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**Henry and Thompson Journals.**

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VOLUME I.

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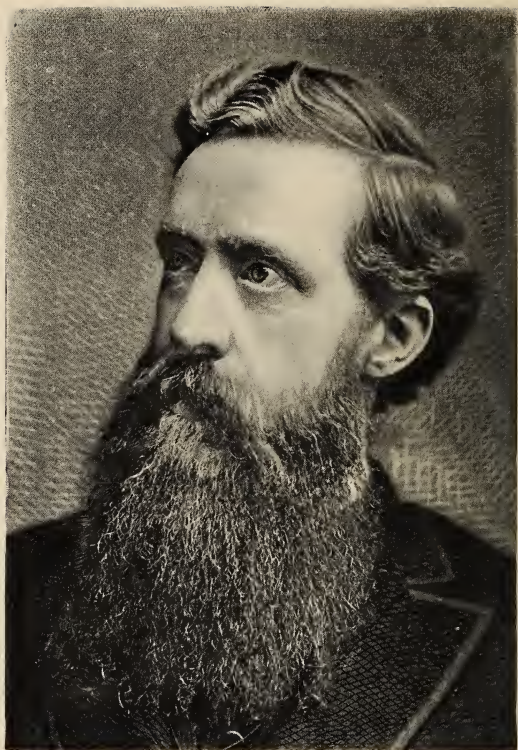
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Sincerely yours  
Ellis Covey

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

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THE MANUSCRIPT JOURNALS OF  
**ALEXANDER HENRY**

Fur Trader of the Northwest Company

AND OF

**DAVID THOMPSON**

Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company

**1799-1814**

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

EDITED WITH COPIOUS CRITICAL COMMENTARY BY

**ELLIOTT COUES**

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

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I

**The Red River of the North**

LONDON

**SUCKLING & COMPANY**

1897

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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**A**LLEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER, whose Journal of 1799-1814 forms the main body of the present work, is a person of whom hardly anything has been known hitherto, and one who therefore requires formal introduction to the readers he may reasonably hope to win on this, his first appearance in public, as an autobiographer.

The author of Henry's Journal must not be confounded with that other Alexander Henry—the Elder, as the latter may be called, now that there are two writers of the identical name—whose well-known Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the Years 1760 and 1776 was published at New York by I. Riley in 1809, and who died at Montreal April 14th, 1824: see Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository, Vol. II., Nos. 10 and 11, April and May, 1824, for biographical data. The two men were related as nephew and uncle, and led similar lives in like scenes under identical occupations; but their respective narrations have no connection with each other. Like his elder relative, the younger Henry was a fur trader among the American Indians; and during the period over which his Journal extends he was one of the famous "Northmen," as they used to be called—that is, one of the partners in the celebrated old Northwest Company of commercial adventurers, whose restless activities and indomitable energies covered a continent with the most formidable rivals the Hudson Bay Company ever encountered. The annals of American adventure may be searched in vain for more picturesque pages than those inscribed with the daring

and thrilling exploitations of these pioneers in penetrating and occupying the vast region which may be styled the "Greater Northwest."

The most commanding figure among the Northmen is Sir Alexander McKenzie, whose double laurels are those of first reaching the Arctic ocean by way of the great river which still bears his name, and of first reaching the Pacific ocean overland through British America; and whose work, originally published in 1801, has become classic. In that year our untitled Alexander Henry was established as a winterer or *hivernant* in a post he had built on the Red River of the North, and engaged in the humble routine of traffic with the Indians, whom he cheated and debauched as a matter of course, with assiduity and success, upon strict business principles and after the most approved methods. Meanwhile, however, he fell into another habit, of which the Northmen were seldom guilty; for he took to the pen, and at his leisure—that is, when he was not serving his coppery customers with diluted alcohol or other articles they desired to secure at fabulous prices—he kept a journal. In this literary habit he persevered until the very day before his death; and this veracious chronicle, in which nothing whatever is extenuated, for aught there be set down in malice, is now before us. It may not be of the heroic order; but it mirrors life in a way Mr. Samuel Pepys might envy, could he compare his inimitable Diary with this curious companion-piece of *causerie*, and perceive that he who goes over the sea may change his sky, but not his mind. There is said to be a great deal of human nature in mankind; certainly our author had his share of it, and so had all the people in his book, to judge from the way that English, Scotch, French, American, and Indian characters are shown up under his unterrified hand.

In the course of the fifteen years during which Henry's journalistic devotion is witnessed in these pages he traveled from Lake Superior to the Pacific, with protracted intervals of residence at various points in his long voy-



aging. His commercial ventures caused adventures through the Provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Assiniboia, Keewatin, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, in the present Dominion of Canada ; and, in the United States, through Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. In the region of the Red river his dealings were with Ojibways and other Indians of Algonquian lineage, whilst his warrings were with Sioux ; along the Saskatchewan he trafficked with Crees, with Assiniboines, with Blackfeet, Bloods, Piegans, Atsinas, and some of the Athapaskan tribes, especially Sarcees ; on Columbian waters his commerce was with Chinooks, Clatsops, and many other aborigines of the Pacific slope. He was once on terms with the Mandans and their associates of the Missouri, and visited the Cheyennes in their company. So far from being peculiar to Henry's case was such an extensive acquaintance with Indians, this was the common fortune of the Northmen ; but few of them have recorded their experiences, for the gun was oftener than the pen in the hands of even those whose souls soared above a beaver-skin. An always sordid and not seldom nefarious environment, during dreary months of isolation and desolation, alternating with periodical peregrinations of immense extent and arduousness—conditions of extreme personal peril from hunger, cold, and savagery—experiences whose deadening monotony was modified mainly by deadlier danger—such are not circumstances conducive to literary accomplishment. An Irving's easy-chair is an easier way of wooing the muse to exploit the romance of Northman or Southman, and the world applauds an Astoria. But what of the actors themselves in such stern realities, whose glamourless lives, as a rule, survived illusions only to find oblivion their finality ? When one of these speaks for himself, we can but listen to his words ; the world is never too busy to hear a genuine adventurer's own story of his adventures. So it happens that—to mention a few of those whose works in this special field of fur-trade literature do follow and live

after them—McKenzie is perennial ; so are Samuel Hearne, Edouard Umfreville, Arthur Dobbs, Alexander Henry the Elder, Daniel Williams Harmon, Gabriel Franchère, Ross Cox, Alexander Ross, John Tanner. Among these worthies, and with others who could be named, all of them closely connected with our author, some of them his personal associates, Alexander Henry the Younger has hitherto failed to stand, not because he was no author, but simply because his work was born out of time and long seemed to have perished with him.

Henry's Journal has slept for nearly a century, during which his memory has been almost effaced. But I think it will now take its rightful place among the most important contributions ever made to the inside history of the fur trade in British America in general, and of the Northwest Company in particular—even McKenzie's hitherto unrivaled work may need to look to its laurels. Henry the Elder having been one of the first whites who penetrated to the plains of the Saskatchewan, after the French *régime* and before there was any Northwest Company, it is fitting that another of the same name, Alexander Henry the Younger, should take up the theme, and bring the same subject down nearly to the close of the Northmen's organized existence. The thread of his narration would doubtless have been spun to the end of that organization, had it not fallen short through the shears of inflexible Atropos.

The fact that, as already intimated, Henry's invaluable Journal has never before seen the light, would surprise no judge of literary material who should inspect the manuscript which has served as the basis of the present work. No printer could handle the copy as it stands ; no publisher would be justified in undertaking to bring it out ; and the task of redaction was clearly one which called for a combination of hardihood and hard work from which any editor might well shrink, hopeless of successful accomplishment. Piqued, perhaps, by the latent possibilities of this case, stimulated to the endeavor by a very genuine interest

in all that relates to the history of American pioneering, and observing that the Henry period was precisely the one with which I had become most familiar in consequence of similar work done in other connections, I undertook to shape Henry's Journal for presentation to the public. It is not for me to say anything of the merit or demerit of my own performance; but the manuscripts upon which I worked are so nearly unknown that an account of them becomes a bibliographical necessity.

Of Henry's original notebooks or diaries, penned *manu sua*, I know nothing—not even whether or no they be still extant; I have never seen his handwriting, even to the extent of his signature. Henry's Journal, as we have it, is what is known as "the Coventry copy," *manu aliena*, penned by George Coventry, about the year 1824; for the date "Montreal, February 20th, 1824," is set as a sort of colophon at the end. This writing is furnished with a formal title-page, worded "Journal of Alexander Henry, Esq.," and so forth, and signed "George Coventry." A page of "Preliminary Remarks" speaks of Mr. Henry in the third person, and notes his decease. The whole copy makes ostensibly 1,642 pages, as per pagination of the folios; the paper is of legal cap size, rather larger than is now usual, written for the most part on both sides of the sheets, and bound in two thick volumes now preserved in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa. By the official permission of the authorities, courteously granted at my request, and by business arrangements made by my publisher with Mr. L. P. Sylvain, the assistant librarian, I obtained a clerical copy of the whole of this manuscript, folio for folio, with the exception of certain insignificant portions, notably meteorological tables, which I did not care to use. The manuscript which I received is duly certified by Mr. Sylvain to be literally true to copy; and great care was taken to produce a faithful transcript.

The identification and authenticity of the Coventry copy are established beyond peradventure of a doubt. We can

also settle the question which may arise in some minds whether these manuscripts represent exactly what Henry himself wrote, or are what Mr. Coventry wrote out for him, from original memoranda. The Coventry documents attest their own genuineness by internal evidence which enables us to form a safe and sure conclusion. Thus, for instance: as explained in a note on my printed p. 747, certain folios of the manuscript retrace identical dates, with duplication in substance of what is said, but in an entirely different style of composition. One of these duplicates agrees in every peculiarity of locution with the main body of the writing, and is thus presumptively Henry's own. The replica, which is obviously not Henry's, but Coventry's own, is of the nature of editorial rewriting, and agrees exactly with certain other writings known to be Coventry's, who must have been intending, when he penned these passages, to edit his Henry materials for publication—as the replica is fitted with chapter heads, furnished with something in the nature of a preface, and adorned with religious reflections on the goodness of God in drowning so estimable a man as Mr. Henry—in fine, it is editorially dressed for the press. None of *this* matter has proven available for my own purposes, and none of it has been used; but its existence is a boon, as it enables us to decide that the main body of this writing is a faithful and well-intended transcript of Henry's own Journal, made by one so profoundly ignorant of the whole subject of which it treats that he could hardly do anything else than copy what he found, in the most servile and wooden-headed manner imaginable; in other words, he did not know enough of what he was about to make other than clerical errors, and therefore could have manufactured nothing.

But the comforting assurance I felt, in handling these documents, that I had to do with genuine as well as authentic materials, in substance and practically in form Henry's own, did not resolve my fears regarding the outcome of my editorial enterprise. To begin with, there was



too much copy for a book of reasonable dimensions; it needed to be "boiled down" by at least one-third. In the second place, Henry in his writing used language such as no fur trader ever *spoke*—nor anyone else, unless English be indeed a grammarless tongue; for solecism seldom failed to supersede syntax in his maze of verbiage, and sense was always liable to be lost in a wilderness of words. The composition seemed to me to be that of a man who knew what he wanted to say, and could talk to the point about it, but always wrote round about it, as if he had a notion that writing was something different from speaking, needing bigger words and more of them. Thus, our author went all over the country, but always "proceeded" in his Journal. He saw a great deal, in fact, but never failed to "perceive" or "observe" it when he wrote about it; and whenever he had to get ready to go somewhere, he was likely to write: "I now once more found myself again under the necessity of being obliged to commence preparing for my intended departure immediately." Imagining that few readers would have the patience to follow him to the end of journeys begun in that fashion, I concluded to take what grammatical liberties with the manuscript I saw fit. Deletion of simply superfluous words, and of sheerly tautological phrases, made it shrink about one-fourth, with corresponding increase in tensile strength of fiber. Another revision, in the course of which almost every sentence was recast in favor of such grammatical propriety as could be impressed upon the composition without entirely rewriting it, reduced the copy to about two-thirds of its original dimension; and the upshot of all this "blue penciling" was a textual compromise between what I had found written and what I might have preferred to write, had the composition been my own. Literary elegance being clearly out of the question, however cunningly I might put in any little dabs and touches, I was perforce satisfied to make my author say what he meant to say in plain English, letting him go on with equal pace to the massacre of his

mother-in-law or the setting of his yellow hen on thirteen eggs. Closely as the composition may resemble a school-boy's, the literalism is that of a mature mind. Henry took himself very seriously indeed, and we must take him at the foot of the letter.

The foregoing explanation, in the nature of semi-apology for the liberty I have taken with historical documents, will not be deemed superfluous if it serves to satisfy the mind of any would-be critic who, on comparing my printed pages with the manuscript in the Library of Parliament, observes with surprise or regret their wide discrepancy in language. I do not pretend to have printed that manuscript. On the contrary, I have used it as material to be worked up; and I have yet to state what further compression of the bulk of the original was required, and has been effected, to bring the whole within a desired compass. For I have condensed to the utmost some parts of the Journal, and even have canceled certain entries of little or no present significance. Such extremely condensed or omitted passages relate chiefly to trivial incidents of trade so much alike that one samples the whole, and incessant repetition would be tiresome; to details of game killed for the support of the posts; and to weather-reports. Even the most modern meteorological tables interest few persons, and I suppose none now care much about the weather as it was a hundred years ago. Yet I have set myself bounds against transgressing upon my author in this particular, for everything about the weather that seemed to bear upon the thread of his narrative, as affecting his movements, as influencing the fauna or flora, as touching acceleration or retardation of the seasons, has been piously preserved. Despite the very great reduction and other modification to which the manuscript has necessarily been subjected in passing through my hands, I do not think that I have omitted or obscured a single matter of fact of the slightest significance, or subordinated the author's individuality to my own. I have simply caused him to tell his own story as plainly as he evidently wished

to tell it, and supposed that he was telling it ; and no doubt the resulting picture is all the clearer for the polishing. I can vouch for its inviolate fidelity to fact throughout. The trader and traveler can be followed with perfect confidence across the continent. There is not, to my knowledge, a single statement in the book that can be seriously questioned on the score of veracity. Devoid as he was of certain accomplishments desirable in one who aspires to authorship, and writing as he did for no eye but his own, Henry certainly produced a remarkable work, of solid and permanent value. It is one which should have appeared long ago, and taken its rightful place in contemporaneous literature.

