forward his accusations against Knight, who, he alleged, was reported to be about to go abroad. The sub-committee heard Sargeant's charges on 11 November, 1687, and Knight's reply on 15 November; they judged the latter unsatisfactory, and ordered that he bring a better defence.⁶⁰ There the matter stood. On the one hand, the Company shortly afterwards accused Sargeant of responsibility for the loss of 'the Bottom of the Bay,' retained his salary, and entered an action against him in the King's Bench for £20,000 damages;⁶¹ on the other, Knight seems to have abandoned interest in Hudson

⁵⁹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 208A, f. 31-31^v [pp. 157, 160, 166].

⁶⁰ H. B. Co. Minute Book 209, ff. 27^v, 28^v [pp. 136-8, 142].

⁶¹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 210, ff. 2^v, 3, 7, 7^v [pp. 7-8, 10-11, 31-2]. Ultimately the action was abandoned, and the Company paid Sargeant £350.—Minute Book 211, f. 23 [p. 103].

bay and turned to other fields of activity.⁶² What these were we do not know, but from the outcome it is a safe inference that they materially enhanced his reputation.

Evil days had arrived for the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1686 Governor Sargeant lost the factories at Rupert's, Moose, and Albany rivers, and the small vessels *Craven* and *Colleton*, to a French overland expedition from Canada led by the Chevalier de Troyes. In 1687 the *Hayes* sloop fell into the hands of the French. In 1688, when a truce in America had been agreed on between the kings, James II and Louis XIV, the Company's committee, at the same session at which a foundation at Churchill was resolved on, decided to make a settlement at 'the Bottom of the Bay' "without annoying of the ffrench."⁶³ Two small frigates, the *Churchill* and the *Yonge*, or *Young*, were built; two "Mortar peeces" were purchased; and two officers with military experience, Captain John Marsh and Captain Andrew Hamilton, were engaged as governor and deputy governor respectively. The expedition sailed from the mouth of the Thames on 26 June, 1688.⁶⁴ They arrived at Charlton island in September and were joined by the *Huband* frigate,

⁶² In February, 1687, a sub-committee was appointed to examine his accounts: on their recommendation a partial payment of £50 was made. He did not receive the balance, £43. 18. 9, until 29 January, 1691.—H. B. Co. Minute Book 209, f. 7^v [p. 39], f. 8 [p. 42], f. 10 [p. 51]; Minute Book 213, f. 7 [p. 30].

⁶³ H. B. Co. Minute Book 210, f. 8^v [pp. 36-7].

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 22 [p. 105].

which had come out the preceding year. Soon afterwards the French under Pierre Le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville, in ignorance or defiance of the truce, surprised and captured the whole force. Only two posts in Hudson bay now remained in English hands, York Fort and New Severn, and of these New Severn was blown up and abandoned before a French threat in 1690. This evacuation may have been in part the sequel to the non-arrival of the two ships despatched by the Company in 1689: the *Royal Hudson's Bay* frigate, of about 150 tons, Captain Leonard Edcombe, and the *North-West Fox*, of about 40 tons, Captain John Ford, both newly built ships, were attacked in the Channel by French privateers, the *Northwest Fox* was captured, and the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, although she made a good fight, was forced to take refuge in Plymouth harbour, having received such damage that she could not continue her voyage.⁶⁵ The two countries were now in open hostilities, for the expulsion of James II and the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England had been followed, 7 May, 1689, by a declaration of war.

On 14 March, 1692, Sir Edward Dering, Deputy Governor, summoned a special and secret meeting of the committee of the Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay. It was two months before the battle of La Hogue established English and Dutch superiority on the seas, but information was laid before the committee as a result of which, the minutes

⁶⁵ H. B. Co. Minute Book 211, ff. 22 seqq. [pp. 97 seqq.].

inform us, after long debate they were of opinion "to lay hold of this opportunity," that is, to set out a sufficient force not only to secure Port Nelson—as York Fort is still frequently called—but also to prosecute the recovery of 'the Bottom of the Bay,' provided they found things to answer their intentions. It was announced that Captain James Knight was waiting in the ante-room, and he was called in and offered the command of the expedition and the governorship of 'the Bottom of the Bay.' But James Knight trod the floor of the committee-chamber with a firmer step than he had six years before: he explained that he had concerns of his own which required his careful attention and he could not give a positive answer then, but must have time for consideration.⁶⁶ On 18 April he handed in his own proposals for serving the Company, and on the basis thereof an agreement was reached.⁶⁷ The Company's stock book shows that in March, while the negotiations were going on, James Knight, described as "of London, Merchant," acquired £200 of Hudson's Bay stock, of which £100 was transferred by Sir Edward Dering and £100 by John Smith, a member of the Committee.⁶⁸

On 15 June, ^{7. 1692} (1792), royal letters patent were issued in the names of William and Mary "to Our trusty and welbeloved Capt James Knight" appointing him

⁶⁶ H. B. Co. Minute Book 214, f. 9 [pp. 40-2].

⁶⁷ Ibid. f. 13^v [pp. 65-6].

⁶⁸ Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

“Our Governor & Comander in Chief (in the roome and place of Captain John Marsh deceased) of all and every Our Forts Factorys Lands and Territorys with their dependencys contained and lying in y^e bottome of the Bay within the Streights commonly called Hudsons Streights in America,” and in particular of Albany Fort, Moose River and Rupert’s River, and empowering him to recover the same by force of arms, and to carry on reprisals against the French.⁶⁹

The expedition of which Knight was given command was the most formidable that the Company had till then sent out. It consisted of four ships carrying 82 guns and 213 men (apparently 63 of them landsmen), victualled for twenty months, the whole costing some £20,000.⁷⁰

The ships were the *Dering* frigate, 260 tons, 60 men, a new ship just purchased, which was entrusted to Captain Leonard Edgcombe; the *Royal Hudson’s Bay* frigate, about 200 tons, 55 men, under Captain Michael Grimington, who had served gallantly as mate when she fought the French privateers in 1689, and who had already had long experience in the navigation of Hudson bay; the *Perry* frigate, 90 tons, 18 men, formerly the *Ephram and Jane*, now purchased and renamed by the Company, and placed under Captain Coatsworth; and the *Prosperous* pink, fire-ship, 120

⁶⁹ London, Pub. Record Office, C.O. 324, Vol. 24, pp. 1-3; transcript in the Public Archives of Canada.

⁷⁰ H. B. Co. Memorial Book 701, f. 26 [p. 61]; London, Pub. Record Office, C.O. 134-3; Public Archives of Canada, Hudson’s Bay State Papers 1699-1759, p. 42.

tons, 17 men, under Captain Henry Baley. The *Prosperous* was the old *Dering*, the ship that had taken part in the expedition to Churchill in 1689. She had been fitted as a fire-ship in 1690, and was now refitted in 1692, but when the expedition was about to sail it was found necessary to take down the fire-works and stow them close in order to provide accommodation for goods that the other three ships could not carry.⁷¹ Great difficulty had been experienced in obtaining crews: on the one hand the Admiralty objected to giving protections against impressment unless the Company supplied an equal number of men to the navy,⁷² and on the other the men themselves demanded extra gratuities for "lying by" during the winter in hiding from the press-gangs.⁷³ But finally everything had been made ready, the sailing orders were delivered on 23 June, and then or soon after the expedition began its voyage.

On 27 August, 1692, they arrived safely at York Fort, whence Captain Edgcombe with the *Dering* returned to England with the year's trade and with several men from the other ships who were discharged by Governor Knight.⁷⁴ Knight with the remainder of the expedition proceeded, on 7 September, to 'the Bottom of the Bay,' where they wintered at

⁷¹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 214, f. 18^v [p. 93 seq.].

⁷² Ibid., f. 9^v [pp. 43-4], f. 10 [p. 47], f. 13 [p. 64], f. 14^v [p. 73]; H. B. Co. Book of Petitions, ff. 16^v-17 [pp. 65-8], f. 18^v [pp. 72-3].

⁷³ H. B. Co. Minute Book 214, f. 18^v [p. 94].

⁷⁴ H. B. Co. Minute Book 215, f. 4^v [p. 20]. Cf. York Fort Journal II. A. 3, f. 33^v [p. 111].

Gilpin's island, to-day known as Old Factory island. While there they erected a tablet—which survived until the twentieth century—bearing this inscription: 'In the year 1692, wintered 3 ships at this island, with 127 men, under the Government of Captain James Knight. Then we erected this monument in remembrance of it.' ⁷⁵

Early in the summer of 1693 Knight led his forces against Albany Fort. The French capitulated without serious resistance. The garrison was found to consist of only the commandant, Le Meux, and three other men: about three weeks or a month before the attack some twenty-one men had been sent overland to Canada because of scarcity of provisions.⁷⁶ A good supply of furs fell to the captors, and Knight rewarded his men by a distribution of beaver-skins: we learn that our old friend Thomas Savage received "13 skin Beaver Coate," and Thomas Macklish, of whom more later, "11 skin Beaver Coate."⁷⁷ The *Royal Hudson's Bay* frigate, Captain Michael Grimington, was sent home with the booty, and with

⁷⁵ This tablet was discovered in 1800 by a Mr. Atkinson. About 1910 it was in the possession of Mr. C. C. Chipman, Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was then in Winnipeg. Its present location is not known. Cf. Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, Vol. II (London: 1831), pp. 398-9; Dr. C. N. Bell, *The journal of Henry Kelsey* (Winnipeg: 1928), p. 37.

⁷⁶ Father Pierre Gabriel Marest, who was chaplain at York Fort during the French occupation of 1694-6, gives a somewhat different account of the capture of Albany. Cf. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères: Mémoires d'Amérique*, Vol. VI (Paris: new ed., 1781), pp. 4-8.

⁷⁷ H. B. Co. Minute Book 216, f. 6 [pp. 23-4].

Knight's report, dated at Albany on 23 July. Grimington arrived at Plymouth on 13 October, and on the 17th his letter, the first news of their success, reached the Company's committee in London.⁷⁸ On 20 November Grimington appeared in person before the committee, bringing the French prisoners as tangible evidence that the Company was once more in complete control of Hudson bay.⁷⁹

Knight's had been an easy victory, but it was the first and the only permanent success won by the Adventurers of England during the whole struggle from the French invasion of 1686 to the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and the Company's gratitude was not stinted. In accordance with agreement, the Company, on 29 May, 1694, voted Captain James Knight £500, but as their finances were no longer flourishing payment was made by an interest-bearing bond.⁸⁰ Two days later they issued a new commission to him as governor at Albany, empowering him before

⁷⁸ H. B. Co. Minute Book 215, f. 30 [p. 136].

⁷⁹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 216, ff. 3-3^v [pp. 11-12].

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 20^v [p. 80]. Writing to Knight on 30 May the Company say: "After our kind respects to you these are to congratulate yo^r great success in regaining Albany Fort & what other Parts of Hudson's Bay were in the possession of ye French, approveing in Generall of all the waies and methods you tooke to Effect ye same, and Pursuant to yo^r agreem^t made with us before you went on that Enterprize wee have unanimously agreed to the Payment of your five hundred pounds, and for some reasons reserved to our selves wee have sealed a bond from the Comp^y for the same Payable wth Interest which wee have delivered to M^r Daniel Kingston your attorney not doubting but ye same will be to yo^r content. . . ."—Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

his departure therefrom to appoint whomsoever he might think fit to succeed him as governor, and also to appoint the deputy governor and the members of the council.⁸¹ In the autumn of the same year, when the Company resolved on building a new ship, it was decided to give her the name *Knight*; ⁸² this vessel, a frigate of 48 tons, was not completed until 1696.⁸³

The year 1694 was passed by Knight at Albany without disturbance, although York Fort was captured on 4 October by the French under d'Iberville. Also through the summer of 1695 and the winter of 1695-6 Knight maintained his isolated position, sending no ship home, doubtless because he feared to weaken his garrison, and receiving none from home, possibly as a result of a government embargo laid on English shipping. But in 1696 the most formidable English expedition yet sent out arrived in the Bay and proceeded against York Fort. It consisted of two men-of-war, the fourth-rate frigate *Bonaventure*, Captain William Allen, and the fifth-rate *Seaforth*, Captain Grange, or Captain Watkins,⁸⁴ and three

⁸¹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 216, f. 21 [p. 82].

⁸² Ibid., f. 30^v [p. 121].

⁸³ H. B. Co. Minute Book 218, f. 10 [p. 38].

⁸⁴ In the records of the despatch of the expedition in June, 1696, Captain Grange is mentioned several times as in command of the *Seaforth*.—H. B. Co. Minute Book 218, ff. 24 sqq. [pp. 99 sqq.]. But a minute of 15 October, 1697, refers to Captain Watkins as the commander of that vessel in Hudson bay, and on 1 December he was paid a gratuity.—H. B. Co. Minute Book 219, f. 38^v [p. 194]; Minute Book 220, f. 2^v [pp. 11-12].

Company's ships, the *Dering*, Captain Henry Baley, the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, Captain Michael Grimington, and the *Knight*, Captain Nicholas Smithsend. On 28 August this little squadron was in Hayes river and on the 31st the French at York agreed to surrender, having offered practically no resistance. Captain Baley took charge of the fort as governor for the Company, while Captain Grimington was given command of the *Dering*, Captain Smithsend of the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, and Captain Thomas Man of the *Knight*. On 20 September the ships departed, the two naval vessels as well as the *Dering* and the *Hudson's Bay* for home, the *Knight*, to which had been transferred the goods assigned to 'the Bottom of the Bay,' for Albany Factory.⁸⁵ Governor Knight thus received on the ship named after him the last communications from England that were to come during his present term of office.⁸⁶ About 31 August of the following year, 1697, he sailed for home on the *Perry*, under Captain Man, which was the only vessel remaining in the Bay of the fleet with which he had come out in 1692. They arrived at Kinsale on

⁸⁵ *Kelsey Papers*, p. 46.

⁸⁶ The Company's letter, dated 30 May, urged him to remain at Albany for another year: "After our greate fatigue in procureing & despatching this Expedition our maine hopes of reaping hereafter the fruite of our labour will arise from the Continuance of your Government at Albany Fort & therefore wee address this to your selfe as our important Desire is that you will not leave us this yeare, assuring you now under our hands it shall be the last request of this Nature, that wee will make to you. . . ."—Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

30 October, and in the mouth of the Thames about the end of November.⁸⁷

Much news awaited Knight on his return home. He learned that two ships had been sent to the Bay this year, the *Dering*, Captain Grimington, destined for Albany, and the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, Captain Smithsend, for York Fort; that they had been convoyed by two naval vessels, the *Hampshire* frigate and the *Owner's Love* fire-ship; that the fleet had encountered in the Bay a French force under the brilliant Canadian leader, Le Moyne d'Iberville, and had been completely defeated, the only ship to escape being the *Dering*, which entered the Thames a few days before Knight arrived at Kinsale. Then, or a few weeks later—when the French returned their prisoners—he learned that d'Iberville had followed up his success by attacking York Fort, which surrendered on 3 September.⁸⁸ Thus once more Albany was left the only English establishment in the Bay. But in the meanwhile, on 20 September, a treaty of peace had been signed at Ryswick in the Netherlands by which England and France agreed mutually to restore their conquests and to appoint commissioners to draw a boundary between their respective dominions in the Hudson bay territories. If this meant the restoration of the *status* existing at the formal outbreak of the war it would involve the surrender of

⁸⁷ H. B. Co. Minute Book 219, f. 41 [p. 206]; Minute Book 220, f. 2 [pp. 8-9].

⁸⁸ *Kelsey Papers*, p. 100.

Albany by the English and of York by the French, but the Hudson's Bay Company strenuously denied the legality of the French occupation of 'the Bottom of the Bay' in 1686. The outcome may be anticipated by stating that no settlement growing out of the treaty of Ryswick was ever reached, and that when the War of the Spanish Succession began in 1702 the English still occupied Albany, the French, York Fort.

In accordance with the authority given him, Knight had appointed John Fullertine, or Fullerton,⁸⁹ as his successor in the governorship of 'the Bottom of the Bay.' But for the possibly difficult and delicate task of making the exchange between Albany and York⁹⁰ the Company pinned their faith to the one man whose service on their behalf had been uniformly successful: on 4 May, 1698, an agreement was made between them and James Knight that he should return to Hudson bay and resume command at Albany Fort.⁹¹ The contract was signed on the 1st June,⁹² and on the 8th, or soon after, Knight sailed from Gravesend with the ships *Dering*, Captain

⁸⁹ He was in the Company's service apparently as early as 1683 (H. B. Co. Minute Book 205A, f. 20^v [p. 67]). In 1694 he was deputy governor (Minute Book 216, f. 28^v [p. 113]), and from 1700 to 1706, and 1708 to 1711, was chief governor in the Bay (Minute Book 228, f. 14^v [p. 48]; *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 1929, 3rd ser., Vol. XXIII, sect. ii, pp. 52-3). From several allusions (cf. pp. 49, 158, *infra*) it would seem that he was subsequently elected a member of the Company's committee in London.

⁹⁰ Cf. p. 155, *infra*.

⁹¹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 220, f. 14 [p. 72].

⁹² *Ibid.*, f. 19^v [pp. 98-9].

Michael Grimington, and *Perry*, Captain Henry Baley.⁹³ The voyage was made in safety,⁹⁴ and on or about 12 September the *Dering* left Albany for home; the *Perry* was retained in the Bay.⁹⁵ Two years later, on 7 September, 1700, Knight sailed for home in the *Perry*, Captain Baley, arriving at Spit-head on 3 November, and on the 7th appearing before the Committee in London.⁹⁶

Those years were lean for the Hudson's Bay Company that preceded and followed the treaty of Ryswick. Expenses of operation were far higher, the demand for furs and consequently their prices were greatly reduced, and trade was interfered with on the one side by increased taxation, embargoes, and the impressment of seamen, on the other by the invasions and conquests of the French. The costs of the war in Hudson bay and the losses resulting from disasters there had to be borne by the Company, while when peace was made not only was a large part of its dominions surrendered, and its claims to damages from the French ignored, but it was itself called on to make restitution to the enemy of some £7,000.⁹⁷

⁹³ H. B. Co. Minute Book 220, ff. 20-21^v [pp. 99-108].

⁹⁴ The log kept by Henry Kelsey on the *Dering* is in *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 100-10.

⁹⁵ H. B. Co. Minute Book 220, f. 27^v [p. 137].

⁹⁶ H. B. Co. Minute Book 222, f. 19 [pp. 83-4].

⁹⁷ Captain Allen of the *Bonaventure* had, in the capitulation granted the French at York Factory in 1696, permitted them to retain their furs. In doing so he acted contrary to his instructions, and on the return of the fleet the Hudson's Bay Company secured possession of the furs. They justified this violation of terms mainly on the claim

No dividend was paid after 1690, and business was maintained only by borrowing to the full extent of the Company's credit. Under these circumstances James Knight, who seems seldom to have been in want of money, became one of its prominent creditors. It has been seen that in 1694 he was given, in lieu of the payment promised him for his success in the preceding year, a bond for £500. On 24 February, 1696, certain beaver skins belonging to him were sold for £36 . 11 . 9, and the Company, 'in view of his great and faithful service,' made this up to £100, for which another bond was issued.⁹⁸ In May, 1698, when his accounts were settled before his departure for a second term as governor, he was paid £358 . 5 . 4 in cash and a bond for £400.⁹⁹ After his return from his second governorship the final balance of his salary was paid by a bond for £200 issued on 2 July, 1701.¹⁰⁰ But before this the larger part of his claims

that the French had violated the terms of surrender of York in 1694. But by the eighth article of the treaty of Ryswick the execution of the capitulation of 1696 was guaranteed, and provision made for the appointment of commissioners to adjudge the value of the merchandise in question. To the dismay of the Company, these commissioners fixed the compensation due to the French at seven thousand and some odd pounds. Cf. H. B. Co. Minute Book 221, f. 23 [p. 105].

⁹⁸ H. B. Co. Minute Book 218, f. 16 [pp. 63-4], f. 18 [p. 69]. In their letter to Knight at Albany, dated 30 May of this year, the Company refer to their action: "this small gratuity was not invested in plate & presented to your son, wee Considering the Interest of the said bond will be more for his Service." Cf. p. 38, n. 86, *supra*.

⁹⁹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 220, f. 15 [p. 77], f. 17 [p. 85], f. 17^v [p. 89].

¹⁰⁰ H. B. Co. Minute Book 223, ff. 33, 33^v [pp. 101, 103].

for salary had been met by a somewhat curious manipulation of the Company's stock.

On 21 November, 1700, just two weeks after Captain Knight's return to London, the General Court of the Hudson's Bay Company was held for the annual election of officers.¹⁰¹ The notable changes in the new administration were that Sir Stephen Evance replaced Sir William Trumbull as governor, and that Captain James Knight was elected a member of the committee. The two events were not unconnected. Sir William Trumbull had been first elected governor on 18 November, 1696, succeeding Sir Stephen Evance, who descended to the rank of a committee-man. Trumbull was not without experience in such a post, having been Governor of the Turkey Company, but we may be certain that the true grounds of his election were that on 3 May, 1695, he had been appointed Secretary of State, and that the Company, sensing an approaching settlement with France, wished to have an influential representative in the royal council. Whatever Trumbull's efforts may have been, they accomplished nothing for the Company's satisfaction in the treaty of Ryswick, and he himself soon afterwards retired from political life. Although his relations with them seem to have remained cordial, it is probable that by 1700 the "Adventurers" had come to the conclusion that his retention as governor was no longer advantageous, while it was very desirable that a man of the long

¹⁰¹ H. B. Co. Minute Book 223, f. 3 [p. 1].

practical experience and high reputation of Captain Knight should be added to the executive. Trumbull in 1696 seems to have held no stock in the Company, and Knight in 1700 did not have sufficient to qualify him as committee-man.¹⁰² The arrangements that had been made in Trumbull's case are not clearly stated, but it can be inferred that they were somewhat as follows: Three members of the committee, chosen by lot, transferred £600 of stock to Sir William; the Company guaranteed them against loss in the transaction; and Sir William bound himself to return the stock to the Company when he ceased to be an officer.¹⁰³ Accordingly we read in the minutes of 12 February, 1701, that, as the Company had £600 stock in Sir William Trumbull's name which was to be transferred, it was agreed to assign it to Captain James Knight at par on account of wages due him, and the secretary was directed to wait on Trumbull and desire him to make the transfer.¹⁰⁴

Knight remained a member of the Company's executive until he returned to Hudson bay in 1714. His attendance at meetings was assiduous—apparently 27 out of 30 in 1702-3; 23 out of 23 in 1703-4; 39 out of 40 in 1704-5, etc.—and he gave his time without stint in other services for the Company. The minutes suggest, what would otherwise be a natural inference, that in all that appertained to the

¹⁰² Cf. p. 32, f. *supra*.

¹⁰³ H. B. Co. Minute Book 218, f. 31 [p. 130]; Minute Book 219, f. 2^v [p. 10], f. 4 [pp. 17-18].

¹⁰⁴ H. B. Co. Minute Book 223, f. 12 [pp. 29-30].

establishment and trade in Hudson bay Knight's was the dominating influence in the committee. His knowledge of seamanship and ship-building was made use of in superintending the construction, equipment and disposal of the Company's ships. And, doubtless, all this time his main energies were devoted to his private interests and activities, of which we know nothing. Perhaps a glimpse therein is afforded by the information that on 4 December, 1706, he purchased from the Company 24 lots of marten skins, for which, some time in January, he paid £933.¹⁰⁵

In February, 1710, when there were expectations of peace, Knight was unanimously chosen as one of the Company's agents to look after its interests in the negotiations. The following entry is found in the minutes of 24 February:

"Capt. James Knight having accepted to goe over with Bibye Lake Esq. into Holland, to Soliciter the Company's affaires at the treaty of Peace, This Comittee doe agree to Present Each of them with fifty Guineas as a gratuity for their undertakeing the Same & to fitt them out as also did Assure them that in Case of Success they Should find the Company verry greatefull to them, at their Returne & would give them Letters of Credit for what moneys they Should have occation for dureing their Stay in Holland & it is Likewise agreed that the Comite give them an Instrument under the Company's Seale (the same as was given Capt. John Merry & Bibye Lake Esq. last year) Impoureing them to Act and doe all things they Shall see necessary & Convenient for the Company's Interest & Advantage & to Correspond with the Govr. Deputy Govr & Comittee as occation offers."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ H. B. Co. Minute Book 229, f. 4 [p. 4], f. 6 [p. 11].

¹⁰⁶ Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Knight and Lake remained in Holland until June, 1710. On 25 April, 1711, Knight entered into an agreement to go that year to Hudson bay as governor, but ill-health prevented him from carrying it out, and Anthony Beale went as substitute.

The treaty of Utrecht, bringing to an end the War of the Spanish Succession, was signed on 31 March (11 April, N.S.), 1713. By the tenth article it was provided that the king of France should restore to Great Britain all the territories of Hudson bay and straits, and by the eleventh that he should give satisfaction to the Hudson's Bay Company for all damages incurred through the depredations of the French in time of peace. Thus at long last the claims of the Company had received recognition. On 26 May the members presented an address to Queen Anne, offering their congratulations on the restoration of peace and their thanks for the attention to their interests which had been shown in the treaty.¹⁰⁷ On the 23rd they had petitioned that the French act of cession should be transmitted to them, and also a royal commission to Captain James Knight and Mr. Henry Kelsey, authorizing these men to take possession of the territory to be surrendered.¹⁰⁸ Thus to the veteran Knight was assigned the honour of replacing the British flag over York Fort where the lilies of France had been waving ever since d'Iberville's second conquest in 1697, and of serving as first

¹⁰⁷ H. B. Co. Memorial Book 701, f. 119 [pp. 262-4].

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., f. 118 [pp. 260-1].

governor of the recovered post, and, indeed, as first governor in chief of the whole lands and waters of Hudson bay. The proposals of Knight as governor and of Kelsey as deputy governor were accepted in committee on 20 May; Knight agreed to serve the Company for "4 years certain or 5 years if desired by the Company."¹⁰⁹ Queen Anne's commission "To our Trusty and Well Beloved Captain James Knight and Henry Kelsey Esq." was signed on 21 July, and directed them "To take possession for Us and in Our Name of the said Bay and Streights, Lands, Seas, Sea Coasts, Rivers, Places, Fortresses and other Buildings, Cannon, Cannon ball, Powder and Provision for Cannon above mentioned for the use and benefitt of the Govr. & Comp^a of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay & their successors."¹¹⁰

Captain Knight, accompanied by Henry Kelsey as his deputy, sailed from Gravesend on the *Union* frigate on 6 June, 1714,¹¹¹ and arrived off the mouth of Hayes river on 5 September. On the 7th he went ashore, and on the 11th received the formal surrender of York Factory by Jérémie, the French commander.¹¹² Once more the Adventurers of England ruled supreme over the lands and waters of the great northern sea.

¹⁰⁹ Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

¹¹⁰ Cf. H. B. Co. Minute Book 235 (?), 14 August, 1713.

¹¹¹ H. B. Co. Memorial Book 701, f. 140 [pp. 312-3].

¹¹² York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, ff. 17^v seqq. [pp. 52 seqq.].

IV. THE SECOND FOUNDING OF CHURCHILL

CHURCHILL river had not been entirely forgotten after the failure of 1689. We learn incidentally from the Kelsey Papers that the ship *Albemarle* was despatched thither in 1694, but was prevented by ice from reaching its destination.¹¹³ The French also had a design to make a settlement there for the whale fishery, according to the statement of their commander Jérémie to Captain Knight at the time of the surrender of York Fort in 1714.¹¹⁴ But it was only after that date, with the restoration of peace and the recognition of the full claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, that the re-establishment of the northern post became a proposal of practical import.

It seems probable that the Company had, before their expedition sailed for the Bay in 1714, either approved such a proposal or left it to the discretion of Captain Knight, for in a letter to Richard Stanton,¹¹⁵

¹¹³ *Kelsey Papers*, p. 33.

¹¹⁴ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 5 [p. 16].

¹¹⁵ On 13 May, 1698, Richard Stanton, "cooper," was entertained in the Company's service for three years at £14 per annum (H. B. Co. Minute Book 220, f. 15^v [p. 80]), and thereafter we hear of him frequently. From certain other evidence, however, it would seem that he had been at York Fort in 1696-7 (cf. *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 1929, 3rd ser., Vol. XXIII, sect. ii, p. 65).

chief factor at Albany Fort, dated 30 June, 1715, he announces that 'the next summer, if please God spare me life and health, I design to go to the northward, where there is an absolute necessity of settling a trade—which I believe and am well satisfied that all the rest of this country will be nothing in matter of profit to what will be in a few years found there.'¹¹⁶ In his journal on 10 May, 1716, he breaks off to address the Company's committee directly: 'Gentlemen, you may think I have not done well, but this I am sure, within 3 or 4 years all the rest of your country will be as nothing to your trade to the northward, and I am sure, although Governor Fullerton was pleased to reflect a little on me in saying that I was a stranger in these parts and had never wintered here—but I am sure he and all the rest as had wintered here before me were either strangers or careless, both English and French, or else they were not fit to be employ'd for their neglect'; and, after referring to the superior character of the factory then being built by him at York, he ends with the enigmatical remark: 'and for the language of the Northern Indians, I can speak as much of the language as any Englishman, yet I will not pretend to buy or sell any man.'¹¹⁷

The Indians of the country around Hudson bay, from Churchill river to the southward, were Crees and other branches of the Algonquian family; those to the north and north-west were Athapascans —

¹¹⁶ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 45 [p. 166].

¹¹⁷ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 30^v [pp. 117-18].

Chipewyans ("Northern Indians"),¹¹⁸ Yellowknives ("Copper Indians"), Slaves and Dog-ribs. Along the coast to the north were the Eskimos, who regularly came south as far as Churchill, and occasionally even further. Between these three groups continual hostilities existed. In particular, the Crees, equipped with guns from the factories on the Bay, carried on an exterminating war against the Athapascans, of whom one division, the Slaves, have received their name from the large number carried off and held in servitude by the Crees. It was primarily to tap the trade of these Athapascans to the north that a trading post at Churchill was designed, for the Indian bands that came to York Factory seem to have been limited almost entirely to the Crees and their Siouan allies, the Assiniboines, Assinae-poets,¹¹⁹ or Stone Indians. To ensure that the "Northern Indians" would come

¹¹⁸ The Rev. Emile Petitot, in an article in the *Proc. of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. V (London: 1883), pp. 649-51, repeats a tradition that the Chipewyans were settled on the Peace river until the founding of Churchill led them to move eastward. But it seems certain that they were in the neighbourhood of Churchill from a much earlier date. The term "Northern Indians," which undoubtedly designated Chipewyans in the time of Samuel Hearne, David Thompson, and Alexander Mackenzie, had been used in Hudson's Bay Company records, without a break, and without any indication of a change of application, since at least as early as 1689, when Henry Kelsey was sent from Churchill to bring them to trade. That even then it was not a term applied to all Athapascans is indicated by the fact that Kelsey was also seeking the Dog-ribs, or "doggside Nation." Cf. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, Vol. XVIII (1928), pp. 8-9, for a Chipewyan tradition having curious resemblances to Captain Knight's narrative.

¹¹⁹ The Chippewa word *bwân*, plural *bwânûg*, and the corresponding Cree *pwât*, plural *pwâtûg*, designated Indians of the Dakota stock;

to the new factory it was necessary in the first place to get into communication with them, and in the second to satisfy them that when coming they would not be assaulted by their southern enemies. Captain Knight had no sooner become established in the recovered fort at York than he turned his attention to these two objects. He complains that the English and French before his coming 'never did make peace amongst those Indians or at least went about it so carelessly as if they did not care whether it was done or not';¹²⁰ but it is quite evident that at York Fort as elsewhere the Hudson's Bay Company had from the first followed the policy of discouraging inter-tribal warfare. Although Knight must have had the address to maintain a remarkable ascendancy over all varieties of red men, his journal makes it clear that his sympathies were with the Northerners, and that he regarded the Crees as, for the most part, "Rogues," "brutes," "Rude fellows where there is Neither Religion Laws nor fear of God but every Villain will do as his fancy leads him."¹²¹

In the winter or spring of 1713 Crees had destroyed a band of Northern Indians, carrying off several of the women as slaves. From one of these women Knight obtained some information regarding her country, and he was much disappointed when she died,

the word *assinini* in both languages meant "stone," or "rock." Hence came the English names, "Assiniboines," "Assinae-poets." Cf. *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 3rd ser., Vol. XXIII (1929), sect. ii, p. 47.