Thus far in explanation of my connection with this work I have appeared simply as my author's literary censor—mainly in mere matters of grammar, but also with some further privileges of the blue pencil. But more agreeable and significant functions than those of the schoolmaster abroad attach to my editorial work in the present instance ; and how I have tried to do my whole duty as a critic and commentator remains to be said.

Intending to interpret Henry to a generation remote from his own, and remembering the measure of success attained in the similar cases of Lewis and Clark, and of Pike, respectively—for these American explorers were Henry's contemporaries, who cultivated in the United States a field of adventure which may be compared with that occupied by Henry in the British possessions—I undertook to put upon Henry's Journal an extensive critical commentary, from the standpoint of our present knowledge. This seemed even more desirable in the present case than in those of the American explorers just named, inasmuch as he was unknown, they were famous ; inasmuch as his work had never appeared, while theirs had already passed through many editions ; and I should therefore be plowing virgin ground instead of formerly cultivated soil that had long lain fallow. Satisfactory equipment for this undertaking could only be acquired by going over the whole field historically.

At the conclusion of protracted and diligent study I found myself in the possession of some 4,500 memorandum cards, alphabetically arranged by subjects, and collectively constituting a sort of private cyclopedia of information concerning the Northwest Company, the X. Y. Company, the fur trade of those days, the bourgeois, their voyageurs and other engagés, their Indian customers, their trading-posts, their canoe-routes—and what not in the way of biography, geography, ethnography, and natural history. Most of this material was found to fit in with Henry's narrative to a nicety; and even the residuum, touching points which Henry did not happen to bring up, was available for incorporation alphabetically in the Index to the work. Most of my information was drawn afresh from its original sources; but I also utilized the labors of modern historical authorities, such as Masson and Tassé, each of whom has recently given us an invaluable work upon subjects germane to our present enterprise. It is not probable that the name of any person, either of the Northwest or of the X. Y. Company, which appears in either of these authors, has escaped me, and it is certain that many more than have ever appeared in print before are given in the present work; so that the result, in this one biographical particular, represents a closer approach to a complete gazetteer of the personnel of the two companies, from the humblest of their engagés to the most redoubtable leaders of those great enterprises, than has hitherto been given to the public. The difficulty of identifying personal names in these old records is well known to be very great, for various reasons; most of those concerned in these affairs were obscure individuals, whose memory is now but a name, oftentimes so unsettled in orthography that a dream of the shadow of smoke were scarcely more elusive; and in the records which reach us, furthermore, it is often only a surname that appears, though it may have been, and usually was, borne by several different persons. I have taken the utmost pains in this particular; but I am sure that in my notes, as well as in Henry's



text, different individuals are sometimes confounded under the same name, and again, that the same person figures in some cases as two or more, under various versions of his proper name, to say nothing of nicknames or aliases. Yet I suspect that the alphabetical list of personal names which appear in my Index is at once the most extensive and the least faulty that has ever been published—though far from completion or perfection it certainly is.

To turn from biographical to geographical considerations, I may next allude to the great care I have exercised in identifying the localities named in Henry's travel or residence, and in giving the modern equivalents of the mostly obsolete nomenclature he uses. His list of place-names is remarkably interesting, the designations then in vogue being dominated by the influence of the earlier French *régime*, which continues to be felt to the present day, though of course less markedly than it was in his time. No Fort des Prairies now exists by such name, but the thing still flourishes in the shape of the H. B. Company's store at Edmonton, and the very gradual process of supplanting the old French terminology will probably never be quite completed. Geographical synonymy is a subject which for many years has occupied my attention; it is a field more fruitful of historical data than most persons would suppose, and one which has never been thoroughly worked out for any considerable area of Western or Northwestern America. The trouble seems to be that the best geographers have seldom been historians, while historians so good that they would blush to be caught afoul of a date wrong by a day are often found miles out of the way in the location of their events. Henry was no geographer, in a technical sense, and not much of an explorer, even; he never traveled for health or pleasure, but always on business, and made no actual discoveries. Yet he was a great traveler, who covered an immense area both by land and water, with a good eye for topography en route; he was also well able to say where he went and how he got there. Consequently, I have found

little difficulty in trailing him through all the intricacies of his canoe-routes—that wonderful system of waterways, the like of which may be looked for rather in the myth of the Dædalian labyrinth than in the geography of any country but that which he traversed—over the limitless prairie of a Dakota, even into the treacherous sphagnum of a muskeg. Henry is not quite so easy to trail as Lewis and Clark are, but he is easier by far to follow than Pike, for example; and any knack of going by “sign” I may have acquired by former experiences has stood me in good stead in the present case. Henry’s routes may be recovered with almost absolute precision, and he made few camps in all his journeyings that I cannot now set with hardly any probable error.

Few men who have ever put pen to ethnographical paper have had more extensive, varied, and intimate personal acquaintance than Henry acquired with Indians in the course of his long experiences as a trader among many different tribes of distinct linguistic stocks, from the Algonquians and Siouans of his earlier experiences, through others of the Saskatchewan and Missouri, to the many different Pacific families he finally met. Intimately connected with his customers as he was, thoroughly versed in their characters, habits, and manners as he became, he had no sympathy with them whatever. They were simply the necessary nuisances of his business, against whom his antipathies were continually excited and not seldom betrayed in his narrative. He detested an Indian as much as he despised a Franco-Canadian voyageur, or hated a rival of the H. B. or X. Y. Company. How much of “sweetness and light” is likely to seep and shine through the private pages of a man whose prejudices were invincible and sometimes violent, of one who was quite out of touch with his own environment, the reader may judge for himself; as he may also observe how chary and wary I have been, as a rule, in expressing any opinion of the moral of a story which shows up the seamy side of things so persistently and sometimes so obtrusively. That is no *métier* of mine—who am I, that I should set up to

keep my brother's conscience? I have left the *risqué* passages much as they stand in copy, only Bowdlerizing some expressions that were doubtless current in the blunt speech of the trading-post, but would hardly bear print now. The book is not *virginibus puerisque*, and I suppose few such, if any, will ever read it. Aside from any question of chaste taste, which after all belongs in the background of historical relations like the present, and need agitate no one unduly, I am persuaded that Henry's disillusionment, his practical pessimism, his entire lack of imagination, and his insistence upon bare fact through sheer infertility of invention, have conspired to a singularly veracious contribution to ethnology in all that he has to say of his Indians. They are the genuine aboriginal articles, not the mock heroes of Leatherstocking romance. Henry's is an absolutely unvarnished tale, in which no question of a fig-leaf is raised, for the reason that his Indians wear their breech-clouts or leave them off according to their own convenience, without regard to our own ideas of propriety. I could add nothing to such a picture as this, and would not if I could; should anyone desire a revelation of almost inconceivable and quite unspeakable nastiness, let him read, for example, the transparent pages of Samuel Hearne, and see how completely they corroborate Henry, as far as the latter goes—for he leaves unsaid much more than Hearne does; but with the impersonal and purely ethnic aspects of this case I have dealt from the standpoint of to-day, in giving the accepted classification and nomenclature of all the Indian tribes and linguistic families of which our author treats.

Henry was familiar, of course, with all the animals whose furs or pelts had any commercial value, or whose flesh was staple of food; but he was no naturalist, and there is little natural history in his book, aside from his extremely interesting accounts of the buffalo and other large game. In zoölogy and botany, therefore, there was little for me to do; but I have identified and supplied the technical names of nearly all the animals and plants mentioned in his narrative.



No account of my connection with this work would approach desirable completeness did I not speak emphatically of the use I have made for the present purpose of the original manuscripts of DAVID THOMPSON, the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer, and discoverer—in a word, the scientist—first of the Hudson Bay Company, then, during the whole period covered by Henry, of the Northwest Company, and later still of the International Boundary Commission which ran the line between the British possessions and the United States. I have so effectually bound up Thompson's life-work in the Greater Northwest with that of Henry, that he becomes virtually co-author of the present publication, upon the title-page of which his name appears in simple justice to his share of the performance—albeit the main text consists solely of Henry's Journal, Thompson's contributions being, like my own, confined to the foot-notes.

The original Thompson documents, in his own handwriting, are preserved intact in the archives of the Surveys Branch of the Crown Lands Department of Ontario, at Toronto, where I was courteously given free access to and use of them, at different times in 1894 and 1895, by official vote of the members of the Cabinet of the Ontario Legislature. The whole span of these precious records is from 1784 to 1850, as represented by the extreme dates of the successive entries in the series of about 40 volumes, mostly of foolscap size, and for the most part averaging, perhaps, 100 pages to a volume; besides which there are sundry unbound pieces—I made a minute analysis of the whole, as a bibliographer, but that need not now detain us. There is also one very large map, *manu sua*, covering the region from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. Some of the most important volumes relate to Thompson's life after 1812, when he was engaged in highly responsible professional duties upon the Boundary Survey just named; but with these we have no present concern. Thompson's intimate connection with the scenes of Henry's Journal was in

earlier years, say 1789-1812, during which he antedated or codated Henry on every one of the routes which the latter ever pursued. The Henry and Thompson trails, so far as the former's extend, are thus conterminous, and to some extent coincident in dates. Finding frequent mention of Thompson by Henry, I recognized the close relation of much of the Thompson manuscript with the whole of Henry's, and consequently made a careful study of the former in connection with the latter. Thompson's records from the winter of 1789-90, when he was at Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan, to Aug. 12th, 1812, when he left Fort William on Lake Superior for Montreal, thus ending forever his explorations in the Greater Northwest, are voluminous and almost complete; there is hardly a break in the day-by-day entries for these 23 years, and even in the few instances where the diary is interrupted for brief periods, we know by other evidence pretty well where Thompson was. I worked for several weeks at Toronto, in 1894 and 1895, studying these manuscripts and preparing a minute digest of Thompson's Journals for the period said—1789-1812. The net result of this research, in so far as it bears in any way upon Henry, will be found embodied in my notes.

It has long been a matter of regret among those versed in the history and geography of the Greater Northwest that this luminous record of the life-work of so modest, so meritorious an explorer as Thompson was—of so scientific a surveyor and so great a discoverer—has never seen the light, either under government patronage or by private enterprise. I had serious thoughts at one time of undertaking to edit Thompson, at least for the period down to 1812; and I reluctantly abandoned the idea only after examination of the materials had satisfied me that I could advise no publisher to bring out such a work, as it would be expensive beyond any reasonable prospect of reimbursement. The difficulty in the case is, that so much of the manuscript consists of astronomical calculations, traverse-

tables, and other mathematical data, without which the matter would cease to be Thompsonian, yet with which it would be largely unreadable and quite unsalable. Even the ostensibly narrative portions are notably barren of incident beyond simple statements of arrivals, departures, and the like; consisting in the main of dated entries which cover little else than figuring on the formal courses and distances of the routes pursued, with an eye fixed on geodesy and geography. It is true that Thompson was a fur trader, and a partner of the Northwest Company, actively engaged in those commercial ventures upon which his livelihood depended in those days, exactly as Henry was; but, unlike the latter, he had no turn for trade, and never minded the shop. Business was Henry's religion, and science was Thompson's; each worshiped his own god and ciphered out his own salvation with equal method and precision—the one figuring out pelt from pelt, the other casting up accounts of geodetic points. The irony of the event is the world's revenge on David Thompson; but the world can never be allowed to forget the discoverer of the sources of the Columbia, the first white man who ever voyaged on the upper reaches and main upper tributaries of that mighty river, the pathfinder of more than one way across the Continental Divide from Saskatchewan and Athabaskan to Columbian waters, the greatest geographer of his day in British America, and the maker of what was then by far its greatest map—that “Map of the North-West Territory of the Province of Canada. From actual Survey during the Years 1792 to 1812,” as the legend goes. This map has never before, to my knowledge, been published as a whole or in any part; and I have therefore the pleasure of calling attention to the fact that three sections of it, covering most of the immense territory over which we now accompany Henry, have been traced in facsimile under my direction expressly for the present work, and should be found in the cover-pocket of Vol. III., together with a fourth sheet, which reproduces the original

legend of the whole. These several pieces are reduced to about one-half the size of the original; in one or two cases, where the bold lettering of a name carried part of it beyond the sections transcribed, it has been independently reduced by the draughtsman; Mr. Harper's copyright of this imprint has been added to the legend; otherwise the facsimile is perfect, for no marks appear upon these sheets save those placed on the original map by Thompson's own hand.

With the voluminous official archives above described must not be confounded a small batch of Thompson's papers recently offered for sale by private parties in Toronto. This manuscript is authentic and genuine; being a summary autobiography which Thompson wrote very late in life, perhaps about 1850, apparently in hopes of being able to publish it. Thompson died Feb. 16th, 1857, at the very advanced age of nearly 87 years, having been born Apr. 30th, 1770. The handwriting shows painful evidence of senility, and I should hesitate to trust to his memory for dates and other details requiring precision of statement. The article is extremely interesting, and would prove very valuable should it be checked, as it easily might be, by comparison with his original Journals. I understand that this manuscript has passed into the excellent hands of Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, of the Geological Survey of Canada, well known for his own extensive and important explorations in the Dominion. Mr. Tyrrell has already given us *A Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson in North-western America*, which was read before the Canadian Institute Mar. 3d, 1888, and published in advance of the Proceedings by permission of the Council, as an 8vo pamphlet of pp. 28, Toronto, 1888. It is much to be hoped that this writing may appear under Mr. Tyrrell's very competent editorship.

To the statement made in opening this Preface, that Alexander Henry the Younger is an unknown man, excep-



tion may be taken to the extent of recognizing the fact that extracts from certain early portions of the Coventry copy of the Journal were read by Mr. C. N. Bell before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, and published as Transaction No. 31, 8vo, pp. 9, Winnipeg, 1888. Beyond these extracts, relating to Henry's residence on the Red river in and before 1801, I am not aware that any portion of his manuscript has ever appeared in print before the present occasion. A copy of that part which relates to his Mandan tour was for some time in the hands of Rev. E. D. Neill of St. Paul, Minn., by whom it was made over to me unconditionally, a short time before his death. This fragment interested me so much that I immediately prepared it for publication, and had actually handed it in to Mr. Harper, when I was induced to undertake the whole work.

It will be to consult the convenience of most readers to give here a concise account of the three parts into which Henry's Journal is naturally divisible. Part I. is conterminous with Vol. I. Parts II. and III. together form Vol. II. The Index alone makes Vol. III.

Part I., which I have entitled "The Red River," runs from 1799 to 1808. After an opening fragment, Henry is found en route from Grand Portage, on Lake Superior, and we follow him closely along Rainy river, through the Lake of the Woods, down Winnipeg river, and through the lake of that name, to the Red river, up which he proceeds to the mouth of Park river, where he builds his trading-post for the season of 1800-01. Next year he establishes the Pembina post, which he occupies with various intermissions till 1808. During this period he has charge of the Northwest Company's interests throughout the region now included in Minnesota, Manitoba, and North Dakota; he establishes various outposts, and travels about a great deal. His doings are pictured to the life, with a realism that rivals a Zola's, and much that he has to say of the Ojibways and other Indians is of absorbing, even startling, interest. During this period we accompany him on many journeys,

and see things as they were all over the country. The most notable of these travels is the Mandan tour of 1806, full of adventure, and full of curious information regarding the sedentary tribes of the Missouri.

Part II., "The Saskatchewan," shows our hero—our commercial traveler and mutual friend—in an entirely different environment. Having been ordered to take charge of one of the Forts des Prairies which were then operated on the North Saskatchewan, he leaves Pembina and proceeds through Lake Winnipeg to navigate the great waterway which reaches thence to the Rocky mountains. This journey is described minutely and graphically, enabling us to follow every stroke of the paddle, and inciting the editor to an extensive commentary upon the histogeography of an immense region. During 1808–11 Henry is in charge of three different Saskatchewan posts—Fort Vermilion, Terre Blanche, and the Rocky Mountain house; he makes long overland journeys, including one with dog-sledges in the depth of winter to the Continental Divide; there is not a single mile of the great river he does not navigate; and he lives in close relations with all the Indian tribes of Saskatchewan and Alberta, of whom he treats at great length and in due form, apart from his personal narrative.

In all these wanderings which occupy Parts I. and II. Henry is either shadowed or foreshadowed by the unique figure of the ubiquitous David Thompson. I have taken pains to collate my digests of Thompson's journals with Henry's text, and nowhere else do the two records so amplify and verify each other as throughout the upper Saskatchewan and Rocky Mountain region during the years 1808–11. These were exactly the times of Thompson's most energetic and furthest-reaching exploits. On the Atlantic side of the mountains the two men were repeatedly together, though they never seemed to fancy each other particularly; and on the Pacific side, the scene of travels and discoveries on Thompson's part which Henry did not share, and concerning which the least has been accurately known of all

Thompson's movements and establishments, I have enjoyed unequalled facilities for supplementing Henry's narrative with an account of Thompson's operations in British Columbia, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

Part III., "The Columbia," opens after a break of about two years in the Henry manuscripts. Late in 1813, Henry has made a trans-continental journey and appears at Astoria—or Fort George, as it becomes shortly after his arrival. His Journal of 1813-14, minutely and precisely kept up to the day before his death by drowning in the mouth of the Columbia, is particularly valuable as a historical document. Most of his time was spent at his post, but he also made extensive voyages on the Columbia and Willamette. At this time Henry was personally associated with each one of the three men who have been until now our chief authorities upon the early history of Astoria and the affairs of the Pacific Fur Company, with which he became thoroughly conversant. His work is so important a concordance that if Franchère, Cox, and Ross be regarded as the three synoptical writers of Astoria, then Henry furnishes the fourth gospel. The extreme interest of this matter has induced me to go into great detail in my notes, and I have reason to believe that much new light has been thrown on Astorian history. Had Irving commanded the resources which Henry places at our disposal, his famous romance would have been no less entertaining and might have become more historical.

The amount of information which Henry and Thompson give us in these volumes, together with that which I have contributed to their joint work, may be appreciated by glancing through the Index, where the names of persons, places, and other things mentioned in these writings occupy more than one hundred double-column pages.

There only remains the pleasurable duty of making the acknowledgments due to those who have in any way facilitated my researches or otherwise contributed to the general result of these investigations. Authors whose published writings have been consulted are in each instance duly cited

in my notes; they are very numerous, as I have availed myself of practically the whole of the literature which bears immediately upon the subject in hand. But I am more particularly and personally indebted to many friends and correspondents, both in Canada and in the United States, who have shown me those official favors without which it would have been impossible to take up the work, or have cheered and encouraged my labor with evidences of their interest in its success. I have specially to thank Mr. Charles C. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture of the Province of Ontario, for many friendly attentions rendered, both in person and by correspondence, throughout the progress of the work, in the course of which he favored me repeatedly with valued suggestions and criticisms, and was kind enough to supervise the transcription of the Thompson map. Great courtesies were also shown me by Mr. Archibald Blue, Director of the Bureau of Mines; by Mr. Aubrey White, Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. George B. Kirkpatrick, Director of Surveys, Crown Lands Department, in whose office the Thompson MSS. are preserved; and by the Members of the Cabinet of the Legislature of Ontario, which voted to place these records at my disposition, namely: Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier and Attorney General (now Minister of Justice for Canada); Hon. Arthur S. Hardy, Commissioner of Crown Lands (now Premier of Ontario); Hon. John Dryden, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. George W. Ross, Minister of Education; Hon. William Harty, Commissioner of Public Works; Hon. Richard Harcourt, Provincial Treasurer; Hon. John M. Gibson, Provincial Secretary (now Commissioner of Crown Lands); and Mr. S. T. Bastedo, Private Secretary of the Premier. The tracing of the Thompson map was carefully executed by Mr. Charles J. Murphy of Unwin, Foster, Murphy, and Esten, Draughtsmen, Toronto. The original MSS. of Gabriel Franchère were shown me by Mr. James Bain, Jr., of the Public Library of Toronto.



I have further to recognize with gratitude the courtesies extended to me in person while I was in Ottawa, or subsequently by correspondence, by Dr. Alfred R. C. Selwyn, Deputy Head and Director of the Geological Survey of Canada; by his successor in that important office, my friend Dr. George M. Dawson; by Professor John Macoun and Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, both of the same Survey; by Mr. Otto J. Klotz, of the International Boundary Commission, Department of the Interior; by Mr. Douglas Brymner, Canadian Archivist, and his assistant, the late Mr. Joseph Marmette. Permission to copy the Henry MSS. was kindly granted by the authorities of the Library of Parliament at Ottawa, Mr. A. D. De Celles, General Librarian, and Mr. Martin J. Griffin, Parliamentary Librarian; and the transcript was made under the personal supervision of Mr. Louis Philippe Sylvain, Assistant Librarian.

I am also under obligations in various ways to Mr. J. M. LeMoine of Spencer Grange, Quebec; Captain H. M. Chittenden, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army; Mr. O. B. Wheeler, Assistant Engineer, Missouri River Commission, St. Louis, Mo.; Professor Charles Sprague Sargent, of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University, Jamaica Plain, Mass.; the late Professor G. Brown Goode, then Director of the U. S. National Museum; Dr. Theodore Gill, of the Smithsonian Institution; Major John W. Powell, Director of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology; Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the same Bureau; Mr. Byron Andrews of New York City; particularly, to Mrs. Mary B. Anderson of Washington, D. C., who indexed the work so thoroughly that her co-operation alone forms Vol. III.; and finally, to my esteemed publisher, Mr. Francis P. Harper of New York, whose liberal and enterprising spirit left me entirely without restrictions regarding the length to which I might go in editing the Henry-Thompson Journals.

ELLIOTT COUES.

1726 N STREET, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

*October 25th, 1896.*

# HENRY'S JOURNAL.

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## Part I.

### *THE RED RIVER.*

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#### CHAPTER I.

MY FIRST VENTURE, 1799-1800.

**A**UTUMN, 1799. While building at Rivière Terre Blanche [White Mud river<sup>1</sup>], near the foot of Fort Dauphin [Riding] mountain, my Russia sheeting tent was pitched in a low place on the lower branch of the little river, sheltered from the wind, among some tall elms and oaks. I was accustomed to sit up late, with a candle burning in my tent, for some time after the fires had been put out. Some of my people, who had occasion to sleep away from home, assured me that from their camp, which was about 12 miles E. of us, they could distinctly perceive this light, which they

<sup>1</sup> Henry's Journal opens thus abruptly, without a word of his journey to the place. But we learn from other sources that he came from Montreal, by the usual route—the portion of which from Lake Superior westward will be particularly noted beyond. His present temporary position is not determinable with greater precision than the text affords; it is in the Macdonald district of the Province of Manitoba, some 35-40 m. W. N. W. of Portage la Prairie. The stream named traverses the district eastward to fall into the S. W. angle of Lake Manitoba, between places called Totogon and Lakeland; the two principal places upon it are Neepawa and Gladstone; some of its lower branches are Pine, Squirrel, and Rat crs.

Other geographical notes on points raised by incidental mention in this fragmentary chapter are best deferred to some more appropriate connection; all such will be found beyond.

observed to be extinguished about midnight, when I used to go to bed. Several Indians assured me of the same circumstances. I could only account for this by supposing the reflection of the candle-light among the tops of the trees to have caused this unusual illumination to be conveyed to such a distance, as it was impossible, from the low situation of my station, that my fire could have been seen through the woods among which I was tented.

In the fall of 1799 I performed a short journey alone on horseback from my winter-quarters to Portage la Prairie, one of our establishments on the Assiniboine. The distance was not more than 12 or 15 leagues. I left my house early in the morning, on an excellent horse. My route lay directly across an open plain for 15 or 20 miles. About the middle of the traverse I was suddenly seized with a violent colic; the pain was so great that I could not keep my saddle. I therefore dismounted, hopped my horse, and threw myself on the grass, where I lay in agony for two hours, expecting every moment would be the last; until, quite exhausted, I fell asleep. But I was soon awakened by the howling of a number of wolves that surrounded me. The pain had entirely left me, but I was so weak as to be scarcely able to mount my horse. I proceeded at a slow walk, as my entrails could not bear the rough motion of a trot. In this manner I escaped from the wolves, which had probably viewed me as their prey.

In 1799, at my winter-quarters on the Terre Blanche, animals were so scarce as to oblige me to hire my hunters upon extravagant terms: For every moose [*Alces machlis*], six skins;<sup>2</sup> for every red deer,<sup>3</sup> five skins; to be paid for in

<sup>2</sup> That is, the value of six beaver skins, taken out in trade: see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 283, for the *plus* as a standard of value in the fur-trade.

<sup>3</sup> Henry so designates the American elk or wapiti, *la biche* of the French, *Cervus canadensis* of naturalists, which in this country represents the red deer of Europe, *C. elaphus*, and would naturally be taken by him for the same animal. The relationship of the two is very close indeed, and "red deer" is less of a misnomer than "elk," which is the Scandinavian name of *Alces machlis*, an animal closely related to our moose, if not the same. Henry's phrase "red

whatever article of dry goods they might think proper to take, at the low price of four skins for a fathom of common blue strouds or a blanket of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  points, and other goods in proportion; silver-work at their choice in any quantity and very cheap. Besides this dear bargain I gave my two men, their wives, and all their children, each a full clothing of the best goods in my store; with a 9-gallon keg of Saulteur liquor<sup>4</sup> to each man. I also furnished them with guns, knives, ammunition, tobacco, other articles necessary for a hunter, and an allowance of two gallons of liquor for every 10 animals they might kill. Even upon these hard terms I was obliged to consider it a great favor they did me. Animals were so scarce that we suffered much from hunger. On Dec. 19th, 20th, and 21st we ate nothing till the evening of the last day, when I received a

deer" is contrasted with his use of "fallow deer," for the common deer of North America, *Cariacus virginianus*; but the true fallow deer is *Dama platyceros*, a European species.

<sup>4</sup> Alcohol or "high wine," diluted to suit an Ojibway Indian's stomach, as regarded from a commercial rather than digestive standpoint. Indians already debauched would not stand so much water as fresh tribes could be induced to exchange beaver skins for, and hence a difference in recognized degrees of dilution in different cases. On the Red and Assiniboine rivers, about 1800, it was no uncommon thing for an Indian to give five or six prime beavers for a quart of "Saulteur liquor"—a gill or two of alcohol, the rest water. For example, Tanner's Narr., ed. James, 1830, p. 70, tells how liberally Netnokwa, an influential old lady among the Ojibways, conducted her drinking-bouts: "In the course of a single day, she sold 120 beaver-skins, with a large quantity of buffalo robes, dressed and smoked skins, and other articles, for rum. It was her habit, whenever she drank, to make drunk all the Indians about her, at least as far as her means would extend. Of all our large load of peltries, the product of so many days of toil, of so many long and difficult journeys, one blanket and three kegs of rum only remained, besides the poor and almost worn out clothing on our bodies." Keating's Long's Exped. II. 1824, p. 67, states that one Desmarais (probably Henry's man, of whom we shall hear more) bought of an Indian about 120 beaver skins for two 3-point blankets, eight quarts of rum, and a pocket looking-glass; these goods, rated at \$30, probably did not cost \$15; and the skins were sold in Montreal for upward of \$400.

Henry or his copyist spells *Saulteur* in five or six ways, which I shall reduce to the form above given: see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 30, where the origin of the name is noted.



moose's head, which was boiled and divided among 17 persons. This winter, 1799-1800, we considered one of the most extraordinary known for many years. Early in November we had an extremely heavy fall of snow; but the rest of the season was open and mild.