¹²⁰ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 27^v [p. 106].

¹²¹ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 28^v [pp. 109-10].

on 22 November, 1714.¹²² But two days later one of the Company's men who was hunting and fishing at Ten Shilling Creek, on the south side of the main branch of Hayes river, brought to the factory another woman of the same party. She and a companion had escaped from their master in the autumn and were on their way to their homeland. Starvation forced them to turn back, and she separated from her fellow fugitive, "or I rather believe kill'd her for want of food."¹²³ This woman, who spoke the Cree language, though "indifferently," proved to possess an intelligence and force of character quite out of the ordinary, and on her the governor built up his plans for opening a trade to the north.

At the beginning of the following summer—11 June, 1715—Knight made a feast for the "Home" Indians, the Crees of the neighbourhood of York Factory, and proposed that they should arrange a peace with their northern neighbours. He found twelve or fourteen agreeable to the proposal, and to them promised large presents and future favour.¹²⁴ On the 17th he supplied ammunition to those going on the peace mission, now increased to twenty-five, and on the 18th gave them a feast at which he instructed them as to their procedure and warned them against misconduct.¹²⁵ On the 23rd and 24th the Mishenipec, or

¹²² H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 24 [p. 78].

¹²³ Ibid., ff. 24, 25 [pp. 79, 82]. However, Knight later seems to have abandoned this suspicion. Cf. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 48 [p. 188].

¹²⁴ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 40 [pp. 143-4].

¹²⁵ Ibid., ff. 40^v, 41 [pp. 146-7].

Mississippi, Indians, Crees of the upper Churchill river country, who had come in to trade, were harangued and induced likewise to agree to cease hostilities.¹²⁶ On 27 June the contingent of "Home" Indians set off from Hayes river on their mission of peace,¹²⁷ which, if established, would be "the first as hath been made amongst them since the Confusion of Languages at Babel."¹²⁸ With them went William Stewart, the only man at York Factory—with the exceptions of the governor and the deputy—who could speak any Indian language, and the slave woman. To Stewart directions were given for conducting the expedition.¹²⁹ The number of Indians

¹²⁶ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 41^v [p. 149].

¹²⁷ Ibid., f. 42 [p. 151].

¹²⁸ Ibid., f. 52^v [p. 196].

¹²⁹ Ibid., ff. 42-42^v [pp. 152-6]. William Stewart had been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company at least as early as 1701, for we have an order for the payment of his wages to 28 August of that year (H. B. Co. Minute Book 224, f. 19 [p. 71]: 20 May, 1702). Anthony Beale, in command at Albany Fort during the winter of 1705-6, refers to Stewart's activities in trapping (Albany Fort Journal 1. A. 3, f. 17 [p. 31]: 12 December, 1705). He accompanied Knight from London to York Fort in 1714 (York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 15^v [p. 45]). In 1717, as will be seen (pp. 68-71, 172, *infra*), he was sent with the advance party to Churchill, and afterwards back to York Fort, where he was to take command in case any accident should befall Henry Kelsey. On 18 June, 1718, Kelsey, writing to Knight, says: "W^m Stuart Poor man has been lunatick 3 or 4 times in so much that wee have been forct to tye him in his bed & is often that way inclin'd but att other times very well in health" (York Fort Journal 14. A. 3, ff. 23^v-24 [p. 70]; cf. ff. 6, 12^v [pp. 15, 33]). The York Fort Journal for 25 October, 1719, has the entry: "about 10 forenoon Dyed Will^m Stuart very suddenly & in the Even^g we buried him and read the ceremoine over him . . . Note the party Deceased has been Lunatick att times for a Month past" (ibid., f. 62^v [pp. 191-2]).

increased by additions both before and after starting until it reached some 150 persons.¹³⁰

The expedition moved slowly, as was the wont of Indians when not inspired with a personal conviction of the importance of haste. An outbreak of sickness increased their dilatoriness, and it was only on 28 August that Churchill river was reached. From Churchill they struck into the barren lands, not keeping towards the coast as Henry Kelsey had done twenty-six years before, but moving north-west into the interior. Here they found no musk-oxen or other game, winter overtook them, and they were reduced to eating their dogs and subsisting on moss.¹³¹ The Indian "captain" directed them to break up into small parties, and the majority took occasion thereof to return home. On 16 October Stewart sent back a letter to the governor: he had then eaten nothing for eight days.¹³² Two bands, one of which, the captain's, was accompanied by Stewart and the slave woman, kept on until they came into wooded country where "beasts" were plentiful. Here they turned more to the westward, and at length the captain's party came upon a "tent" where they found the bodies of nine Northern Indians who had recently been killed. In terror of a counter-attack the Crees would have fled, but the Northern woman insisted on their remaining in camp while she went on to seek

¹³⁰ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 22^v [p. 86].

¹³¹ Ibid., f. 20^v [p. 78], f. 21^v [p. 82], f. 22 [pp. 83-4], f. 22^v [p. 85 seqq.].

¹³² Ibid., f. 23 [pp. 87-8].

her countrymen. At the end of ten days she was back with 160 men, who, when the situation had been explained, solemnly smoked the pipe of peace offered by the Cree captain. The woman interpreter, who seems to have been the dominating figure in the whole affair, announced to the Northerners that a factory would be built at Churchill, and explained how they should catch and prepare the furs for the trade. The embassy remained in the north through the winter; about the beginning of March, accompanied by ten of the Northern men, they began the return journey, and on 7 May, 1716, arrived at York Fort. William Stewart estimated that they had been 1,000 miles from the factory and in the latitude of 67° ; "for they had hardly any Sun in the Winter," but Knight thought that the distance was less than 600 miles and the latitude but little beyond 65° .¹³³

Two days before Stewart's return the other of the two bands that had penetrated farthest into the northern country arrived at York and presented Captain Knight with three or four boy prisoners and a few pieces of copper. They had killed several of the Northern Indians—in self-defence, it was alleged—and captured their women and children, but at Churchill river on the return journey the women had escaped.¹³⁴

¹³³ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 29 [p. 112], f. 31 [pp. 119-20]. Cf. ff. 20^v seqq. *passim* [pp. 77 seqq.].

¹³⁴ Ibid., ff. 24 [pp. 91-2], 26-26^v [pp. 100-2]. Advance messengers from this party had come in on 26 April.

Although his main effort was directed to reconciling the "Home" Indians with the Athapascan tribes to the north and north-west of Churchill, Knight during 1715 took initial measures towards securing a general peace throughout the entire western hinterland of Hudson bay. "I am Endeavouring to make a peace in the Whole Country Round from N to SW^t for a 1000 Miles."¹³⁵ Several bands were employed to go into the far interior as envoys of peace. The "Great water Indians," i.e., the Missinippis, had been at war with some of the "Copper Indians";¹³⁶ "but howsomever," says Knight, whose geographical ideas were equalled in haziness by his English prose style, "I have given them Indians a present to make peace with those Indians and had the Ceremony of the Pipe upon it and they have promised to bring me some of them down and not to go to warr with them any more but to Send some of there Slaves back again

¹³⁵ York Fort Journal, 8 May, 1716: 9. A. 3, f. 28^v [p. 110].

¹³⁶ *Misi-nipi*, Cree for "great water," is one of those Indian descriptive phrases which might be applied to many different localities. Jérémie appears to use it as a name for Lake Winnipeg (*Relation du détroit et de la baie de Hudson*, p. 24). On Arrowsmith's map of 1795 (corrected to 1796) "Messin-a-ne-pe" is found as a name for the upper Churchill river, and from Knight's journal at Churchill (p. 165, *infra*) it is evident that it was applied to a lake in the Churchill river system, probably Southern Indian lake, which is sometimes designated Big lake. The Indians were named from the locality. These and many other passages indicate that the Missinippis were Southern Indians, Crees, who were enemies of the Athapascans. The lower Churchill river bore the name *Monoteousibi*, river of the strangers, according to Jérémie (op. cit., p. 8), or *Manato-e-sepe*, a sea-like river, according to Coats (*Geography of Hudson's Bay*, p. 35). It is probably derived from Cree *omanotew*, a strange visitor, and *sipi, sibi*, river.

with the Small Presents I had given them.”¹³⁷ On 27 May, 1716, “Uplanders” who came down Nelson river informed Knight that envoys he had employed the preceding spring had made peace with “four nations that lies between the SW and the W” who had never before had trade with Europeans.¹³⁸ On 18 June of the same year the “Mountain Indians” reported that they had, in accordance with Knight’s directions, made peace with three nations that bordered on them.¹³⁹ Less favourable was the report of some natives who returned on 19 August, after having gone up in the spring to make peace with the “Western Indians”: hearing that some of their people had been killed they abandoned the mission and went ‘every one to shift for himself.’¹⁴⁰ And on 1 September Knight learned that three envoys whom he had employed to go among the “Crow Indians” on a similar mission were either sick or dead.¹⁴¹ But a certain “Captain Swan,” an Indian leader who, in 1715, had been ‘sent to the West Seas to make a peace with all the Indians quite through,’ arrived at the factory on 5 June, 1717, and claimed to have

¹³⁷ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, ff. 31^v-32 [pp. 122-3].

¹³⁸ Ibid., f. 33^v [p. 130].

¹³⁹ Ibid., ff. 39-39^v [pp. 151-3]. Cf. p. 64, *infra*.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., f. 54 [pp. 213-4].

¹⁴¹ Ibid., f. 58 [pp. 229-30]. The Crows of modern times are a Siouan tribe, dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Yellowstone river and the Rocky mountains. According to their own tradition they are a branch of the Hidatsa, who dwelt on the Missouri river in what is now North Dakota, and they broke away from the parent stock at an uncertain date, but one usually estimated to be later than the era of Governor Knight.

had a successful meeting with a people who bordered on the West Seas.¹⁴²

The Indian men from the north of Churchill who came to York with William Stewart were, in order to avoid trouble between them and the Crees, kept close to the factory, where they were interrogated by Knight about their country and where also they were trained in the use of fire-arms.¹⁴³ On 30 May nine of them departed to return to their own land, having been supplied with guns and presents, and were accompanied until they crossed Port Nelson by a boat and crew from the factory, as a protection against some of the Southern Indians who were just then in a particularly ugly humour.¹⁴⁴ On 27 July one of these Northerners was back at the factory with bad news. When they came to Churchill river six crossed in the one canoe they had with them while the other three waited to be taken over on a second passage. The six fell into an ambush of Eskimos and apparently were cut off; the three, after waiting two days—according to their own story—returned south and, falling in with a band of the “Home” Indians, were brought along by them but robbed of all they possessed.¹⁴⁵ Captain Knight had one more disappointment to expatiate on in his journal.

In fact, from the beginning of his last governorship in Hudson bay misfortune seems to have dogged

¹⁴² H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 55 [pp. 194-5].

¹⁴³ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 29 [p. 112].

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 34-5 [pp. 132-5].

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 47^v [p. 185].

Knight's footsteps. The buildings at York Factory which he received from the French in 1714 were in such ruinous condition that he was forced to plan for the erection of an entirely new factory and fort. Before any beginning could be made thereon, however, the flood which accompanied the breaking of the ice in Hayes river in May, 1715, swept over the old fort, destroying the palisades, staving in the walls of two of the buildings, forcing the garrison to take refuge on the roofs, and damaging or destroying a large part of the stores. Worse still, no ship from England came to York in 1715. It was not till a year later that Knight learned that a ship had actually arrived off Port Nelson, so near as to see a beacon light on shore, but, because of the ignorance or cowardice of her captain, Joseph Davis,¹⁴⁶ had failed to locate the port and had returned with her cargo to England. Henceforth the lamentations of Knight over his disappointments were mingled on every other page with denunciations of Davis. But in the autumn, winter and spring of 1715-16 the governor knew only that he was without supplies for the trade of the following season, and he carried on the negotiations with the Northern Indians and the plans for the Churchill foundation in the

¹⁴⁶ Joseph Davis had been more or less continuously in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as mariner, mate, or master since Knight's expedition to 'the Bottom of the Bay' in 1692. On that occasion, as Knight points out (York Fort Journal II. A. 3, f. 33^v [p. 111]), he had been at Hayes river, but his later experience was with the navigation of James bay.

consciousness that failure and perhaps terrible disaster were looming just ahead. The dangers of the summer of 1716 realized his worst anticipations. The Indians from the interior came down to trade in unusually large numbers, and found no goods available. Death by starvation or at the hands of their enemies threatened all of them if they went back without supplies, particularly of powder and shot. Some did return, but others remained in the vicinity of the factory, starving and desperate. During much of the summer the Company's men could not go out to hunt or to gather timber for fear of being murdered. The old fort had been wrecked and left open to attack, and very little work could be done on the new. It speaks volumes for the ability of Knight—and doubtless his deputy, Henry Kelsey, should share in the credit—that no serious trouble resulted. At last, on 4 September, 1716, when it was feared that no ship was coming this year either, the *Hudson's Bay* frigate, Captain Richard Ward, arrived in Hayes river.¹⁴⁷

The late arrival of the ship and the delays in building the new factory compelled the governor to abandon his design of going to Churchill in the 'fall' of 1716, on which he had still been determined when he sent off the Northern Indians to their own country in the preceding May, and even after their return.¹⁴⁸ He maintained his resolution, however, to make the settlement in the following summer, and wrote home

¹⁴⁷ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 59^v [p. 236].

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., f. 40 [p. 156], f. 47^v [p. 186].

by the *Hudson's Bay* frigate requesting that a ship with supplies and extra men be sent directly to Churchill in 1717.¹⁴⁹ For the winter of 1716-17 three Northerners were billeted with bands of "Home" Indians in the surrounding country, while four, including the slave woman, who spoke "these Indians Language very Well and understands a pretty Deal of English,"¹⁵⁰ and a slave boy who "Spakes English and Understands any thing as his Spoke to him & Likewise these country Indians as well as the Natives here doo,"¹⁵¹ were kept at the factory.¹⁵² On 8 November one of the three in the country came into the fort in fear of his life, having been robbed by his Cree hosts.¹⁵³ The winter set in early and proved very severe, with the result that the natives, both of the York district and of the interior, suffered greatly. At the factory, where the Indian terror had prevented hunting, especially during the goose season, the food consisted chiefly of European provisions, and this, together with the unaccustomed confinement, proved fatal to the Northerners.¹⁵⁴ On 8 December the slave woman was taken sick,¹⁵⁵ and by 29 January the slave boy and the man who had fled from the Crees were also stricken down.¹⁵⁶ The woman died on 5 February,¹⁵⁷ the man on the 22nd,¹⁵⁸

¹⁴⁹ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal II. A. 3, f. 33^v [p. 111]

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., f. 20^v [p. 70].

¹⁵¹ Ibid., f. 30^v [p. 102].

¹⁵² Ibid., f. 6 [p. 14].

¹⁵³ Ibid., f. 11 [pp. 33-4].

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., f. 38^v [p. 130].

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., f. 15 [p. 49].

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., f. 20^v [p. 70].

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., f. 24 [p. 81].

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., f. 29^v [p. 99].

the boy on the 25th; ¹⁵⁹ and another boy passed away on 4 March.¹⁶⁰ Thus Captain Knight lost not only all his Athapascan interpreters, but also, in the slave woman, the person on whom he relied chiefly for the promotion of the northern trade. He had given personal care to the invalids—‘I have not had in 12 weeks time 3 hours in 24 rest, and sometimes none at all’ ¹⁶¹—and exhaustion, worry and disappointment brought on a collapse of his own health and frequent attacks of fainting.¹⁶²

On the following 6 May another slave, capable of speaking both Cree and Chipewyan, was by good fortune obtained. ‘Yesterday the Indian as came in brought a Northern slave woman which I bought this day, having a great deal of difficulty to get her; and paid dear for her, for she cost me above 60 skins value in goods; but have her I must, let it cost me what will, for here is no one else as can speak one word of that country language and this.’ ¹⁶³ She was the only interpreter Knight had when he sailed to make the settlement at Churchill river.

The restless energy of the veteran governor had not been inspired entirely, or even chiefly, by ambition to expand the Company’s fur-trade or by philanthropic desire to promote the peace and welfare of the aborigines. The stimulus to his efforts, he himself states, ‘was from something I had heard of in

¹⁵⁹ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal II. A. 3, f. 30^v [p. 102].

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., f. 33 [p. 110].

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., f. 32 [p. 108], f. 33 [p. 111], f. 34 [p. 114], etc.

¹⁶³ Ibid., f. 47^v [p. 165].

England which I informed the Committee of before I came out,' of which "something" he received confirmation when he was told of places in the far west where the natives found "Yellow Mettle." ¹⁶⁴ On 8 May, 1716, after describing at some length the prevalence of copper among the Northern Indians, he adds: "but that is not Still what I am Endeavouring to gett or Endeavour to Discover thare is a Parcell of Indians as lyes upon the next Seas as has a Yellow Mettle as they make use of as these do Copper." ¹⁶⁵ James Knight was perhaps the first of white men to be lured to his death by the gleam of gold amid the snows of Canada's northland.

Into the geography of the vast territory to the north and west Knight made diligent inquiry. 'And now,' he writes on 12 May, 1716, 'I find what a great oversight was in me to lend Capt. Jones [apparently a member of the Hudson's Bay Company's committee] my book of the northern journals. He promised to bring it the next committee with him, but when I asked him for it he told me he had forgotten it—and we coming the next day! So I came away without it, which would have given me a great light so far as they had been on their discoveries; but I must now make all the discoveries in the dark for want of it.' ¹⁶⁶ He had the Northern Indians chalk out for him a plan of their country, whereon they marked seventeen rivers beyond Churchill, of which the fourteenth,

¹⁶⁴ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 44^v [p. 173].

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., f. 28–28^v [pp. 108–10].

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., f. 31^v [p. 122].

which passed by the side of a great mountain and 'I know runs into the west sea,' was that in which virgin copper was found. They told him also of 'a very great river that comes out of the west sea and is in the bottom of a very great bay where there lies three islands almost out of sight of land where the Indians inhabit there brings a yellow metal from thence and wear it as they and the Copper Indians do copper.'¹⁶⁷ The "Mountain Indians," who dwelt at a distance of a journey of thirty-nine days coming down and of three times that going back, in a land where the mountains rose almost to the skies, reported that Indians who dwelt beyond them had abundance of white and yellow metals.¹⁶⁸ And a slave woman, apparently one of the envoys whom Knight sent to the "Crow Indians," told him that she herself had taken the yellow metal out of the river, and that from the hills in that country large vessels could be seen on the western sea. These, thought Knight, must be Tartars or Japanese.¹⁶⁹ But for all his inquiries Knight could obtain no confirmation of the existence

¹⁶⁷ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, ff. 29^v-30^v [pp. 114-17], 31^v [pp. 121-2].

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., ff. 43^v-44^v [pp. 170-3], f. 53 [p. 209], f. 57 [pp. 225-6]. This is, perhaps, the earliest description of the Canadian Rockies. Who the "Mountain Indians" were is not certain. The name was applied at a later time to Chipewyans (cf. *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico* for references), but, in addition to the fact that there does not seem to have been any linguistic barrier to Knight's conversation with these Indians, it is improbable that the Crees would permit any Chipewyans to come to York at this period.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., ff. 44^v-45 [pp. 173-6], f. 58 [pp. 229-30]; 11. A. 3, f. 22 [p. 74].

of an open passage between America and Asia,¹⁷⁰ though he himself concluded that the coast to which the seventeen rivers ran down must continue around by the north into the western and warmer ocean.¹⁷¹ He had genuine samples of copper to send home to London; he solicited the Indians to bring down the 'yellow metal' that never came; he evolved a geographical concept from the imperfect translation of answers given by natives who probably did not half understand him; and he affirmed his determination 'let things be never so difficult, please God to spare me life and health I will endeavour to find a way to arrive at both [the copper and the gold] either by trade or a vessel.'¹⁷²

When Knight was despatched to Hudson bay in 1714 the Company sent an order by the ship *Port Nelson*, bound for Albany Factory, that the *East Main* sloop and five men should be transferred from there to the recovered post at York. Knight reinforced the order by a letter written on board his ship, the *Union*, in Hudson straits on 17 July, when they separated from the *Port Nelson*.¹⁷³ In consequence of these instructions the *East Main*, David Vaughan

¹⁷⁰ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 29^v [p. 114], f. 34 [p. 132].

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, f. 31^v [p. 121]. It is probable that the Indian geography was not far wrong if regarded from the point of view of the interior country, but Knight was interpreting it from the point of view of the sea-coast. Neither party had any knowledge of the great barrier of the Melville and Boothia peninsulas.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, ff. 29^v-30^v [pp. 114-17].

¹⁷³ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 2 [pp. 2-3].

master, sailed from Albany Factory for Hayes river on 6 September at the same time that the *Port Nelson* weighed for London. The two vessels parted company near the Bear islands on 11 September, but not before the *East Main* had received damage amidships from a collision with her larger consort. By 1 October Vaughan had brought his crippled vessel to anchor at the mouth of Hayes river, but a heavy storm raging, with extremely cold weather, she became so coated with ice that, in fear of sinking from the weight thereof, he cut the cable and ran her aground some fifteen miles to the eastward. On the 15th and 17th of October the master and five men arrived by land at York Fort.¹⁷⁴ But when on 25 October Vaughan with five men and a dog-sled went back to remove the goods from the sloop she had disappeared,¹⁷⁵ and, although the coast was searched repeatedly, no further trace of her could be found. The hoodoo that seemed to wait on Captain Knight was already at work, for the want of a sailing vessel seriously crippled his movements, especially during the critical summer of 1716.

On 5 June of that year a council was held at York Fort at which it was decided that Vaughan with two white men and an Indian guide should go by canoe to Albany and bring back in the *Prosperous* hoy, stationed at that post, such goods and provisions as could be spared, lest, should the ship from England

¹⁷⁴ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 21^v [pp. 68-9], f. 44 [pp. 159-60].

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., ff. 22-22^v [pp. 71-3].

again miscarry, "we must Unavoidable perish."¹⁷⁶ It was not till 25 October that Vaughan returned, again coming in by land. He had sailed from Albany with the *Prosperous* on 20 August, but ice and storms made it impossible to get into Hayes river and finally compelled him to run ashore some eighty or one hundred miles south of the factory.¹⁷⁷ There the goods were stored on shore and the ship carefully secured, with the result that she passed the winter without damage.

Meanwhile, as has been stated, the ship from England, the *Hudson's Bay*, had come into Hayes river on 4 September. Knight was much disgusted at the small amount of provisions that came and at the instructions that he should keep a weekly account of the expenditure of provisions, and also at the fact that no carpenter was sent for his assistance. 'For my part I am weary of having the name of a Governor of this country and I think it will be much more for the Company's ease and quiet to recall me and appoint some other in my place that they may be better satisfied with.'¹⁷⁸ The carpenter of the *Hudson's Bay* was put to work at constructing a sailing vessel for the factory, and before his ship left for England he had the frame raised and part of the planking done.¹⁷⁹ The men at the factory completed the work

¹⁷⁶ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, f. 36 [pp. 139-40], ff. 78 seqq. [pp. 260 seqq.].

¹⁷⁷ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 9 [pp. 25-6].

¹⁷⁸ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9. A. 3, ff. 60^v-61 [pp. 240-2].

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., ff. 61^v, 62^v [pp. 243, 247].

in the following spring. On 8 June, 1717, Knight notes: 'This day we launched the hoy. The Company not sending any name for her I gave her the name *Good Success*'; ¹⁸⁰ and on the 22nd: 'The hoy being rigged I put aboard what things I designed for Churchill River and only wait now for the *Prosperous* hoy to put some plank and casks aboard and so to go in company together to Churchill River—the ice being all loose and the wind setting off shore drives it so far off as we can get along shore, by the Indians' reports.'¹⁸¹ However, it was not till 8 July that the *Prosperous* arrived at Hayes river from her wintering place on the coast.¹⁸²

Before this an advance party had been sent to Churchill. Governor Knight had designed that such a detachment should go overland about the middle of April, and had ordered the only surviving Northern Indian man to come to the factory by the 15th of that month.¹⁸³ He did not come until the 23rd, by which time the spring thaw had begun and the whole country for sixty miles north of Port Nelson was, according to Indian reports, flooded.¹⁸⁴ The party did not leave York Fort until 10 June, and then went by sea in a small boat or "shallop" attached to the factory.¹⁸⁵ It was made up of the surgeon, John Carruthers, who was in command; William Stewart, the interpreter; six workmen—John Richardson,

¹⁸⁰ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 56 [p. 198].

¹⁸¹ Ibid., f. 59 [p. 210].

¹⁸² Ibid., f. 62^v [p. 221].

¹⁸³ Ibid., f. 40^v [p. 138].

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., f. 44 [pp. 152-3].

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., f. 57^v [p. 203].

James Miller, George Clark, Rowland Waggoner, George Heminster and John Butler; an apprentice boy, Richard Norton; and the Northern Indian.¹⁸⁶

The following written instructions were given by the governor to Carruthers and Stewart:

“To Mr John Carruthers

You are to take the first Oppertunity of Wind & Weather & to make the best of your way to Churchill River wth the Shallop & those Men as are Appointed to go with You &

¹⁸⁶ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 57 [p. 203]. Of the men mentioned, Carruthers, Stewart, Clark, Waggoner, and Norton had come out with Knight in 1714, and Miller had accompanied David Vaughan from Albany to York the same autumn (H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 15^v [pp. 45-6]). Carruthers was still living in 1749, when he gave evidence before the parliamentary committee on the state of the Hudson's Bay Company (cf. p. 75, *infra*). Richard Norton was an apprentice of the Company who, it would seem, followed Henry Kelsey's example in "delighting much in Indians' Company." On 28 March, 1719, when Kelsey was governor in chief, residing at York Fort, he wrote to Stanton, commanding at Churchill: "I would desire you'll keep Norton to his learning that he may be capable in time to reap the benefitt of his labours for you are not unsenceable how long both you and I have stayd for the fruits of our Industry yett the fates would neaver allowd it had not we Endeavoured in some measure to have qualified our selves for the discharging the trust deposed in us" (H. B. Co. York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 14 [p. 24]). Whether Stanton followed these instruction or not, Norton succeeded in time to the governorship of Churchill (cf. pp. 91 seq., *infra*). He married a Cree woman, and his son, Moses Norton, also attained to that position (cf. p. 102, *infra*). Miller was one of four men (the other three were John Wateridge and James Callant, or Calabrant, who also had come from Albany in 1714, and Nicholas Coxworthy, seaman on the *Union*, taken into the Company's service at York Fort that same year) who, their time having expired in the autumn of 1716, were engaged for a further period of two years at advanced wages for special work at Churchill. This agreement was made at a council held at York, 17 September, 1716 (York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 3 [p. 2]).

when it shall please God you gett there than you be to Employ those Men in Cutting & hewing of timber for y^e Building According to the Dimentions you have in y^e Draft but rather to build the House Bigger than Less If Possible Such Timber is to be gott & too gett it in the most Convenient Places you Can where it Lyes best & nearest to come Down the River. If there Chance to be any Indians there or Should come before I gett there You are too Leave the Mannagement of trade & w^t tends to y^e Indians to W^m. Stewart but in Every thing Else all Men are to be Under Your Command & to follow & Obey all such Orders as You Shall Direct but above all things be Careful that none of your Men Concern themselves wth Indians in no Respect but him as I have Ordered to Man- nage that Affair so Wishing You a Good & Prosperous Voyage wth Success to Attend you I rest Yo^r Loveing Friend & Govern^r

J. K.

—Orders & Instructions To M^r W^m Stewart—

You being Sent to Churchill River as to y^e Manngement of the Indian Affairs I Give You these Instructions w^{ch} you are to follow as Near as Possible You Can

1st Imp^{es} If you find Any Indians there or Should comes you are to treat them very Civilly not Useing to much familliarly with them for that will make them prove Saucy & Impudent but carry your Self wth Gravity & Solidity

2^{dly} You are not to Suffer any Man to Concern themselves wth the Indians Either in Discoursing with them & Playing & be sure be Careful of the Boy ¹⁸⁷ that he doth not Play the Rogue with them w^{ch} you know he is to Often Addicted to

3^{dly} You are to Send away Some of the Indians into their own Country to Give Notice as wee are building at Churchill River Shall have Goods to Supply them If they take care to gett some to purchase ours with & you are to Direct them what Goods they Shall gett & the Seasons they are to be gott

¹⁸⁷ I.e., Norton.

in but above All to gett Such Commoditys as You'l find
Annex'd & Entred in Your Instructions at ye End

4^{thly} You are to Inform the Indians abt the Death of all there
friends as that they was Carry'd of by Sickness & none of
them Murdered but to Acquaint them as I took all the Care
as Possible could be before they fell Sick & when they was
Ill and that I loved them so as I had like to have Died when
they Did for Grief & I am Allways Still Melancholly & full of
Sorrow & I Loved them like my Own Children and I did not
lett y^m Want for any of my Country Provisions but Gave
them w^t they would eat for wee could gett Neither fish nor
Venison for y^m here & besides this is Low lands & Nigh the
Sea Side and it did not Agree with them And I would have
had them Gone into there own Country the first of ye Last
fall but they was all Afraid of being Starvd or killd by their
Enemys Excepting Aumaty or the Man as is with You w^{ch}
he can Satisfye I had fittid According for the Journey
5^{thly} If Tom Should be there you are to keep him & to tell
him all these things as hath happen'd that he may Inform
his Country Men of Every thing so Wishing you Good Success
& to be Vigilant & Carefull in Observing Your Orders

I Rest Yo^r Loveing Friend

& Govern^r

J. K.

W^t You are Too Direct them for too gett is Viz^t Martins
Foxes Queequihach's Bears Wolves Beavor Raw
Moose Skins Buffalo Skins Musk Copper And
Yellow Mettle

And you are to be private & not to Divulge Amongst the
Men w^t Information You Shall have from ye Indians abt
Mineralls or any thing Else."¹⁸⁸

On 18 June the governor at York Fort engaged an
Indian to go to Churchill and serve as hunter to the

¹⁸⁸ York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, ff. 56-7 [pp. 199-202].

advance party,¹⁸⁹ whose whole reserve of provisions, it would seem, consisted of two Cheshire cheeses and a bushel of oatmeal.¹⁹⁰

The *Prosperous* hoy, as has been seen, arrived at the mouth of Hayes river on 8 July. The following day she came up to the factory and took on board stores for Churchill. In the afternoon of the 10th, a Wednesday, Governor Knight handed over the factory to his deputy, Henry Kelsey, and went on board the *Success*. That evening the two hoyes, the *Success* under the command of David Vaughan and the *Prosperous* under Michael Grimington,¹⁹¹ were

¹⁸⁹ York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 58^v [p. 208].

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., f. 64 [p. 226].

¹⁹¹ This was, doubtless, the son of the Michael Grimington whose name figures so largely in the marine records of the Hudson's Bay Company in the later part of the seventeenth century (cf. p. 33, *supra*). We hear first of Michael Grimington, Junior, on 5 February, 1700, when his wages were to be paid to the preceding 6 July (H. B. Co. Minute Book 222, f. 8 [p. 30]). In January, 1704, he was given command for a time of the Company's ship *Hudson's Bay* frigate. He is here explicitly described as Captain Grimington's son (Minute Book 226, f. 6 [p. 7]). In later years he acquired a rather bad reputation. He was blamed (if he is to be identified with the "Young Grimmelton" of Knight's letter to Stanton, 30 June, 1715) for the late sailing and consequent loss of the *East Main* sloop in the autumn of 1714. It would appear that the sloop was held at Albany for the arrival of the hoy (the *Prosperous*?), and that this latter vessel was late because "Grimmelton" and all his crew were drunk (York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 44 [p. 160]). As will be seen (p. 145, *infra*), Governor Knight had difficulty in getting men to sail with Grimington from Churchill to Albany in August, 1717. In September, 1718, when Kelsey was awaiting word from Knight at Churchill in order to despatch the *Hudson's Bay* home from York, he sent Grimington in the *Prosperous* to Churchill to obtain the necessary communications. In nine days they returned, with the excuse that there was not wind

piloted out past the cross-bar at the mouth of the river, and at 8 o'clock the following morning both sailed for Churchill river.¹⁰²

From this point the story is taken up by the Journal.

to make the voyage, but Kelsey heard later that Grimington, who had been recalled to England, had declared he would do the Company no further service (York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 9 [p. 13]).