*Feb. 19th, 1800.* I left my house for Rivière Qu'Appelle [or Calling river]. The snow was then melted in many places on the plains. During my journey, which occupied 16 days, we saw only two bulls [*Bison americanus*] between Montagne à la Bois [Bosse] and Rivière Qu'Appelle. "Hunger!" was the general cry at our establishments along the Assiniboine.

Early in March the snow was entirely gone; we were obliged to abandon our dog-sleigh at Rivière la Souris [Mouse river], and put our goods upon horses. *7th.* I saw a few vultures [turkey-buzzards, *Cathartes aura*] and cormorants [*Phalacrocorax dilophus*] at Rivière du Milieu. *13th.* A flock of swans [*Olor americanus* or *O. buccinator*] at my winter-quarters. *16th.* Ducks and other spring birds. *20th.* We made sugar of the bastard maple [ash-leaved maple, *Negundo aceroides*]. *24th.* The meadows on fire. *27th.* Mosquitoes began to plague us.

*April 11th.* The Terre Blanche having been clear of ice for some time, I embarked in my canoe for Portage la Prairie. Weather excessively hot. Wild pigeons [*Ectopistes migratorius*] passing N. in great abundance. In a few days we experienced a dreadful snowstorm, which continued with great violence for three days, when there were three feet of snow upon the ground; but it did not remain long.

This campaign my house expenses for 17 persons were, . . .	1500	skins
I gave out in debts in the fall, to the Saulteur Indians, 982 . . .		"
Received in the course of the season, . . . . .	618	"
Loss, . . . . .	364	"
		<hr/>
Total cost, . . . . .	1864	skins

Notwithstanding this heavy expense and loss, amounting to 1864 skins, mostly prime goods, and although I was

strongly opposed by a neighbor, of the T Association from Montreal, I had a clear profit of upward of £700, Halifax currency, on the outfit of loading  $1\frac{1}{2}$  canoes, containing 40 pieces of goods.

This campaign was my first *coup d'essai* in the Northwest.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE RED RIVER BRIGADE OF 1800.

THE route from Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg is too well known to require description. I shall, therefore, only keep memoranda of the successive obstructions to our daily progress.<sup>1</sup>

*Saturday, July 19th, 1800, 3 p. m.* Our baggage and other necessaries having been carried over the portage, which is about nine miles, our men fully equipped for the year, and their accounts settled, I set off for Fort Charlotte, where I arrived at 5 p. m. The portage was very bad in some places, being knee-deep in mud and clay, and so slippery as to make walking tedious.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the regular Rainy River route, from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg. Starting from the place still known as Grand Portage, it went overland 9 m. to Fort Charlotte, on Pigeon r., up this river, down Rainy r. to Lake of the Woods, through this lake to Winnipeg r., and down the latter to Lake Winnipeg. From Pigeon r. to Lake of the Woods the route is identical with the present international boundary between the United States and Canada, separating the State of Minnesota from the Province of Ontario. The text is a bare itinerary, with little incident or description, but it is interesting in giving the names of places in the vernacular of the voyageurs at the beginning of this century. We shall be able to follow Henry closely, and I will take occasion to collate the accounts of various other early travelers—notably of David Thompson, of whose unpublished manuscripts I possess copious notes. He generally uses the English equivalents of Henry's French names, enabling us to compare the two sets of terms with each other and with modern designations. The best early account of the route is in Sir A. McKenzie's classic, orig. ed. 4to, London, 1801, pp. xlviii-lxii.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Portage, of the French and English, was primarily the designation of the long carrying-place over which baggage was taken on men's shoulders from a point on Lake Superior to a point on Pigeon r., 9 m. distant; but it speedily became the name of the place on the lake whence the start was made, and also the title of various establishments there. The situation is about 47° 58' N., 89° 39' W., by U. S. charts, on Grand Portage bay (too shallow for

*Sunday, July 20th.* The canoes having been given out to the men, to gum and prepare, I found everything ready for our departure ; and early this morning gave out to all their respective loading, which consisted of 28 packages per canoe, assorted for the Saulteur trade on Red river, namely :

Merchandise, 90 pounds each, . . . . .	5 bales
Canal tobacco, . . . . .	1 bale
Kettles, . . . . .	1 bale
Guns, . . . . .	1 case
Iron works, . . . . .	1 case
New twist tobacco, . . . . .	2 rolls
Leaden balls, . . . . .	2 bags
Leaden shot, . . . . .	1 bag
Flour, . . . . .	1 bag
Sugar, . . . . .	1 keg
Gunpowder, . . . . .	2 kegs
High wine, 9 gallons each, . . . . .	10 kegs
Total, . . . . .	28 pieces

vessels to land, and separated by Hat point from Wauswaugoning bay), in which is the small Grand Portage isl. The most conspicuous object in the vicinity is the hill now called Mt. Josephine, 703 ft. high (Thompson made it 741 ft. 11 ins.). The N. W. establishment there, before and after 1800, was a stockaded post, 24 × 30 rods, on the edge of the bay and under the hill ; it was long a famous rendezvous of the Northmen, who were assembled sometimes to the number of more than a thousand. It was abandoned in 1803, headquarters being then removed to Kaministiquia (Fort William). In 1785 the old fort was in charge of Mr. Croutier, with Mr. Givins of Montreal as clerk. In the spring of that year Gregory, McLeod & Co. started a rival post in charge of Pierre Lanniau or L'Anneau, with Roderick McKenzie as clerk, and 18 voyageurs. The X. Y. Co. post was built in 1797, about 200 rods from that of the N. W. Co., across a small stream which makes into the bay. The elder Henry says that, when he arrived at Grand Portage, June 28th, 1775, he "found the traders in a state of extreme hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbour," p. 239. Fort Charlotte was the N. W. Co. post at the other end of the portage, on Pigeon r. The labor of land-carriage was great ; McKenzie says, p. xliv., that each voyageur was required to carry eight of the ordinary packages or pieces ; but if more were to be transported, the man was allowed a Spanish dollar for each one. "I have known some of them," he adds, to "set off with two packages of 90 pounds each, and return with two others of the same weight, in the course of six hours, being a distance of 18 miles."

Pigeon r., also called Dove r., derives these names from the F. phrase *Rivière*



Equipage for the voyage: Provisions for four men to Red river, 4 bags corn,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushels in each;  $\frac{1}{2}$  keg grease; 4 packages, of about 90 pounds each, private property belonging to the men, consisting of clothing, tobacco, etc., for themselves and families for the year; so that when all hands were embarked, the canoes sunk to the gunnel.

At ten o'clock the brigade were all off, and at three o'clock I followed. The water was very low. In a short time we came to Partridge portage,<sup>3</sup> of about 600 paces over. The road was very slippery and muddy. Having got our baggage over, we embarked and proceeded to the Prairie, where our people were camped. All were merry over their favorite regale, which is always given on their departure, and generally enjoyed at this spot, where we have a delightful meadow to pitch our tents, and plenty of elbow-room for the men's antics.

*July 21st.* The canoes were early on the water with half a load, which was conveyed to Grosse Roche.<sup>4</sup> There we found the water so low that we were obliged to carry all our baggage and canoes over for about 1,000 paces, through a path made bad by a number of pines which had lately been blown down. We then, by means of half-loads, pro-

aux Tourtres, or the River of Turtles, *sc.*, turtle-doves, probably referring to the passenger-pigeon, *Ectopistes migratorius*. The phrase also appears as des Tourtres, Au Tourt, etc. A name current earlier was Rivière aux Groseilles, as if Currant or Gooseberry r.; but this is also found as Groseilliers r., in all the variation of spelling of that personal name, which was borne by the celebrated companion of Radisson in the 17th century. The stream is a comparatively small one, which flows eastward into Lake Superior at 48° N., after a turbulent course of rapids and falls. It arises in the Height of Land which separates the waters of the Great Lakes from those of Hudson's bay, being there connected with certain sources of Rainy r. Pigeon r. is joined toward its mouth by Arrow r., on the N., from Arrow l.

<sup>3</sup> Portage du Perdrix of the F., a place where Pigeon r. falls over a precipice whose often alleged height of 100 ft. is exaggerated. This first interruption of navigation is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. above Fort Charlotte; the portage is good, on the left, 380 yards, S. 60° W. It is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. hence to the usual first camping-ground, at la Prairie or the Meadow.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise Big Rock or Great Stone portage,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. from the last, on the right, 485 yards, N. 40° W.

ceeded to Caribou<sup>5</sup> portage, over which our baggage was carried about 700 paces, while the canoes were towed up among the rocks. We then proceeded to Outarde portage<sup>6</sup> with half a load, and put up for the night, having sent the canoes back for the rest of their lading.

*July 22d.* It was late before the canoes arrived. Our baggage was soon over, although this portage is about 3,000 paces. We then embarked on Outarde lake, and came to Original portage of 1,000 paces, after which we embarked on Original<sup>7</sup> lake. I left my loaded canoes at this place and proceeded to Grand Portage des Cerises,<sup>8</sup> about 1,000 paces. Thence to Petit Vaseux portage, about 400 paces, and thence to the last Vaseux [or Little Cherry] por-

<sup>5</sup> Or Deer portage, as it was also called, the caribou being the woodland reindeer, *Rangifer caribou*. This carrying-place is  $\frac{1}{3}$  m. from the last, on the left, 540 yards. The name has sometimes been rendered Carrebœuf.

<sup>6</sup> Portage aux Outardes of the F., literally Bustard portage, but equivalent to Goose portage, as *outarde* is the name by which the voyageurs knew the Canada goose, *Bernicla canadensis*. It is now sometimes called Fowl portage. The place is 3 m. from the last, on the right, 1,748 yards. It conducts into Lac aux Outardes; or Goose l., as Henry presently says. His statement of its length is exaggerated, unless his paces were short; another authority says 2,400 paces. Thompson speaks in this connection of a certain Goose rock, "about 20 high." Goose l. used to be called 6 m. long; it is not far from 4 m., including a constriction which divides it into two lakes, to be found on some modern maps as North Fowl and South Fowl lakes; the width is a mile or two; the direction, nearly N.

<sup>7</sup> Or Moose portage and lake, as it was then and is still also called: for the name *original*, see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 87. McKenzie gives this as Elk portage. The length of the carrying-place is about as said; the lake is some 4 m. long, by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  wide, extending in an E. and W. direction. A portage, off the route we take, conducts N. to Arrow r. from Moose l.

<sup>8</sup> Long Cherry or Great Cherry portage, the first and most difficult of the three which intervene between Moose l. and Mountain l., about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  m. from Moose portage; it is 762 yards long, N.  $60^{\circ}$  W., on the right of the stream. This conducts into a little lake, 400 yards long, and then comes Petit Vaseux, or Little Muddy portage, also called Second Cherry portage, 250 to 300 yards long, according to state of the water, on the right. Another reach of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. brings us to what Henry calls the last Vaseux portage, also known as Third Cherry, Little Cherry, and Lesser Cherry portage, 250 yards long, about S.  $60^{\circ}$  W. The Mountain l. thus reached is some 6 m. or more long, by about 2 m. in greatest width, lying nearly E. and W.

tage, about 500 paces, over which we embarked on Mountain lake. Through this we proceeded with a fine breeze aft, and in a few hours reached Petit Portage Neuf,<sup>9</sup> over which we carried about 600 paces, when we came to a small [Watab] lake. Having passed this, we came to the Petit Détroit, a narrow place where a canoe can scarcely pass. Here, in forcing our passage, we broke a hole in the bottom of one canoe, which obliged us to unload and repair; after which we proceeded to Grand Portage Neuf, where we put up for the night, my people being much fatigued.

*July 23d.* The men were early at work on the portage, which is about 3,000 paces long; at ten o'clock all was over. Here I found many canoes, some finishing the portage, others embarking; all was bustle and confusion. We pitched our tent for the night, to await the brigade, which arrived this evening. They all made merry upon some small kegs of wine generally given them on their engagement at Grand Portage, one or two gallons to each man.

*July 24th.* Loaded and embarked at daybreak, crossed Rosa<sup>10</sup> lake to Petite Pêche, where there were some canoes

<sup>9</sup> Little New portage, which succeeds Mountain l., was so named from the circumstance that what was an old route in those days followed a different track from the one we are on. It is now called Watab portage. It is 480 yds. long, in direction N. 70° W., and is stony and uneven, with some high banks. The lake into which it conducts is Watab l., a mile or two long, first westerly, and then turning southward. This is called Rove l. on the G. L. O. map of Minnesota of 1894, and also on another map before me. Petit Détroit, or Little strait, is a place where the passage narrows to a few feet, and is so shoal that a canoe had sometimes to be discharged, or even carried. Thence it is only about a mile to Great New portage, or New Grand portage, which is some 1,400 yards long, and thus occupies most of the interval between Watab l. and the next one, Rose l. For this reason it has been sometimes called Rose portage.

<sup>10</sup> "Rosa" l. may be intended for Roseau (or Reed) l., but is now commonly known as Rose l. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that an alternative name is Mud l., and a muddy lake is one in which reeds are likely to grow. The G. L. O. map of 1894 letters "Rose or Mud." Rose l. affords the closest connection with Arrow l., on the N. The course in Rose l. is 2 m. W. to what Henry calls Petite Pêche—a term whose significance in this connection escapes me. Thence it is but a short reach of 3 m. to Martin or Marten

not yet stirring, and soon after came to Martin portage, which is only 20 paces from the small lake. We then followed Portage des Perches about 500 paces to the lake of the same name. Having passed this we came to Portage du Hauteur des Terres [Land's Height], which is about 700 paces. At this place the men generally finish their small kegs of liquor and fight many a battle. We reloaded the canoes and proceeded on Lac du Hauteur des Terres to the Décharge des Épingles, where we carried down half our lading about 50 paces. Thence we continued to Flint<sup>11</sup> lake, through which we passed. A fine wind aft

portage, only 18 yards, on the left, into the very small lake to which he refers. Immediately on crossing this we reach Perche portage, of 320 yards, which conducts into the lake to which Henry applies the same name. But this is now known as South l., to distinguish it from the adjacent North l.; and between these two is the Height of Land. The course in South l. is about 3 m. westerly to near its end, then turning N. to the portage of the Height of Land over into North l. Hauteur des Terres (or de Terre) is a more general name of the high land, full of small lakes, which occupies the region between the waters of Pigeon r., flowing eastward, and those of Rainy r., taking the opposite direction. Land's Height portage itself is about 400 yards long, and strikes Lac du Hauteur des Terres (present North l.) not far from its lower end; so that, though North l. is much longer and wider than South l., the course in it is crooked and short, being only about 2 m. to the Décharge des Épingles. (In voyageurs' language a discharge is a place where the canoe must be unloaded wholly or in part, and can then be handed down by a rope, the cargo or a part of it being carried on land; but at a portage everything is carried, including the canoe.) This discharge is 40 yards long, and from this place the distance is only about 1½ m. to the large lake next to be named.

<sup>11</sup> Flint l. is more fully Gun Flint l., a term translating the F. phrase Lac des Pierres à Fusil; Harmon renders Flinty l. The length is 7 m., with a width of a mile or two in different places. It is traversed its whole length, about W. S. W., to near the end, where the track turns N. W. through a narrow place about 6 yards wide for 15 yards. This constriction marks off a part of what was Gun Flint l. of old, but is now distinguished by the modern name of Magnetic l., about a mile long, N. N. W. The Duluth, Port Arthur, and Western Ry. crosses this narrow place to go to Gun Flint iron mine. Magnetic l. is succeeded by a course 8 yards wide with a fall of 12 or 14 feet in three ridges or steps, where there is a carriage of 40 yards to be made over a point of rocks on the right, formerly known as Escalier or Ladder portage, now called Little Rock portage. From this place onward quite to Saganaga l. the route is simply a succession of little lakes with intervening narrows, like beads on a string,



soon took us to Escalier portage, over which we carried about 60 paces, when we embarked and proceeded to the Cheval de Bois, an ugly portage of about 400 paces. Thence to Portage des Gros Pins,<sup>12</sup> which is about 700 paces, to a small lake. Through this we passed to a chain of rapids and small lakes and down to Marabou portage, which is about 200 paces. This is succeeded by several small rapids, through which we passed to Pointe à la Framboise [Raspberry point], where we camped about dark. The men were much fatigued. We found the air very cold. Gummed our canoes by torch-light, as they had received some damage in coming down the last rapid.

*July 25th.* At four o'clock we embarked, and having descended several rapids came to Petit Rocher de Saganaga,<sup>13</sup> a small portage of about 60 paces. At nine o'clock

requiring discharges or carriages at frequent short intervals. The "ugly one," which Henry names Cheval de Bois, is now known as Wood Horse portage, of which Thompson's MS. remarks that it would be an excellent place for a mill, being, in fact, a dam site, better than any other for that purpose.

<sup>12</sup> Portage of the Big Pines, now simply Pine p., 640 paces or 400 yards long, off to the left over a ridge, from a sort of bay, in a N. W. direction to a small lake. It thus leaves the channel of Rainy r. to avoid some obstructions in the latter. Henry's Marabou portage was also known as Marabœuf p., a name which appears on some of the modern maps; his Pointe à la Framboise I do not identify. The route along here, before reaching the falls to be presently mentioned, includes obstructions which are noted in Thompson's MS. as Muddy portage or Grande Décharge, Stone rapids, and Cedar portage. The route is through or past Granite bay, Gneiss l., Marabœuf l., and Cross bay, of modern nomenclature; it proceeds in a very crooked but on the whole N. W. course of 7 m. into Marabœuf l., and then due N. 4 m. to Saganaga falls.

<sup>13</sup> Little Saganaga rock, position of Saganaga falls; carry on the left 25 yards or more, according to height of water, and proceed about  $1\frac{1}{3}$  m. into the large lake of the same name. This still fluctuates in spelling, as it always has done; the maps before me have Saginaga, Saganaga, and Seiganagah, once Saginaca; Thompson's MS. has Seiganah. This is much the largest body of water we have hitherto entered, and of extremely irregular figure; much of it is crowded with small islands, and it has various connections with surrounding bodies of water. The whole length is about 12 m. in a general N. E. to S. W. direction; but the lake is entered from the S., and the course through it is much curved on itself. The détroit which Henry mentions is probably the strait which marks off Cache bay at the S. W. end of the lake. Thompson

we entered Lake Saginaga and came to L'Anse de Sable. Here we found some Indians making canoes for sale; but as none of them were to my taste, we proceeded to the détroit in the lake. My canoe ran afoul of a sharp rock and in an instant was full of water. We put ashore to repair the damage, and in the meantime dried our goods, which had got wet, and embarked. We soon came to the last Petit Rocher de Saginaga portage, which is about 50 paces long. We thence proceeded to Prairie portage,<sup>14</sup> where we found the water so low that it was with the utmost difficulty we could unload. We carried about 600 paces, and then proceeded to Petit Rocher des Couteaux portage, which is about 150 paces long. We loaded again, embarked, and went to the W. end of Lac des Couteaux, where we camped.

*July 26th.* We early embarked, descended seven small rapids, and passed through the same number of small lakes, when we arrived at Petit Rocher, a short portage of about 50 paces; thence we went through a small lake to the last Petit Rocher des Couteaux portage, about 200 paces long,

notes a place along here only 4 yards wide. Henry's "last Petit Rocher de Saginaga" is now called Portage la Roche, which conducts us from Lake Saganaga into a small one now called Swamp l. The passage between these two lakes is nearly, if not exactly, on the line between Cook Co., Minn., which has thus far been on our left the whole way from Fort Charlotte, and Lake Co. of the same State.

The elder Henry, who was here July 20th, 1775, speaks of Lake Sagunac, *i. e.*, Saganaga, as the situation of the hithermost French post in the N. W., where there had been a large Chippewa village, destroyed by the Sioux. When populous this village had been a menace to the traders, by extorting liquor and other goods; but he found only three squalid lodges: Trav., p. 241.

<sup>14</sup> Through the small Swamp l. named in my last note. Prairie p. is now called Swamp p., being in part boggy; it is little over 300 yards long, W. S. W., and conducts into a narrow body of water now known as Otter Track l., 3 or 4 m. long, and for the most part quite narrow, like a river. Petit Rocher des Couteaux is present Little Knife portage; Thompson calls it Little Knife Stone Carrying Place, 52 yards long. Lac des Couteaux or Knife l. is a narrow body of water some 7 m. long from N. E. to S. W.; its name, as well as those of the several portages through and beyond it, refers to the sharp stones which abound in this portion of the route.

into another small [Carp] lake, through which we passed to Portage des Carpes,<sup>15</sup> about 400 paces long. Thence through a winding channel [present Birch lake] to Gros Portage des Bois Blancs, which is near 300 paces long. Here we met three canoes from Rainy lake, loaded with packs from the Athabasca Department, bound to Grand Portage. I delivered to them my dispatches for Montreal. We came on through Lac des Bois Blancs as far as the Pine islands, where we found a few Indians making canoes. Mine was in such a bad state that I could proceed no further; I therefore determined to wait for a new one here, there being several on the stocks. The Indians were drinking and rather troublesome.

*Sunday, July 27th.* This morning we had rain, which continued until ten o'clock, when the weather cleared up, and the Indians set to work finishing my canoe. At eleven o'clock, four more canoes from Rainy lake, with Athabasca packs, passed, and at one o'clock, Roderick McKenzie arrived in a light canoe, two days from Lac la Pluie, expecting to reach Grand Portage early on the 29th; he left at two o'clock. Several canoes overtook and passed me while I was impatiently waiting; but the Indians, from yesterday's debauch, were not in a working humor, and were continually smoking and begging for liquor. The weather was warm and sultry, which so increased their laziness that

<sup>15</sup> Carp l. is several miles long, but lies mostly off the route, to the right, so that a short course across its lower end brings us to Carp portage, 278 yards long. Upon making this carriage, we enter what Henry calls the "winding channel" of present Birch l., the course through which is 3 or 4 m. On finishing this we come to the first Bois Blanc or Great Basswood portage, which intervenes between Birch l. and Basswood l. Bois blanc is a F. name of *Tilia americana*, often literally translated whitewood. Thompson calls this portage Great White-wood Carrying-place, and notes a house which had been burned when he passed by, Aug. 16th, 1797. It is 140 yards long, with a steep bank on the E. side. Basswood l. is much larger than any body of water hitherto passed; the air-line distance from entrance to exit may not be over 10 m., but the route winds through the lake to a length of probably 15 m. Another F. name of this lake appears in print as Lac Passeau, and an Indian one is given as Passeau Minac Saganagan, tr. L. of Dry Berries.



they finally fell asleep. The women brought me plenty of fine large hurtleberries [whortleberries or huckleberries], of which there is an abundance on the rocks around this lake. Toward evening the Indians awoke and insisted upon my giving them liquor, otherwise I should have no canoe; and they threatened to break my old one. However, I persisted in refusing. We came to high words, and, in our turn, menaced them with a good beating if they misbehaved. This had the desired effect, and about midnight we got rid of them.

*July 28th.* This morning the scoundrels refused to work, and I was obliged to set my own men to finish the canoe. She was completed at ten o'clock, when we loaded and embarked, giving the fellows a receipt for the canoe—60 skins, payable at Lac la Pluie. At twelve o'clock we came to the end of [Basswood] lake, and thus to Petit Portage des Bois Blancs,<sup>16</sup> which is about 200 paces over. Thence we went down several ugly rapids to Portage des Grands Pins, about 400 paces long, and then to Portage de la Pointe des Bois, over which we carried about 300 paces. We proceeded to Petit Rocher du Lac Croche, a portage of about 100 paces over a rock, to Lac la Croche.<sup>17</sup> At the Rock in

<sup>16</sup> Little Basswood, or Lesser Whitewood portage—the qualifying term referring not to the trees, but to the length of this carrying-place, in comparison with that one by which Basswood l. is entered from the E. It is 140 yards, with good carriage on the left hand. The next one, Great Pines portage, which occurs within a mile or two, is 330 yards long, and is carried also on the left. Point of Woods portage soon succeeds, 128 yards long, carried S. by E., on the right. The next obstruction, which blocks the entrance to Lac la Croche, was formerly known as Petit Rocher or Little Stone portage, but is now usually called Portage la Croche; the carriage is 75 yards, on the left, and there are steep, smooth rocks on one side; the descent of water through the place is about 12 feet, in two inclines.

<sup>17</sup> Or Crooked l., whose shape is implied in the name; for, besides being extremely irregular in details of contour, it is bent upon itself about midway, so that the traverse is for nearly the first half due N., with many minor windings, and then turns W. The term covers the whole body of waters from the portage last named to Rideau or Curtain portage, a distance, as traveled, of about 18 m. There appear to be no obstructions in this course, but various points about the lake are known by name. Among them is Henry's "Rock in Arrows," about

Arrows we met nine canoes loaded with Athabasca packs. At sunset came to Portage de Rideau, where we stopped for the night. This portage is about 400 paces.

*July 29th.* At six o'clock we embarked, overtook several canoes, and arrived at Flacon portage,<sup>18</sup> which is about 400 paces, exclusive of a small discharge which occasions a portage of 70 paces when the water is low. We next entered Lac la Croix,<sup>19</sup> but the wind soon came on ahead and obliged us to put ashore, where we waited some time. We again embarked, came on to Pointe au Sable, and put

3 m. beyond Portage la Croche. The name is thus explained by McKenzie, p. liv: ". . . a remarkable rock, with a smooth face, but split and cracked in different parts, which hang over the water. Into one of its horizontal chasms a great number of arrows have been shot, which is said to have been done by a war party of Nadowasis or Sioux, who had done much mischief in this country, and had left these weapons as a warning to the Chebois [Ojibways] or natives." Thompson names two places as Grand Gales and Millstone Rock. He describes "Riedo" [Rideau] portage as 149 yards long, carriage on the left, the lower bank steep, rugged, and rocky, the descent of water 20 feet. In traversing the latter part of Crooked l., the voyageur crosses the line between Lake Co. and St. Louis Co., Minn.

<sup>18</sup> Or Bottle portage, as it was also then and is now generally called. Thompson gives the English name, 1797, and it appears on recent maps. The interval between Curtain and Bottle portages, represented by part of present Iron l., is between 3 and 4 m. Thence the distance is about 5 m., northerly, past Shortiss and other islands, into what may be considered Lac la Croix, or Cross l. proper, though the whole body of water hitherward from Curtain portage may have been sometimes covered by the name.

<sup>19</sup> Lac la Croix, as it is still called, or Cross l., is a larger body of water than any hitherto traversed on this route; but its shape is so peculiar, and its extensions or connections so numerous and various, that authorities differ in the implication of the name. Furthermore, there is an alternative name, Nequaquon; thus, the G. L. O. map of 1894 gives the whole lake as Nequowquon, while the best Canadian map before me restricts Nequaquon to a comparatively small lake connected with the W. end of Lac la Croix. Various lesser offsets or lakes now have special names. The main body of water is bent upon itself in such a figure that the course we are following—the main channel or international boundary—is first N., then W., then S., independently of its minor bends. If we take Lac la Croix for what it appears to have been considered in Henry's time, it includes the three Portages de la Croix, or Cross portages, which he names. Thompson gives the same three, as being respectively 173, 228, and 61 yards long. This course would appear to include the small expansion now known as Loon l., as this is mentioned neither by Henry nor by Thompson;

up for the night. Mosquitoes and sandflies were very troublesome. We here found Indians making canoes.

*July 30th.* At daybreak we embarked and came to the first Petit Portage de la Croix, which is 200 paces long; then through a crooked piece of water to the middle Portage de la Croix, which is 400 paces; thence it is but a short distance to the last Petit Portage de la Croix, which is but 50 paces over. We then loaded and descended the little Rivière la Croix to Vermillion lake, between which and Lac Namaycan we are sometimes obliged to make a portage of 300 paces, when the water is low. We came on through the last-mentioned lake to Pointe de Sable, where we found some Indians making canoes. Here we gummed, re-embarked, and came to the traverse.<sup>20</sup> The wind blew a

and beyond this the way narrows to what Henry calls Rivière la Croix, 4 m. long, leading S. W., thence N. W., into Vermillion l.