¹⁰² York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, ff. 62^v-63^v [pp. 221-5]; 14. A. 3, f. 1 [p. 1].

V. THE FATE OF CAPTAIN KNIGHT

THE *Hudson's Bay* frigate, returning from Churchill to London in the autumn of 1717, brought Governor Knight's request for a recall the following year. The 'four years certain' of his contract with the Company would then be completed, and he had lost all desire to fill out the optional fifth year. He was now an old man—certainly of more than sixty years, probably of more than seventy¹⁹³—and his extraordinary exertions, as well as the hardships, disappointments and worries he had undergone, had undermined his health.¹⁹⁴ But the true cause of the

¹⁹³ Joseph Robson, in *An account of six years residence in Hudson's-bay* (London: 1752), Appendix, p. 36, and Samuel Hearne, in *A journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the northern ocean* (London: 1795), p. xxvi, both state that Knight was nearly eighty at the time of his last expedition in 1719. Hearne was probably dependent on Robson, and Robson on gossip which he heard at Churchill and York Fort. It has been seen that Knight had been several years in the Company's service, and must have been a man of some maturity, when he was proposed for the position of deputy governor in 1680. Cf. p. 23, *supra*.

¹⁹⁴ When Knight was in Port Nelson on his way back to England in September, 1718, Henry Kelsey wrote to him for an abstract of the goods and supplies at Churchill, presumably with a view to making the requisition for the following year: Knight answered that he had no time, but would himself inform the Company as to what was wanting: "So that," says Kelsey in a letter to Stanton at Churchill, "we must trust to his life which is No Certainty."—H. B. Co. York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 13 [p. 22].

change was, we may well believe, the realization that the acquisition of the 'yellow metal' 'by way of trade' would be long delayed and slow, and that the only hope of winning it in his time was to essay the other alternative he had propounded two years before and seek his Eldorado 'by a vessel.'¹⁹⁵

Not only his own garrulous journals, in which can be detected, perhaps, some of the mental aberrations of old age, but also a certain amount of independent evidence, suggest that Knight had become obsessed with the thought of discovering great riches in precious metals. Carruthers, the surgeon, giving evidence before the parliamentary committee of 1749, described the governor as making great inquiries about the mines, and being 'very earnest in this discovery, which was always his topic';¹⁹⁶ and Joseph Robson, who served in the Bay from 1733 to 1735, and from 1744 to 1747, reports, apparently relaying the gossip of the Company's servants, that Knight 'said he knew his way to the place as well as to his bedside.'¹⁹⁷

The governor's last year in office offered little compensation for earlier misfortune. The principal part of the work on the fort at Churchill was completed amid difficulties similar to those described in the journal of 1717. David Vaughan, sent north along the coast in the *Success* hoy, succeeded in 'breaking

¹⁹⁵ Cf. p. 65, *supra*.

¹⁹⁶ *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), p. 231.

¹⁹⁷ Joseph Robson, *An account of six years residence in Hudson's-bay* (London: 1752), p. 15.

a trade' with the Eskimos. Little returns, however, came in from the Northern Indians, who seemed to have formed the opinion that the white men's only object was to supply them with gratuitous presents. Moreover, the truce between them and the Crees had been broken in many places, and both Knight at Churchill and Kelsey at York Fort had continual trouble in maintaining or re-establishing the peace.¹⁹⁸

The governor had intended to return to York Fort before sailing for England, and on 2 July wrote to Henry Kelsey that he expected to be there about 10 August.¹⁹⁹ He was unable to carry out his intention and was still at Churchill when, on the 21st, the *Albany* frigate, Captain Berley, Barley, or Barlow, entered that harbour. By this ship he received the Company's authorization of his return to England and a gift of eight dozen bottles of wine for his use on the return voyage.²⁰⁰ He also learned that Henry Kelsey had been appointed his successor as governor in chief in the Bay. On 7 or 8 September James Knight said farewell to Churchill, where he left Richard Stanton in command, and sailed on the

¹⁹⁸ The hard winter of 1716-17 made the natives more untractable. "The Indians are in a Cursed Ill humour by reason so many Indians Dying abt this Winter & doo think that the making of the Peace wth the Northern Indians has been the Occasion of it for they are of the Opinion the Devill must have so many Every Year & if they can but kill their Enemys they be Spared themselves."—York Fort Journal 11. A. 3, f. 42 [p. 145].

¹⁹⁹ H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 14. A. 3, f. 27-27^v [pp. 79-81]; York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 9 [p. 13].

²⁰⁰ Information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Albany towards York Fort. On the 12th they entered Port Nelson and sent David Vaughan, who also was returning home, overland to York. Some communications were exchanged between Knight and Kelsey in connection with the Company's business, and Knight reported 'that he had sent an Indian to the golden mines.'²⁰¹ It was, doubtless, intended that the *Albany* and the *Hudson's Bay*, the ship that came this year to York Fort, should sail for home in company, but the *Hudson's Bay*, in attempting to leave harbour on 16 September, received such serious damage that she was detained until the 26th, and the *Albany* departed alone on or about 20 September.²⁰² We may assume that the voyage saw great discourse between Knight, Berley and Vaughan regarding possibilities and plans for an expedition of discovery into the golden west by way of the North-West Passage.

Arrived in London, Knight spent the winter of 1718-19 in pressing his new proposals on the Hudson's Bay Company. The result is recorded in the minutes of the Company. On 24 April, 1719: 'The Gov^r, Sir Bibye Lake, with the Deputy Gov^r and Mr Pitts and Sam^l Jones, Esq^r, being appointed to treat with Gov^r Knight upon certain proposals made by him, the Gov^r now reported to this committee that they had several meetings with the said Capt. Knight and considered of his proposals and made some

²⁰¹ H. B. Co. York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 9^v [p. 15].

²⁰² *Ibid.*, f. 9 [p. 14].

progress towards an agreement with him, and were to meet this afternoon to endeavour to complete the same. Ordered, That the whole Committee be desired to meet this afternoon in order to finish the agreement with the said Capt. Knight.' And on 1 May: 'The Committee's agreement with Capt. James Knight to go upon discovery was this day sealed with the Company's seal; at the same time a counterpart was signed and sealed by the said Capt. Knight, which is left with the Secy in order to be locked up.' ²⁰³

Joseph Robson, writing in 1752, tells the story that the Company at first refused to comply with their ex-governor's request: "Knight, made more sanguine by an opposition which he could not expect, told them, that *they were obliged by their charter to make discoveries and extend their trade; and particularly to search for a north-west passage by the straits of Anian to the south-sea; but that if they would not fit out ships under him and Barlow for the discovery he came about, he would apply to the crown, and get others to undertake it*; and accordingly waited upon one of the secretaries of state. When the Company perceived him so resolute, and that his troublesome zeal, if left to itself, might actually bring on an inquiry into the legality of their charter, they thought it necessary to comply, and fitted out the ship and sloop before-mentioned. Knight was so confident of success, that he had strong chests made, bound with iron, to hold the

²⁰³ Extracts supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company.

gold and copper-ore which he expected; his mind was full of this single discovery; and it was only to engage the Company in it the more effectually, that he urged their obligations to find out a north-west passage."²⁰⁴

Whether there be any truth in this bit of "inside history" or not, we do not know. Robson's bias against the Hudson's Bay Company, and the obvious derivation of his ideas from the then recent controversy in which Arthur Dobbs had attacked the Company, laying particular emphasis on their failure to discover the North-West Passage, prohibit the placing of any reliance on his unsupported testimony.

The two ships supplied to Captain Knight for the expedition were the *Albany* frigate, commanded by Captain Berley, and a sloop named the *Discovery*, placed in charge of David Vaughan. Instructions were delivered to Knight on 4 June, 1719: 'You are, with the first opportunity of wind and weather, to depart Gravesend on your intended voyage, by God's permission, to find out the Streight of Anian, in order to discover gold, and other valuable commodities, to the northward.'²⁰⁵

After their departure from British waters Knight and the crews of his two vessels were never seen again by the eyes of white men, and it was not till half a century later that anything definite was learned about their fate.

Henry Kelsey in Hudson bay had taken up the

²⁰⁴ Robson, op. cit., pp. 36-7; cf. p. 15.

²⁰⁵ *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), p. 258.

task of northerly exploration from the base of Churchill at the point where Knight left off. It seems certain that Knight gave him no inkling of the new design he had in mind. Kelsey had intended to go himself to Churchill and spend the winter of 1718-19 there in preparation for an expedition northward, but the late departure of the ships compelled him to remain at York Fort. He suspected that the delay of Captain Berley in coming down from Churchill "was puerly to hinder me from getting into that River this fall."²⁰⁶ Between Knight and Kelsey there developed a coolness apparently greater than that which normally arose between a retiring governor and his successor in office: on returning to London, Knight laid definite charges of misconduct against Kelsey. Of these Kelsey heard only when he received his packet from London in September, 1719, by which also he seems to have learned for the first time of Knight's expedition of discovery. In the meanwhile he had himself made an expedition up the coast with the hoys *Prosperous* and *Success*, sailing from Churchill on 2 July and arriving back at York Fort on 9 August. He seems to have gone as far north at least as 62° 40', somewhat beyond Marble island, in waters which Knight's ships must have entered a few weeks later.²⁰⁷ Although instructions

²⁰⁶ H. B. Co. York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 9 [p. 13].

²⁰⁷ Kelsey in his letter to Scroggs of 31 January, 1722, indicates that at some time he had sailed this far north (York Fort Council Book 21. A. 3, f. 6 [p. 8]). It was probably in 1719, for his voyage of 1721 did not reach the destination intended.

seem to have been given to Kelsey and Stanton that any assistance required should be granted the explorers,²⁰⁸ no attempt was made to co-ordinate the efforts of the two forces, and to this the resulting tragedy may in part be ascribed. In 1720 Kelsey himself was unable to take part in exploration, but he sent out the *Prosperous* in charge of Captain Hancock, who left Churchill on 19 July and returned to York Fort on 9 August. He reported that 'the gold-finders wintered where we had been last summer, and had traded with those Indians and spoiled our trade.'²⁰⁹ He himself had not been able to proceed that far.²¹⁰ Next year, on 13 July, 1721, Kelsey with the *Prosperous* again sailed from Churchill, having on board Richard Norton and a Northern Indian "to show me ye copper." They did not find the copper, but articles from Knight's ships were found, doubtless among the Eskimos, which left no doubt in Kelsey's mind that the *Albany* and the *Discovery* had been lost. On 9 August adverse winds compelled him to turn southward; had he been able to push on, it is just possible that the last survivors on Marble island might have been rescued.²¹¹

In 1721 the *Whalebone* sloop, John Scroggs master, was sent from England to York Fort, and directions

²⁰⁸ Letter of Kelsey and the council at York Fort to Stanton, September, 1719.—York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 25 [p. 39].

²⁰⁹ York Fort Journal 14. A. 3, f. 80v [p. 250].

²¹⁰ *Kelsey Papers*, p. 115.

²¹¹ *Kelsey Papers*, p. 116. Cf. *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 3rd ser., Vol. XXIII (1929), sect. ii, pp. 66-8.

were given to Kelsey that he should despatch her as early as possible in 1722 upon northern discovery, as far as 66° 30' N., whence she should return at the beginning of September.²¹² She arrived at York on 1 September, and on the 12th sailed thence for Churchill. Because of the refusal of her crew to stay the winter it had been necessary to engage an entire new *personnel*, among whom was Christopher Middleton, who later was to command the *Furnace* in the expedition for discovery of the North-West Passage which came out in 1741.²¹³ The *Hannah*, Captain Gofton, the only large ship to come from England to the northern part of the Bay in this year 1721, sailed from York Fort with the *Whalebone*, intending to call at Churchill. Weather conditions prevented this; only the *Whalebone* arrived at Churchill; and Richard Stanton, who had expected to return home, was compelled to remain in charge there for another year.²¹⁴ On 31 January, 1722, Kelsey at York sent a letter to Scroggs giving information about the coast to the north of Churchill and instructions as to his voyage the following summer. He was to sail for the latitude of 66° 30' and there make exploration to the westward and southward for the country of the copper mines. Kelsey remarked in an addendum:

²¹² *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), pp. 254, 258. Cf. *Kelsey Papers*, p. 116.

²¹³ York Fort Council Book 17. A. 3. But when Scroggs sailed northward next year he left Middleton at Churchill.—Arthur Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's defence* (London: 1744), p. 117.

²¹⁴ York Fort Council Book 21. A. 3, f. 3 [p. 3], f. 6 [p. 8].

'I do believe by what the Indians told me when I was to the Norward that you will find the mines between 58^d and 60^d. . . . Capt. Knight wintered in about 62^d : 30^m odd.'²¹⁵ This last agrees exactly with the location of Marble island, and shows that Kelsey had obtained accurate information regarding Knight's expedition, although in his description of the coast he does not specifically mention that island. The instructions contain no suggestion that Scroggs was to search for Knight's vessels or for survivors of their wreck.

Scroggs sailed from Churchill on 22 June, 1722, having with him Richard Norton and two Northern Indians, and went at least as far as 64° 56' N.²¹⁶ They found no western passage and no copper mine, nor, as far as we know, did they come upon any further information regarding the disaster that had befallen Captain Knight. With the return of Scroggs to Churchill and thence to York Fort on 16 August, 1722, that disaster was, it is probable, relegated to the company of other unsolved mysteries of the sea.

W Samuel Hearne, some time governor at Churchill and first white man to discover the long-mooted copper mine, tells how this particular mystery came

²¹⁵ York Fort Council Book 21. A. 3, ff. 6-7 [pp. 8-11]. It would seem probable that Kelsey did not realize that Knight's expedition never escaped from their wintering quarters of 1719-20, but supposed that they had continued their journey and had been lost elsewhere.

²¹⁶ Christopher Middleton obtained a summary of Scroggs's journal, which Arthur Dobbs printed in his *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's defence* (London, 1744), pp. 113-8; cf. also his *Account of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1744), pp. 80-1.

to be solved. He relates the story of Knight's expedition, with vessels "having on board a good stock of provisions, a house in frame, together with all necessary mechanics, and a great assortment of trading goods," and of that commanded by Scroggs, who, he thought, was sent in search of Knight but learned nothing definite, "for all the marks he saw among the Esquimaux at Whale Cove scarcely amounted to the spoils which might have been made from a trifling accident." Of these matters, however, Hearne seems to have spoken only from hearsay; for what follows he had first-hand information:

"Notwithstanding a sloop was annually sent to the Northward on discovery, and to trade with the Esquimaux, it was the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, before we had positive proofs that poor Mr. Knight and Captain Barlow had been lost in Hudson's Bay.

The Company were now carrying on a black whale fishery, and Marble Island was made the place of rendezvous, not only on account of the commodiousness of the harbour, but because it had been observed that the whales were more plentiful about that island than on any part of the coast. This being the case, the boats, when on the look-out for fish, had frequent occasion to row close to the island, by which means they discovered a new harbour near the East end of it, at the head of which they found guns, anchors, cables, bricks, a smith's anvil, and many other articles, which the hand of time had not defaced, and which being of no use to the natives, or too heavy to be removed by them, had not been taken from the place in which they were originally laid. The remains of the house, though pulled to pieces by the Esquimaux for the wood and iron, are yet very plain to be seen, as also the hulls, or more properly speaking, the bottoms of the ship and sloop, which lie sunk in about five fathoms

water, toward the head of the harbour. The figurehead of the ship, and also the guns, &c. were sent home to the Company, and are certain proofs that Messrs. Knight and Barlow had been lost on that inhospitable island, where neither stick nor stump was to be seen, and which lies near sixteen miles from the main land. Indeed the main is little better, being a jumble of barren hills and rocks, destitute of every kind of herbage except moss and grass; and at that part, the woods are several hundreds of miles from the sea-side.

In the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, while we were prosecuting the fishery, we saw several Esquimaux at this new harbour; and perceiving that one or two of them were greatly advanced in years, our curiosity was excited to ask them some questions concerning the above ship and sloop, which we were the better enabled to do by the assistance of an Esquimaux, who was then in the Company's service as a linguist, and annually sailed in one of their vessels in that character. The account which we received from them was full, clear, and unreserved, and the sum of it was to the following purport:

When the vessels arrived at this place (Marble Island) it was very late in the Fall, and in getting them into the harbour, the largest received much damage; but on being fairly in, the English began to build the house, their number at that time seeming to be about fifty. As soon as the ice permitted, in the following Summer, (one thousand seven hundred and twenty,) the Esquimaux paid them another visit, by which time the number of the English was greatly reduced, and those that were living seemed very unhealthy. According to the account given by the Esquimaux they were then very busily employed, but about what they could not easily describe, probably in lengthening the long-boat; for at a little distance from the house there is now lying a great quantity of oak chips, which have been most assuredly made by carpenters.

Sickness and famine occasioned such havoc among the English, that by the setting in of the second Winter their number was reduced to twenty. That Winter (one thousand seven hundred and twenty) some of the Esquimaux took up

their abode on the opposite side of the harbour to that on which the English had built their houses²¹⁷ and frequently supplied them with such provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted of whale's blubber and seal's flesh and train oil. When the Spring advanced, the Esquimaux went to the continent, and on their visiting Marble Island again, in the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, they only found five of the English alive, and those were in such distress for provisions that they eagerly eat the seal's flesh and whale's blubber quite raw, as they purchased it from the natives. This disordered them so much, that three of them died in a few days, and the other two, though very weak, made a shift to bury them. Those two survived many days after the rest, and frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock, and earnestly looked to the South and East, as if in expectation of some vessels coming to their relief. After continuing there a considerable time together, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together, and wept bitterly. At length one of the two died, and the other's strength was so far exhausted, that he fell down and died also, in attempting to dig a grave for his companion. The skulls and other large bones of those two men are now lying above-ground close to the house. The longest liver was, according to the Esquimaux account, always employed in working of iron into implements for them; probably he was the armourer, or smith."

²¹⁷ "I have seen the remains of those houses several times; they are on the West side of the harbour, and in all probability will be discernible for many years to come.

"It is rather surprising, that neither Middleton, Ellis, Christopher, Johnston, nor Garbet, who have all of them been at Marble Island, and some of them often, ever discovered this harbour; particularly the last-mentioned gentleman, who actually sailed quite round the island in a very fine pleasant day in the Summer of 1766. But this discovery was reserved for a Mr. Joseph Stephens; a man of the least merit I ever knew, though he then had the command of a vessel called the Success, employed in the whale-fishery; and in the year 1769, had the command of the Charlotte given to him, a fine brig of one hundred tons; when I was his mate." [Hearne's note.]

That this is the whole story of the disaster cannot be believed. The experienced and resourceful commanders of hard-bitten crews of the Hudson's Bay ships, well equipped and well supplied as they must have been, were never reduced to helpless incompetency by a minor accident in a harbour on Marble island. But we can no longer hope for the further information that would fully explain the final catastrophe in Captain Knight's ill-fated career.

By 1724 the death of Knight had been accepted as certain, and probate of his will had been granted, on 23 September, to his widow, Elizabeth Knight. Since this document forms almost our only source of information as to the private life of the founder of Churchill, it is here given in greater part:

"In the Name of God Amen. I James Knight of Bisham ~~at~~ Bulsham in the County of Berks Gent being in good health of Body . . . And being now bound out on a voyage to Sea am therefore willing and desirous to settle and dispose of what Temporall Estate it shall please Almighty God to blesse me with as followeth . . . I do hereby will order direct and appoint y^t my Executrix hereinafter named shall out of my said Estate pay Satisfye and discharge all such just Debts as shal be by me owing at the time of my Decease Together with my ffunerall Charges (if any be) Item I give and bequeath unto my sone Gilpin Knight one shilling and no more he having been already advanced by me in the world Considerably more than my Circumstances could allow off. All the Rest Residue and Remainder of my Estate both Reall and personall whatsoever and whatsoever, of what Nature Kind or Quallity the Same doth or shall happen to Consist off at the time of my Decease I Give Devise and bequeath unto my Loving Wife Elizabeth Knight and her Assigns for ever . . .

And I do hereby make Constitute and appoint my said Loving Wife Elizabeth Knight Full and Sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament. And I do hereby Revoke Disanull and make void all former and other Wills and Testaments Bequests and Legaties by me . . . made bequeathed and Given and Do make and declare these p^rsents . . . to be my last Will and Testament . . . In witness whereof I the said James Knight have hereunto Set my hand and Seale this Third day of June Anno Dni One Thousand Seaven hundred and ffourteene. James Knight

Signed . . . in the p^rsents of us, who have Subscribed our names in his p^rsents. V. Sparrow John Taverner Scr. behind y^e Exch^a. John Ellis Servt.”²¹⁸

²¹⁸ London, Somerset House: Bolton 209. Sep. On the reverse of the original will is the endorsement “Berks St / Jacobi Knight / Sept^ris 1724. / Reg^d / Ex^d / Testor fuit de Bisham ats Bulsham / in Com Berks sed obiit in Nave / mercatoria Le Albany. / Albany / Testor Mortem obiit in Nave Mercatoria le Albany / infra Quatuor Annos.” Miss Doris G. Godfrey, of the Public Archives of Canada, to whom is due the discovery of this will, also verified the identity of the signature with those of Captain Knight in Hudson’s Bay House.

VI. THE LATER HISTORY OF CHURCHILL

JAMES KNIGHT died with his dreams of gold mines unfulfilled, his prophecies regarding Churchill not vindicated. Nevertheless, in spite of great disappointment during the first few years after the foundation, the Churchill River post gradually came to justify his confidence. The design to make it a reserve for trade with Athapascan Indians and Eskimos had to be abandoned. The greater part of its furs came from "Home" Crees and from Uplanders, Crees and Assiniboines, who came down the river in canoes. Nevertheless, Northern Indians came overland to trade in increasing numbers, and the Cree onslaughts upon them seem to have been gradually checked. On the other hand the Eskimos, whom Knight seems to have regarded as aggressors, became now the victims of attack by the Northerners. Whereas before the founding of the fort they had regularly frequented Churchill river, Joseph Robson reports that in his time they had been forced northward to Cape Eskimo and Whale cove.²¹⁹ Only a fortuitous trade seems to have developed with them, on the occasions when a sloop was sent north along the coast.

For the season 1722-3 the furs collected at Churchill amounted to 6,488½ made beaver skins,²²⁰ that is,

²¹⁹ Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

²²⁰ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 23. A. 3, f. 29 [p. 58].

when those of other animals had been valued, according to an established ratio, at their equivalent in beaver.²²¹ In 1729-30 the trade equalled 9,256½ beaver,²²² and in 1742, according to Arthur Dobbs, 20,000 beaver.²²³ This last was probably an exaggeration. Captain Coats, writing perhaps after 1751, says that the "trade at Churchill has rose from 8000 skins to 18,000, beaver and woolves chiefly, and but a few martins";²²⁴ and Andrew Graham, factor of the Company, writing in 1771, gives the annual trade as from ten to four thousand made beaver, in furs, felts, castoreum, goose feathers and quills, and a small quantity of train oil and whale-bone, part of which was received from the Eskimos, the rest from the white-whale fishery.²²⁵ The white-whale fishery had been maintained at Churchill almost from the beginning; Hearne states that "in some successful years they send home from eight to thirteen tons of fine oil."²²⁶ With Churchill as a basis, a black-whale fishery was carried on, chiefly around Marble island, from 1765 to 1772, but did not prove profitable.²²⁷ A few years later the fur trade at

²²¹ Cf. Hearne, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

²²² H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 42. A. 3, f. 30 [p. 53].

²²³ Arthur Dobbs, *An account of the countries adjoining to Hudson's bay* (London: 1744), p. 47.

²²⁴ John Barrow (ed.), *The geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality between the years 1727 and 1751* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), p. 38.

²²⁵ As given in George Bryce, *The remarkable history of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1900), p. 109.

²²⁶ Samuel Hearne, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

Churchill fell off greatly as a result of the arrival of traders from Canada in the Athabaska country, the first in 1778, and of the outbreak of small-pox among the Indians in 1781.²²⁸

This is not the place to relate the history of Churchill since its second foundation in 1717, nor are adequate materials for doing so yet available. But some few notes may be added, bearing on topics to which the preceding narrative has given prominence.

Though "Churchill River" was the geographical designation given by the Hudson's Bay Company to this most northern of its establishments, the actual fort from a very early date bore the title "Prince of Wales Fort." Richard Stanton, whom Knight had left in command of the post, was succeeded, on 4 August, 1722, by Nathaniel Bishop.²²⁹ On the 30th of the following June Mr. Bishop died, having been sick for three months.²³⁰ Richard Norton, of whom mention has been made several times, and Thomas Bird took charge of the post until 13 September, when orders appointing Norton acting chief were received from Governor Macklish at York Fort.²³¹ Norton remained as chief factor until

²²⁸ Samuel Hearne, *op. cit.*, Champlain Society ed., by J. B. Tyrrell, (Toronto: 1911), pp. 200-1.

²²⁹ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 23. A. 3, f. 1 [p. 1]. He had been in the Company's employ at least since 1694.—H. B. Co. Minute Book 216, f. 19^v [p. 76]. In 1705 he was deputy governor at Albany.—Minute Book 227, f. 18 [p. 61].

²³⁰ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 23. A. 3, f. 30 [p. 61].

²³¹ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 26. A. 3, f. 7 [p. 13].

August, 1727, when he was replaced by Captain Anthony Beale,²³² who, like Nathaniel Bishop, was one of the veterans of the Company's service. Also like Bishop, he ended his career at this northern post, dying on 13 April, 1731.²³³ Thomas Bird again took charge until 28 July, 1731, when Richard Norton arrived from England with a new commission as chief factor.²³⁴

Norton came charged with a special task. The Hudson's Bay Company had resolved to erect in their dominions a stone fortress of European design capable of repulsing any such naval raids as those led by d'Iberville in the time of William III, and Eskimo point, the rocky, semi-isolated promontory on the western side of the entrance to Churchill river, where Knight and his men had found so many traces of Eskimo habitation, was selected as the site. Norton, who seems to have personally directed the work, can have had but little knowledge of the theory and art of stone fortification, but it is probable that he followed plans supplied by English military officers. His energy and resourcefulness may have balanced his lack of scientific training.

The ships *Hannah* and *Mary* with which Norton came to Churchill brought masons and other artisans, labourers, equipment, and, apparently, a horse which died two days after the arrival. The earlier part of August, 1731, was employed in repairing the old fort,

²³² H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 36. A. 3, f. 1^v [p. 2], f. 3^v [p. 5].

²³³ Id., 46. A. 3, f. 20 [p. 31]. ²³⁴ Ibid., f. 31^v [p. 50].

collecting stone, burning lime, and digging to locate a foundation at Eskimo point. On 6 August: "This Day we Lined & Picketed y^e Fort on Eskemoe point. It consisting of a Polygon 100 Y^{ds} Square the Exterior Sides." ²³⁵ On 23 August Thomas Bird, with the masons and thirteen other men, was sent to the Point, where at about one o'clock they began work on the excavation for the foundation of the south bastion.²³⁶ By 11 September all were forced by the severity of the weather to return to the factory. During the autumn, winter and spring, stone and timber were collected, and much material was hauled by sled to the Point. The spring of 1732 was late, and it was not till 5 June that "our Masons began to work on y^e foundation that was Dugg last fall." ²³⁷ The foundation of this south bastion was, it would seem, completed in 1732. In 1733 two oxen and apparently two bulls were sent out, and after some trouble were broken to the task of hauling stone, hitherto performed entirely by the men themselves. ²³⁸ On 15 April, 1734, Norton records that he "sent 6 hands more to Eskemay Point wch makes y^e Number of men there 36 So we Can at all opportunities work

²³⁵ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 50. A. 3, f. 1^v [p. 2].

²³⁶ Ibid., f. 3^v [p. 5].

²³⁷ Ibid., f. 29^v [p. 49].

²³⁸ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 58. A. 3, ff. 2^v-3 [pp. 2-4], f. 27^v [p. 37]. In 1735 we hear of horses being used in this work (Churchill River Journal 63. A. 3, f. 37^v [p. 50]), and Joseph Robson in his estimate of the cost of constructing the fort speaks only of "four horses."—*An account of six years residence in Hudson's-bay* (London: 1752), Append., p. 69.

two Waggins wth men, & one wth Cattle, In Drawing to y^e Work Stone & Clay or Rather Mudd.”²³⁹ On 3 May, 1734, he “try^d y^e Experement of Blowing or Bursting of Large Rocks to Peices wth Gunpowder, w^{ch} I Performd wth Good Success & find it will be of Great Service towards y^e Dispatch of our Building.”²⁴⁰ Thereafter the blasting of building stone and occasional accidents resulting therefrom are frequently noticed in the journals. This summer the first cannon for the fort arrived from England, and on 6 August, 1734, three guns were mounted in position.²⁴¹

One of the masons who came out in 1733 was Joseph Robson, who sailed on the *Mary* frigate, arriving at Churchill on 3 August. Robson, on his own testimony, was the only man capable of conducting the building properly, but his attempt to assume the direction of it was promptly checked by Norton, horse-whip in hand.²⁴² The overseer at this time was, according to Robson, Thomas Giddins, or Gittins, “formerly a common soldier, but lately a hosier near London, who failing in his business, was taken into the Company’s service and sent to Churchill-river, not as a tradesman, but as a common servant”;²⁴³

²³⁹ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 58. A. 3, f. 29^v [pp. 40-1].

²⁴⁰ Ibid., f. 33^v [p. 46].

²⁴¹ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 63. A. 3, ff. 1-2^v [pp. 1-3].

²⁴² Joseph Robson, *An account of six years residence in Hudson’s-bay* (London: 1752), p. 10.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 9. As a matter of fact, Gittins had come out to York Fort with Captain Knight in 1714 (H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 15^v [p. 45]). It is not impossible that he had returned to England and been in business there in the meantime.

but the factory journals do not speak of his appointment as "steward" until 25 March, 1734.²⁴⁴ In 1735 James Napper, now for many years commander of the principal sloop at Churchill, was given charge of the work.²⁴⁵ By 1736, when Robson went back to England, two bastions, the south and the east, and the curtain between them, had been built, as well as another curtain and part of another bastion.²⁴⁶ In 1746, when he was again at Churchill, the ramparts seem to have been completed—although some parts, not built by him, had, he says, either tumbled down or bulged—a wooden parapet had been added from the timber in the old fort, now dismantled,²⁴⁷ and a large house had been erected in the interior. In 1746 and for several years later the masons were employed replacing the wooden parapet by one of stone, and erecting a battery on the opposite side of the harbour entrance, at Cape Merry.²⁴⁸ In its later stages the work, of construction or repair, lagged,

²⁴⁴ H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 58. A. 3, f. 25^v [p. 35].

²⁴⁵ Id., 63. A. 3, f. 25 [p. 32].

²⁴⁶ Robson, op. cit., Append., p. 70.

²⁴⁷ Captain Middleton writes in his journal on the *Furnace*, 9 August, 1741: "They told us from the shore they had pull'd down the old fort, for which I was very sorry. . . . I went to see what condition the old fort was in, and found it nothing but a heap of rubbish."—Journal on board the *Furnace*: Dobbs Papers, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast; transcript in Public Archives of Canada, p. 25.

²⁴⁸ Robson, op. cit., pp. 11, 35–6, Append., pp. 68–72. Cf. Hudson's Bay Co. to Robert Pilgrim, 6 May, 1747, and to Joseph Isbister, 5 May, 1748, in *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), pp. 268, 270–1.

and it would seem that when Andrew Graham was writing in 1771 it either was not yet finished or had only recently been completed. Prince of Wales Fort then mounted forty-two cannon, from six to twenty-four pounders, and the battery on Cape Merry six twenty-four pounders.²⁴⁹

In 1735-6 Richard Norton was in England.²⁵⁰ While there it is probable that he was consulted regarding a revival of the old project for the discovery of a North-West Passage, and when he returned to Churchill in 1736 there went with him orders looking to the resumption of exploration in the north-western parts of Hudson bay.²⁵¹ The moving spirit of the new agitation was an Irishman named Arthur Dobbs, a man of considerable ability, ambition and influence as well as of unfaltering confidence in, and fanatical attachment to, his own persuasions. Dobbs, having convinced himself of the existence of a North-West Passage, and the importance of its discovery, had made a first attempt to interest the Hudson's Bay Company in 1733. When he again visited England in 1735 he renewed the attack, and, having obtained a letter of introduction to the governor, Sir Bibye Lake, from Colonel Martin Bladen, who was a commissioner of trade and plantations and a man of considerable political

²⁴⁹ George Bryce, *The remarkable history of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto: 1900), pp. 108-9.