Cross l. can hardly have been so named from its own shape, for that is more like a broad, short ox-bow; but it may be called something like a cross if we take into account its two most important connections, as collateral with those we have already traced. These are: on the N. E., with Rivière Maligne, Malign, or Sturgeon r., and on the N., about the middle of the lake, with Namakan r., alongside La Croix Indian village. The Malign River connection is specially notable because, in Henry's time, it afforded what was called the "new route" from Lac la Croix, *i. e.*, a route to the newly established post at Kaministiquia (Fort William). We shall recur to this route later on, when Henry first takes it. The Namakan r. is simply another connection between Lac la Croix and Namakan l., to be presently noticed. Among other ways out of Cross l. may be mentioned one by Wild Goose r. to a chain of small lakes to the N. E.; Whitson's portage, N., over to Wolsley or Donald l.; and Neguaquon portage, W., on the Dawson route to Namakan l.

<sup>20</sup> That is, the crossing of Lac Namaycan. Thompson calls this Lac le Mecan, as if it were French; McKenzie maps "L. Micane"; but it is an Indian name, now rendered Namakan, Namekan, Namaukan, or Nameukan, referring to a place at a fall where the natives speared sturgeon. Before coming to the lake proper, Henry passes from his small, narrow Vermillion l., still so called, to present Crane l., which lies mostly off to the S. or left, but conducts directly into Sand Point l. This last is named from Henry's Pointe de Sable, or Sand pt., and appears to have been taken as a part of Namakan l., separated from the rest by a narrow passage. From this passage, where Namakan l. may be said to begin, the main channel is very circuitous into Rainy l., being first about W., then N., then E., to a total distance of some 18 or 19 m., or to the vicinity of Kettle falls, which, as it were, guard the entrance into Rainy l. But there

gale from the N. W., which obliged us to camp for the night.

*July 31st.* The wind still blew strong ahead; however, with some difficulty, we got over the traverse to the first Petit Portage Neuf, which is about 200 paces. Thence we passed through a small winding river to the last Petit Portage Neuf, which is about 300 paces long.<sup>21</sup> Here we gummed, and went down a crooked passage to the entrance of Rainy lake.<sup>22</sup> The wind, having increased, obliged us to

is a much shorter cut into Rainy l., crossing Namakan l. about 7 m. W. N. W., and then on through a narrow passage of less than 2 m., with two portages (see next note); a third, and entirely different way, passes through Kabetogama or Kahpetogamak l., and by portage into Rat Root l., or Black bay of Rainy l.

<sup>21</sup> Mention of these two portages shows that Henry took the cut-off referred to in the last note. This way is now called Soldiers' portage. Thompson gives the same two portages that Henry names, as respectively of 135 and 180 yards, N. W. and N. 30° W.; he also speaks of his course "in a dead narrow," between them, and presently notes a fall on the left as he enters Rainy l.—no doubt the Kettle falls I have already mentioned. We may be satisfied therefore, that the usual trader's route took the Soldiers' portage cut-off from the circuitous course of the main channel, or what is now the international boundary line, between the two lakes. Compare McKenzie, p. lv.

<sup>22</sup> Rainy l. is by far the largest body of water on this route, giving name to the whole waterway or chain of lakes thus far traversed since we left Pigeon r., and more particularly to Rainy Lake r., or Rainy r., which is the main issuant stream, considerably less than 100 m. long, by which these waters are connected with Lake of the Woods. The origin of the name has been questioned, and "Rainy" said to be a corruption of René, "name of its Canadian discoverer." But Rainy simply translates the old and still current French phrase, *Lac à la Pluie*, or *Lac de la Pluie*, or *Lac la Pluie*—the implication of which does not appear in the climate or weather, but in the mist, like rain, which is raised by the cascade near the discharge of the lake into Rainy r. proper. This is stated distinctly by Joseph La France, 1740, and is the usually accepted explanation, which I see no reason to question. The French term itself is coupled with and probably derived from an Indian word found in old records as *Tekamammaouen*. It is written *Tekamamihouenne* by Verendrye, 1738. James' Tanner's Narr., 1830, p. 79, says that "the river which falls into Rainy Lake, is called *Kocheche-se-bee*, (Source River)."

The lake is of more irregular figure, with more numerous, intricate connections than would be imagined by one who had never examined a map of it on a sufficiently large scale, or than could possibly be described in a few words. Roughly speaking, it consists of a large northern expansion, with which we have



put ashore. We passed the rest of the day on an island, where we found plenty of ripe hurtleberries.

*Aug. 1st.* The wind continued strong ahead. At ten o'clock a canoe arrived from the Saskatchewan with six Indians, on their way to Montreal, with a few packs of furs of their own dressing. By this opportunity, the last this season, I once more wrote to my friends in Canada. At three o'clock they passed on. The wind now abating a little, we embarked, and with great difficulty reached Petit Detroit<sup>23</sup> some time after dark. Just at this moment a black thunder-storm was collecting; we could not land, as a reef of rocks prevented approach to the shore; and, before we could reach a proper landing, the storm burst upon us, with thunder, lightning, rain, and a terrible squall from the W. We got under the lee of a large stone, where, all hands clinging to it, with much trouble we kept our canoes from being blown out upon the lake, where we must inevitably have perished. The thunder and lightning were horrid; every flash served but to show us our danger, and instantly left us in utter darkness. Toward day the storm abated, but we did not think proper to stir from our large stone till daybreak.

*Aug. 2d.* This morning we had fine weather, when we put ashore to refresh ourselves after our night's fatigue. At ten o'clock we embarked, and having passed through the lake came to the entrance of Rivière du Lac la Pluie, down which we went to Chaudière portage, which is about 200 paces. We embarked below this and proceeded to the fort

here nothing to do, and of a long extension, nearly E. and W., subdivided into two parts at the Brûlé Narrows. The course is practically the same as the international boundary through these two last-named parts, from main inlet to main outlet of the lake, and in a direction but little N. of W. The air-line distance we go is about 34 m.; the actual distance is perhaps 40 m., as we wind through several straits and among many of the islands with which the lake is for the most part crowded; still the course is on the whole pretty direct.

<sup>23</sup> This "little strait" is apparently the Brûlé Narrows, already mentioned as separating the easternmost extension of Rainy l. from the main central portion yet to be traversed.



or establishment of Lac la Pluie, where we found Mr. Grant, one of the proprietors of the N. W. Co.<sup>24</sup> Here we stopped for the day. There is a good garden, well stocked with vegetables of various kinds—potatoes, in particular, which are now eatable. This evening my brigade arrived all safe. The gentlemen danced until daybreak, all very merry.

*Sunday, Aug. 3d.* Set all hands to work repairing their canoes. At twelve o'clock they were ready, and immediately embarked. We have great plenty of sturgeon [*Acipenser rubicundus*] at present. Having dined, I embarked at four o'clock; passed the Grande Fourche [Big Fork river], where a few Red [Lake?] Indians were camped; saw also some Indians at Rivière Noir [Black river]. We camped

<sup>24</sup> In finishing the traverse of Rainy l., Henry doubtless took a course nearly or quite the same as the present international boundary, which runs W. in a pretty straight direction between various isls., two of the largest of which are now called Sand Point isl. and Dry Weed isl., and two others are Red Pine and Jackfish. In so doing also, he ceases to have St. Louis Co., Minn., on his left, and enters upon Itasca Co., just before passing opposite a place called Rainy Lake City, on the E. side of the entrance to Black bay. He leaves the lake and enters Rainy r. proper at Pither's point. This river begins with rapids at the discharge of the lake for about 400 yards, S. to W. Henry does not notice these rapids, but the place is historically notable, for at their foot stood Fort St. Pierre, a picketed French post built by Verendrye in 1731 in a meadow, amid groves of oak. This is said to have been destroyed before 1763; it is not noticed by the elder Henry, 1775. From the rapids the course is S. 60° W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  m., S. 72° W.  $\frac{2}{3}$  m., and N. 40° W.  $\frac{1}{8}$  m. to the Chaudière portage of the text. This carriage was on the right for 150 yards, occasioned by the falls—among the many called Chaudière or Kettle, and sometimes formerly Chute de la Chaudière—where there is a descent of water of 20 ft. in three ridges. Here is the site of present Alberton, Ont., and of the H. B. Co. post called Fort Frances, after Sir Geo. Simpson's wife, though found on some maps as Fort Francis and Fort St. Francis. The N. W. Co. establishment, Rainy Lake House, to which Henry proceeds, was but little further down, on the high bank on the N. side. Thompson calls it half a mile from the falls to the N. W. Co. house to which he proceeded in 1797. The oldest post in this vicinity (exact site undetermined) is said to have been the one called Tekamamicuen or Takamanigan, established by La Noue in 1717. In 1823 the H. B. Co. post was in charge of Mr. Simon McGillivray; and the A. F. Co. had a house on the other side of the river, in charge of Mr. Davenport. Long's party here found John Tanner, whose extraordinary narrative was pub. in 1830 in the language of Dr. Edwin James, 8vo, N. Y.

below Manitou rapids,<sup>25</sup> where we found several Indians fishing. They had a great many sturgeon and various kinds of small fish, a few of which were exchanged for liquor. The Indians were drinking all night, but not troublesome.

*Aug. 4th.* At daybreak we embarked and passed the old H. B. Co. establishment, which has been abandoned for several years. Soon after we came down the Long Sault.<sup>26</sup> At twelve o'clock passed Rapid river,<sup>27</sup> at two o'clock passed

<sup>25</sup> Three rivers which fall into Rainy r. below Rainy l., through Itasca Co., Minn., and thus from the right, are: 1. Pogonowisebe or Little Fork r. 2. Big Fork r. This arises in a multitude of lakes in the region N. and N. E. of Winnibigoshish, Bowstring, and Ball Club lakes, and thus from the divide between Mississippian and Hudsonian waters. Its average course is due N. It seems to have acquired consequence as a route of the A. F. Co., after Henry's time; Thompson describes it in 1798. 3. Black r., a small stream falling in 4 m. below Big Fork r. The first of these Henry passes unnoticed; it falls in opposite the Indian reserve,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  m. below Isherwood P. O., Ont. The Big Fork he mentions is about 6 m. below Little Fork r.; nearly midway between these two, on the right, comes Lavallee r., and about the mouth of the Big Fork are places called Big Forks P. O., Ont., and Hannaford, Minn. Between the Big Fork and Black r. is a cluster of islands. All the streams here in mention, and several lesser ones, enter Rainy r. in a large loop which the river makes southward, and where it is flowing W.; but a mile or two beyond Black r. the river turns N. and then curves W. to Manitou rapids, where Indians were fishing when Henry camped. Here is still the site of an Indian village in a reserve 3 m. square on the Ontario side (No. 11, Barwick). Thompson says he ran the rapid S. 10° W. 176 yards on the left, and notes the small island  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. below, on the right.

<sup>26</sup> The Long Sault is a rapid which appears on some modern maps, *e. g.*, the Rand-McNally, Chicago, 1894, as "Long Sioux," by confusion of similarly sounding words; it appears correctly on the Jewett map, St. Paul, 1894; but neither this nor Manito rapids is marked on the latest G. L. O. map of Minnesota, 1894, which is very crude and defective in detail all along the route we are pursuing. The distance appears to be about 8 m. from Manitou rapids to the Long Sault; and the latter is the location of an Indian reserve, 5 m. square, on the Ontario side.

<sup>27</sup> Rapid r. is the present name of the only other one Henry notices of several streams running into Rainy r. on the Minnesota side. It flows in Beltrami Co., and empties near the W. boundary of Itasca Co. Two others are Baudette r. and Winter Road r. But there is some uncertainty about these streams, as the country is not yet surveyed. The G. L. O. map brings in a nameless river exactly on the boundary between Itasca and Beltrami cos., then Rapid r. and Baudette r., but runs Winter Road r. into Lake of the Woods, several miles

another old H. B. Co. establishment, and soon after came to the entrance of Lake of the Woods;<sup>28</sup> when, having a fine calm, we made the traverse and camped at the [Big] island. A terrible storm during the night.

*Aug. 5th.* This morning early embarked; wind *aft*; came to the Rocher Rouge, where we found a number of Indians

beyond the entrance of Rainy r. into that lake. The best Canadian map before me (Dept. Interior, 1894) marks Rapid r., Reaudet r., and Winter Road r. with a place called Rapid River opp. the mouth of the first named, in Ontario. Thompson, 1797, carefully notes *four* streams on his left (Minnesota side) between the Long Sault and Lake of the Woods. He further makes it N. 13° W. 1½ m. below the last one of these streams to certain establishments which appear to have been in the vicinity of present Fort Louise (Paskonkin and Bishop Indian reserves, near the entrance of the lake). He speaks of these posts as being together, and as the houses of Mr. McIntosh and Mr. McKay, the latter "from Albany," *i. e.*, of the H. B. Co. This may give a clew to the second one of the establishments of which Henry speaks. Keating's Long, 1824, notes a certain Pine r., on the N., 30 yards wide, between Rapid r. and Black r.