²⁵⁰ Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁵¹ *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), p. 255.

consequence, prevailed sufficiently with Lake, and, through him, with the Company, to have instructions given to Norton for the resumption of the work of exploration north of Churchill which had been abandoned since the days of Kelsey and Scroggs.²⁵²

On 7 July, 1737, two sloops sailed from Churchill on this undertaking, the *Churchill* under the command of James Napper, who had been in charge of vessels in the Bay since 1720, and the *Musquash* under Robert Crow, who had come out in 1736.²⁵³ They were ordered to proceed on discovery into Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, to search for harbours of safety for shipping, to investigate the character of the tides, to trade with the natives, and, on land, to dig for mines.²⁵⁴ Napper died during the voyage, on 8 August, and the sloops returned to Churchill, once more without any noteworthy discovery having been made.²⁵⁵ Captain Christopher Middleton reported to Arthur Dobbs that "They prosecuted their Voyage no farther than the Latit. $62^{\circ} \frac{1}{4}$ North." ²⁵⁶

The Company grew disgusted with this fruitless expenditure of money, while Dobbs was led to the conviction that they were acting in bad faith, and actually blocking discovery. Working in conjunction with Middleton, who was still a ship-captain in the service of the Company, Dobbs succeeded in

²⁵² Arthur Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's defence* (London: 1744), pp. 3-8, 87-92.

²⁵³ *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), p. 255.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²⁵⁶ Dobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

inducing the Admiralty to fit out two small naval vessels, the *Furnace* bomb-ketch and the *Discovery* pink, for a voyage to Hudson bay in search of the passage. Middleton was taken into the naval service and given command of the expedition.²⁵⁷

The two ships sailed from the Nore on 7 June, 1741, and entered Churchill harbour on 8 August. Wintering docks were made for them at Sloop cove, on the western side of the harbour, so called because the Company's sloops were habitually laid up there for the winter. Middleton and some of his companions wintered with the Company's men in the new fort, where also the powder and the strong beer were stored, but the majority of the crews and the greater part of the stores were placed in the old factory built by Knight, now abandoned and in a dilapidated condition that required much work by the ship's carpenters and others to make it habitable. Although the Company's orders called for only slight and grudging assistance to be given by its agents to the naval expedition,²⁵⁸ good relations seem to have been maintained between the two bodies at Churchill. Perhaps this was due to Captain Middleton's large-handed hospitality, at least on the national holidays. He gives us the following description of the ceremonies

²⁵⁷ On the circumstances leading up to this expedition, see Middleton's *Vindication of the conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton* (London: 1743), and Dobbs's *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's defence* (London: 1744).

²⁵⁸ *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), p. 250.

gone through on the 11th of October, anniversary of the coronation of George II; and, so far as conditions permitted, a similar programme was followed on other days of special commemoration:

“We march’d all our Men from ye New Fort, under Arms, to the Cove where the Ships Lay, being above 2 Miles distant, and at Noon Discharg’d 28 Guns belonging to both ships that were lay’d in order on the shore for that purpose where ye two ships Winter. The Officers drank to his Majestys Health and Success to the Brittish Arms, as ye Guns were firing. It was Observ’d at ye same time that the wine with which the Officers drank the Aforesaid Healths, and which was good port wine, froze in the Glass as soon as pour’d out of the Bottle, They March’d back in ye same order with drums beating & Colours flying, when they arriv’d at ye New Fort they were Drawn up in the Middle of the Area, where they went thro’ their Exercise, fir’d several Vollies, & drank to the Health of his Majesty, the prince & princess of Wales & all the Royal Family, The Articles of War & Orders of the Navy were read to them, In the Evening His Majestys Officers and those of the Hudsons Bay Company were plentifully regal’d & the Men belonging to both ships and ye Factory Men had thirty Gallons of Brandy made into punch to drink ye aforesaid Healths, to which ye Natives were invited, and the Evening Concluded with all possible Demonstrations of Joy to the Great pleasure & Satisfaction of the Natives.”

The winter proved very trying to Middleton’s men, who suffered greatly from the cold and from scurvy. Middleton was well aware of the value of activity in the open air as a preventive of that disease, but that abstention from alcohol was likewise desirable had not come within his knowledge. In stating the lack of proper clothing for his crews he gives us a

description of the winter garb at Churchill in the eighteenth century:

“Most of our Men Came down from the Old Factory to the New, in order to be suppld with Cloath to Make themselves Stockings, Caps, Mittons, and Socks, and a Coarse Blanket to wear over their other Cloaths: No person Could Endure the Cold in this Country without this Contrivance The Shoes the were her are of the Leather of Deer-skins or Canvas, made big enough to contain their feet ^{when} cover'd with Yarn Stockings^s and three pair of socks of coarse Duffield over them; on their Legs they wear a Large pair of cloath Stockings, which Covers their other Stockings and Breeches; upon their hands they wear a pair of cloath Mittins, lin'd with Beaver or Duffield, which reach up to their Elbows, and when they go abroad a pair of Snow Shoes 5 feet Long, & 18 Inches broad to keep them from Sinking in the Snow, and on their Head a Cap of Beaver, which lets down round their Shoulders, yet all this will not prevent their freezing some Days. These things they were Oblig'd to take up of the Factory here, as we were not provided.”

On 2 January, 1742, he writes:

“A hard Gale all Night & drifting snow, very cold, freezing every thing in my Cabbin, tho' a fire kept in from 5 in y^e Morning till 9. at Night, and when the fire is out, a Red^{hot} shot 24^{lb} weight hung up at y^e Window to thaw it, on the out side there are shutters to every Window 6 Inches thick; four Large fires made in y^e Stoves every Day, a Cart load of wood for each, yet all this will not keep things from freezing within doors.”

On 4 April the majority of the men returned on board the *Furnace*, on the following day work was begun at cutting her out of the ice—‘she appears more like a lump of ice than a ship’—and on the 24th a first attempt was made to heave her loose

from the bottom of the dock to which she was frozen. Although these efforts were frequently repeated, and much of the available gear and tackle smashed in the process, it was not till 10 June that the ship was got free. On 1 July the two vessels sailed from Churchill on what it was expected would be the conclusive exploration of the North-West Passage.

Middleton made a careful examination of the coast as far north as the bottom of Repulse bay, and convinced himself that the only entrance at this end of Hudson bay was through what has, since his time, been known as the Frozen strait. He then returned south as far as Marble island, from which, on 15 August, he bore away for England, arriving at the Nore on 2 October.²⁵⁹

Arthur Dobbs refused to accept Middleton's conclusions, and, assisted by stories told by some of that captain's crews, adopted the opinion that Middleton had neglected his duty and falsified his journals, acting in everything as the secret tool of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Admiralty, like the Company, would take no further action, but Dobbs obtained enough public support to have a company organized which in 1746 sent out another exploring expedition, consisting of two vessels, the *Dobbs Galley* and the *California*. Churchill was not visited by these vessels; they spent the winter of 1746-7 in Hayes

²⁵⁹ Middleton's Journal of the proceedings on board H.M.S. *Furnace*, in the copy he supplied to Dobbs, is in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, from which a transcript has been made for the Public Archives of Canada.

river and, after again examining the north-west coasts of Hudson bay, returned to England to report another failure.²⁶⁰ With this, the eighteenth century's contribution to the long history of the search by sea for the North-West Passage practically came to an end.²⁶¹

But the Indians continued to bring copper to Churchill. The arrival of a larger quantity than usual in 1768 seems to have induced Moses Norton, then governor of Prince of Wales Fort—he was a half-breed son of Richard Norton—to urge on the Company in London, when he went to England that autumn, the desirability of sending a man overland in search of this now semi-fabulous copper mine.

The man chosen for the undertaking was Samuel Hearne, who was born in London in 1745 and had seen service in the Seven Years War as a midshipman in the navy.²⁶² Afterwards, probably in 1765, he had entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company,

²⁶⁰ The story of the expedition is told by Henry Ellis, *A voyage to Hudson's-Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California* (London: 1748); and in *An account of a voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage by Hudson's Streights . . .* by the Clerk of the California [T. S. Dragge] 2 vols. (London: 1748-9). It should be noted that both Middleton's expedition and that of 1746-7 spent considerable time at Marble island, but without coming upon any trace of Knight's wreck.

²⁶¹ From time to time the Hudson's Bay Company's ships, sailing out of Churchill, added exploratory work along the coast to their trading and whaling activities, but this seems to have been done in no anticipation of the discovery of an actual water-way to the Pacific ocean.

²⁶² On Hearne, see his *A journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the northern ocean*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911), pp. 1 seqq.

and was employed as a mate on the sloops in the Bay. His name can still be seen on the smooth rock at Sloop's cove, on the west side of Churchill harbour, where he carved it on 1 July, 1767.²⁶³ It may be that his practical knowledge of mathematics and astronomy had been improved from intercourse during the year 1768-9 with William Wales, F.R.S., one of the foremost men of science of the day, and Joseph Dymond, who had been sent to Churchill by the Royal Society in 1768 in order to observe the transit of Venus on 3 June, 1769.²⁶⁴

Hearne left Prince of Wales Fort, on his first attempt to discover the copper mine, on 6 November, 1769. After proceeding for some two hundred miles into the interior, he and his two English companions were robbed and deserted by their Indian escort, and left to make the best of their way back to Churchill, where they arrived 11 December. On 23 February, 1770, Hearne alone set out on a second attempt, with a new set of Indian companions. "The snow at this time was so deep on the top of the ramparts, that few of the cannon were to be seen, otherwise the Governor

²⁶³ Photo reproduced in Hearne's *Journey*, ed. Tyrrell, opposite p. 4.

²⁶⁴ William Wales, "Journal of a voyage made by order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-West coast of Hudson's Bay; of thirteen months residence in that country; and of the voyage back to England; in the years 1768 and 1769," *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LX, for the year 1770 (London: 1771), pp. 100-36; Joseph Dymond and William Wales, "Observations on the state of the air, winds, weather, &c., made at Prince of Wales Fort, on the north-west coast of Hudson's Bay, in the years 1768 and 1769," *ibid.*, pp. 137-79.



SAMUEL HEARNE'S VIEW OF PRINCE OF WALES'S FORT

would have saluted me at my departure, as before; . . . in lieu of it, the Governor, officers, and people, insisted on giving me three cheers.”²⁸⁵ On this attempt more progress was made: he journeyed as far north as about $64^{\circ} 20'$, and had crossed Dubawnt river to the north of Dubawnt lake when, on 11 August, the accidental breaking of his quadrant determined him to return once more to the factory. Hearne arrived at Churchill on 25 November, 1770, and set out again, his third expedition, on 7 December. This time he had engaged as a guide a remarkable Northern Indian named Matonabee, who had been born at Churchill, and as a child had been a protégé of Richard Norton. Thanks to Matonabee’s energy, intelligence, and control of the natives, this third expedition proved successful, though Hearne was mortified to find the last stages of it turned into a murderous raid on the Eskimos of the lower Coppermine river. They reached that river on 13 July, 1771, and on the 17th Hearne arrived at its mouth and looked out upon the Arctic ocean. On the 18th he formally took possession of the country for the Hudson’s Bay Company. On the 18th also he visited one of the “mines” in the neighbourhood, where only one worth-while piece of virgin copper was picked up, but abundant traces were seen of the former activities of metal-hunters. So at long last a white man had found his way to the famous mines, as a basis for operation of which James Knight had founded

²⁸⁵ Hearne’s *Journey*, pp. 13–14; Champlain Society ed., p. 71.

Churchill. But it was made clear by Hearne's report that the commercial exploitation of these deposits was quite beyond the range of what was practicable in 1772. It has only come within that range with the advent of the aeroplane in the twentieth century.²⁸⁶

Samuel Hearne returned to Prince of Wales Fort on 30 June, 1772. Moses Norton, the governor, died on 29 December, 1773. Although Hearne describes him as, in private life, more the Indian than the white man, and a shameless and hypocritical debauchee to boot, there seems no doubt that he was a shrewd and vigorous administrator. Hearne, a man of very different type, was given the command in 1775. He was there in August, 1782, when Jean François Galaup, comte de La Pérouse, with three French war vessels, a seventy-four and two frigates, appeared before Churchill, and he surrendered at discretion. Although Prince of Wales Fort was, on paper, one of the chief fortresses of America, Hearne had only thirty-nine hired servants to man the walls, and resistance was obviously impossible. The French carried off or destroyed the Company's property, burned the buildings inside the fort, and attempted,

²⁸⁶ In Sir John Franklin's *Narrative of a journey to the shores of the polar sea in the years 1819-20-21-22* (London: 1823) there is a description of the "Copper Mountains" as he and Sir John Richardson found them. The relevant passages are quoted in J. B. Tyrrell's ed. of Hearne's *A journey . . . to the northern ocean* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911), pp. 194-6. Cf. Major L. T. Burwash, *Coronation Gulf copper deposits: Report of an inspection of the known mineralised areas in Coronation Gulf and Bathurst Inlet districts* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1930).

without much success, to demolish the ramparts. York Fort was captured a few days later, and there the destruction was much more complete. The prisoners were taken to France, and thence ransomed by the Company. La Pérouse, himself a devotee of science, treated Hearne with great kindness and respect. In 1783 the Company sent Hearne back to Churchill, where he re-established the factory on the site of the old fort that James Knight had founded. Prince of Wales Fort remained, and, except for the ravages of time, still remains, as La Pérouse had left it. In 1787 Samuel Hearne returned to England, where he died in November, 1792.

Through the nineteenth century Churchill had an uneventful history as *entrepôt* of the Company's trade and northernmost outpost of civilization in Hudson bay. With the twentieth century came a demand—from those prairie provinces where Henry Kelsey, first of white men, had hunted the buffalo and sought the elusive "Naywatame Poets" more than two hundred years before—for a shorter route to transport not gold but golden grain to the markets of Europe. The Hudson Bay railway was begun in 1911, and in 1912 Port Nelson was selected as the terminus on the Bay. But there was great difference of opinion on this latter as well as on other points, and in 1920 a special committee of the Senate of Canada investigated the whole subject and recommended, on this particular topic, that a new and thorough examination should be made into the

relative merits of Nelson and Churchill. In 1927 the Canadian government engaged Frederick Palmer, M. Inst. C. E., of London, England, to make such an examination. As a result of his report, submitted in October of that year, Churchill was definitely selected as the terminal port. On 29 March, 1929, the all-steel line reached Churchill. And once again, as in the days of James Knight, the mouth of Churchill river takes on the *rôle* of Gateway to the harvests of the West.

JOURNAL KEPT AT CHURCHILL RIVER
14 JULY TO 13 SEPTEMBER, 1717

The Journal here published forms the latter part of Captain James Knight's York Fort Journal for the year 1716-17. The title of the entire document is "A Coppy of the Journall &c at York Fort Hudsons Bay AMERICA Belonging to ye Honble Hudsons Bay Compy Under ye Command of Cap^t James Knight Govern^r in Chief of ye Country for ye Honble ye Govern^r & Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into ye s^d Bay &c Comencing from Sept^r ye 17th 1716, to Sept^r 14th 1717." The original, as it may be regarded, is preserved among the archives of Hudson's Bay House, London, where it bears the number 11. A. 3. This is not the actual diary written down day by day at York Fort or Churchill River, but a fair copy thereof sent home for the information of the Company. The present text is that of a transcript made for the Public Archives of Canada in 1912. It was, at the time of transcription, carefully collated with the original, and before publication a number of passages which seemed doubtful or obscure have been verified a second time through the kindness of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. This manuscript text has been reproduced word for word and letter for letter in as close an approximation to the original as the exigencies of ordinary type permit. The capitalization of the original has been followed according to the best judgment of the editor. So uncertain, however, is the distinction between capitals and small letters that agreement in this respect between the readings of any two persons would be highly improbable. The punctuation is due to the editor; so slight, so erratic and so frequently misleading is the punctuation of the original that to ignore it seems the most satisfactory course. The foliation, which in the original is by a later hand than the main text, is here given within square brackets in the margin.

Churchill River Anno 1717

[67^v]

The Journall Containing the Most Remarkable
Transactions or Diary Occurrences Arriveing
there July y^e 14th 1717

[Sunday]

Wee Arriv'd this Day abt 2 a Clock of off¹
Churchill River Mouth but did not gett in Twill
5. it being Ebb & the tide Running very Strong
wee was forcd to an Anchor of off y^e Mouth of
y^e River. wee was 3 Days upon our Passage,
Most of it fair Weather. wee Allso See Ice w^{ch}
had not been gon long of from y^e Shore. the
Men that I Sent away the 10th of June² had Sett
up a beacon upon the North Point of the River,³
w^{ch} Lyes a great way to y^e Eastward of the South
Shore, where one of them Stayd there to make
a Smoke for us. wee fireing 6 Great Guns in our
Passage they heard 3 of them & Answer'd us
with Small Guns. wee fetchd the Man aboard
as was at y^e Point, w^{ch} was W^m Stewart.⁴ he
Gave me an Acct as they had a Long Passage
comeing here with the boat; they could not gett

¹ This inversion of spelling is Captain Knight's regular usage.

² Cf. p. 68, *supra*.

³ Eskimo point.

⁴ Cf. pp. 63, 70, *supra*.

Along it was Such badd Weather; & that they was 12 Days in their Passage betwixt York Fort & this River; but when they Arrived here they did not meet with any Northern Indians,¹ Altho' here had been abundance; but they was all gon—w^{ch} they found by their many fire places & fresh Tracks. both I & y^e Northern Indian² beleives that it was for want of Victualls & being Afraid of Other Indians & not hearing from thare Country People as was at the factory & not seeing us come. What a world of Trouble has the Ships brought upon me, one of them by Returning back not finding his Port, the other Ariveing here so late, w^{ch} has Quite Overthrowd & Put by all my Designs & Allmost to the Ruin of the Compy besides.³ no Man In the World Ever could have taken better Methods than I have done Since I have been in the Country, Yett putt by in Everything & all by the folly & Neglect of Men for want of Doeing thare Duty. & I May Safely Say it, there is hardly any Man Liveing besides My Self will be Able to Recover It Again. If the Compy will be pleasd to Give thareselves the trouble To read my Journall over they may See by it I have not been wanting in my Duty in any one Resspect, for I have Endeavour'd to give them as Plain & as true a

¹ Cf. pp. 50 seqq., *supra*.

² Cf. pp. 68 seq., *supra*.

³ Cf. pp. 59, 60, *supra*.

Description as near that I can. Wee came to an Anchor About 2 Mile within the Rivers Mouth, where the Doctor¹ & the Men that were with him came on board with the boat. I asked him if he had found a Place Convenient for building & where was the best place to go too. he Told me that they had Search'd both Sides of the River wth the boat but could not find a Spott of Ground to Sett a house upon without I went up to the Place where the Danes had Wintred a 100 Years Since,² w^{ch} was the only & best place to be found; & that is so little a one as it is not Above the Compass of Ground as York fort Stands upon. and it is / Upon a [68] point Under the Clifts of the Rocks & no fresh Water Nigher than a quarter of a Mile nor no Timber to be gott to build with but what must be backt³ at Least 3/4 of a Mile, & that but verry Sorry & Indifferent Stuff; & where It is brought out the Men must go half way of There Leggs to fetch it out. & the tide Ebbs A Mile & half from Shoar that thare is no comeing near the Shoar any where with 'a boat Twill past half flood nor going of again with a boat if wee stay Twill 1/2 Ebb. I thought it Strange to hear Such a Character of a Place so I shall referr writeing

¹ John Carruthers. Cf. pp. 68 seqq., *supra*.

² Cf. pp. 9 seqq., *supra*.

³ I.e., carried on the men's backs.

any More of it Twill I See further my Self. I askd Them if they had found any bones of the Northern Indians as the Iskemays¹ had Attackd. they told me no, but both they and the Northern Indian had been at the Place to Look but found Nothing there but there Canoo cutt all to peices. And the Northern Indian's in hopes they are not killd because the Indians when they went back, Seeing wee was not hear, Left Sev^{ll} Capps & things hanging upon the Place where Their Tents were, & 3 of y^e Capps is made of redd Cloth, w^{ch} he is in hopes it is some of y^e Cloth as the Indians carry'd away when they went to y^e Norward in the Spring.² yett thare was some peices of redd Cloth found Abt the Iskemays tents, w^{ch} makes it look with an Ill Countenance.

Monday

15th

Fair Weather: Little Wind, Vereable. this Morning the only Northern Indian came on board & the other Indians as I had Sent here.³

¹ Eskimos. Cf. p. 58, *supra*.

² Red cloth was an important item of trade with the aborigines. In 1714 Knight brought to York, among the stores on the *Union* frigate, 354½ yds. "Redd Cloth," 43 yds. "Redd Bays," 45½ yds. "Redd Duffells" (H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 10 [p. 29]). For the following year he indented for 800 yds. of the cloth, 2 pieces of duffels and 2 of baize (*ibid.*, f. 14^v [p. 41]).

³ Cf. p. 71, *supra*, where Knight speaks of only one Indian. From later passages in the journal it is clear that there were two, with their families.

I bidd the Slave Young Woman as I had bought ¹ ask him what he thought abt his Country Men. he Told me that here had been a great many here he could perceive by thare fire places & Signs they had left hanging upon the trees & by thare tracks, & Says he believes they Wanted Victualls & not finding wee nor his Country People come as they left wth us w^{ch} caused them to Returnd back, being Afraid to Stay any Longer; & he thinks by the freshness of the Tracks in y^e Mudd they had not been gon above 5 or 6 days. I askd him whether he thought the Iskemays had killd all his country People as went over this River last Spring when they came from York Fort wth him as I Sent away. he told me he believ'd not; some of them had made thare Escape, by the redd Capps as was left hung up here & the Chipps of Wood as was Cutt both with hatchetts & Knives; & that they had Sett Up marks all the way as they went back Again to Give notice to them as came here after that they had been here, if any body should come. Wee Weighd & Went Abt 5 Mile up the River from the place where wee first came too & are up Opposite to where the Danes Wintred, but did not go a Shoar. the flatts lye so farr & the Rocks as wee could not gett in. I Observ'd upon the Outer point of the River as wee came in

¹Cf. p. 62, *supra*.

abundance of Iskemays Tents Standing that it looked like a Town; & our people as put up y^e Beacon Sayth that they be very Large Tents, [68v]bigg Enough to hold 50 people; / And that thare Tents was made so thick with turf, Dirt & Driftwood that they beleive they had Wintred thare as our Northern Indians did meet with; & that their Could not be less than 3 or 400 of them by their Tents & Warehouses, finding above 200 of the Latter where they had kept thare Provisions, they being built with Stones & Driftwood. & that they See the Place Where they had built thare Great boats, where it is full of Slipps & blocks as they had hewd & Dubbd their Timber to build with, & 4 or 5 ways Standing where they had built thare Great boats on; & they found by them a Dead man Lyeing with his Small Canoo by his Side. And of the Tuesday before wee came in here when our People went to Sett up the Beacon upon the Point there was 2 of them boats to y^e Southrd Standing Directly in for the River, but our People not Seeing them Shott at Some Small birds as was there; they hearing the Guns fired Stood of too Sea Directly Again, w^{ch} was Seen by 3 Indians Just to the Southrd of the Rivers Mouth. Wee did not Sett Sail from York fort Twill the Day after they see this, but by the Desscription as they give of the Vessells & the Sails it could be no other people

but the Iskemays, tho' at first by ye Largeness the Indian took them for our Vessells. And one of these Indians Sayth that formerly he has seen One of their Shallops Rowing from this Place wth 40 Oars, & here is a Sandy Cove allmost at ye River's Mouth where they come & build all these Vessells.¹

I sent the boat to beacon out the Shoar between

¹ Jens Munck nearly one hundred years before had found similar extensive remains of Eskimo habitations, and evidence that they had procured wood at Churchill (Gosch, *Danish Arctic expeditions*, Vol. II, pp. 28-9). And Joseph Robson states that when the excavations were being made for the stone Fort Prince of Wales (cf. p. 93, *supra*) many relics of the Eskimo occupation were found (*Six years residence in Hudson's-bay*, p. 64). It is not likely that Knight and his men actually found skin tents left standing by the Eskimos. He may refer, as Munck undoubtedly seems to do, to the quadrangular or circular walls of earth, three or four feet high, on which a covering of skins was erected. But "tent" in the parlance of Hudson's Bay journals was applied to a small hut or shanty of any construction, and especially to the lodges, probably built of logs, earth and moss, in which the Company's servants lived while hunting, trapping, fishing or lumbering during the winter. It may well be that the Eskimos procured wood for their boats, and also runners for their sleds, at Churchill, but Knight's description of the ship-building equipment which he found must be either partly fanciful or the result of a wrong identification of the objects seen. Both the "small canoe," i.e., the *kayak*, and the "great boat," the *umiak*, were covered with sealskin, stretched on a frame-work of wood. Knight's Indian would appear to have exaggerated the size of this latter boat, which at the largest is not more than forty feet long and could not carry forty adults. Nevertheless Jérémie declared that he had seen such boats large enough to carry more than fifty persons (*Relation de la baie de Hudson*, p. 5). I am indebted to Mr. Diamond Jenness for a valuable commentary from which, in the main, this note is derived.

the Rocks that wee might gett in the Next high Water; but the Musketos was so thick when our People was Ashore cutting of Tent Poles & poles for the Beacons they was forc'd to make a Great Smoke as they could hardly fetch thare breath's, Yett for all y^t was Stung Severely; & they Swarm Aboard as wee have been in Missery all the time wee have been here. the boat Comeing of so late in the Evening & it being Dark as wee could not venture to go in over the Rocks. I find here is no fresh water at this River, for where wee ride of is a Mile & half from Shore And Yett the Water is as Salt as it is out a Sea.

It is to be Noted that wee had a very Good Observation Of Off the Rivers Mouth Yesterday as wee was comeing in & found it to lye in
 Deg Min

58 59 Exactly.¹ /

[69]

July ye 16th

Tuesday

In the Morning wee did gett up our Anchor & went in by the Beacons as was sett up that wee might go clear of the Rocks; & when wee was gott

¹ The Canadian Hydrographic Service gives the position of the entrance to Churchill harbour, on the line of range lights, as follows: Lat. 58° 47' 40" N.; Long. 94° 12' 20" W. Captain Knight's observation erred, therefore, by giving a location some eleven nautical miles too far northward.

in I went a Shore, but I never See such A Misserable Place in all my Life, & there Was but one Little Place where the Danes had Wintred, wch is upon a point as hardly contains So much compass of Ground as the Royall Exchange¹ Stands upon. And when I Saw it I was not at all Surprisd to think of so many of the Danes as Lost their Lives in comeing so late to this Place. & here is no other Place to build at this River but the outer point where the Iskemays tents is, wch is Impossible for any European to Live at. Wee pitch'd our tents & I Gott my bedding ashore, but was Wellcom'd by Such a Quantity of Musketos that as Soon the² light or wherever they fix they Sting like great Wasps that wee are nothing in the World but knotts & bumps our flesh is. I find here is no fresh Water to be gott Nigher than a Quarter of a Mile of, wch is in the Clifts of the rocks like a great Cistern. Our people as I sent here in the Boat have been 2 or 3 times up the River as farr as they could go for rocks & Stones but could not find a fitting place to build a house upon but at one place

¹ The plot of ground, bounded by Cornhill, Swan alley, Broad street and New alley, on which the original Royal Exchange was built in 1566, is stated to have measured on its respective sides 161 feet 6 inches, 198 feet, 118 feet 6 inches, 149 feet 6 inches. When rebuilt in 1667, after the Great Fire, permission was given to extend the south-west angle into the street. Cf. J. W. Burgon, *The Life and times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, Vol. II (London: 1839), pp. 502, 510.

² Read "as soon as they."

w^{ch} was worse than this, that is where formerly the English had built one w^{ch} they found so badd that After they had built it I believe they was so Disscouraged that they sett it a fire to Run away by the light of it.¹ the timber that grows Scragling here none less than $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile to back to y^e Water & it is very Short knotty Stuff: a tree that is 15 Inches through at Root will not hold above 4 or 5 Inches at y^e topp & but 12 or 15 foot Long, w^{ch} grows as taper as an Oxes horn, only it doth not grow Crooked. Only here & there up in y^e Clifts of the Rocks there is a few Sparrs as holds thare length Some thing better, w^{ch} the Iskemays makes thare Oars & build thare Tents wth. besides if here was any Place to build a house in the Bays Under the Rocks it could be no building thare, for the Snow as Drifts of off the Rocks would Smother them. Notwithstanding the Summer is so farr Spent the Snow lyes very Deep in Some of the Bays now, Excepting whare the Water comes up to Wash it. So that what is built must be upon a Point Where the Wind can Drive away the Snow Clear. here is the Sign of the Danes building here formerly, by the Stumps of trees they left cut down, but all as rotten as Dirt. Wee found a peice of a brass Gun hear near 7 foot Long. it was a 12 Pounder, for I have one of the Shott

¹ Cf. pp. 19 seqq., *supra*.

as wee took out of her by me. thare was 2 of them but the Indians have broke one all to peices & carry'd it clear away; & this a great peice of the Mussell is broke of. & wee have found Sev^l peices of Cast barr Iron 3 or 4 foot Long, 4 Inches thick, as the Danes Us'd for a Stove, as the Indians hath found by Digging abt. And they have been Digging this Summer A Mile round to look for Iron. —————

July ye 17th

[69^v]

Wednessdy

Wee haveing our Tents all up I Sent the Men to Woods too Cutt timber & did Speak to ye Northern Indian & ye Young Woman to go after thare Country Men to give them Notice as wee are here, & yt I would Send an English Man along with them that wee may not loose Another Years trade. they told me they would go, but believd they was gotten a great way of & Question'd whether they should come up with them. So here is like to be Another Charge more than wt has been already, & all Occasion'd by that Unfortunate & To Industrious fellow Davis.¹ I sett Six Netts in the Water but find here is not much fish as Yett, Although here is a pretty many white Whales ² of in the Channell.

¹ Cf. p. 59, *supra*.

² Cf. p. 17, *supra*.

I Design to Send down To y^e beacon & hang up 2 or 3 hatchetts & some Knives, that if any Iskemays should come they might See as some European is here or will be here Again;—if the Guns has not frighted them so but they will Attempt to come here Again this fall. —————

Thurssday

18th

Fair Weather: the Wind westerly. this Morning I sent y^e Northern Indian Man & y^e Slave Young Woman & the Compys Apprentice, Rich^d Norton,¹ to See if they could come up with any of the Northern Indians as hath been here; if they did not, to proceed into thare own Country with all the Speed as they can to give Notice to them Indians as wee are now here a building. And I fitted them Out Accordingly for that Long Journey, & gave them Orders to Acquaint them as they find for to tell the rest of their Country People as they may Spread it abt their whole Country. I Sent Mr Vaughan ² & all the Men as works in the woods to gett timber up the River abt 6 Miles above us, where there Grows a parcell of Small trees more Easy to come at than where they be at Work now. but the Musketos & flyes are so Intolerable thick that thare is no Workeing for them without a fire all round; & last Night

¹ Cf. pp. 69, 91 seqq., *supra*. ² Cf. pp. 65 seqq., 72, 75 seqq., *supra*.

they was so brief¹ that I thought I should be Stung to Death, altho' I made a Smoke in the tent w^{ch} allmost Smok'd my Eyes out & at Last forc'd out of the Tent to lye upon my Chest. their Ugly Venomous Stings raisd Such bumps all over me that it putt me into a feavour. Abundance of Petty Dancers² Appear'd in thee Sky Last Night & was wonderous bright. I did gett 16 fish in the Six Netts. I sett to Day 3 More, So that I have now Nine in the Water. the Country Provisions is very Scarce here at present, w^{ch} I fear I shall be hard put to it too maintain my men, w^{ch} must work hard now whilst wee be building. the Indians that I Sent here too hunt for us has killd but one Deer Since they have been here, the Northern Indians haveing Drove all the Game Away whilst they lay here. I gave the Men as went up to Work too Day 4 Days Provisions because they should not be hindred from their work; / But wee that [70] are here must be at very Short Allowance without the Indians as I Sent here being gon out a hunting kills any thing, or please God to Send us good luck with our fishing netts to Night. I am Sure I have had & am likely Still to have more trouble upon me than all the Govern^{rs} in the

¹ Dialectal for "rife, common, prevalent."

² The Northern Lights. This expression is commonly used in Hudson's Bay writings.

N Wt, put them altogether; Yett if it Please God to Spare me life & health I will doo what in me lyes that Every thing I Undertake may be Compleat. But as for boards & planks I have brought but very few from York fort, timber & plank being so Scarce to gett there; & here is none at all to make them here, & w^{ch} is worse Still, here is no Earth to lay upon Sparrs & Moss to keep us warm twill wee can gett boards & plank. wee shall be very much put too it & I cannot think how I shall be able to Mannage it here, for all the Ground is nothing but rocks & Stones & Mudd. —————

Friday

19th

the Boat came home in the Night that carry'd the Men up to gett Timber. they bring word that they have found abt 80 peices of timber or Trees as will Serve but are very Difficult too gett out. Our Men that be here at the Tents is Employd in getting out of the Timber as the Men that I sent here with the boat had hewd before I came, they haveing Cutt 112 Peices. they brought 30 peices to Day the first Stage, w^{ch} is Something Above a Quarter of a Mile; & wee have 2 Such Stages more before wee can bring it Conveniently to y^e place where I be going to build. the Musketos are so Intolerable thick

1717

they Allmost Murder all the Men. I never see
The like of them as I have Seen This Day. I
ketcht but 13 fish out of Nine Netts those Last
24 hours & the Indians kill'd 4 Moulting Geese,
wch is a very Short Allowance for 25 people.
the Wind SW^t to y^e NE, A fresh Gale & Clear
Weather. _____

20th

Saturday

Fair Weather, but a fresh Gale of Wind at
EtSEt. wee did gett but 8 fish in Nine Netts
this last 24 hours, wch doth not Suit well with
us—a Great Deal of Work & but Little Victualls
as here is. Our Men a fetching out Timber The
1st Stage, & brought out 40 Peices. last Night
here was 2 Indians Seen a Little Distance from
us & this Morning was Seen Again, but would not
come near us. I believe they be either Iskemays
or Northern Indians and be Afraid to come near
us. I Sent out after them To Speak with them
but they hide themselves & will not come near
any body. I wish they may not be Iskemays,
for if they be I fear they have lighten'd with the
English Ladd & Indians I Sent to y^e Norward;
but if they be Northern Indians they are come
as Scouts & be gon back Again to Give their
People Notice. I burnt & Cleard a place where
I Design the ffactory for to Stand, wch I believe
to be the very place where Capt Monk built upon

when he Wintred here, by the brass Gun & the Square peices of Cast Iron as wee have found thare & by the Northern Indians Digging up th Moss & Stones abt the Rocks for above 1/2 a Mile round. The place is the best in this River both for Landing of Goods & the house Standing, but here is no Good place at all. —————

[70v]

July y^e 21st

[Sunday]

Very Stormy, blowing Weather: the Wind at SE^t wth much Thunder, Lightning & Rain, that wee have been Allmost Drownd in our Tents these last 24 hours. & ketchd but 2 fish out of 8 Netts in that Space of Time.

Monday

22^d

Blustering, blowing Weather: Wind from SE to SW^t. I sent 3 Men with the boat & Provisions up the River to Mr Vaughan & y^e Men with him as is hewing of Timber. Our Men here at y^e Tents whent & brought out 26 ps of Timber the first Stage out of the Woods. 8 Netts Sett ketcht 20 fish. The Indians ware out & brought home 4 Grey Geese. —————

Tueseday

23^d

Fair Weather: Little Wind. the men wth the boat Returnd in the Evening as went to Carry

1717

M^r Vaughan & the Men with him Provisions, & bring word that he has cutt his foot very much & is forc'd to lye by, w^{ch} happens very badly at this Juncture of time. they bring word as they must go up with y^e boat again A Thurssday; by that time he sayth he shall have gott w^t Timber he can find there. the Men here at the Tents went & fetch out the last of the timber To y^e 1st Stage, w^{ch} was 26 Peices. wee Ketcht 12 fish in 8 Netts this last 24 hours.—————

24th

Wednesday

Fair Weather: the Wind from SSW^t to NEt. Our Men brought 50 peices of Timber the Second Stage. thare is one Stage more & a Rafting before wee gett the timber Down here, & they ¹ Men go 1/2 Legg Deep in Mudd Every Peice they have Carryd. ketcht but One fish this Last 24 Hours in 8 Netts.

25th

Thuresday

Fair Weather: Little Wind all Day. I Sent the Men with the boat as I could up the River to M^r Vaughan & Men as in y^e Woods a hewing & Cutting of Timber To raft it down, w^{ch} is about 10 or 11 Mile of—The Timber being at Such a

¹ "They" for "the" and "the" for "they" are common peculiarities of these journals.

Distance in the Woods & so badd To gett down to y^e Water Side that I doo not Expect them down Twill Monday. I sent 2 Netts up the River to try for fish, wee not haveing ketch'd a fish these Last 24 hours out of 6 Netts. I Opened a Cask of White Biskett w^{ch} is all Damni-fyd, not fitting too Eat, w^{ch} proves very badd for us at this time.—————

Friday

26th

Fair Weather: Little Wind. the Men are all gon to fetch home a raft of Timber as Mr Vaughan & y^e Rest of y^e Men with him has been cutting down & hewing. ketch'd 2 fish this Last 24 hours, & y^e Indian killd a Deer & gave me abt 40^{li} of it.———/

[71]

July y^e 27th

Saturday

Fair Weather: the Wind at NE^t. the Men Continues Still a Getting of the Timber out. the 2 Men as I sent up the River Returnd, haveing ketcht but 2 Small fish, & wee ketcht but 2 at home out of Six Netts. One of the Indians & his 2 Wives went over to y^e South Shore to hunt & at his Returning home last Night he see a boat in the River w^{ch} he took for our Shallop & waited for her Twill she came up allmost with

them. then he Perceivd it To be an Iskemays boat. he made away from them wth all the Speed he could. they pursued him & had like to have Taken him, following him Twill he came in Sight of our Vessells, w^{ch} lays abt 1/4 of a Mile below where our Tents are put up. And the Indian & his 2 Wives ware in Such a fright that they hardly be come to themselves all this Day. they Cry'd out Lustly for Assistance but wee had nobody to help them nor our Selves neither if they had come up to us, for here is but 7 of us at home, where of 3 is Lane, one very Sick, & 3 more but very Indifferent to make a Defence in Such Cases. I pray God they have not mett wth the English Ladd, y^e Northern Mann & y^e Young Woman as is gon to the Norward, w^{ch} I am very much Afraid of: for Yessterday in the Forenoon wee heard 2 Guns go of towards the Mouth of y^e River, & the Indian as was a hunting Sayth he was not that way nor did not fire a Gun all the forenoon nor but one all the Day, w^{ch} was in the Afternoon at a Deer As he killd. So that I fear it is the 2 Guns as they had with them. Neither can I send down to the point of the River To see, all the Men being Abroad. it has been a very Great Missfortune to us that I could no ways Possible Send to Churchill River to give the Northern Indians notice of our Comeing Twill it was to late as they was gon. our People as

I sent away in the Boat on ye 10th of June from York Fort to come here, they did meet with So much Ice & badd Weather w^{ch} made their Passage so Long as the Northern Indians was all gon away. Yett our People think they had not been Gon above a Day or two, their tracks being as fresh in ye Mudd as theirs was, and by their fire Places, for no Rain had fell upon The Ashes w^{ch} but 2 or 3 Days before A Great Deal of Rain had fell but 2 or 3 Days before they came here. Yett our People had not the thought as was here To Sett the Woods upon the hills a fire as they might see the Smoke, nor To send the Northern Indians After them. Thare must be a great many of them or Else they would never have Sett up Marks, y^t is, Stiks Slanting to tell which they went; & our Indians that has seen thare tracks Sayth Their was Abundance of them. the Company may see in Sev^l Places in the forewritten part of the Journall that I have done what ever lay in ye Power of a Man to prevent these Dissapointments & all that I could doo has not done it. what Loss And Destruction has these 2 Ship brought upon the Company & me, that is by the Misscarriage of the first Ship [71^v] & the other Arriveing here so late. / Now I shall write a Little of ye folly & Madness of Davis by the Description they give me as was aboard of him. when I came out of Hays River that the

Wind to us Short¹ & I Stood Over for Port Nellson River & came to an Anchor Under the Eastermost hammocks² of Woods where Capt Davis Ridd & in 3 fathom & 1/2 Water as he was in. & that hammock of Wood is Actually within 4 Leagues of the Mouth of the River, for all to y^e Eastward of the North Point of Port Nellson River is a low marshy Ground & not a bitt of Woods to be seen—besides the flood setts away West very Strong & y^e Ebb out East Again—& the Place where they Great Debate was as the³ See a Starr w^{ch} bore SW^t was Setting 3 hours in the Horison, w^{ch} was the fire the Indians made in the Marsh, hearing the Guns he Shott of in y^e Evening, & thought they should see the Ship in the morning. most of y^e Men aboard did Conclude & Agree was a fire for no Starrs would be so many hours in y^e Horrison a Setting as that was. he was not above Nine Leagues from y^e Very Factory & had he but Stood to the Westward less than half an hour he had raised all the Woods on the South Shore of our River Mouth; but Instead of that he gott up his Anchor in the morning as it was by Stealth & Stood right out To Sea & never come that ways Afterwards but runn out of the River away to the Norward.

¹ So the original manuscript. It would appear that some words are missing.

² For "hummocks."

³ Cf. p. 127, n.

and if he had Since he might have known he was in the River, for their the Tide Runs North & South w^{ch} the hott hair braind fellow might have Seen his Misstake by the Sett of the tides, but kept plying one Day North and Another Day South backwards & forwards and at last the Blockhead Turnd Taill & Runn away Under Pretence of Wanting Water, w^{ch} If he had Sent his boat a Shore any where he could not have been without it. I wonder he did not losse the Ship, thare being so many banks & Shoalls: for wee of Off the North Point of Port Nellson River was forcd to haul of 12 Leagues SSEt when wee Cross'd the point, & then had but 2 fathom Water, & all the Coast Along Twill within 10 Leagues of Churchill River is full of banks and it is not safe for any Ship to Stand allong that Shoar in less than 7 fathom water. wee had very fair weather in our Passage to Churchill River & see at least a 100 of them banks, some of them Dry at low water at least 3 Leagues from the Shoar; & thare is no Deep Water along by the Land but a Little to the Southrd of Churchill River, but it is y^a very bold & Deep Water near the Mouth of the River without Either Rocks & Shoalls So that there is 10 or 12 fathom water within 2 Mile of the Shoar. but all the Company's loss & Missfortune has been Occassiond by Davis's Misscarriage, both

1717

by Death & Loss of y^e Indians to y^e Southrd ¹
& the Dissapointment of these to y^e Norward.—/

July y^e 28th

[72]

[Sunday]

Fair Weather: Little Wind, Vereable. All the Men came home to Day with y^e raft, Cont^s 105 peices of timber. they brought it abt 13 mile by thare report & had a very Difficult Task to gett it over the Stones & down the falls. M^r Vaughan Tells me he cannot see above 4 or 5 peices of timber betwixt us there, w^{ch} is very Difficult to gett out. he allso Tells me that these Iskemays have Used that Hammock where they did gett this timber out; some was rotten, Some allmost Decay'd, & others a Decaying; that he is sure they have Us'd that place this fifty Year. I have heard nothing more of the Iskemays but beleive they are gon to Sea Again, finding they was Disscovered; nor doo I Desire too See any of them twill Such time as wee have built & Secured our Selves, & then they may come as many as will. one of our Men covered in the Mudd A Great Gun lyeing a Good way of on the flatts—but cannot tell Yett whither it is brass or Iron—& Sev^{ll} barrs of Cast Iron w^{ch} I will Seek after shortly. the Gun is 12 pound^r. without

¹ Cf. p. 60, *supra*.

Doubt it was a very great Ship as was lost here, by its haveing such Great Guns. I went too Day to look for Another Place to build on but could not find another so convenient, though this is a very Cold bleak place. for If I build any where Else they can command me of off the high Rocks Every Place but one; & where I now Design to Build thare is but one Corner of the hill can doo me any Dammage & that is at a pretty Great Distance; but wee Stand open to the Wind $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Compass; & no Where Else can I find but our Men will be pickt of if they went out of Doors; but here wee can see to Releve them if they doo go out. I suppose the Dean or Sweed pitch'd to build upon that place for the Same reason.——

Monday

29th

Raw, Cold, Blowing weather: the Wind at NNW^t. the Only Day as wee Missd of the Plagues of Musketos, horse flyes, & y^e Sand flyes w^{ch} is worst of all. Our Men brought all the first parcell of Timber the first Stage. M^r Vaughan & 7 Men more went to work in the Woods a hewing of Timber. he Tells me in the Woods where they have been at Work thare is abundance of Iskemays hath been a hewing of Timber & Splitting out y^e roots of the Trees for Crooked Timber; & that they have done a great deal of

work there, w^{ch} is to be seen by the Roots they have Splitt; and Such Quantitys of Wood thare as if it had not been long done. I sent down to the point whare thare building is 2 hatchetts & 6 knives to fix upon Poles some Disstance one from Another, all Leaning up the River. this River hath been a place of very Great resort of them for to build thare great boats. the Doctor tells me he has seen 500 of thare warehouses Since he has been here, Disspersd in Sev^{ll} Places. / The Gun as I Writt of Yesterday as wee found[72^v] out upon y^e flatts, I sent to Day Again to See what it is & it proves to be a brass Gun. I am in more fear for the Northern Man & English Ladd than ever, for one of our Men See two of their boats Cross in the Great Bay to y^e Norward of this River, to be Sure them was Iskemays the Indians See Evening & Morning veiwing of us. I ketcht but very few fish here. I sent 4 Netts down to the Mouth of the River where I hope they are more Plenty, for I am in want of Victualls here for the Men, Considering how they work to gett timber to the Place where I Design to build before the body of Iskemays comes, that my Men may not be Exposd—w^{ch} will be abt the 10th of September if they come this Year. I am in So much Concern to think of my Missing of the Northern Indians that I cannot take Any Rest, but if Please God they are well that be gon

to the Norwrd all will be well Still. but it was a very fatall Dissapointment To me, the Death of Those Northern Indians at our factory in ye Winter & that I could not Send here Sooner. I wish he that has been the Occassion of all my Missfortunes & Troubles may never have more peace in is¹ mind than I have had Since he Returnd wth ye Ship so Shamefully, for it is a very Great Loss & Charge besides hazard as Blunderhead has brought upon the Company, besides trouble To me.————

Tuessday

30th

Fair Weather: the Wind Easterly & a fresh Gale most part of the Day. the men went to work in the Woods to falling & hewing of Timber. the rest of the Men went to bring ye Timber out of the Woods & brought home the first Stage. this is the Only Place where the Men is at work now as the Timber growes, but it Stands so Difficult that it is very hard to gett out. and I never knowd no place so troublesom as this is here, for wee are forc'd to back all the timber at a Great Distance and hardly can find one peice To bring out to Carry upon the Mens backs but what is as farr as it is from the Hudsons Bay Compys

¹ Knight or his copyist sometimes has difficulty with the initial h. Cf. p. 61, *supra*.

house as it is to Ludgate,¹ besides 1/2 a Legg Deep every Stepp in Mudd & Dirt. Indeed at York Fort it was badd getting of Timber but not like to this Place, for there wee had Conveniency of Lakes & Little Creeks To help gett it down & here it is all Shoulder Carriage. and here I want Proviissions very much & if I had Sold the Cheeses According to ye Compys Order I must have gon back Again & not Gon through with Bussiness. / I have been very much Deceiv'd [73] by Mr Kellsey² in his Information of this Place: he, haveing been here formerly, told me it was so plenty, Deer, fish & fowl, that I had no Occasion of carrying any Proviissions; but now I find it to ye Contrary³ & the Indians as I sent for to hunt for me & to be as Scouts to give me Intelligence whilst the Men are abroad at Work

¹ In March, 1696, the Company took a house in Fenchurch street (Minute Book 218). It would be nearly a mile distant from Ludgate.

² Cf. pp. 19 seqq., 46 seqq., 72, *supra*.

³ This may have been a bad season, or perhaps Knight's men had not yet learned the best localities; in later years game and fish were not so scarce at Churchill. Coats, in his *Geography of Hudson's Bay* (pp. 35-6), speaks of abundance of fish in Churchill river. In the winter of 1723-4, we are told, 5016 partridges were brought to the factory, "besides w^t has been Eaten by the hunters att their Tents" (H. B. Co. Churchill River Journal 26. A. 3, f. 22^v [p. 47]), and in the same season 1800 geese were salted, in addition to what maintained the hunters (*ibid.* f., 28 [p. 60]). It was found that the best place to get geese was a point about eighteen or twenty miles along the coast to the northward (Journal 54. A. 3, f. 23 [p. 30]). In 1730 some 894 were salted there, besides 330 at the factory (Journal 42. A. 3, ff. 24^v-25 [pp. 43-4]), and 1700 in 1733 (Journal 54. A. 3, f. 28^v [p. 38]).

proves to be rather A Charge Than a help To me Provisions. but in the other case they are very serviceable to me by being allways Abroad to give me notice so as wee may not be Surprisd. y^e Netts as I sent down to y^e Mouth of the River did not ketch one fish, & wth our 4 Netts here but 2. I sent down a Great Gun to y^e Outermost point of the River to lye their too fire as a Signall when the Ship comes,¹ & have Ordered them to pile & make up a very great heap of Wood & Moss To sett on fire to Show where the Mouth of the River is when the Ship comes. pray God Send one here in time that I may have the help of the Men as comes in her & provisions wth Drink for the Poor fellows that is forc'd to Slave so To gett a habitation for us before the Winter Setts in to farr. the very Woods & trees Shows what wee must Expect, for the North Side of the Trees are bare as a pole by the Severity of the Weather but on y^e South Side are Close to the Ground boughd but not very high up. Yesterday & To Day Smells very much of y^e fall. the Man as came up from y^e Point of the River had Done as I Ordered him wth y^e hatchetts & knives, fixeing them up to this way as I had Ordered him.

¹ Cf. p. 61, *supra*.

1717

31st

Wednesday

Fair Weather: the Wind at SW^t. ketcht but one Small fish in all y^e Netts. Some of the Men falling & Squareing of Timber, the others bringing it out the first Stage. Measured the Disstance to Day & find as wee back it 2300 Yards & y^e Nearest wee have gott now 1800 Yards, And Above $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way in Ugly, Nasty, Muddy, Mirey way as 8 Men is forc'd To go too a peice as 4 Men would Carry in Good Ground. one of our Indians went over the Water to hunt, here being nothing to be gott on this Side. here has been but few white Whales Since wee have been here, but I Suppose the Reason is y^e Fish are not come in to Spawn Yett.—————

[August y^e 1st][73^v]

Thurssday

Stormy, Blowing Weather: the Wind at NNW^t; it blowd Excessive hard wth a Great Deal of hail & Rain. our People all at work in the Woods in hewing & bringing out Timber. but great part of the Day it was so badd not fitting to putt men out of Doors, but Necessity Requires it to be done. ketcht never a fish this Last 24 hours, but a Seall or Something hath been and broke 2 of the Netts that I believe they never can be Mended to be fitt for Service Again.—————

Friday

2^d

Cloudy, blowing Weather: a hard Gale; the Wind at NW^t. At work a hewing of Timber & bringing it out of the Woods. One of the 2 Men came up from the Mouth of the River for Victualls, haveing ketcht but one fish in 3 Days; & Yesterday the Storm washt the Netts so full of Weeds as they be as bigg as a barrell every one. he Tells me they have made a very great heap of Moss & Wood to Make a fire & Smoke and have Loaded the Gun ready Against the see a Ship. I find it was a White Bear that broke the Netts the Other so.———

Saturday

3^d

Very Fair after the Blowing Weather wee have had, & now but Little Wind. our People at Work in the Woods in hewing of Timber & fetching it out. Our Indian Tells me that he did see a Great Smoke to the Norward. must be Either Iskemays or Northern Indians, for wee have no Indians on this Side of Portnellson River but the 2 as are with me. I took care to Send all them Indians at Hays River, before I came away, to the Southward, for fear they should doo any mischief a comeing this way. one of our Indians has been over to y^e South Side of this River 4 Days To hunt; he has made a Smoke for the boat to come over, So I hope he hath

gott some Meat. I sent the boat but they are not come back yett. Wee want Meat very Much, for our Netts doth us but very little Service, I not ketching any fish these 4 Days at y^e Mouth of the River & but very few here, and those that be ketcht are very Small. the Indian goeth a hunting every Day but very rarely lights of anything. I am Afraid it will be hard place this, nothing to be had but Cold.—————/

[74]

[Sunday]

Fair Weather: a fresh Gale of Wind, Southerly. ketcht but one Fish in all y^e Netts this Last 24 hours. I sent 5 Men out a hunting too Day to gett Provisions, but all of them did not Gett Enough for one Meal of Victualls for us, And Shot away a great Deall of Powder & Shot for them. they heard 2 Guns go of Immediately on y^e South Side of the back of this Bay to y^e Norward, and wee dont know who they are Yett nor Cannot tell how to think as it can be the Northern Man, y^e English Ladd & Young Woman as I Sent to See for the Northern Indians, they being gon but 19 Days, which is to Short a time for them to proceed in to go through Their Journey.¹ Our other Indian is gon to the

¹ Norton, it would seem, returned with the Northern Indians about Christmas. Cf. Arthur Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's defence* (London: 1744), p. 25.

Norward to Day, here being Nothing for us nor they too Live Upon To be had at this Place. I Ordered the Indian as is gon to the Norward & him y^t is gon to y^e Southrd, if they see a Ship out at Sea, to make a Smoke; w^{ch} if they doo I hope it will not be taken for a Cloud, as Davis Did, & Said it was a Starr Setting 3 hours in y^e Harrison in y^e SW^t, When all the Men See it was a fire, & that it was not Above 15 Mile from the Factory where it was made. if he could but have had the Sence to have lay'd Still & fire Guns Instead of Running out to Sea, than none of this Trouble had fallⁿ upon me nor the Companys Loss, above 30000 £s, by it.—————

Monday

5th

Very hott, Calm Weather, w^{ch} has brought the Musketo Plenty Enough as y^e badd Weather had driven away. wee ketcht but one Small fish out of 9 Netts the last 24 Hours, & the Bear hath broke the Netts Again. I had A Man up from Iskemay Point; he tells me they have not ketcht one fish these 5 Days & that they have not Seen One White Whale these Sevⁿ Days past, w^{ch} Shows here is no fish or Else the Iskemays have killd & Wounded so many of the White Whales as they have forsook the River. wee not have heard as Yett who it is as fired the Guns to y^e Norward, nor Can I Imagine who it

Should be there. The Men at Work in the Woods falling & hewing of Timber, others a fetching it out.—————/

August ye 6th

[74^v]

Tuesday

It Rained a Little in the Morning, but the Wind came abt at NNWt & Cold, w^{ch} hath layd all the Muskatos so as here is not one to be Seen. the men at work in the Woods afalling & hewing of Timber, others a bringing it out. wee hear Nothing who it was as fired the Guns to ye Norward. neither is the Indian Return'd back as went out that way to hunt, & wee ketcht never a fish in the Netts this Last 24 Hours. So here is neither fish, fowl, nor Venison to be gott, w^{ch} makes it very hard with us. So I find they that come to Live here must make Good the Old Saying that they be so hardy they can Live Upon a Rock, for at this time here is Nothing Else here.—————

7th

Wednesday

Fair Weather: a Very hard Gale of Wind at WtNWt. wee haveing Cutt very Near Timber Enough for the 4 Flankers & did gett it all out of the Woods, & 200 Peices at home, 128 Down to the Water Side to raft, & 122 more the first Stage, which makes in all 450 peices of Timber,

now I Design to go on wth building the flankers ¹ with all the Speed I can that wee may be in a Posture to Defend our Selves if their Should be any Occasion before I begin to build the House. now the timber being gott out and so much at the Place as I Designd to build at, & y^e greatest Difficulty of Getting the other home being over, I Design to Disspatch y^e Prossperous Houy ² away with all y^e Speed I can to y^e Bottom of the Bay. I am very much putt to it for Victualls, nor I have not heard any thing from y^e Northrd who it was as made that Smoke & did Shoot of, w^{ch} mightily Surprises me as I cannot Tell what the Matter is, being in Perpetuall fear as I shall hear badd News from them parts. ketcht but 2 fish this Last 24 Hours, one of them a Small Salmon of abt 5^{li}. he had 8 or 9 Capelinn in his Belly; & a 1/4 part of the fish as wee have ketcht here hath been Salmon of abt 2 & 3 pound weight. wee had A Man from Iskemay Point to Day w^{ch} brings me word that they neither See nor hear any Ship but doth look out well for one, w^{ch} I

¹ The normal wooden fort of the Hudson's Bay Company consisted of four stout buildings, resembling blockhouses, at the corners, with palisade walls joining them to form a rectangular enclosure within which other buildings might be erected. The whole was surrounded by a moat. The corner edifices, known as "flankers," served the same purpose as bastions in more elaborate fortifications, and were also used as residences and store-houses. They were constructed sufficiently strongly to mount a few cannon.

² Cf. pp. 66 seqq., 72, *supra*.

1717

Pray God Send here Safe Quickly, as I may not be forc'd to go away & Leave what wee have Done for want of Provisions, And the Indians come & Destroy all for the sake of the Spikes & Nailes when wee are gon. For the time wee have been here thatt I beleive never was So much work Done in any Place & wth So much Difficulty in getting of timber & to bring it home. Geor^e Iseminster¹ hath cutt his foot very much as he will not be fitt for any Businness a Long time.—————/

August ye 8th

[75]
Thursday

Blustering, Blowing, Stormy Weather: the Wind Westerly. wee did gett up a Raft of Peices of timber as was brought home Some time Since & did bring up where our building is To be & Lay'd the foundation of 2 of the 4 peices of Timber.² & did gett the Goods out as was in ye Prossperous Houy & part of the Plank. Wee See the White Bear As broke our Netts. we have not ketch'd one fish this Last 24 Hours. here has been some Trouble to gett Men to go with Mr Grimmington³ down the Bay, all the Men Refuseing to go with him.—————

¹ Perhaps the same as the George Heminster noticed above, p. 69.

² So the original manuscript, but it is clear that something has been omitted. Knight, doubtless, meant to say that the foundations of two of the four flankers had been laid.

³ Cf. p. 72, *supra*.

Friday

9th

1717

Blowing, Stormy Weather: the Wind at EtNE, a very hard Gale. lay'd the foundation of the other 2 flankers & did gett the rest of the Plank & boards out of the Prossperous Houy, wth ye Coals, Bricks & Iron. wee ketcht never a fish this last 24 Hours. had 2 Men out a hunting, for Provisions is very Scarce here: they killd a Goose, 4 Ducks & 2 Partridges. and a Man came up from Iskemay Point where they look out for the Ship, w^{ch} hereafter I shall call point Look out, w^{ch} is the North Point of ye River, & ye South Side shall name round point.¹

Saturday

10th

Fair Weather: the Wind Southerly. & workt upon the Flankers & ballast the Prosperous Houy. I writt Mr Grimmingtons Saileing Orders & a Letter to Mr Mackcleish.² I Gave wth him 40 Days Provisison for him & his Men. I have not left my Self a Days Victualls for the Men

¹ Knight's designations did not live. The northern promontory continued to be known as Eskimo point, and the southern received the name Cape Merry.

² There were two men of the name Thomas Macklish in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. The elder, a ship carpenter, had been associated with the Company since before 1695. (Cf. H. B. Co. Minute Book 217, f. 10 [p. 38]; Minute Book 220, f. 15^v [p. 79].) The younger is mentioned on 5 February, 1700, when a payment of wages was made to his attorney (Minute Book 222, f. 8 [p. 31]). The man here mentioned must have come to Albany Fort as commander in 1715 or 1716. He succeeded Henry Kelsey as governor in chief of Hudson's Bay in 1722.

1717

here. And I pray God send him Safe Down, for I had a great Deal of Trouble to gett Men to go with him.—————

11th

[Sunday]

Fair Weather: Little Wind, Vereable. the Prosperous Houy could not gett of; the Water Didd not Rise high Enough to float her to Day. I gave M^r Grimmington his Saileing Orders & Letter to M^r Mackcleish in y^e Morning. ketcht but one fish. I had 5 hands out a hunting too Day w^{ch} they all did gett but Just as much as will Serve us to Morrow. wee are pretty well ridd of 2 of our Plagues now Cold weather begins To Sett in, y^t is, the Musketos & horse flyes; but y^e 3^d is worse than y^e other 2, for here is now Such Swarms of a Small Sand flyes that wee can hardly See the Sun through them, & where they light is Just as If a Spark of fire fell & raises little lump w^{ch} Smarts & burns So that wee cannot forbear Rubbing of them as cases Such Scabbs that our hands & faces is nothing but Scabbs. they flye into our Ears, Nose, Eyes, Mouth & down our throats as wee be most sorely Plagued with them. And I never see any where in y^e Country the Tenn thousandth part of them as I Doo here. Certainly these be y^e flyes that was Sent as Plagues to y^e Egyptians as caus'd a Darkness over the Land & brought such

blotches & boiles as broke out all over them into Sores. these flyes comes out of the Sand & Moss that Groweth upon the Rocks.—————/

[75^v] Mr Grimmingtons Saileing Orders:

You are with the first Oppertunity, Wind & Weather permitting, to Sett Sail with the Prosperous Houy now Under Your Command for to make the best of Your Way for Albany River, & when there Arrivd to follow & Obey Such Orders as You Shall Receive from the Comm^dr in Cheif there; And to take all the Care You cann in the Passage down both for Yours & the Vessells Security & Quick Disspatch. So pray God Send You a fair Wind & Safe down there.

I Rest Yor Loveing Friend
& Govern^r,
James Knight.

If it Should be your Good fortune to meet with a Ship Bound to this Place or Hays River You are Inform Them as I am at Churchill River; & if you find there is not a Ship bound to this Place but only bound to Hays River You are to tell the Commander that it is my Order for him to come here & take me Aboard; but if thare is a Ship bound here than You are not to hinder the Ship bound to Hays River but to lett him

Proceed & to tell them the Distance they are of
& how to Steer to Each Place & What Depth
they may be Safe in & how the Shoals lyes.

J.K.

On ye Opposite Side beginneth the Coppy of
the Letter Sent to Mr Mackcleish at Albany Fort.

—————/

Mr Mackcleish:

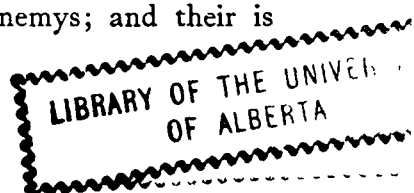
[76]

Yours I Received, Dated the 15th of Augst, by
Mr Vaughan, but not Twill the 25th of October,
he being forc'd Ashore in his Passage the 21st
of September abt a 100 Mile To ye Southrd of
the factory; w^{ch} hath Occasion'd a Great Deal of
Trouble in fetching part of the Goods by Sending
Men over Land & then by Sending Men in the
Spring to gett the Vessell off. I was allmost in
Disspair, not hearing of the Houys Comeing
nor of a Ships Arriveing from England Twill
5th of September. And wee had abundance of
Upland Indians abt the factory that could not
gett away for Want of Powder & Shot to gett
them Provisions to carry them back Again,
& here not Wherewithall to Releive them, there
being but Little more than One Barrell of Powder
Left, & they ware Allmost ready to starve; &
I could not Send out to gett any thing for our
Selves but was forc'd to Stand upon our Guard
for fear the Indians should rise upon Us, for thare

Necessity & hunger had made them almost Dessperate. but on the 5th of September Capt Ward Arriv'd to our great Joy in the Hudsons Bay ffriggott, the Same Ship as Davis was in the Year before & Consign'd to York Fort, Hays River—tho' by his folly, Ignorance & Obstinacy he, like a fool & Madman, returnd Again with y^e Ship & Cargo as he brought out & never Arrivd at his Port, w^{ch} hath been the Occasion of almost the whole Ruin of the Comp^ys Interest in these Parts. he was once Actually within 8 or 9 Leagues of the Factory & was Shott a great way within the Northernest Point of Portnellson River, up as farr as the Eastermost hammock of Woods. he fired Sev^l Guns in the Evening, w^{ch} the Indians as I kept to look abroad out heard them & made a Great fire a Little to y^e Eastward of the fourteens; w^{ch} he & all Abroad See most part of the Night, w^{ch} they said it was a fire but he would have it to be Nothing but a Starr Setting, although they See it above 3 hours in y^e Horrison. Yett in the Morning he did gett up his Anchor without fireing Another Gun & Stood Directly out to Sea away to the Northrd & never came near the River Afterwards Again, but one Day Stood to y^e Northrd & another Day to y^e Southrd & so kept plying backwards & forwards for 7 Days betwixt Old River ¹

¹ Probably Owl River.