<sup>28</sup> Henry enters Lake of the Woods on its extreme S., at the inlet of Rainy r., and will pass N. to the outlet or main discharge of the lake into Winnipeg r., near Rat portage. The air-line distance between these two points is about 70 m.; but the actual route is considerably more, as it winds among islands which stud the whole collection of waters once and long known as Lake of the Woods, now belonging in part to Minnesota, but in greater part to Ontario. Henry starts on a course coincident with the present international line through the lake, but quits it before he has gone halfway to Rat portage. These simple statements might furnish a text for a disquisition on the Lake of the Woods as the most celebrated thing of the kind in our political history, having occasioned more diplomatic and geodetic literature than any other waters of no greater extent. The reader who wishes to inform himself fully on the history and final settlement of the boundary question, which was in dispute for so many years, will of course refer to the official publications of one or both governments. The conclusion of the matter, on our part, will be found in the Department of State Report on the Survey of the Boundary, etc., from the Lake of the Woods, etc., authorized by A. of C., 19 Mar., 1872, pub. by A. of C., 3 Mar., 1877, forming a stout 4to, Washington, Gov't Pr. Off., 1878: see esp. pp. 23, 53, 79, 303, etc., with map opp. p. 83. Here, of course, I can but point to some of the more salient features of the case. Lake of the Woods is the term which translates the F. phrase, *Lac des Bois* (or *de Bois* or *du Bois*), a name current since the first half of the 18th century, if not even earlier, and also rendered *Wood l.* or *Woody l.* *Lac des Sioux* is another French name, appearing at least as early as 1719, but lapsing after a precarious struggle for existence. *Lac des Isles* is a third term, for example in *La France*, 1740, long alternative to *Lac des Bois*;



who had made canoes and were all intoxicated with liquor received for them. Some days ago they were much inclined to be insolent, and talked about firing upon us. However, we purchased a few fish and dried hurtleberries, and proceeded on our journey without molestation. We had left them but a short time when a sturgeon almost jumped into

thus we find the elder Henry saying Lake des Isles, with reference to July 30th, 1775, at p. 242 of his book, pub. 1809. The expression, Sakahigan Pekwaonga or Lake of the Island of Sand Mounds, occurs in Keating's Long, 1824; and Lake of the Sand Hills is a current designation of that main body of water which now represents a part of the whole Lake of the Woods of Henry's time. Minnititi, Mininittee, Minitie, etc., are forms of an Indian name to be found in French and English print. The historical Lake of the Woods is really a cluster of four lakes, or a main (southern) lake with three principal bays or offsets, on the N. E., N., and N. W., respectively; these three being now separately designated Whitefish bay (or l.), Clearwater l., and Lac Plat (or Shoal l.), when the name Lake of the Woods is restricted to the said main body. A multitude of lesser arms, offsets, or collections of water are also now named. The part known as Clearwater l. is on the old route from Rainy r. to Rat portage; Whitefish bay and Lac Plat lie entirely off the route, to the right and left respectively. The main body of water (to which we will now restrict attention) is well marked off from the rest by a great projection of land on the E., known as The Peninsula, leaving but a narrow waterway northward, further occluded by clusters of islands, large and small. This is the body which acquired the distinctive official designation of Lake of the Woods by the Treaty of Ghent, Dec. 24th, 1814, which adjusted various matters growing out of the War of 1812, and, among these, some boundary disputes. The thus restricted Lake of the Woods extends irregularly E., S. of The Peninsula, into Sebascong bay and other projections, not even yet very accurately known or mapped; and on this side of the lake is also the mouth of Big Grassy r., in Ontario. On the S. is the principal affluent, Rainy r., as we have already seen, separating the United States from Canada (Minnesota from Ontario). On the S. E. War Road r. empties, in Minnesota, and in a sort of bay marked on the N. by a projection now called Buffalo pt. This is an important point, almost exactly on the parallel of 49° N., and therefore as nearly on the line between Minnesota and Manitoba (for reasons which will presently appear): it is occupied by the Canadian Indian reserves called Ayashawash and Powawassan; it is also historically interesting as the site of the old French post built by Verendrye in 1732, named Fort St. Charles in honor of Charles de Beauharnois, governor of Canada, and abandoned before 1763; it is the establishment frequently heard of in early annals either by this name, or as the "old French post" on the W. side of the lake; *e. g.*, the elder Henry, writing of 1775, speaks of it thus, and adds that it had been frequented by numerous bands of Chippeways, already almost entirely destroyed by the Nadowessies (Sioux). N. of Buffalo pt. is the mouth of Reed r., a small

my canoe ; his head struck the gunnel near one of the men who, instead of taking hold of him, gave a scream, and the fish fell into the water again. The wind came on so strong as to oblige us to put ashore, where we passed the rest of the day in drying our goods at L'Anse de Sable.

*Aug. 6th.* The wind continued to blow a gale all day,

stream from the W., of no very great consequence. Still further N. on the W. side, is the opening of the celebrated "Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods," in which interest centers ; for at the head of this long narrow bay is the "Northwest Point of the Northwest Angle," which has made so much political and geographical history. The trouble began early, for the usual reason, viz.: the attempt to fix on paper the location of something whose actual geographical position was unknown. Thus, we find Sir A. McKenzie saying of the Lake of the Woods, p. lviii : "This lake is also rendered remarkable, in consequence of the Americans having named it as the spot, from which a line of boundary, between them and British America, was to run West, until it struck the Mississippi ; which, however, can never happen, as the North-West part of the Lake du Bois, is in latitude 49. 37. North," etc. The geographical impossibilities or difficulties involved in any such early and crude aspects of the case as those presented in the treaties of Sept. 3d, 1783, and Nov. 19th, 1794, of course required to be eliminated ; and the requisite adjustment was attempted to be provided for by the Seventh Article of the Treaty of Ghent, already mentioned. The second article of the London convention between the United States and Great Britain, of Oct. 20th, 1818, is as follows : "It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn due north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with such parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and His Britannic Majesty . . . from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains." This is perfectly clear, and remains in force now ; the only question was, to determine on the ground the geographical positions thus provided for. The declaration of the joint commissioners appointed to carry into effect the provisions of the Seventh Article of the Treaty of Ghent includes the following : "SECTION 19. *Resolved*, that the following described line . . . is, in the opinion of the commissioners, so far as the same extends, the true Boundary intended by the before mentioned treaties :—Namely, thence through the middle of the waters of this Bay to the Northwest extremity of the same, being the most Northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, and from a monument erected in this Bay, on the nearest firm ground to the Northwest extremity of said Bay, the courses and distances are as follows : viz, 1st. N. 56° W. 1565½ feet. 2d. N. 6° W. 861½ feet. 3d. N. 28° W. 615.4 feet. 4th. N. 27° 10' W. 495.4 feet. 5th. N. 5° 10' E.



which kept us in our quarters. I caught one of our men stealing flour out of a bag, and another stealing sugar; these two rascals had formed a scheme to feast their women.

*Aug. 7th.* Before daybreak the wind fell, when we embarked, and finding the water high passed the little Portage

1322½ feet. 6th. N. 7° W. 493 feet. The variation being 12° East. The termination of this 6th or last course and distance being the above said most Northwestern Point of the Lake of the Woods, as designated by the 7th Article of the Treaty of Ghent, and being in Latitude Forty-nine degrees, twenty-three minutes and fifty-five seconds North of the Equator, and in Longitude Ninety-five degrees, fourteen minutes and thirty-eight seconds West from the Observatory at Greenwich." From the point thus determined, marked, and established the boundary of course dropped on the meridian indicated to the parallel of 49° N.; it was so agreed upon and defined in the treaty of Nov. 10th, 1842; and such remained the accepted line until it was resurveyed of late years, with the result of some slight alteration of the determinations which had been made by I. L. Tiarks and David Thompson, 1824-25. In April, 1870, it was found that the line of the 49th parallel was not exactly where it had been supposed to be in crossing the Red River of the North in the vicinity of Pembina, where a military post was to be established. The President called attention to this in his message to Congress of Dec. 20th, 1870, and submitted that the whole boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains should be surveyed and marked. This led to the Act of Congress of Mar. 19th, 1872, authorizing the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, to co-operate with the government of Great Britain in the appointment of a joint commission for the desired purpose, and providing for such a commission on the part of the United States, which was soon organized by the appointment of Archibald Campbell, Esq., as commissioner, and the detail of the following engineer officers for the required geodetic and topographical work: Capt. F. U. Farquhar (d. July 3d, 1883), Capt. W. J. Twining (d. May 5th, 1882); Lieut. J. F. Gregory; Lieut. F. V. Greene; other officers being subsequently detailed in various capacities, myself among the number. One of the first pieces of field work required was the discovery and identification of the old monument at the Northwest Angle, and the re-establishment of this point by new geodetic observations. The party reached the Angle Oct. 9th, 1872, and were there associated with Capt. S. Anderson, R. E., Chief Astronomer of the British Commission with whom they were to co-operate, and other English officers. The monument sought was a wooden post in a crib-work of logs, erected in Oct., 1824; it was gone, but what was supposed to be its exact site was recovered. The Northwest pt. was finally determined to be at lat. 49° 23' 50.28" N., long. 95° 08' 56.7" W.; and the position thus agreed on by Capt. Anderson and Maj. Farquhar was accepted by the commissioners on the part of both governments, in Sept., 1874. The protocol concerning the whole boundary, of course including the points here in special mention, was signed in London, May 29th, 1876, thus concluding the

du Lac des Bois under full sail. This was looked upon as extraordinary; we commonly carry our canoes and baggage at this place upward of half a mile, and sometimes a full mile, according to the state of the water. We now had a fine breeze aft, which in a few hours took us to the end of the lake, at Portage du Rat,<sup>29</sup> which is about 150 paces over. Here we found Indians making canoes for sale and trading surgeon and dried berries for liquor. We embarked and

labors of the joint commission. The Northwest pt. of the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods, and vicinity, is shown on a scale of six inches to the mile on the map facing p. 83 of the U. S. Northern Boundary Report already cited. It is a swampy spot, where Minnesota, Manitoba, and Ontario meet, about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  m. from the dock (McPherson's, H. B. Co.) to which the Dawson road extends from Winnipeg on Red r.; another road comes to this place from Whitemouth l., Manitoba, on the S. W.; the Powawassan and Nootinaquaham Indian reserves are contiguous or adjacent, in Ontario. The boundary line which drops due S. from the N. W. pt. on the meridian of  $95^{\circ} 08' 56.7''$  cuts off from Canada about 150 sq. m. of U. S. mainland, the same constituting a detached fragment of Minnesota; for this meridian strikes the parallel of  $49^{\circ}$  N. in the lake, E. of the Buffalo pt. already named, and thus also the extreme S. E. corner of Manitoba is in the water; what would otherwise be a right angle being nicked off to the extent of about two townships. Most of the international water-boundary, however, is of course along the line from the mouth of Rainy r. to the entrance of the Northwest Angle; it starts N. between Oak pt. and Massacre isl., leaves Big isl. on the E. and Garden or Cornfield isl. on the W., and so on. Thus it happens that, after more than a century of dispute, arbitration, and survey, two nations have in and about the Lake of the Woods that politico-geographical curiosity of a boundary that a glance at the map will show, that no one could have foreseen, and that would be inexplicable without some knowledge of the steps in the process by which it was brought about. Either nation could better have afforded to let the boundary run around the S. shore of the lake from the mouth of Rainy r. to the point where the shore is intersected by the parallel of  $49^{\circ}$ .

<sup>29</sup> Rat portage is occasioned by a rock a few yards long. The name is said to have originated in the habit of muskrats of crossing here in great numbers. The location is a very well-known one, near the extreme N. or foot of Lake of the Woods. Here the main line of the Canadian Pacific now crosses from the town of Rat Portage to a place opposite called Keewatin, and between these two is the outlet of the lake into Winnipeg r. Henry gives us so few names that his intricate traverse of the lake is not easily traced in detail. Thompson names in succession Cormorant pt., the Red Stone (Henry's Rocher Rouge), Wood portage (Henry's Portage du Lac des Bois?), Burnt Wood isl., Grand "Galley" (Galet), and then Rat portage.

began to descend the River Winipic;<sup>30</sup> the water was very high and rapid, and rather dangerous. At sunset we camped at the Dalles.

*Aug. 8th.* We embarked and proceeded to the Grande Décharge, where we carried about 300 paces. We then passed to Portage de la Terre Jaune, about 200 paces; then a short distance to Petit Rocher, a portage of about 60 paces; thence to Portage de la Terre Blanche, about 400 paces; then to the Cave, which is about 50 paces, at times not so much.<sup>31</sup> In leaving this portage my canoe ran on a

<sup>30</sup> This word is given as Cree Wi-nipi, or Win-nepe, meaning turbid water. In Canadian geography it has settled in the form Winnipeg, after long fluctuation in many different shapes, from such as the early F. Ounipigon, through Winnipigon, Winepigon, with loss of final syllable, final *g*, *k*, *c*, or *ck*, one *n* or two, and all the vowels either *e* or *i*. A list of forms tabulated by C. N. Bell, in *Trans. Manitoba Hist. and Sci. Soc.*, Jan. 22d, 1885, p. 3, includes Ounipigon, Verendrye, 1734; Ounipique, Dobbs, 1742; Vnipignon, Gallisonière, 1750; Ounipeg, Bougainville, 1757; Ounipique, on a F. map of 1776; Winnepeck, Carver, 1768; Winipigon, Henry, 1775; Winipic, McKenzie, 1789; Winipick, Harmon, 1800; Winepic, Ross Cox, 1817; Winnipic, Schoolcraft, 1820; Winnepeek, Keating, 1823; Winipeg, Beltrami, 1823; Winnipeg, Back, 1833. I have verified most of these, and have no doubt that others could be found. Among other names of the river or some part of it may be noted Rivière Maurepas of Verendrye, 1734: White r. of Sir A. McKenzie and of Harmon, after Rivière Blanche of the French; and Sea r. of Thompson, 1796, whence "Lee" r. of some late maps: see also Pinawa, beyond. It extends in a general W. N. W. direction, but with a very tortuous course aside from its minor reciprocal bends, from the N. end of Clearwater l. (a part of the old Lake of the Woods, as we have seen) to Traverse bay in the S. E. part of Lake Winnipeg; its total length is said to be about 200 m. It is one of the great waterways, used as a canoe route since the first penetration of the whites into this region, though the rapidity and turbulence of the stream, and the many obstructions in its course in spite of its great average width and depth, render navigation both difficult and dangerous. An upper portion of the river is confined for some miles to a width of about 40 yards between perpendicular granitic cliffs; these are the Dalles; for the explanation of which term, see Lewis and Clark, ed. 1893, p. 954. Henry's camp there was probably about 8 m. down river from Rat portage.

<sup>31</sup> The five places Henry names are easily collated with those given in Thompson's MS.; in McKenzie, p. lix; and in Keating's Long, II. p. 145. 1. The Grand Discharge or Grande Décharge is named alike by all; it is a place over 20 m. down river, where canoes may usually shoot the rapids, empty or partly laden, with good carriage on the left, about 200 yards. Below this,

rock and broke in her bow as far as the second bar. We put ashore and repaired, which affair detained us some time, and it was late before we came down to the establishment of Portage de l'Isle.<sup>32</sup> Here we found a clerk and two men who had passed the summer at this place ; with them also were a few Indians, who plagued me for liquor.