& ye North point of Portnellson River; & at last, ye 11th Day of Sept^{br}, like a Thoughtless, Ignorant, Obstinate fooll turnd Tail & run away for England Again. I have Often Wondred as he did not hang or through himselfe Over board rather than to go home with Such Shame & Dissgrace; but I Understand he did not seem any thing Concernd twill Such time as he was near home. than he began to think of ye Acct he must Give of his Missmanagement, wch put him into a fitt of the Gout as the Company was forc'd to Send down a Coach to fetch him up from the Ship. / I Did all the Goods aboard,[76v] wch was to the value 47000 Skins, & Gave Capt Ward his Saileing Orders the 19th of Septemb^{br}; but he did not gett Clear out of the River twill ye 25th of September in ye Night. there had been a very great Cargo gon home if wee had but goods to have Purchasd it, for there was never more Indians came down & was a Comeing than was that Summer; but wee had nothing for them; wch Abundance of them Indians Lost their Lives by Returning back Again & being Starvd; & they that Stayd Twill Goods came had but very little better Luck, winter Setting in so Soon upon them after they Went away as they could not reach home, & they as did reach home found a great many of their ffamilys Starv'd & Dead & others killd by their Enemys; and their is



Near a 3^d part of the Indians in y^e Country Dead one way or Another. And when y^e Remaining Indians came down this Year the first Salutation was Crying & Howling for the Loss of their friends. the Death of these Indians is an Unrecoverable Loss to y^e Company. Than as To y^e Northern Bussiness, it has put me wholly by of all my Designs: for, After I had gott y^e Indians in a humour to go make a Peace, & they brought Sev^{ll} of y^e Northern Indians with them to y^e Factory, I Sent away Nine of them back Again to y^e Northrd to give Notice as I would be that fall at Churchill River; butt when they were going & had gott so farr of their way as to Churchill River they mett with a Great Number of Iskemays w^{ch} fear hath cutt Six of them of, 3 Returning Again To y^e Factory; w^{ch} I Did Design Away in the fall, but the Ship Arriveing so Late it was Impossible for them to go back into Their own Country, & Since that I have had the Missfortune to loose them all by death Excepting one. So that out of 15 of them I know of but one as is Alive. Daviss Misscarriage hath been y^e Occasion of all these Missfortunes, besides a world of hardship & trouble upon us. I am now building of a factory at Churchill River to try whether I can gett this trade after all these Dissapointments, & have now Sent the Surviveing Northern Mann &

a Young Woman as I bought Since, wth an English Ladd, to go & Give their Country People Notice as I am here abuilding; whom I sent away Presently after I Arriv'd, w^{ch} was y^e 14th of July. but I had Sent the Shallop away for this River on y^e Tenth of June with 9 Men & y^e Northern Indian Man, but they meeting with a Great Deal of Ice & badd Weather in their Passage made it y^e 23^d before She Did gett here; but found here had been Abundance of Northern Indians, by thare fire places & tracks. I believe either for want of Victualls, or fear the Warr had broken out again, they not Seeing any of their Country People as came to the factory here nor any of us causd them to Return. I hope they are not all killd by the Iskemays, for they had left / A great many of their Capps behind hanging up, [77] & Severall of y^m had peices of redd Cloth, & So wee did find at y^e Iskemays Tents & y^e Canoo as they crossd the River broke to peices, w^{ch} Looks very Susspicious. I hope You have had a Good Trade at y^e Bottom of y^e Bay to help make up these Losses. Our Trade hath been but very badd by these Missfortunes as hath befalln us, for when I left Hays River, w^{ch} was the 11th of July, wee had but the Value of 22600 Skins, or thereabouts, nor did I hear of any More Indians comeing Down. Wee have Rec'd all the trading Goods Except one Cask of Shot as they left

& What they have Expended where She lay.¹ but in the Invoice thare is Charg'd 94 Kettles, w^{ch} I Reced but 90; they Say their Came no more aboard, w^{ch} I shall See when I come to Weigh the 21 as is Left. As for the Cloth & Bays, You have chargd none but 139^{yds} of Cottens, besides the 22^{yds} of Cottens as came in the Knife Cask that is charg'd. y^e 139^{yds} of Cottens I Suppose to be y^e Quantity of Yards of y^e 3 peices of Cloth & Bays with Some Cottens as is with y^e Said Bundle, besides the 22^{yds} of Cottens as was in the Knife Cask, w^{ch} I have not conveniency as Yett to Open to Measure them to see how much of each Sort there is, that is to Say, Cloth, Bays & Cottens. but for the Provisions, they have Expended a Comeing up & where they vessell lay in the Winter & Since, Excepting 8 Casks of Flower, 2 Casks of Mault, a Cask & 1/3 of Damnifyd Oatmeall, & abt 40^{li} of Raisins. the Sugar & Curr^{ts} I Rece'd & allso some Rotten Pruan^{ts} ^a & 1 Cask of bread, w^{ch} I have left on board for him to Spend a going home & 1/2 of one of the Casks of the flower. the Coals, Plank & Iron I brought all to this Place, but the Guns was much Damnify'd, being all rusty by wett. I Should have been with You this fall if that

¹ Knight turns abruptly to a discussion of the cargo on the *Prosperous*, sent from Albany to York in the autumn of 1716. Ct. p. 67, *supra*.

^a Prunes.

Unfortunate fellow Davis had not Misscarry'd & brought all this Missfortune upon the Comp^y & me, for I am Satisfyd thare is that of Value to be gott for the Comp^y Upon y^e East Main¹; but as the Comp^y did write to me not to Remove neither You nor Mr Bishop,² & as I Understand You are Sensible of it by Saying it did not lye in my Power to remove Neither of You, so things must lye as they have done from the beginning to y^e Ending rather than Incurr thare Diss-pleasure by Sending You any where to look after them, w^{ch} I could have Directed you pretty near Sev^{ll} Places as I have Seen So that You may have found them. the reason I made no more In-pection into them after I had found it out, it was Warrs thenn & the Want of Provisions or any thing coming to me in 3 Year. than After the Peace was Concluded the French was to have the Bottom of the Bay & our Company this part of the Country, / And I was sent over to Ex-[77^v] change & Remove y^e Comp^{ys} Effects to Port Nellson River—then I thought it not worth While to make any further Discovery of that, as y^e Comp. was not like to have any benifitt. for my Agreement then was but to Stay. the Comp^y then Omitted Sending a Ship Over again, so After I was come into y^e Country & not

¹ The east coast of James bay and Hudson bay.

² Cf. p. 91, *supra*.

knowing how things went at home & our Provisions being most Expended I went home with the Perry, least the Country should be left Unprovided wth Provisions, as it had been here Tofore.¹ I Design, God Willing To spare me Life & health, to go home Next Year, So I shall not come Down the Bay; but I am Sure Your House is very Rotten & Decay'd & wants to be new built. And had I come Down I should have built one at Baylys Island,² where I would have Done it at first; but I being Under the Govern^{rs} ³ Command to go Doe what he Commanded me, he Ordered me To build in that Place where the factory now is. I being Unsatisfyd with it, I sent a Letter by a Messenger telling him the Inconveniency of it, that it was up a Creek a great ways & that an Enemy could Command any Vessell or boat that went up the Creek to the ffactory, or Command us of Every Side the fort when built; besides it was a barr place to go in at. but Instead of Altering his Mind he Sent me a very Angry Letter & told me it was my Bussiness to Obey & follow Such Orders as he Gave or Sent me & not to Expostulate with him. I was Still Unsatisfyd & Travell'd to

¹ Cf. pp. 35-41, *supra*.

² An island in the mouth of Albany river, where the fort was later built.

³ This was probably John Nixon, governor in 'the Bottom of the Bay' from 1679 to 1683. Cf. p. 25, *supra*.

Moose River To see whether I could not persuade him of off his Resolution, but he gave me Such a Wellcome that made me go back Again y^e Next Day. So I built According to his Orders & Directions. the Govern^r was a Stranger comeing into y^e Country that fall to Succeed Gov^r Bayly,¹ & y^e Company had gave him Orders to take Advice of Gov^r Bayly where to build, w^{ch} was at that place; but in y^e Summer, wⁿ he came to see the Place, he was ready to Runn Madd, & calld Gov^r Bayly all the Block-heads & fools as he could think on, & said I had Done well in Doing as I had Ordered me but Said he was sorry at his heart he did not lett me build that Place at Baylys Island, which was y^e Only Place as he had Seen.² so that if Your factory doth Lack building & it is Peace Write home to y^e Comp^y to know their Pleasure, or where they will Order it. I have had & Shall have my Share Sufficiently in building before I have Done this Year. I now being at this Distance, & not knowing how things Stands with You, I shall not trouble You with any

¹ Charles Bayley, who was sent out as governor for the first time in 1670, and remained more or less continuously in the Company's service until his death in London, 6 January, 1680.—H. B. Co. Memorial Book 701, ff. 3-5 [pp. 5-8]; Minute Book 203, f. 6 [p. 14].

² The position of Bayley's island, and of the old Albany Fort, can be seen on John Thornton's map of 1685: Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5414, no. 20; copy in Public Archives of Canada.

More but wish You well & Success to y^e Comp^y
Interest Under You.

I rest y^{or} Loveing friend to Serve,
James Knight./

[78] Mr Mackcleish:—

I thank You for the Token you Sent me of Wine & Brandy—Although I wish you had not Diss-furnish'd your Self of, but I Accept of Your Love. for I Drink no Wine nor Brandy, nor have not Drinkt a Drain of Raw Brandy Since the french was here, nor but one Glass of Wine Since February Last was twelve Months, nor no Strong beer, never tasting any of this Beer as the Comp^y Sent over Twill Spring, & then I did but Just taste of it; nor no Punch nor flipp; so that no Man can brann me to y^e Comp^y, to Say they have Drunken Govern^r here.¹ And I do Admire at one thing, that Govern^r fullerton,² w^{ch} Setts att y^e Committee table, nor you, that was in favour of Some of the Gentlemen, Should never Give the Comp^y Some Items of Davis's former Blunders, w^{ch} might have Prevented these Misscarriages. for my Own Part I never heard one Syllable of

¹ There are, however, several references in earlier years to the supply of liquors for Captain Knight's table. When the Company agreed to his return to England in 1718 eight dozen bottles of wine were sent for his use on the homeward voyage.—Information from Hudson's Bay Company.

² Cf. p. 40, *supra*.

1717

them Twill the Spring after the Ship Misscarry'd, wch my Deputy than told me of, wch I was Surprisd to hear of; & Sayeth he had Often heard them Say if he had a late Passage Rather than he would Winter in y^e Country he would return back with the Ship & Cargo.

J. K.

Augst y^e 12th

Monday

Fair Weather, but a fresh Gale: Wind at West. last Night, after I had writt y^e Transactions of y^e Day, Mr Vaughan went & did gett y^e Vessell of for Grimmington. And this day Mr Grimmington wth y^e Prossperous Houy sett Sail for Albany River, whom I Wish well down. All of our Men but what is Lame & Sick hath been at Work to Day; & I am Afraid wee shall be all blind & Madd wth those Little flyes, for a Man can hardly fetch his breath for them, for they Darken the very Sky. the Air is thick of y^m all Day, as when a puff of Wind blows up the Dry Dust.

13th

Tuesday

Fair Weather: the Wind Westerly. y^e little flyes hath been so brief to Day as drove us from our Work, & them as wee Sent out to Gett

Victualls was forc'd home, for they could not See through them; And wee could doe but very little work upon y^e flankers. ketcht never a fish in y^e Netts. the Indian as went out to y^e Norwrd a hunting brings Word he could find no place all Along shore where the English Ladd & Northern Indians went to y^e Northerd put a shore, w^{ch} makes me very fearfull they are fallen into y^e hands of the Iskemays. W^t a hard thing it is wⁿ a Man Sends Men that hath not care or thought how to doo Bussiness! for If them as I sent here before in y^e boat, when they first came if they had but made a Smoke or Sent the Northern Man after y^e Northern Indians, they being not long gon by the freshness of their tracks, & I beleive he would have Soon Over taken them./

[78^v]August y^e 14th

Wednesdy

Fair Weather: Little Wind, Vereable. in y^e Morning wee heard 3 Great Guns go of. abt 5 a Clock I sent Mr Vaughan atopp of the Hill to look out if he could see a Ship. he Returnd Immediately & Say'd he See one Abt a Mile & 1/2 of, at an Anchor of off the Rivers Mouth. I Sent him away wth Another Man in y^e Shallop down to y^e Mouth of the River to bring 'em up. abt 9 a'Clock he brought her up & came to an

Anchor in ye Channell Opposite to where wee are a building. Capt Ward ¹ & Mr Stanton ² came a Shoar before the Ship came to an Anchor, wch I found to be the Hudsons Bay ffriggot. they brought the Compys Packett a Shoar, by which I found they were all well, wch I am Gladd to here, & told me as the Portnellson was Gon to York Fort & ye Albany wth a Small Vessell to ye Bottom of the Bay. wee workt upon the Flankers but could not do much, the flyes are so Intolerable thick. Ketcht 7 Small fish in the Netts, wch is more than wee have Ketcht all this fortnight before. 5 of them was Salmon & 1 a Perch. ye Ship came in a very Good time, wee haveing nothing but a little Oatmeal & Cheese left, besides Flower.—————

15th

Thurssday

Blustering, blowing Weather: ye Wind Easterly. they have been Busy most part of this Day a Mooreing & Clearing ye Ship, so as wee have done nothing to ye Unloading of her yett. she lays 2 Mile of & wee can do nothing as to ye Unloading of her but at 1/2 a tide, the flattts & Rocks lyeing of so farr; wch will make it very troublesom to us, The Unloading of her. Wee workt upon the flankers. here came 2 Canoos of Indians down

¹ Cf. p. 60, *supra*.

² Cf. p. 48, *supra*. He was come now to be Knight's deputy at Churchill.

from ye great Water Lake,¹ Although I have done all that in me lyes to keep the Indians from comeing Down to this Place. they brought nothing wth them, for they had been at thee factory this Year before & Traded. I askd them w^t they came here for; they told me to see whether I were here. I told them they should not trade here, but I bidd them go to Hays River factory for the time to come. I have done all that in me lyes to keep the Indians from Comeing to this Place, but I fear all will not doo, they will follow me. & I Order'd my Deputy to prevent them from comeing here all that lay'd in his Power. The Indian as I sent To ye Southrd came in To Day; he see the Ship upon ye Coast. here is neither fish, fowl nor Venison to be gott here at this time. /

[79]

August ye 16th

Friday

Blustering, Windy weather: at SEt, & Raw Cold. Landed 3 boat Load of Goods too Day with much Difficulty, it blowing so hard. Stewart & ye fellow as wass at point lookout, looking out for ye Vessell & fishing their, has lett the punt as belongs to ye Houy go a Drift the Day before Yesterday. I have sent these 2 Days to look

¹ I.e., Missinippi Indians. Cf. p. 56, *supra*.

out for her, but they cannot find it, w^{ch} I Suppose is gon out to Sea. I doo not know what I shall doo for Want of her both for fishing & the Vessell, w^{ch} is a great Loss, she being So Serviceable. I had given them a very great Charge to take care of the boat. they had only fastened her to a Stake Stuck in the Sand, like Careless Blockheads, there Running a great Swell, & the high wind carryd her away. Wee workt Upon the flankers & Shall have, if it holds fair Weather, one of them up by Monday Noon—that is, the Sides ready for laying the Beams over to cover it y^e first Story. the Meshinnepee Indians as came last Night, Seeing I was Dissatisfyd at their Comeing here, told me I need not fear of their doeing the Northern Indians any harm by comeing here, for they Loved me and would not doo any thing as Should Dissplease me; & they beleiv'd the Northern Indians went away for fear, not seeing any of their Country people come here as was at the factory; & told me they beleiv'd they could not Stop any of those Indians as lives on y^e North Side of y^e Mishenepe Lake nor y^e Northern Sinnae Poets comeing to see me If I did not lett them have Goods, as likewise these Indians as Cap^t Swan¹ went & made peace with, w^{ch} is the Northern Indians friends. I am much Concerned to hear them say so, for I would have

¹ Cf. p. 57, *supra*.

these Northern Indians first been Supply'd wth Guns & other Necessarys. I find I must be forc'd to keep hostages of y^e Sev^l Nations In the factory to keep peace Amongst them, w^{ch} will be a great Charge. these Indians gave me a Side of Moose flesh, Dry'd, & Another of Deers flesh, & 2 pretty bigg bladders of Marrow fatt as weighs near 30^l, & a Couple of Geese wth a pretty large Sturgeon.

Saturday

17th

Fair Weather. wee workt Unlivering the Ship & building y^e flankers. I sent 2 Men out to y^e Northrd to look for y^e boat & Ordered them to lye out & go a great way if they can find where she is gon, & Ordered them to go above 12 Leagues to the Northrd. I Open'd a Cask of y^e New Pease & boyld them & they Proved Extraordinary Good./

[79^v]

August 18th

[Sunday]

Fair Weather: Little Wind. wee did gett 2 boat Loads of Goods Ashoar too Day. it is very Troublesom Unlivering the Ship, She lyeing so great a Distance of & the Rocks as they can bring but one Tripp A Day, & then it must be Allmost high Tide.

1717

19th

Monday

Fair Weather: Little Wind. the forep^t of the Day wee wrought Upon the Flankers & have gott one of them near high Enough to lay the second beams, w^{ch} wee shall doo to Morrow. the Men as I sent A Saturday to look out for the boat Return'd & brought the boat wth them; abt 10 Leagues to y^e Northrd they found it, w^{ch} I am Glad of. wee ketcht 3 fish to Day, w^{ch} is more has been ketcht Since Capt Ward came in. the 2 Canoos of Indians went away Up this River, w^{ch} be of the Great Water Indians as came Down 2 Days ago. I did not know Twill this Day as they had brought any thing to trade, twill one of them came to me & Asked me to trade. I told him no, I would not trade, for he must go to York fort. the fellow did Sett Silent a Little While & then he did fall into a Passion & told me I went to Starve him & said that Winter was Just comeing on he could not go there & with that took & Markt out this River & that from y^e Great Water lake, where he belongs to, & said that they could come Down here in 4 Days without any Carriages & that they cannot come from the Great Water Lake to York fort in less than 10 Days the Least, and that was sev^{ll} Great hills that way as they was forc'd to Cross wth their Canoos & Goods Upon their backs, w^{ch} makes it very Difficult to them, Especially one Carriage w^{ch} is Allmost a Days Travell for

them to Carry their Bundles on their backs; & he sayth by Reason of the Greatness of y^e Carriages makes a Great many not to come to y^e factory. this is New to me & I never heard of it before as this River layd so Near that Lake before. how so ever, I fore-warn'd them from comeing here next Spring & told them as here was no Goods for them brought here, for I Dare not Suffer them Indians to come this way twill the Northern Indians is Supplyd with Goods, that is, Guns & Ammunition. but he tells me they will be friends with the Northern Indians, but beleive them I will not Twill they are in a Capacity of Defending Themselves. I told him Seeing he was come Down rather than he Should Starve I would trade that little he had, Seeing the Year was so farr Spent as that he could not go to Hays River & back into their own Country before Winter Sett in. I took the Oppertunity & told them abt Scrapeing of their Moose Skins so thin. he Said it was because of the Long Carriages they had to bring them they was forced to make them Light.—————/

- [80] I Did Speak to him abt Ketching of Martinns, w^{ch} he Sayth he will doo & Tell all the Indians to ketch What they can. this will be pretty hard task for me to mannage betwixt these Northern Indians & them, for these Indians

1717

seeing wee Refuse them Goods wch hath traded so long & at the Same time Sell to them that are Strangers to us wch have been allways their Enemyes. it requires a Great Deal of Care in a Man to Govern & Mannage these People Rightly.

I Servd the People Biskett to Day, for Flower hindred our People So much time in baking of bread now they are at work.—————

20th

Tuessdy

Fair Weather: Little Wind, Vereable. wee workt upon the flankers & layd the beams for the Second Storey; & wee did ashoar 4 boats Loads of Goods. I sent 3 Netts over to ye South side of the River to try for fish, wee ketching none of this Side. I ordered the Doctor¹ to open the Chest of Medicines To see whether the things was sent over as he had writt for, haveing had Such badd Luck with them as came over Last Year, they being all Rotten & Good for nothing by lyeing in the Ships hole all the Year After they did Return;² & now he finds Severall things Wanting as he Indented for & not one Purgeing Pill come over and but a little Rhubarb & that as Rotten as Dirt. It is a very hard Case with us here that are in a

¹ John Carruthers.

² That is, the medicines sent in 1715 in Davis's ship, which did not reach port but returned to London, were left in the hold through the winter and sent out again in 1716.

Country where wee can gett no Manner of thing but what comes out of England to preserve our Lives & keep us in health & Yett the Compy not to Send us that Little as wee write for. What a badd Circumstance will their Affairs be Under if the Men Dies! the Long Winters & badd Diet makes us a very Sickly Factory here towards the Spring, & most of all the Men Requires Vomiting & Purgeing. here is not Garden Stuff nor fresh Meat to be had to purge & Sweeten the Blood, so that wee being Disappointed of Purges & Vomitts as that wee have Sev^{ll} Men lyes Sick along While upon our hands, w^{ch} much hinders our bussiness, wee being Stowd up in a Close House all the Winter. what with the Stoves, Lamps, Tobacco Smoaking & Dressing of Victualls, & so many lyeing in them, it is very Unwholesom, & some times the Weather is so Sharp Cold as wee cannot putt out of Doors; but the Summer wee have here is generally healthy Enough.—————/

[80v]

August ye 21stWedness^{dy}

Fair Weather: a fresh Gale, Westerly. wee workt upon ye Flankers & getting a hoar the Goods. wee have a Misserable Poor place of it; York Fort is badd but this is Tenn times worse. The 2 Indians goeth a hunting every

Day.—but this is Tenn times worse, for here is neither fish, Fowl nor Venison. but I beleive it will be good for the Compys Interest in time, but never Good for their Servts as Lives here, for now their is Plenty of Geese & fowls at y^e other Factorys but here is not one to be Seen. Although I have Nine Netts Sett & tended very well Yett wee doo not ketch one fish, that is, one Day with Another; & where wee are forc'd to build their is not a Sixth Part of y^e Compass as Shelters us any where from y^e Weather to Defend & keep us warm, nor could I find a better place. the Graves & bones of the People as lyeth buried here Shows w^t wee must trust too if wee doo not provide before Winter Setts in. although they were Deans & a hardy sort of People, hear lyes near 130 of them buried, & a great many of their Graves be Under some part of our building. I pray God Preserve & keep us. I have taken what care I can to build houses Suitable as to many may not lye together to Infect one Another; for I chose this Method to build my Flankers as to many may not lye together, & Design to Palliside my Self in, that I may be Close & Secure if any Attempt Should bee Against us, before I meddle with building the Dwelling House within the fortification, so that upon all Occasions wee shall be in a Capacity of Defending our Selves in our Work. I Design to Winter my Men in 3 of

the Flankers, ye other to putt the Goods in Twill
Such time as I can gett ye House built.————

Thurssday

22^d

Fair Weather: Little Wind, at NW^t. made an
End of getting all the Casks a Shoar, So Thare is
nothing left aboard but bricks, Coals, Shot &
Lead. I Ordered Mr Vaughan to gett what was
in the Success Houy out of her & ballast her
ready to Sail to York fort, and to Carry an
Armourer to fix up the Guns, their being 200 as
will not trade; & I send W^m Stewart to be
Assistant to my Dep^{ty} In case he Should doo
otherways than well, their not being a Man
their as Understandeth one Word of Indian, and
a Sawyer; also one of ye new Passengers as
Came over this Voyage; &, to help Strengthen
them their, wth Orders to Entertain Capt Belchers
Doctr¹ if he will Stay, it not being fitt nor Safe
as either of these Factorys should be without
one where here is Allways So many Men either
Sick or Lame. & I Ordered Mr Vaughan to bring
4 hoggsheads of Salt Geese² wth Sev^{ll} other things

¹ I.e., to engage the physician on board the *Port Nelson*, Capt. Belcher commanding, to remain at York in the Company's service. The proposal seems to have been carried out, for there was a doctor at York Fort during the following year.—York Fort Journal 14. A. 3, f. 6^v [p. 17].

² Henry Kelsey, writing to Richard Stanton on 28 March, 1719, complained of this order, which 'put me very hard to it to bring the time around' (York Fort Council Book 15. A. 3, f. 13 [p. 21]).

1717

as I have Occasion of here, I finding this Place likely to be very hard to gett any Provisions at. _____/

August ye 23^d

[81]

Friday

Fair Weather: Little Wind, at WtSWt. this Morning abt 9 a Clock Mr Vaughan Sett Sail in the Prossperous Houy¹ for York Fort. I Ordered him to put Aboard the Hudsons Bay ffriggot & to Change a harser² for a bigger, to gett a Dipey Line and a Lead Line, wee haveing none here, & to carry the Passengers as I mentioned Yesterday. wee workt upon the flankers, & almost all the timber wee have here is wrought up; & did gett 2 boats Load of bricks. the Indians were out a hunting & did gett 2 poor Geese, allthough it is the Chief time of Year at the other 2 factorys. this shows what a place wee are at & how hard Country Provisions is to be gott here. I had all the Netts Takeing up to Day, Cleand & Dry'd, they not ketching one fish for Sev'll Days past. I gave W^m Stewart & Orders Instructions & Sent a Letter to my Depty, Which are as Followeth:_____

¹ Obviously a slip of the pen for "Success hoy"; see entry of the preceding day, and also of 12 August. Accordingly correct *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 3rd ser., Vol. XXIII (1929), sect. ii, p. 60, l. 17.

² Hawser.

To Mr Will^m Stewart:—

1717

By Virtue of Power Given & Granted to me by the Hon^{ble} Hudsons Bay Compy I do Order & Appoint You to be Chief at York Fort If it should please God my Depty Henry Kellsey Esqr should doo otherways than well: than in Such Case I Appoint You as aforewritten, &, if it should so happen out, All Men there I command to be Obedient to You; but if Please God to Spare him with Life & health, than You are to Obey him in all Such things as hee shall Order & Command You; & You are to be not at the Command of any Man Else; & You are to behave Your Self as You ought to doe, to be Dilligent & Carefull in Whatsoever You are Intrusted with or Employd in. So hoping you will be Mindfull of the Trust & Confidence as is Reposd in You, for Your own Creditt, the Compys profit, & to my Satisfaction—This Dureing Pleasure—

I Rest Yor Loveing Friend

& Govern^r to Serve,

James Knight.

Churchill River,

Augst 23^d, 1717.

Over Leaf Followeth a Letter to

My Deputy: /

[81v] Depty:—

After my kind Love to You this comes to Acquaint You as Capt Ward is Safely Arrived

here in the Hudsons Bay friggott the 14th of this Instant & Tell me he parted with Capt Belcher in the Port nellson but few Days before, w^{ch} I hope is Safely Arrived before this comes to hand. I am very Sorry at my Missfortune of not meeting with any of y^e Northern Indians here, they being all gon before they did gett here wth y^e Boat, they haveing Such a Long Passage to this Place—they not arriveing here twill y^e 22^d of June at Night, meeting wth So much badd weather & Ice in their Passage—as y^e Indians were all gon. This is a Misserable, poor Place. here is neither fish, Fowl nor Venison, the Indians haveing killd but 3 poor Deer Since they have been here, & Scarce a Goose To be seen all Day long or any other Fowl; neither do wee ketch, one Day with Another, out of y^e Netts One fish. & if it had not been for the Cheeses I brought here I must have been forc'd back Again, not being Able to gett Provisions for to keep us here. And as for the timber wee have gott here, it is with abundance of Difficulty: the Nearest peice wee fetch here is back'd 1700 Yards & the furthest 2400 Yards, & Upp Midd Legg Every Stepp allmost in Mudd & Dirt. I pray God send it better for ths Company Than it is for us here. I have no Acct^r p^r Capt Ward from y^e Compy what they Sent To York fort, therefore I would Desire You to Send me

Word whether they did Comply with y^e Indent in Sending what was indented for, & Likewise what You have traded Since I come away, that I may know how to Govern my Self in my Advice to y^e Compy. I believe I & Sev^l of our People has Letters & things Come by Capt Belcher, There fore I would Desire You to send all such thing & Letters You have by Mr Vaughan here; & to Enquire whether I have no Snuff Sent in that Ship. if thare is, pray Send it me. I am Inform'd I had Some went by him. If I thought I had any thing here as You have not there I would Send You part of it; but I am told the same of every thing as is here is Sent there, & of Some things more, for the Compy could not tell whether the Ship would find me here or there. I pray Use your Endeavour to prevent any of them Indians comeing here twill I am Settld with the Northern Indians. I Desire You to Disspatch Mr Vaughan wth the Sloop & What things I Send for & y^e Mens. I have Sent You 4 Men p^r Mr Vaughan. one of them is W^m Stewart, to Assist you in Case of Sickness or any other Accident, w^{ch} I pray God keep you from, that their may be one as Understands The Indian [82] & to trade. / I have Given him a Power in case of any Such Dissaster, knowing there is not one man with You as Understands Scarce one Word of Indian. I have Allso Sent You an Armourer;

if he can but doe one half as he Sayth he can he will be the finest fellow in the Country. I have Allso Sent You George Clark¹ for a Sawyer, & a Young Gentleman wch hath been bredd a Lawyer, he not being fitt to Undergo the fatigue wee have to doe here of Work & the Scarcity of Provisions as is like to be here. And You are by Order of the Compy to Send John Woodbridge² home. And, if You can, Persuade the Doctr of the Port nellson to Stay, & if the Capt is Willing to Spare him. but doe not Promise no more Wages than hee is Shipt for; if you doe, the Compy will not Allow it. I would have You Disspatch Mr Vaughan with all the Speed you can. So Wishing You health & Prosperity, with my kind Love to You,

I Rest Yor Loveing Friend

Churchill River, & Governr to Serve,

Augst ye 23^d, 1717.

James Knight.

You will See in the Compy's Generall Letter wt they write abt the Skins, So I Desire You will follow their Orders as neare as Possible You can.

¹ Cf. p. 69, *supra*. On 7 Sept., 1718, Kelsey "discharg'd Geo: Clarke from the factory & ordered him on board the Hudsons Bay upon his denying my Commd . . . & has been a fractious Mutanious fellow ever since he has been here" (H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 14. A. 3, f. 32 [p. 96]).

² John Woodbridge was one of the men who came to York Factory with Capt. Knight in 1714 (York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 15^v [p. 45]).

Saturday

Augst ye 24th

1717

It blowd very hard: the Wind at SSEt, w^{ch} is a very badd Wind for Mr Vaughan, y^t is Gon for Hays River. wee fetched a raft home of 62 Peices. here came a Shoar 2 boats Load of bricks, but the Wind blew so hard as they could not gett aboard Again. wee made an End of Getting the Goods from the Place where they Land Them, it being a Great way from where wee are a Building, & Covered them with Shedd's of Deal boards twill wee can gett houses finished to put them in. I had all the Netts Dryd, Clean'd & Mended, but the weather was so badd wee could not sett them.

[Sunday]

25th

Fair Weather: Calm most part of the Day. Sett Six Netts. The Men not working to Day. I sent some of the Men out a hunting: they killd abt 14 partridges, but for Ducks & other Fowls here is none, Although it is y^e prime of the Season at the other factorys. so that I see Wild Fowl here is Like to be a great rarity here as well as Venison.—————/

[82v]

August ye 26th

Monday

The fore p^t of the Day Indifferent fair, the latter part Rain, which putt us by of our Working.

All the bricks came Ashoar to Day. wee wrought upon the flankers as much as wee could, & ketcht Fish in y^e Netts, whereof one of them was a Sallmon weight 8^u 3/4. The Indians killd 13 Geese, of which 10 of y^m & the Salmon I gave to Cap Ward for a Refreshment for him & his Men. I sett a Nett, but a Seal broke it alle to Peices the first Night. I sent down the River, to Another Place where the Iskemays Usd to Land, 2 knives, a hatchett & a Scraper, to hang Upon Poles Pointing this way, to show as here was Europeans this way & had things to sell. so now thare is Such things hangs at both Places or points where they be Used to Land, time Drawing very near for their comeing here if they come this Season. I doe all as ever I cann To gett our-Selves Inclos'd, but the Difficulty of getting Timber is very hard & Troublesom to us. the Houy has had but very Indifferent Winds since she went away.—————

27th

Tuesday

Blustering, Blowing weather, with Rain: the Wind Vereable Round y^e Compass. the weather proveing so badd wee could gett Nothing a Shoar to Day. wee had like to have Lost all our Timber, the Tide being so high, & was forc'd to Send out in the Night to raft it; Yett not with Standing wee lost 8 peices. workt Upon the

flankers while the Weather would permitt.
ketcht 2 fish. —————

Wednessdy

28th

Very Stormy, Blowing Weather: the Wind at Ab^t West. it has blown Such a Hurricane of Wind Ever Since Tueseday Evening as could well blow out of the Heavens, and as Great a Storm as it was in ye beginning of Queens Ann Reign, that is, ye Novemb^r Storm,¹ & Still Continues. I pray God the Small Vessell may be Safe as is gon to York Fort. if she was not gott there before this Storm Arose it was Impossible She could Live in it; & I cannot See how she could gett there before this Stormy Weather begun, the Wind proveing So Contrary all The time before. wee have had but a Very Missirable Time Amongst us, not haveing a Dry thread Since it begun, it Blowing the tents down, wetting our bedding & Every thing wee have. And very hard Showers of Hail came Amongst the Rain, wth Snow, w^{ch} made it very Cold. —/

[83]

August ye 29th

Thurssday

It Continues Still Blustering, blowing, Stormy Weather, wth as much Rain & Wind all Night

¹ This storm of November, 1702, was long remembered in Hudson bay, and set a standard to which, for many years, other weather disturbances were referred.

1717

& the fore pt of the Day as it was Yesterday; but this After noon the Wind Vear'd to the Northrd & is Something Abated, but it Still Rains. I have been Souc'd with the Rain this Last 36 hours, as well as all Men Else, that I have not a Dry thread abt mySelf & bedd but what may be Ring'd as if it had been Soked in Water. altho' I took Such care before the badd weather came in the Makeing Shedd's with y^e boards Covering Everything—Excepting the flower w^{ch} none has Rece'd any Dammage—Thinking it would be more Easy for me or any of the rest to Dry our Selves Again then too lett the Goods take Dammage and be wett. the Ships boat has not been able to gett a Shoar Since Tuesday in the Afternoon, nor wee have done but very Little but Takeing Care to preserve the things from Receiveing Dammage.—

30th

Friday

It Still Continues blowing weather, wth Squals of Snow & Rain. the Wind is much Abated. Workt upon one of the flankers. The Capt came a Shoar wth the Boat too Day & went of Again Immediately, but could not bring any Goods with them. ketcht no fish this badd weather, but the Netts are much broken.

Saturday

31st

Cold, Blowing Weather: the Wind Northerly;

& it Snowd & freezd. the boats brought 2 Loads of Coals & Iron. wee workt upon the flankers as much as wee could as the Weather would permitt, but wee have not above 5 or 6 Men well as can work. wee begun the Chimney in the SE^t flanker.¹ I can but Admire the Compy should take so little care of us & their Interest here as not to Send Men Sufficient to Secure their Goods & our Selves. I have but 16 Men of all Sorts Since the Success Houy went to York Fort, w^{ch} has 4 in her. here is the Ship to Unliver & bring the Goods up, & of these 16 Men wee have here above half of them is Sick & Lame. Winter draws on upon us with very badd weather. Not one Stick of Wood Cutt for our Winters fireing, nor Timber Enough Cutt by near 200 peices to finish our 4 flankers, nor doo not where too go to cut one peice; but if any is to be had it is a Matter of 10 Leagues from the factory. I have Often heard Sev^l of the Committee say as they had a Good mind to Come over here: I wish they² & all the rest of the Committee had took Their Summer Campaign here and was To Take Their Winter Quarters with Us this Winter. Then I believe they would Sett a Little more

¹ Annotation in margin (added, doubtless, in London):

wants men

16 men &

4 wth y^e Sloop

² Annotation in margin: Comittee & Secretary

Value upon Mens Lives & their Goods, & not to Expose all to this hazard & wee to Such hardships. where they but here to see the Sculls & bones of Men as lyes Scatter'd from the Rivers Mouth to Abt 12 Mile up, where the Indians has killd one Another that has come here for the Lucre of the Rack¹ Iron, / I believe it would[83v] put them into a feavor to think how they should Secure Themselves with the Compliment of Men they Allow me. this is the Centre that 4 Sev^{ll} Nations of Indians Meet & was at Warrs one with Another, & No Doubt but they will all meet Again at this Place when they here as A factory is Settled. but I have writt so Often for Men & told them there Necessity of it & Yett they took no notice of it, so that I shall not Give them any more trouble in that case but lett them doo as they think fitt. for my own part I sett as Little Value upon my Self & fear any thing as little as any Man Liveing. for my part it puts me to y^e Greatest Admiration in the world to think what care the Committee Takes at home when they have a Little Money by them & Under their own Roof; they are so Carefull of it as they putt it up into an Iron Chest wth 2 Locks & Keys to Secure it; but when that Money is Taken & layd out & Sent over here they have no thought how it is Exposed here for want of People to

¹ Wreck.

Secure it, but Expect Great Returns; wch I beleive they will be Deceivd at one time or Another when Strangers comes as knoweth not how to Mannage the Indians. y^e Negros in y^e West Indies nor the Slaves at Algier has Workt harder than our People hath done all this Summer here. ketcht 5 Small fish, wch I Gave Capt Ward; 8 Geese out of the 14 Geese as the Indians brought in.——

[September y^e 1st]

[Sunday]

Blowing, Cold, Drifty, Snowy Weather. One boat came a Shoar with 4 Sheets of Lead. The Indians killd 4 Geese.——

Monday

2^d

A Very fresh Gale at NW^t & by North; but in the Afternoon pretty Moderate. The boat brought 6 Sheets of Lead a Shoar. the Men at work upon the flankers; they lett in the Uppermost beams of one of the flankers; some a building the Stove; & finishd laying the floor of the Tradeing Room in y^e Upper Story. ketcht 2 fish, And the Indians brought in 12 Geese.——

Tueseday

3^d

Fair Weather: a fresh Gale, Southerly. made an End of bringing all the Lead Ashoar. workt a

1717

laying the Joyces & Ledges of the house, & putt
2 Men to Saw 3 Inch plank to Cover y^e flanker.
The Indians brought in 16 Geese, whereof I gave
the Capt 8.—ketchd 4 Small fish.—————/

September y^e 4th

[84]

Wednesdy

Fair Weather: a fresh Gale, Southerly, & hath
been this 24 Hours; but wee hear nothing of Mr
Vaughan wth y^e Houy from York fort. wee
Coverd one of the flankers with boards Yester-
day To lay the Lead on. They brought a Long
boat Load of Coles a Shoar. this is a Miserable,
barren Place. wee hardly See a Goose for all it
is the highth of y^e Goose Season at the other
Places; nor never a fish. Wee are Such a Small
Compliment of Men as w^t with the helping the
Goods ashoar and others Sick & Lame as wee can
hardly make a Show of any Work, although
Winter Creeps on a pace.—————

5th

Thurssday

Blustering, Stormy Weather, with Rain & Snow,
And very Cold: the Wind Easterly. wee Allmost
Cover'd one of the Flankers wth Lead to Day,
w^{ch} takes up better than 6 Sheets & 1/2. Their
came a boat Load of Coals a Shoar too Day.
w^t with Sev^l of Men helping to Unload the boat
& getting them up, A good many of them falling

Sick & Lame by being wett & Cold Always—as they are Daily Dropping Ill, not haveing a place To lye Dry in—So as to our building here is but little as can be Done; & the Winter is Comeing on a pace. I sent a Man Down To y^e Mouth of the River To see after the Knives, Hatchetts & Scrapers as I had hung up for the Iskemays To See, if they had Landed—for the Man to hang them up, they being blown down in the Stormy Weather; and as he was a comeing home he killd a Rabbitt w^{ch} weighd a 11^h 3/4. but the few Geese as was here be Quite Gon. the Compys may Please to Satisfye Themselves in the Difference at Each place of the Country Provisions, how the Geese goes away: here They are gon by The 5th of Septemb^r, Att York Fort The 17th & 18th of September, & at Albany Fort y^e 10th & 12th of October. by this You may See the Difference of time as Winter Setts in at Each Place.

Friday

6th

A Very Stormy, Rainy Night, with a fresh Gale of Wind, Easterly; but in the Morning the wind came abt Northerly, & Snowd much; but the Latter part of the Day Indifferent weather, but a fresh Gale, Northerly. One of the flankers being Quite Coverd wth Lead I Took the Men of from doeing any Work there & Sett them at

Work upon the Flanker as is Design'd for the Warehouse, that I may gett that Cover'd as fast as I can; & have lay'd the floors of both Storys of it. but that as is Cover'd has never a board layd in it, for my Resolution is to have a place to Secure the Compys Goods & Effects in first, which has layn but badly Ever Since they have been a Shoar, Allthough I have Taken all the care as Possible could bee to Secure them, And wee lye wett our Selves to preserve them, by makeing of Shedd's over Them wth Planks and boards. / I had 2 boat Loads of Coals came a[84^v] Shoar too Day. it begins to be Very Cold Unlivering the boats, for the Men are forced too go up to thare Middle too Unload, the flatts & Stones lyeing so farr of. I begin to be in very great fear & Pain for the Small Vessell I Sent Mr Vaughan with to York Fort the 23^d of August, with an Armourer & a Sawyer & 2 Men more to help Strengthen them at that Place & To Saw me Some boards Against Next Spring, here being no Timber for it at this Place. I fear the Vessell did not reach that port before the Tuesday Night ffollowing as the Great Storm Arose, wch was so Violent as it was Impossible she could Live in the Sea that Weather. I was Allways in hopes she was gott into Hays River before that Storm Arose, but now I fear She Did not, I not hearing of her—it being fulle as great a Storm

as that in November, the first of Queens Ann
Reign.—————

Saturday

7th

Fair Weather, but a pretty hard frost. wee have not ketcht One fish these 4 Days. I Ordered the Netts to be taken up & Dryd, Seeing I can doe no God with them. 3 boats Loads of Goods came a Shoar to Day. Wee workt upon the flankers as is for the Warehouse, & Digg'd into the Celler in the House as is Covered.—————

[Sunday]

8th

Fair Day: Wind Southerly. 3 boats Loads of Coales brought A Shoar to Day. now I begin to be very fearfull of Mr Vaughan with the Houy, not seeing nor hearing of him, and beleive he did gett in before Tuessday as y^e Storm Arose, Although he went from hence the Friday before.—

Monday

9th

Fair Weather: a fresh Gale of Wind at NE. wee did gett the Last Coals a Shoar, & layd the Beams at Topp of the flanker I Design for the Warehouse; others a Digging the Celler.—————

Tuesday

10th

Fair Weather: very Little Wind, vereable. Wee did gett the 2 brass Guns that belongd to the

Dane out of the Mudd upon Skids ready to go aboard.¹ Wee layd Joyces to the Beams wee putt up Yesterday, & filld up between them. 2 Men Sawing of Boards, the Smith a Makeing of Spikes, the rest of the Men a helping to Digg the Celler. it froze hard all day.—————/

September ye 11th

[85]

Wednesdy

Blustering, Stormy Weather: The Wind at SEt; a very hard Gale & Much Rain. the Boat came ashoar Yesterday for the brass Guns; they was forc'd to stay a shoar, the Wind blowing so, but at Night they did go of & took one of the Guns. the weather is so badd & our Men haveing worn out & Torn out Their Cloaths so as the Men begin to be dead hearted.

¹ Although Jérémie does not mention them in his *Relation*, it would seem that two of Munck's guns had been taken from Churchill to York Fort at an earlier date, by either French or English. In the account of the guns surrendered by the French at York, 11 Sept., 1714, is the item: "2 Deanish Peices" (H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 7. A. 3, f. 12^v [p. 34]); and on 28 Aug., 1717, Henry Kelsey at York records: "This morning gott on board [Capt. James Belcher's ship the *Port Nelson*] one broken Cannon of about 22^{ct} weight two Outlandish peices formerly brought from Churchill River" [Id. 14. A. 3, f. 4 [p. 11]]. —Thomas Hutchins, a surgeon who had been in the Company's service, in his manuscript "Observations on Hudson's Bay," says: "Munk wintered in Churchill River. I have seen the bricks and other marks where he had his house, & two of his cannon has been found, one of which in my time at Churchill, about the size of a three-pounder, and marked Christian the IVth of Denmark." (Quoted in C. C. A. Gosch, *Danish Arctic expeditions*, Vol. II, p. 135.)

Thurssday

12th

1717

It Still Continues very Stormy Weather, with so much Rain it putts us by all Manner of Bussiness. wee have been as wett as So many Drown'd Ratts Night & Day for this 36 hours. this Evening they Did gett one of the brass Guns Aboard.

Friday

13th

A Pretty fair Day. wee made an End of getting all the Powder & Shott ashore too Day. the Unlivering the Ship and the Continually badd weather as wee have had hath allmost wholly Put a Stopp to our building Ever Since she hath been here. I sent the 3^d brass Guns and board. Mr Vaughan Arrived here in the Success Houy; w^{ch} I had given Over for Lost, and began to bewail my Misfortune to think as I should be put of my Design of Going to the Northerd, & to think of the Loss of the hands as was in her. he was beat of to Sea a great way in the Stormy weather and the first Land he made after he gott into The Shoar was Severn. I thought it was Impossible for Such a Vessell to Live in Such badd weather as wee have had Ever Since the 28th of Augst, for lett the Wind come w^{ch} way it would it Still blowd a Storm, wth Hail & Rain & Snow, Insomuch as I never see So much badd Weather for the time in my Life in the Norwest. he brought 80 Deal boards, w^{ch} is a great help to me, & 5 hoggsheads of Salt Geese; for the place

1717

is So Barren where wee bee I See no Manner of
Likelyhood of getting any Country Proviissions.
I have Seen a Summer & fall here & I think to
See the Winter & Spring over before I Indent
for any Proviissions, haveing flower & Pease
Enough for 2 Year.—————

So I Conclude the Journall for This year,
Wishing Good Success to the Compy & wee to
have a Good Return for them Next Year,
I Rest & Remain Yor Honrs
Most Humble & Obedient Servt,

James Knight./

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE records of the Hudson's Bay Company, preserved in Hudson's Bay House, London, constitute the main, almost the sole, primary sources for the early history of the post at Churchill river, as, indeed, they do in a large measure for the whole Hudson bay region. The following are the more important classes of those records: (1) the minutes of the Company, both of general meetings and of meetings of committee; (2) the account books; (3) miscellaneous collections of records, memorial books, books of petitions to the crown and parliament, etc.; (4) letters received from the Company's agents, and letter-books containing copies of the letters sent out; (5) copies of the journals kept by the officers in charge of the various trading-posts, by the commanders of the Company's ships, and by agents on special duties. These documents are the private property of the Hudson's Bay Company, and are not ordinarily open to investigators. They have been partially used by some historical writers in the past, but the amount of *verbatim* material in print that has been drawn directly from them is very slight. The Company itself proposes to publish such of its papers as seem of most value for historical purposes, but publication will necessarily be a slow process.

It is, therefore, of great importance to historians that the Company has allowed very extensive transcripts to be made from its papers by the Public Archives of Canada, and that these transcripts are open to all students who may wish to consult them in the Archives building in Ottawa. The following are the series so transcribed:

Minute Books, Nos. 200 (24 Oct., 1671—22 July, 1674),
203—229 (3 Dec., 1679—29 Oct., 1707).

Memorial Book, No. 701 (Sept., 1698—Aug., 1719).

Book of Petitions to His Majesty, Orders of His Majesty, and Business at Court, No. 702 (March, 1688—March, 1778).

Albany Fort Journals, Nos. 1. A. 3 (Sept., 1705—July, 1706), 34. A. 3, 37. A. 3, 40. A. 3, 43. A. 3, 47. A. 3, 48. A. 3, 51. A. 3, 55. A. 3, 59. A. 3, 62. A. 3 (Aug., 1727—Sept., 1736).

Moose River Journals, Nos. 44. A. 3 (Sept., 1730—Aug., 1731), 52. A. 3, 56. A. 3, 60. A. 3 (Aug., 1732—May, 1735).

York Fort Journals, Nos. 7. A. 3, 9. A. 3, 11. A. 3, 14. A. 3 (5 Sept., 1714—12 Sept., 1720); 19. A. 3 (11 Sept., 1721—19 Aug., 1722); 35. A. 3, 39. A. 3, 41. A. 3, 45. A. 3, 49. A. 3, 53. A. 3, 57. A. 3, 61. A. 3 (11 Aug., 1727—6 Aug., 1735). Also York Fort Council Books, Nos. 15. A. 3, 17. A. 3, 21. A. 3 (1 Sept., 1718—24 June, 1722).

Prince of Wales Fort—or Churchill River—Journals, Nos. 42. A. 3, 46. A. 3, 50. A. 3, 54. A. 3, 58. A. 3, 63. A. 3 (26 July, 1729—31 July, 1735).

The most important collection in print of documents extracted from the early archives of the Hudson's Bay Company—containing as well other matter of much interest—is found in the "Report from the Committee, appointed to enquire into the state and condition of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the trade carried on there . . . Reported by Lord Strange 24th April, 1749," which is reprinted in *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. II (1803), pp. 213—86.

As suggested above, material drawn from the Company's papers has been used in some degree in such works as Beckles Willson, *The Great Company* (London: 1899); George Bryce, *The remarkable history of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto: 1900); and Agnes Laut, *Conquest of the great North-West*, 2 vols. (New York: 1908).

In the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, at Belfast, there is a volume (D.O.D. 162) having the title "Henry Kelsey his Book" and containing contemporary transcripts of documents relating to the career of Henry Kelsey in

Hudson bay between the years 1683 (*recte* 1684) and 1722. A copy has been made for the Public Archives of Canada, and the Record Office and the Archives have united in publishing a complete edition: Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin (eds.), *The Kelsey Papers* (Ottawa: 1929). The story of Kelsey has been worked out with some detail in Dr. C. N. Bell's "The journal of Henry Kelsey (1691-2)," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, No. 4 (New Series) (24 May, 1928), and in the present writer's "The career of Henry Kelsey," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, Vol. XXIII (Ottawa: 1929), sect. ii, pp. 37-71.

Likewise in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, with transcripts in the Public Archives of Canada, are Arthur Dobbs's copies of Christopher Middleton's journal on H.M.S. *Furnace*, March, 1741, to October, 1742, and Francis Smith's journal on the ship *California*, May, 1746, to May, 1747, both on expeditions in search of the North-West Passage.

Among the Colonial Office papers in the Public Record Office, London, are two series (C.O. 134, vols. 1-3, C.O. 135, vols. 1-4) relating to the affairs of Hudson bay and the Company. They are being calendared in the well-known series, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, which has now been brought down to the end of the year 1718. Transcripts of almost all are in the Canadian Archives, and there is a summary calendar of C.O. 134 in *Report on Canadian Archives 1895* (Ottawa: 1896). Two of these documents, Pierre Esprit Radisson's "Relations des voyages dans les années 1682, 1683 et 1684," are published in full, with English translation—not always accurate—in the same *Report*, and a considerable number of papers relating to the disputes with the French in the *Report* for 1883, Note C.

In the "Archives des Colonies" deposited in the Archives Nationales, Paris, are a considerable number of French official documents relating to the early history of Hudson bay. A large part of these have been transcribed for the Public Archives of Canada, and there is a summary catalogue

of the various series in David W. Parker's *Guide to the documents in the Manuscript Room at the Public Archives of Canada*, Vol. I (Ottawa: 1914), with reference to more detailed calendars in various annual reports of the Public Archives. Many documents of Canadian interest in the Bibliothèque Nationale also have been transcribed for the Public Archives. Among these is the journal of the Chevalier de Troyes (Collection Clairambault, no. 1026, ff. 409-52), kept during his expedition to Hudson bay in 1686. It has been edited, with extracts from many other official French documents, by the Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, *Journal de l'expédition du chevalier de Troyes à la baie d'Hudson, en 1686* (Beauceville: 1918).

On the discovery and early exploration of Hudson bay the earliest printed treatises of importance were the works of the Rev. Samuel Purchas. The first edition of his *Purchas his Pilgrimage* was published in London in 1613. It contains a reference to Henry Hudson's discovery of the bay, drawn from a brief tract published at Amsterdam in 1612 by Hessel Gerritsoon. The second, third and fourth editions of the *Pilgrimage*, in 1614, 1617, and 1626, contain a much fuller account of Hudson's voyage. *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, a work in 4 volumes, was published at London in 1625, and has narratives of the greater number of the voyages to Hudson bay and straits up to that date. There is a new edition in twenty volumes, Glasgow, 1905-7. The most valuable of later works on Hudson is G. M. Asher, *Henry Hudson the Navigator* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1860). Luke Foxe's *North-West Fox; or, Fox from the North-West Passage* (London: 1635) contains not only a record of his own voyage but also all the information he was able to gather regarding earlier expeditions to the north of America. In 1633 appeared *The strange and dangerous voyage of Captaine Thomas James*, giving that explorer's account of the voyage he made contemporaneously with Foxe in 1631. The works of Foxe and James have been republished under the editorship of Miller Christy, *The voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, in search of a*

North-West Passage, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1894), with a valuable introductory study of the whole history of early north-west maritime exploration.

Early English writers knew little of the story of Jens Munck, the discover of Churchill. His own narrative, *Navigatio Septentrionalis*, was published at Copenhagen in 1623. The long Danish title is rendered thus: "Navigatio Septentrionalis: that is, a Relation or description of a voyage in search of the North-West Passage, now called Nova Dania, through Fretum Christian; which voyage our most gracious Majesty King Christian the Fourth was graciously pleased to command in the year 1619; and, in order to accomplish it, sent out his Majesty's Sea Captain Iens Munck, together with a crew numbering in all 64 persons, in two of his Majesty's ships, *Enbiörningen* and the sloop *Lamprenen*; which same expedition was, so far as was possible, carried out with most explicit obedience to the instructions graciously given; but the commander, after incurring great peril, returned back to Norway with the sloop and only two others; comprising an account of all the circumstances, courses, directions, and occurrences, concerning that sea and the particulars of that voyage; by the said Iens Munck diligently observed on the journey there and back and published by his said Royal Majesty's most gracious command. Ecclus. 43. *Navigantes mare, enarrant ejus pericula*. They that sail the sea tell of the dangers thereof; and, when we hear it with our ears, we marvel thereat, etc. Printed in Copenhagen by Henrich Waldkirch Anno M. DC. XXIII." ¹ There is a new Danish edition: P. Lauridsen, *Jens Munks Navigatio Septentrionalis med Indledning, Noter og Kort* (Copenhagen: 1883); and an English translation, with valuable introduction and notes: C. C. A. Gosch, *Danish Arctic expeditions 1605-1620: Book II, The expedition of Captain Jens Munk to Hudson's bay in search of a North-West Passage in 1619-20* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1897).

Three narratives of events in Hudson bay during the

¹ Gosch's translation.

period of the great struggle between the two powers, told from the French side, appeared in print in the early eighteenth century. Blacquerville de La Potherie accompanied the Sieur d'Iberville on his expedition of 1697, and in his *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1716; 2nd ed., 1722; 3rd ed., Amsterdam: 1723), gave considerable space to a history and description of the Bay. It is said that his work was completed and placed in the printer's hands by 1702. Jérémie, who was with D'Iberville in both the 1694 and the 1697 expedition, and was lieutenant at Fort Bourbon, as the French renamed York Fort, from 1696 to 1707, and commander from 1709 to 1714, wrote a *Relation du détroit et de la baie de Hudson*, which was printed by Jean Frederic Bernard at Amsterdam in 1720, in a volume of the *Recueil de voyages au nord*. A translation of Jérémie's work, by R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace, was published at Ottawa in 1926: *Twenty years of York Factory 1694-1714—Jérémie's account of Hudson strait and bay*. Father Pierre Gabriel Marest, of the Society of Jesus, who was chaplain in d'Iberville's expedition of 1694 to Hudson bay, was the author of a report on the Bay and its history. This was published in the Jesuits' *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, Vol. X (Paris: 1713; 2nd ed., 1732), pp. 268 seqq.; new edition: Vol. VI (*Mémoires d'Amérique*) (Paris: 1781), pp. 1-40; 4th ed., Vol. VI (Toulouse: 1810), pp. 1-31. A modern edition with translation, edited by J. B. Tyrrell, is now in course of publication by the Champlain Society. It may be noted that a letter by Marest, dated Quebec, October, 1695, describing the French expedition of the preceding year, has been published in C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, Vol. III (Paris: 1896), and, with translation, in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and allied documents*, Vol. LXIV (Cleveland: 1900), pp. 260-7.

The renewed interest in the North-West Passage aroused by Arthur Dobbs in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and the controversies arising out of his attack on the Hudson's Bay Company, produced a considerable literature

on Hudson bay, in addition to the report of the committee of the House of Commons. Dobbs himself wrote *An account of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, in the north-west part of America* (London: 1744). Joseph Robson, in sympathy with Dobbs, brought out a small book of 185 pages the importance of which, inasmuch as it is the earliest publication by a man who actually lived for several years at Churchill, calls for the quoting of the title in full: "An account of six years residence in Hudson's-Bay, from 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747. By Joseph Robson, late Surveyor and Supervisor of the Buildings to the Hudson's-Bay Company. Containing a Variety of Facts, Observations, and Discoveries, tending to shew, I. The vast importance of the countries about Hudson's-Bay to Great-Britain, on Account of the extensive Improvements that may be made there in many beneficial articles of commerce, particularly in the furs and in the whale and seal fisheries. And, II. The interested views of the Hudson's Bay Company; and the absolute necessity of laying open the trade, and making it the object of national encouragements, as the only method of keeping it out of the hands of the French. To which is added an appendix; containing, I. A short history of the discovery of Hudson's-Bay; and of the proceedings of the English there since the Grant of the Hudson's-bay Charter: Together with remarks upon the papers and evidence produced by that Company before the Committee of the Honourable House of Commons, in the Year 1749. II. An estimate of the expence of building the Stone Fort, called Prince of Wales's-fort, at the entrance of Churchill-river. III. The soundings of Nelson-river. IV. A survey of the course of Nelson-river. V. A survey of Seal and Gillam's Islands. And, VI. A Journal of the winds and tides at Churchill-river, for part of the years 1746 and 1747. The whole illustrated, By a draught of Nelson and Hayes's Rivers; a draught of Churchill-river; and plans of York-fort, and Prince of Wales's fort." (London: MDCCLII). The dispute between Dobbs and Captain Middleton, who commanded the North-West Passage expedition of 1741-2, gave occasion for the following pamphlets: Captain Middleton, *A*

vindication of the conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton (London: 1743); Arthur Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's defence* (London: 1744); Middleton, *Capt. Middleton's, reply to the remarks of Arthur Dobbs* (London: 1744); Middleton *Forgery detected* (London: 1745); Dobbs, *A reply to Capt. Middleton's answer* (London: 1745). *The Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1742—vol. XII, pp. 586–7—contained a description of Hudson bay by a man who had sailed on Middleton's ship. The later expedition of 1746–7 produced two considerable narratives: Henry Ellis, *A voyage to Hudson's-Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California, in the years 1746 and 1747* (London: 1748); [T. S. Dragge], *An account of a voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage by Hudson's Streights to the Western and Southern Ocean of America performed in the year 1746 and 1747 . . . by the Clerk of the California*, 2 vols. (London: 1748–9). This last expedition did not visit Churchill.

The navigation records and other notes of Captain Coats, who made many voyages for the Hudson's Bay Company in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, were published by the Hakluyt Society a century later: John Barrow (ed.), *The geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751—With an appendix, containing extracts from the log of Capt. Middleton* (London: 1852). Two other eighteenth-century works treating of Hudson bay should be mentioned: [Alexander Cluny], *The American Traveller: or, Observations upon the present state, culture and commerce of the British colonies in America . . . by an old and experienced trader* (London: 1769); Edward Umfreville, *The present state of Hudson's Bay* (London: 1790).

A contemporary account of La Pérouse's successful raid on Churchill and York Fort is given in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 7th series, 1888: "Expédition de la baie d'Hudson—Extrait du journal de Pierre-Bruno-Jean de la Mouneraye."

Finally, and most noteworthy of all for the history of

Churchill, comes Samuel Hearne's *A journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay, to the northern ocean; Undertaken by order of the Hudson's Bay Company for the discovery of copper mines, a north west passage, &c. in the years 1769, 1770, 1771 and 1772* (London: 1795). A new edition, with important introduction and notes by J. B. Tyrrell, was published by the Champlain Society, Toronto, 1911.

There is no modern work treating adequately and distinctively of the history of Hudson bay, although there are several on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and a vast mass of literature relating in a greater or less degree to life in the Bay, past and present. Among historical works which so touch on the subject mention may be made of Lawrence J. Burpee's *The search for the Western Sea* (Toronto: [1908]) and Nellis M. Crouse's *In quest of the Western Ocean* (J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.: 1928).

While these pages have been in the press the Champlain Society publication to which reference is made above has appeared: J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *Documents relating to the early history of Hudson bay* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1931). It contains text and translation of Father Antoine Silvy's journal of an expedition from Quebec to Hayes river in 1684-5, and of the narratives of Marest and La Potherie; an extract from John Oldmixon, *The British empire in America*, Vol. I (London: 1708); and valuable introduction, notes, and maps.

INDEX

- ABRAHAM, Captain John, at Port Nelson, 17, 18; visits Churchill Harbour, 18
- Albany Fort, and river (Chychevan), 16, 29, 31, 34, 38, 50, 6-67, 92, 148, 184; position of, 157; building of factory at, 23-4, 156-7; James Knight appointed chief factor at, 25; captured by expedition under Knight, 36; *Prosperous* hoy sails from Churchill for, 159
- Albany*, frigate, arrives at Churchill, 77; Knight and Vaughan sail for home on, 78; with Knight's expedition of discovery, 80 seqq.
- Albemarle*, ship, 25; sent to Churchill, 49
- Algonquian Indians, 50
- Anian, Strait of, Captain Knight instructed to search for, 79
- Anne, Queen, 47; commission from, to Captain James Knight and Henry Kelsey, 48
- Archives Nationales, Paris, records in, relating to Hudson bay, 193-4
- Arctic ocean, Samuel Hearne arrives at, 104
- Assinae Poets, Indians, 51-2, 163
- Assiniboines, Indians, 51-2; at Churchill, 90
- Athabaska country, fur-traders from Canada in, 92
- Athapascan Indians, 50 seqq.
- Atkinson, Mr., discovers tablet of Captain Knight's expedition, 36
- Baley, Captain Henry, 35, 42; governor of York Fort, 39
- Barley. *See* Berley
- Barlow. *See* Berley
- Bayley, Charles, career of, 157
- Bayley's island, 156-7
- Beacon, fire, 131, 138, 142, 150; at Eskimo point, 111
- Beale, Anthony, governor in Hudson bay, 47; in command at Churchill, 93; dies at Churchill, 93
- Bear islands, 67
- Bear, white, at Churchill, 140
- Beaver, "made," 90, 91
- Belcher, Captain James, 170, 173-4, 187
- Beluga. *See* Whale, white.
- Berley, Captain, 77-8; with Knight's expedition of discovery, 80 seqq.
- Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, documents relating to Hudson bay in, 194
- Bird, Thomas, in charge at Churchill, 92-3; employed in construction of stone Fort Prince of Wales, 94
- Bishop, Nathaniel, in charge at Churchill, 92; dies at Churchill, 92

- Boards and planks, 145, 154, 176, 179, 183, 185, 187-8; difficulty of obtaining, at Churchill, 124
- Boats, of Eskimos, 116-7, 129, 135
- Bonaventure*, naval frigate, 38, 42
- "Bottom of the Bay," the, 16, 17, 19, 26-7, 33-4, 41, 153, 155; forts in, captured by the French, 30; H. B. Co. resolves to resettle, 31. *See* James bay
- Bricks, 170-1, 176-7
- Briggs, Henry, 7, 14
- "Briggs his Bay," 14
- Burpee, Lawrence J., book of, 199
- Butler, John, 70
- Button, Sir Thomas, 6, 17; note on, 5; commands expedition to Hudson bay, 5
- Button's bay, 7
- California*, ship, 102; journal of, 193
- Callant, or Calabrant, James, engaged for special work at Churchill, 70
- Cannon, in Hudson bay forts, 144; at Churchill, 95 seqq.; used for signalling, 111, 131, 138, 150, 160
- Cannon, Danish, at Churchill, 10, 12, 120-1, 126, 133, 135, 187; put on board ship at Churchill, 186 seqq.; at York Fort, 187; put on board ship at York Fort, 187
- Canoes, 114, 153, 161, 165
- Cape Churchill, 6
- Cape Eskimo, 90
- Cape Merry, Captain Knight's name for, 146; erection of battery at, 96
- Carruthers, John, 76; note on, 70; in charge of advance party sent to Churchill, 69 seqq.; instructions to, 70; at Churchill, 113, 167
- Cattle, at Churchill, 94
- Charles II, King, grants charter to H. B. Co., 15
- Charles Fort, post of H. B. Co., 16
- Charlton island, Captain James winters at, 14; station of H. B. Co. at, 16; proposal to abandon, 29; expedition under Captain John Marsh arrives at, 31
- Chipewyans, Indians, 65. *See* Northern Indians
- Chipman, C. C., had tablet of Captain Knight's expedition, 36
- Christian IV, King of Denmark, 8
- Chouart des Groseilliers, Médard, inspires formation of H. B. Co., 15; visits Hudson bay, 16
- Churchill, Lord John, governor of H. B. Co., 18
- Churchill, Churchill river, 6, 7, 18, 55-7, 132, 148
- , named after Lord John Churchill, 18; Indian names for, 57; designation of trading post at, 92; latitude and longitude of, 118
- , discovered by Jens Munck, 9; Munck's expedition winters at, 10; location of Munck's establishment at, 113, 125-6; graves of Danes at, 169; relics of Danes at, 12, 120, 187; Munck's view of, 12
- , visited by Captain John Abraham, 18; George Geyer to be governor of, 19; cattle and pigs purchased for 20; first

post of H. B. Co. at, 18 seqq.; location of first post at, 20, 119-20; first post at, burnt, 20

—, French design to make a settlement at, 49; *Albemarle* sent to 49; post at, designed for trade with Athapascan Indians, 51; Northern Indians informed that a factory will be built at, 56; Captain Knight unable to go to, in 1716, 61; Northern Indians ambushed by Eskimos at, 59, 152; advance party sent to, 69 seqq., 153; Indian engaged to hunt at, 72; voyages from York Fort to, 111-2; arrival of Knight at, 111-2; difficulties of locating a post at, 113, 119; clearing of site for factory at, 125; location of fort at, 134; building of fort at, 144 seqq., 152, 160 seqq., 168 seqq., 182., seqq.; heavy labour at founding of, 182; ship to be sent to, in 1717, 62; arrival of *Hudson's Bay* at, 160 seqq.; difficulty of unloading ship at, 161 seqq.; heavy storm at, 177 seqq.; number of men at, in 1717, 180; fort at, completed, 76; Knight departs from, 77

—, successors of Knight in command at, 77, 92 seqq.; northerly exploration from, 80 seqq., 98; H. B. Co. resolves to build stone fortress at, 93; horses at, 93-4; cattle at, 94; cannon at, 95 seqq.; demolition of old fort at, 96; naval exploring expedition winters at, 99 seqq.; anniversary of coronation of George II celebrated at, 100; winter

clothing at, 101; method of heating houses at, 101; difficulty of launching ships at, in spring, 101-2; observation of transit of Venus at, 104; Samuel Hearne's expeditions from, 103 seqq.; Hearne governor at, 106-7; capture of, by La Pérouse, 106-7; factory re-established on site of old fort, 107; in the nineteenth century, 107; selected as terminal port for Hudson Bay railway, 108; Hudson Bay railway reaches, 108

—, aborigines get iron at, 13; meeting-place of four nations of Indians, 181; Eskimos at, 120, etc., signs of presence of Northern Indians at, 112, 114; Missinippi Indians at, 161 seqq.; easy journey to, for Missinippi Indians, 165-6; trade with Indians at, 90, 91

—, abundance of flies and mosquitoes at, 122-3, 134, 142, 147, 159, 161; abundance of snow at, 120; scarcity of fresh water at, 118-9; scarcity of game at, 123, 137, 143, 162, 173; fishing at, 121, 123, 125-8, 135, 137-44, 161, 165, 169, 171, 173, 177, 182-3; whale fishery at, 49, 91, 121; hunting at, 123, 126, 128, 140-1, 146-7, 173, 176, 182-3

—, scarcity and poor quality of timber at, 113, 120, 124; timber-cutting and rafting at, 121-2, 124-8, 133-4, 136, 139-40, 143, 145, 173, 176-7, 180

- Churchill, see Eskimo point; Prince of Wales Fort; Rivière Danoise
- Churchill bay, 7, 13, 14, 135
- Churchill, frigate, 31
- Churchill, sloop, 98
- Chychewan. See Albany
- Clark, George, 70, 175
- Cloth, 101, 114, 153-4
- Clothing, winter, at Churchill, 101
- Cluny, Alexander, book of, 198
- Coals, 154, 170, 180, 183, 185-6
- Coats, W., Captain, 91, 137; book of, 198
- Colonial Office, British, records of, relating to Hudson bay, 193
- Commons, House of, report of committee of inquiry on Hudson bay, 192
- Copper, 56, 64-6, 72, 82, 103, 105-6
- Copper Indians, 51, 57-8, 65
- Copper-mine river, 105
- Coxworthy, Nicholas, engaged for special work at Churchill, 70
- Crees, Indians, 50 seqq.; at Churchill, 90
- Crouse, Nellis M., book of, 199
- Crow, Robert, sails from Churchill on exploring expedition, 98
- Crow Indians, 58, 65
- Danes, at Churchill, 113, 120, 169. See Munck, Jens
- Davis, Joseph, 121, 142, 152, 155, 158-9, 167; career of, 60; fails to bring his ship to York Fort, 60, 130 seqq., 136, 150-1
- Deer, at Churchill, 128-9, 137, 164, 173
- Dering, Sir Edward, 18; deputy governor of H. B. Co., 32
- Dering, pink, 19, 22, 35
- Dering, frigate, 34-5, 39-41
- Discovery, ship of Henry Hudson, 3, 4; in Button's expedition to Hudson bay, 5, 6
- Discovery, sloop, with Knight's expedition of discovery, 80 seqq.
- Discovery, pink, sent on exploring expedition to Hudson bay, 99 seqq.
- Dobbs, Arthur, 91; attacks of, on H. B. Co., 80; promotes search for a north-west passage, 97; papers of, 193; publications of, 197-8
- Dog-rib Indians, 51; Henry Kelsey attempts to visit, 21
- Dogside Nation. See Dog-rib Indians
- Dragge, T. S., book of, 198
- Ducks, at Churchill, 146
- Dymond, Joseph, at Churchill, 104
- East Main, Captain Knight believes valuable returns may be obtained from, 155
- East Main, sloop, sent to York Fort, 66; loss of, 67, 73
- Ellis, Henry, 87; book of, 198
- Enhiörningen. See Unicorn
- Eskimos, 22, 125; ambush Northern Indian at Churchill river, 59, 152; at Churchill, 114 seqq., 120, 129, 133-5, 140, 142, 153, 177; habitations of, 116 seqq.; boats of, 116-7; obtain relics from Captain Knight's expedition, 82-5; information given by, regarding the fate of Knight's expedition, 86 seq.; trade with, 76-7, 90, 91; Indian attack on, at the Copper-mine river, 105

- Eskimo point, 111, 142, 144, 162;
 Captain Knight re-names, 146;
 site of stone fortress, 93 seqq.
- Factories of H. B. Co., 16, 169
- Fishing, at Churchill, 121, 123,
 125-8, 135, 137-44, 161, 165,
 169, 171, 173, 177, 182-3
- Flankers, 143-6, 160-1, 163-5,
 167-9, 171, 177, 179, 182-5
- Flies, at Churchill, 122-3, 134,
 147, 159, 161
- Fort Bourbon, 12. *See* York
 Fort
- Forts, of H. B. Co., 16, 144, 169
- Foxe, Captain Luke, 7; expedi-
 tion of, to Hudson bay, 13, 14;
 book of, 194
- Frost, at Churchill, 186 seqq.
- Fullerton, or Fullertine, John,
 career of, 41; references to, 50,
 158
- Furnace*, naval bomb-ketch, sent
 on exploring expedition to
 Hudson bay, 83, 99 seqq.;
 journal of, 193
- Furs, trade in, in Hudson bay, 16;
 captured at Albany Fort, 36;
 of French at York Fort, 1696,
 seized by H. B. Co., 42-3; sold
 to Captain Knight, 45; kinds
 of, that Indians are to procure,
 72; amount of, from York
 Fort, 151; trade in, at York
 Fort, 153; moose skins, 166;
 orders regarding, 175; trade in,
 at Churchill, 90 seqq. *See*
 Trade
- Galaup. *See* La Pérouse
- Game, scarcity of, at Churchill,
 137, 143, 162, 169, 173
- Geese, at Churchill, 125-6, 137,
 146, 164, 169-71, 173, 182-4,
 188
- George II, anniversary of corona-
 tion of, celebrated at Churchill,
 100
- Geography, Captain Knight's in-
 quiries as to, 64 seqq.
- Geyer, George, governor of the
 northern parts of Hudson bay,
 19
- Gilpin's island (Old Factory
 island), Captain Knight's ex-
 pedition winters at, 36
- Gittins, Thomas, overseer at
 building of Prince of Wales
 Fort, 95
- Godfrey, Miss Doris G., 89
- Gold, 64-6, 72, 76, 78, 80
- Good Success*. *See* *Success*
- Gourdon, or Gordon, William,
 pilot with Jens Munck's ex-
 pedition, 9
- Graham, Andrew, 91 97
- Great Water lake, 162, 165. *See*
 Mississippi
- Grimard, Elie, at Churchill, 20
- Grimington, Captain Michael, Sr.,
 34, 36-7, 39-40, 42, 73
- Grimington, Michael, Jr., career
 of, 73-4; commands *Prosperous*
 on voyage to Churchill, 73-4;
 men object to sailing with,
 145, 147; sailing orders to,
 146-9; sails from Churchill for
 Albany, 159
- Hampshire*, naval frigate, loss of,
 40
- Hannah*, ship, 83; at Churchill,
 1731, 93
- Hayes island, post of H. B. Co., 16

Hayes river, 20, 21, 39, 102, 140, 148, 162. *See* York Fort

Hayes, sloop, at Churchill, 18; captured by French, 31

Health, condition of, in posts in Hudson bay, 168

Hearne, Samuel, 75, 91; career of, 103 seqq.; his account of the discovery of the relics of Knight's expedition, 84 seqq.; discovers copper mines, 103 seqq.; governor of Prince of Wales Fort, 106-7; surrenders Prince of Wales Fort to La Pérouse, 106; death of, 107; book of, 199

Heminster, George, 70. *See* Iseminster

Henry, Prince of Wales, protector of North-West Passage Company, 4; gives instructions for Button's expedition to Hudson bay, 5

Hidatsa, Indians, 58

"Home" Indians, 53, 59; at Churchill, 90

"Hopes Checked," 6

Hopewell, shallop, at Churchill, 21

Horses, at Churchill, 93-4

Hubart, Hubbart, Hubbarde, Josias, 7

Hubart's Hope, 13, 14

Hudson, Henry, discovers Hudson bay, 3; works relating to, 194

Hudson bay, discovery of, 3; Munck's expedition to, 8 seqq.; second Danish expedition to, proposed, 10; expeditions of Foxe and James to, 13, 14; rights in, granted to H. B. Co., 15; first expedition of H. B. Co. to, 16; French naval victory

in, 40; character of coast of, between Port Nelson and Churchill, 132; east coast of, 155; health of men living in posts on, 168; north-west passage expeditions sent to, 99-103; narratives of events in, during wars with France, 196

Hudson's Bay Company, receives charter, 15; early establishments of, on Hudson bay, 17; first establishment of, at Churchill, 18 seqq.; proposals to, for reducing expenses, 29; posts of, captured by the French, 30 seqq.; stock of, acquired by James Knight, 33, 45; sends an expedition to recover "the Bottom of the Bay," 33 seqq.; gratitude of, for Knight's recovery of "the Bottom of the Bay," 37 seqq.; adverse circumstances of, 37, 42 seqq.; terms of treaty of Ryswick, unfavourable to, 40-41, 155; financial relations of Knight with, 43 seqq.; prepares for peace negotiations, 46; interests of, favoured in treaty of Utrecht, 47; discourages Indian warfare, 52; policy of, in supplying men for its posts, criticized, 180 seqq.; sends expedition of discovery under Knight, 78-80; erects a stone fortress at Churchill, 93 seqq.; relations of, with Arthur Dobbs, 98; parliamentary committee of inquiry on, 70, 76; report of parliamentary committee of inquiry on, 192; records of, 191; histories of, 192

- Hudson Bay railway, 107-8
Hudson's Bay, frigate, 61, 68, 73, 78, 150, 160 seqq., 173
 Hudson straits, 3, 5, 9
 Hunting, at Churchill, 123, 126, 128, 140-1, 146-7, 173, 176, 182-3
 Hutchins, Thomas, 187
- Iberville, Pierre le Moyne, sieur d', captures H. B. Co.'s expedition at Charlton island, 32; captures York Fort, 38; defeats English fleet in Hudson bay and captures York Fort, 40; reference to, 93
 Ice, seen on voyage to Churchill, 111
 Indians, find Danish relics at Churchill, 12; project of sending employees of H. B. Co. to live with, 29; wars among, 51-2; difficulty of maintaining peace among, 77; belief of, that deaths result from the making of peace, 76; difficulty of managing, 166-7; four nations of, meet at Churchill, 181
 —, sufferings of, because of non-arrival of ships at York Fort, 61-2, 149, 151-2
 —. See Algonquian, Assinæ Poets, Assiniboines, Athapascan, Chipewyans, Copper, Crees, Crow, Dog-rib, Hidatsa, "Home," Missinippi, Mountain, Naywatame Poets, Northern, Siouan, Slaves, Western
 Indian hunters, at Churchill, 72, 114, 123, 125-6, 128-9, 137-41, 143, 162, 168, 171, 173, 177, 182-3
- Iseminster, George, accident to, 145. See Heminster
- James I, King, grants charter to North-West Passage Company, 4
 James II, King, 17, 18; agrees to truce in America, 31; expulsion of, 32
 James, Captain Thomas, 7; expedition of, to Hudson bay, 13, 14; book of, 194
 James bay, 3, 14, 155. See "Bottom of the Bay"
 Jenness, Diamond, 117
 Jens Munck's winter-haven, or bay, 12
 Jérémie, Nicholas (?), 57, 117, 187; his account of the Danes at Churchill, 12; surrenders York Fort to Captain Knight, 48-9; narrative of, 196
- Kayak, Eskimo boat, 117
 Kelsey, Henry, 54, 70, 75, 107, 137, 159, 162, 170, 175, 187; his relations with Indians, 21, 61; at Churchill, 1689, 20 seqq., 51; journey of, to the north of Churchill, 21; journey of, to the praries, 29; log kept by, in 1698, 42; associated with Captain Knight in receiving surrender of York Fort, 47-8; appointed deputy governor of Hudson bay, 48; given charge of York Fort, 73; letter from Knight to, 172 seqq.; appointed to succeed Knight as governor in chief, 77; prevented from going to Churchill in 1718, 81; charges of misconduct laid

against, by Knight, 81; continues work of northerly exploration from Churchill, 80 seqq.; finds evidence of loss of Knight's ships, 82; his knowledge of the fate of Knight's expedition, 84; papers of, 192-3
Knight, Elizabeth, widow of James Knight, 88 seqq.
Knight, Gilpin, son of James Knight, 43, 88
Knight, James, early career of, 23 seqq.; nominated to be deputy governor in Hudson bay, 24; appointed deputy governor in Hudson bay and chief factor at Albany, 25; replaced by John Bridgar as deputy governor, 27; accusations of Governor Sargeant against, 27 seqq.; proposes to reduce expenses in Hudson bay, 28-9; settlement of accounts of, 31; acquires stock of H. B. Co., 33, 45; commands expedition for recovery of "the Bottom of the Bay," 33 seqq.; appointed governor in "the Bottom of the Bay" by royal letters patent, 33-4; expedition of, erects a tablet, 36; captures Albany Fort, 36; rewards to, for his successful expedition to "the Bottom of the Bay," 37 seqq.; given new commission as governor at Albany Fort, 37; returns to England in 1697, 39; appointed governor of Albany Fort, 1698, 41; payments made to, 43 seqq.; member of committee of H. B. Co., 44 seqq.; pur-

chases furs, 46; appointed agent of H. B. Co. in peace negotiations, 46-7; prevented from going to Hudson bay in 1711, 47; appointed governor in chief of Hudson bay, 48; receives surrender of York Fort from the French, 47-8; proposes to extend trade to northward, 49-50; relations of, with Indians, 52, 61; sympathizes with Northern Indians, 52; establishes peace between Crees and Northern Indians, 53 seqq.; promotes general peace among Indians, 57 seqq.; denunciations of Joseph Davis by, 60, 121, 130 seqq., 136, 142, 150 seqq., 155; ill-health of, 63, 75; abandons design of going to Churchill in 1716, 61; hopes to discover gold, 63-4, 76; geographical inquiries of, 64 seqq.; disgusted at treatment by H. B. Co., 68; prepares to go to Churchill, 69 seqq.; instructions of, to John Carruthers and William Stewart, 70-2; sails for Churchill, 73-4; arrival of, at Churchill, 111; gives sailing orders to Michael Grimington, Jr., 146 seqq.; writes letter to Thomas Macklish, 146-7, 149 seqq.; relates some of his services in Hudson bay, 155 seqq.; abstention of, from alcoholic liquors, 158; instructions from, to William Stewart, 172; letter from, to Henry Kelsey, 173 seqq.; snuff for, 174; criticizes policy of H. B. Co., 180 seqq.; requests recall, 75; receives

- gift of wine, 77; leaves Churchill, 77; sails for home on the *Albany*, 77-8; lays charges of misconduct against Henry Kelsey, 81; makes agreement with H. B. Co. for a voyage of discovery, 78 seqq.; instructions of H. B. Co. to, for discovery of Strait of Anian, 80; evidence of loss of, found, 82; location of winter-quarters of, 84; discovery of the fate of, 85 seqq.; age of, 75; will of, 88 seq.
- Knight, Richard, brother of James Knight, goes to Hudson bay, 25-6
- Knight*, frigate, 38-9
- Lake, Sir Bibye, appointed agent of H. B. Co. in peace negotiations, 46-7; governor of H. B. Co., 78, 97
- La Mouneraye, Pierre-Bruno-Jean de, journal of, 198
- Lamprenen*. See *Lamprey*.
- Lamprey*, sloop, with Munck's expedition to Hudson bay, 9; returns from Churchill to Norway, 10
- La Pérouse, Jean-François Galaup, comte de, captures Prince of Wales Fort and York Fort, 106-7
- La Potherie, Blacqueville de, publication of, 196
- Lead, 170; for roofing, 182-3
- Le Meux, French commandant at Albany Fort, 36
- Le Moyne, Pierre. See Iberville, Sieur d'
- Louis XIV, King, agrees to truce in America, 31
- Macklish, Thomas, at capture of Albany Fort, 36; in command at Albany, 146; letter to, 146-7, 149 seqq.; governor at York Fort, 92
- Marble island, 81-2, 84, 102; remains of Captain Knight's expedition found on, 85
- Marest, Father Pierre Gabriel, 36; writings of, 196
- Marsh, Captain John, to be governor of "the Bottom of the Bay," 31; deceased, 34
- Martens, Indians urged to catch, 166
- Mary*, ship, at Churchill, 1731, 93
- Matonabee, Samuel Hearne's Indian guide, 105
- Medicine, 167-8
- Middleton, Captain Christopher, 83-4, 87, 96, 98; in command of naval expedition to Hudson bay, 99 seqq.; disagreement of Dobbs with, 102; journal of, 102, 193; publications of, 198
- Miller, James, engaged for special work at Churchill, 70
- Mills, Edward, harpooner, 22
- Missinippi (Mishenippee) Indians, 53-4, 57-8; at Churchill, 161 seqq.
- Missinippi lake, 162. See Great Water
- Moose, 164; skins of, scraped by Indians, 166
- Moose river (Mous-sebec), 16, 29, 31, 34, 157; building of factory at, 23
- Mosquitoes, abundance of, at Churchill, 118-9, 122-5, 134, 142, 147
- Mountain Indians, 58, 65

- Munck, or Munk, Jens, commands expedition in search of north-west passage, 8 seqq.; discovers Churchill, 9; location of, at Churchill, 125; references to, 20, 117; publishes *Navigatio Septentrionalis*, 12, 195
- Musk-ox, first seen by white man, 22
- Musquash*, sloop, 98
- Napper, James, at Churchill, 96; dies while on exploration to northward, 98
- Naywatame Poets, 107
- Nelson river, 58. *See* Port Nelson
- Ne Ultra, 6
- New Denmark, 12
- New Severn river, post at, 17; abandoned by the English, 32; mention of, 188
- Nixon, John, governor in "the Bottom of the Bay," 26, 156
- Nonsuch*, first ship of H. B. Co. to visit Hudson bay, 16
- Northerland head,
- Northern Indians, 50 seqq., 84, 174; Henry Kelsey attempts to visit, 21; Captain Knight obtains information from slaves, 52 seqq.; Knight sends Crees to make peace with, 53-6; party of, ambushed at Churchill river by Eskimos, 59, 152; deaths of, at York Fort, 62-3, 152; news of deaths of, to be given to their people, 72; at Churchill, 112, 114-5, 126, 129 seqq., 140-1, 153, 160, 163; party sent from Churchill in search of, 121-2, 152-3; little trade with, 77
- Northern Indian boy, at Churchill, 20; accompanies Kelsey north from Churchill, 21
- Northern Indian man, sent to Churchill, 69 seqq.; at Churchill, 114 seqq.; sent from Churchill to seek his people, 121-2
- Northern Indian woman, slave, shows force of character, 53; instrumental in making peace with Crees, 55-6; death of, 62
- Northern Indian woman, slave, purchased, 63; at Churchill, 115; sent from Churchill to seek her people, 121-2
- Northern Lights, 123
- North-west exploration, works on, 194 seqq.
- North-west passage, H. B. Co.'s obligation to seek discovery of, 79-80; agitation for discovery of, 97 seqq.; expeditions in search of, 99 seqq.
- North-West Passage Company, 4, 5, 8
- Norton, Moses, 70; has search made for copper, 103 seqq.; character of, 106; death of, 106
- Norton, Richard, career of, 70; references to, 71, 103, 105; sent from Churchill to seek the Northern Indians, 121-2; return to Churchill, 141; sails north from Churchill, 84; chief factor at Churchill, 92 seqq.; in charge of construction of stone Fort Prince of Wales, 93 seqq.; ordered to resume exploration north of Churchill, 97-8
- Old Factory island. *See* Gilpin's island

- Oldmixon, Jonathan, publication of, 199
- Owl river, 150
- Pacific ocean (West seas), 58-9, 65-6
- Palmer, Frederick, reports on Port Nelson and Churchill as terminal ports, 108
- Partridges, at Churchill, 137, 146, 176
- Peace, among Indians, promoted by Captain Knight, 53, 57 seqq.
- Perry*, frigate, 34, 39, 42, 156
- Petitot, the Rev. Emile, 51
- Petty Dancers, 124
- Port Nelson, 6, 17, 19, 24, 27, 29, 75, 78, 131-2, 150-1, 155. *See* Nelson river.
- Port Nelson*, ship, 66-7, 170, 175, 187
- Prince of Wales Fort, or Prince Wales Fort, 92; the construction of the stone fort, 93 seqq.; cannon at, 95 seqq.; Samuel Hearne's journeys from, 104-5; captured by La Pérouse, 106-7. *See* Churchill
- Privateers, French, 32, 34
- Provisions, account to be kept of expenditure of, 68; scarcity of, at Churchill, 123, 135, 144-5; European, various kinds of, mentioned, 73, 137, 154, 158, 161, 167-8, 179, 189
- Prosperous*, hoy, 67-8, 144-5, 147; sent from Albany to York Fort, 67-8; arrives at York Fort, 69, 73; cargo sent by, from Albany Fort to York Fort, 153-4; sails for Churchill, 73-4; sails from Churchill to Albany, 159; sails north from Churchill, 81-2
- Prosperous*, pink, a fireship, 34-5
- Public Archives of Canada, Hudson bay records in, 191 seqq.
- Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Hudson bay records in, 192-3
- Purchas, Samuel, 6, 7, 194
- Rabbitt, at Churchill, 184
- Radisson, Pierre Esprit, inspires formation of H. B. Co., 15; at the posts on Nelson and Hayes rivers, 17, 26-7; journals of, 193
- Resolution*, ship of Captain Thomas Button, 5; abandoned, 6
- Richardson, John, 69
- Rivière Danoise, 12. *See* Churchill
- Robson, Joseph, 75-6, 90, 117; statement of, regarding Captain Knight's voyage of discovery, 79; mason at the building of Prince of Wales Fort, 95-6; book of, 197
- Rocky mountains, 58, 65
- Royal Hudson's Bay*, frigate, 32, 34, 36, 39-40
- Rupert, Prince, governor of H. B. Co., 15
- Rupert's House, 3
- Rupert's Land, granted to H. B. Co., 15
- Rupert's river, 16, 23, 29, 31, 34
- Ryswick, treaty of, 40, 41
- Salmon, 144, 161, 177
- Sargeant, Henry, governor in "the Bottom of the Bay," 26-8; accusations made by, against James Knight, 27 seqq.;

- charged with responsibility for loss of "the Bottom of the Bay," 30
- Savage, Thomas, in charge at Churchill, 20, 21; at capture of Albany, 36
- Scroggs, John, 81; commands expedition north from Churchill, 82 seqq.; journal of, 84
- Scurvy, at Churchill, 10, 100
- Seaforth*, naval frigate, 38
- Silvy, Antoine, journal of, 199
- Sinnae Poets. *See* Assinae Poets
- Siouan Indians, 51, 58
- Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, 6, 13, 98
- Slaves, Indian captives become, 52 seqq.
- Slave woman, purchase of, 63
- Slaves (Indians of Athapascan family), 51
- Sloop's cove, 104
- Smallpox, among Indians, 92
- Smith, Francis, journal of, 193
- Snow, at Churchill, 120, 179 seqq.
- Snuff, for Captain Knight, 174
- Stanton, Richard, 70, 83, 170; career of, 49; chief factor at Albany Fort, 50; arrives at Churchill, 161; in command at Churchill, 77, 92
- Stewart, William, 59, 111, 162, 174; career of, 54; leads expedition to make peace between Crees and Northern Indians, 55 seqq.; with advance party sent to Churchill, 69 seqq.; instructions to, 71; sent to York Fort, 170-1; instructions to, 172
- Stone Indians. *See* Assiniboines
- Storms, 126, 139, 145-6, 177 seqq., 184 seqq.
- Stoves, 168, 182
- Sturgeon, 164
- Stygge, Mauritz, second in command of Danish expedition in search of north-west passage, 9
- Success*, hoy, built at York fort, 68-9; sails for Churchill, 73-4; sails from Churchill for York Fort, 170-1, returns to Churchill, 188; sails north from Churchill, 76, 81
- Swan, Captain, Indian leader, 58, 163
- Tablet, erected by Captain Knight's expedition at Gilpin's island, 36
- "Tent," meaning of, 117
- Timber, scarcity of, at Churchill, 113, 120, 124; procured by Eskimos, at Churchill, 116-7; cutting and rafting of, at Churchill, 121-2, 124-8, 133-4, 136, 139-40, 143, 145, 173, 176-7, 180
- Trade, private, 28; with Indians, 51; with Indians at Churchill, 90, 91; with Northern Indians, 77; with Eskimos, 76-7, 90, 91. *See* Furs
- Trees, character of, at Churchill, 138
- Troyes, the Chevalier de, captures posts in "the Bottom of the Bay," 31; journal of expedition of, 194
- Trumbull, Sir William, governor of the H. B. Co., 44; transfer of stock to and from, 44-5
- Tyrrell, J. B., publications of, 199
- Umfreville, Edward, book of, 198
- Umiak, Eskimo boat, 117

- Ungava bay, 3, 9
Unicorn, frigate, with Button's expedition to Hudson bay, 9; left in Churchill harbour, 10
 Utrecht, treaty of, 47
 Vaughan, David, sails from Albany for York Fort, 66 seqq., 70, 149; commands the *Success* on voyage to Churchill, 73-4; in charge of timber-cutting at Churchill, 122, 126-7; accident to, 127; pilots *Prosperous* out of Churchill harbour, 159; pilots *Hudson's Bay* into Churchill harbour, 160; sails from Churchill for York Fort, 170-1, 174-5, 185-6; returns to Churchill, 188; sails north from Churchill, 76; at Port Nelson and York Fort on homeward voyage, 78; with Captain Knight's expedition of discovery, 80 seqq.
 Venus, transit of, observed at Churchill, 104
 Waggoner, Rowland, 70
 Wales, William, at Churchill, 104
 War, with the French, 32, 155; of the Spanish Succession, 41; among Indians, 181
 Ward, Captain Richard, 61, 150-1; at Churchill, 161, 172-3, 177, 182
 Water, fresh, scarcity of, at Churchill, 118-9
 Wateridge, John, engaged for special work at Churchill, 70
 Watson, John, pilot with Jens Munck's expedition, 9
 Welcome. *See* Sir Thomas Rowe
 Western Indians, 58
 Whales, white, at Churchill, 18, 22, 121, 139, 142
 Whale fishery, 85; at Churchill, 49, 91
 Whale cove, 85, 90
Whalebone, sloop, sails north from Churchill, 82 seqq.
 William and Mary, accession of, 32; appoint Captain Knight governor in "the Bottom of the Bay," 33-4
 Wine, gift of, to Captain Knight, 77, 158
 Wood, for fires, 101, 180
 Woodbridge, John, 175
 Yellowknives. *See* Copper Indians
 York, Duke of, governor of H. B. Co., 18. *See* James II
 York Fort, 12, 32, 35, 52-3, 72, 78, 81, 92, 112-3, 124, 137, 165, 168, 184-5; beginnings of, 17; captured by d'Iberville in 1694, 38; recaptured by English, 38-9; violation of terms of capitulation of, 42-3; captured by d'Iberville in 1697, 40; Nicolas Jérémie in command of, 12; surrendered by French under terms of treaty of Utrecht, 47-8; damaged by flood, 60; rebuilding of, 50, 60, 61; failure of ship to arrive at, in 1715, 60; sufferings of Indians at, 61, 149, 151; Northern Indians at, 56, 59, 152; route to, difficult, for Missinippi Indians, 165; captured by La Pérouse, 107
 Young, or Yonge, Captain James, 19; at Churchill, 20 seqq.
Young, or *Yonge*, frigate, 31