*Aug. 9th.* At daybreak we embarked, giving the Indians each a dram. We were troubled by a thick fog, which caused us to lose much time in going round the bays. We at last got astray and were obliged to wait until the weather cleared up about ten o'clock, when we proceeded to Portage de l'Isle,<sup>33</sup> about 50 paces over. One of my canoes, to avoid

a mile or more, are some rapids which Thompson mentions without name, which McKenzie calls little Décharge, and which neither Keating nor Henry notices. 3. Terre Jaune or Yellow Earth portage is noted by Thompson as a carrying-place, without name ; by the other three under its F. name. This is 2 m. or more below the rapids last said. 3. A small fraction of a mile below Terre Jaune comes what Thompson notes as "another carrying-place" of 40 yards, on the left, around a rock ; what McKenzie terms (with reference to Terre Jaune) "its galet 70 yards" ; what Henry calls Petit Rocher ; and what Keating gives more fully as Décharge du Petit Rocher de Charette. 4. Two m. or more below this Little Rock or Charette portage comes what Thompson calls White Earth portage, translating the F. phrase which all three other authors use. 5. Henry's "Cave" is at or near a place which Thompson calls Flat Rocks ; which McKenzie does not notice ; but which Keating gives in due form as Décharge de la Cave.

<sup>32</sup> Distinguish this N. W. Co. *post* from the *portage* of the same name. Portage de l'Isle House was above the mouth of English r. ; Portage de l'Isle was below this confluence. The house stood on the right bank of Winnipeg r., at a point given by McKenzie as  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. below Terre Blanche or White Earth portage. In approaching this house, Aug. 27th, 1797, Thompson speaks of "the very old French Fort," the site of which he passed, but the name of which he does not give ; and a short distance below this he came to "the house of Mons. Frederique," concerning which he remarks pointedly : "Mr. Wm. McKay this day again establishes that post and leaves Frederique in charge." This is the very "establishment of Portage de l'Isle" which Henry has now reached.

<sup>33</sup> Below the mouth of English r., where Henry got astray in the fog, and fails to notice this important confluence. None of the maps or itineraries before me enable me to speak with confidence of distances hereabouts ; McKenzie seems to make this portage 4 m. below the mouth of English r. Thompson notes a "wide opening on the right," which he says is "the river



the trouble of making this portage, passed down near the N. shore with a full load. As my own canoe was soon over the portage, we loaded and embarked, and on pushing from shore I perceived the canoe on the N. side coming off to sault [shoot] the rapids. She had not gone many yards when, by some mismanagement of the foreman, the current bore down her bow full upon the shore, against a rock, upon which the fellow, taking the advantage of his situation, jumped, whilst the current whirled the canoe around. The steersman, finding himself within reach of the shore, jumped upon the rock with one of the midmen; the other midman, not being sufficiently active, remained in the canoe, which was instantly carried out and lost to view amongst the high waves. At length she appeared and stood perpendicular for a moment, when she sank down again, and I then perceived the man riding upon a bale of dry goods in the midst of the waves. We made every exertion to get near him, and did not cease calling out to him to take courage and not let go his hold; but alas! he sank under a heavy swell, and when the bale arose the man appeared no more. At this time we were only a few yards from him; but while we were eagerly looking out for him, poor fellow! the whirlpool caught my canoe, and before we could get away she was half full of water. We then made all haste to get ashore, unload, and go in search of the property. The canoe we found flat upon the water, broken in many places. However, we hauled her ashore, and afterward collected as many pieces as we could find. The men had landed a few packages above the rapid, otherwise our loss would have been still greater. The loss amounted to five bales merchandise,

down which the English come from H. B."; *i. e.*, English r., which forms a part of the usual route from Hudson's bay. The confluence is now the site of the Laird Indian reserve. English r. has always been an important waterway; this and Albany r. and their connections on the Height of Land form the present northern boundary of the Province of Ontario between Manitoba and Hudson's bay; so that, soon after passing the confluence of English r. with Winnipeg r., on crossing the same meridian ( $95^{\circ} 08' 56.7''$  W.) which is discussed in note <sup>28</sup>, Henry passes from Ontario into Manitoba.



two bales new tobacco, one bale canal tobacco, one bale kettles, one bale balls, one bale shot, one case guns. I was surprised that a keg of sugar drifted down about half a mile below the rapid, as its weight was 87 lbs.; it proved to be but little damaged. The kegs of gunpowder also floated a great distance, and did not leak. Whilst we were very busily employed repairing damages, by patching and mending the canoe and drying the property, a few Indians came to us. I employed them to search for the goods, but they could find none. They appeared insolent, and troubled me a long time for liquor, but we gave them none. This evening we had a terrible storm, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

*Sunday, Aug. 10th.* This morning we made another attempt to recover our packages, but our labor was in vain. Although, at the place where the canoe upset, the water was not more than six feet deep, the current was so swift that everything must have been swept below the falls. At 4 p. m. we were ready, having patched our broken canoe as best we could, and soon came to where the Indians were camped, on a small island. Gave them some liquor for dressed skins, and proceeded to Grand Galet,<sup>34</sup> where we put up for the night.

*Aug. 11th.* At daybreak we loaded and embarked; our broken canoe was very leaky. Came down to Chute à Jacques portage, of about 150 paces; thence it is but a few miles to Grande Pointe des Bois, a portage of about 400 paces; thence it is but a few yards to Petite Pointe des Bois portage, which is about 150 paces over. Here we overtook 24 canoes bound for different parts. Everyone

<sup>34</sup> This was a usual camping-place between Portage de l'Isle and the falls about to be mentioned. *Galet* means some sort of rock, and the distinction in voyageurs' usage between *galet*, *roche* or *rocher*, and *pierre*, is not always clear. But *galet* generally seems to indicate large smooth rock in mass, as distinguished both from large broken or sharp rocks and from small stones; a *galet* is what we should call a boulder; and I find *Grand Galet* sometimes formally translated Big Boulder, as a place-name. The word is sometimes miswritten *galle*, pl. *galles*; and Thompson's MS. has *galley* in some places.

was anxious to get ahead and show his activity, as is generally the case in the N. W. This produced a scene of bustle and confusion, which cannot be conceived by one who has not been an eye-witness of the great exertion of which the Northmen are capable. We proceeded to Petit Rocher Brûlé, a portage of about 150 paces. My canoe was the first in the water here. We passed on to Chute à l'Esclave, where we made a portage of about 2,000 paces. We came down to the Barrier, a portage of about 100 paces, on the island; and thence to the Grand Rapid, where, the water being *à propos*, we saulted, though there is commonly made here a portage of about 15 paces. A little below this rapid we camped at the entrance of Pennawa river.<sup>35</sup>

*Aug. 12th.* Loaded early and embarked. Came to the Petites Dalles; unloaded half, and carried about 50 paces. We then proceeded to the first or Petit Portage de la

<sup>35</sup> We may conveniently note the above-mentioned places in the order in which they occur, finishing with the Pinawa: 1. Chute à Jacques, otherwise known as Jacob's falls, Jack's falls, and James' portage, is supposed to be 26 m. below Portage de l'Isle; the descent of water is about 11 ft., and the carriage is on the left, over bare rocks, for some 80 yards. 2. Hence it is 5 or 6 m. to Grande Pointe des Bois, or Big Woody Point portage, where there is a sloping descent of water of about 6 ft.; carriage 190 yards, in a bay. 3. Little Woody Point portage almost immediately succeeds; here the descent is about 14 ft., the carriage 100 yards. 4. What Henry calls Petit Rocher Brûlé, Little Burnt Rock, is one of the several galets which occur on the route, sometimes rendered simply Rocky portage; it is only a mile or so below the last; descent 7 ft.; carry 80 yards over rocks on the right. 5. Chute à l'Esclave, Slave falls, 2 m. below the last galet, occasions a portage of 500 yards on the right; the fall is about 150 yards wide, with a sloping descent of 15 ft. The aboriginal name is rendered Awakane Pawetik by Keating, II. p. 98, and said to have arisen in a local tradition. Keating figures Slave falls, pl. 9, and also Petite Pointe des Bois falls, pl. 10; the latter is called "Upper Falls of the Winnepeck," p. 100. 6. The Barrier next obstructs navigation, 5 or 6 m. below Slave falls; regarding the length of carriage here, we have widely discrepant statements, and I infer that the requisite portage may vary with the state of the water or other conditions. 7. The Grand Rapid, about 10 m. further, is a place which may be shot or must be in part portaged, according to circumstances; on finishing which, the distance is about a mile to the head of the Pinawa.

Rivière Blanche, which is about 200 paces; then a short distance to the second Portage de la Rivière Blanche, which is about 60 paces over; to the Grand Galet, a portage about 150 paces; thence to the middle Portage de la Rivière Blanche, which is about 50 paces over; thence to the Décharge à Bas Rond, which is not more than 20 paces; thence to the Petit Rocher de la Rivière Blanche, which is about 100 paces over; thence to the steep rock on last Portage de la Rivière Blanche, which is about 60 paces. We then embarked, saulted the Décharge, and came down the rapids to Lac du Bonnet; <sup>36</sup> which having crossed

<sup>36</sup> The course down the main river (Rivière Blanche, or White r.) to Bonnet l. presents a succession of falls and rapids, requiring portages or discharges. These are commonly given as eight in number: so the elder Henry, 1775, who speaks of the shallow stream, whose bed is rocky and broken. McKenzie, p. lx, says "seven portages, in so short a space, that the whole of them are discernible at the same moment." Thompson's MS., Aug. 29th and 30th, 1797, describes with some particularity eight portages, besides several discharges where he unloaded and handed down the canoe; but he has no names for any of them. Nor have I any modern names with which to identify the nine which occur in our text in French form, though most, if not all, of them might be checked by Thompson, in spite of some decided discrepancies in their several lengths as stated. Keating, II. p. 145, enumerates 11 to Henry's 9; but the difference in number simply results from his making two of Henry's Petites Dalles, and two of Henry's Grand Galet. Keating's names are all in French, and the same as Henry's, or quite similar, except that he has Portage du Cantara for Henry's second Portage de la Rivière Blanche, and Portage de l'Agacé for Henry's Middle Portage de la Rivière Blanche. The map in Grant's From Ocean to Ocean, p. 49, marks "the 7 portages" which are so close together, just above the elbow or turn of the river.

I have reviewed with care the whole question of the several names applied to this section of the river, where it has a double course, and find nothing to invalidate the position I take, briefly this: (1) The main course, which was also the regular or most usual canoe route, and the one down which Henry went, is R. Blanche or White r., so called from its foaming waters; this name being extended thence to Lake Winnipeg by some authors, following McKenzie's map; and Sea r. being another name of the same, for the same reason. (2) The Pinawa, Penawa, Pennawa, Pinawac, or Pinnawas, is the collateral channel, of which Covert r. is a synonym.

Lac du Bonnet or Bonnet l. is said by McKenzie to have derived its name from an Indian custom of making circles of stones, crowned with wreaths, on top of the rocks at the portage. The phrase appears as Lac de Bonne in

we camped at L'Anse de Sable, where we found a few Indians.

*Aug. 13th.* As soon as day appeared, we embarked and came to Petit Rocher du Lac du Bonnet, a portage of about 40 paces; thence to Petit Rocher du Bonnet, which portage is about 200 paces over; thence to Portage du Bonnet, which is almost two miles long.<sup>37</sup> Having got all over, we loaded and proceeded to Galet du Bonnet, which is about

Harmon, by error; it is also often translated Cap l., and this term is found as Cat l., by misprint. This water is simply an expansion of the main stream which receives the Pinawa again, after the latter has flowed in a separate course from that of the Winnipeg proper for a distance of about 18 m. The great island thus inclosed is of irregularly oblong figure, with a length just indicated, and an average breadth of perhaps 10 m. The long diameter is N. and S., with the Pinawa on the E., the Winnipeg on the S. and W., and Bonnet l. on the N. The expanse of water is mainly in Tp. 16 of ranges xi and xii, E. of the principal meridian. The lake receives at its E. end a large feeder from the N. E. This is Bird r., flowing through Bird, Snowshoe, and other lakes; its F. name was R. Oiseau, easily mistaken for "Roseau" by a careless engraver, whence "R. Roseau" on one of the maps before me; another map letters "R. L'Oisseur." The kind of bird for which the stream was named seems to have been the eagle, to judge from the fact that Eagle r. appears as its name on some maps. I suspect that McKenzie's explanation of "Bonnet" as the name of the lake is fictitious; that the "bonnet" in question implies an Indian's head-dress of eagle's plumes; and that, further, the name Pinawa will be found to have the same implication; but I am unable to show that my suspicion is well founded. A much smaller feeder which Bonnet l. also receives near its E. end is Rat r., from a lake of the same name. The main course of Winnipeg r. between the separation of the Pinawa and the expansion of Bonnet l. receives Whitemouth r. This is a large tributary, which arises in and near Whitemouth l., in the S. E. part of Provencher district of Manitoba, and flows little W. of N. into Winnipeg r. in Tp. 13, R. xi, E. of the princ. merid. This river is crossed by the Dawson road (note <sup>28</sup>, p. 26); and also by the C. P. Ry. at Whitemouth sta.

<sup>37</sup> There is little conformity in records of the time in the nomenclature of these several "Bonnet" portages, and the same may be said of the other obstructions to navigation of which the above paragraph speaks. Henry's list of names for the 13th, like that for the 12th, is the most particular one I have seen, in print or in manuscript. His two first Petit Rocher portages are the two galets of the same names which McKenzie gives as 1½ m. apart, and the two named Portages du Rocher du Bonnet d'en haut of Keating's list. The main Bonnet portage, "almost two miles long," is given by Thompson as only 1,022 yards, by Keating as 1,760 yards, by McKenzie as "near half a league



150 paces; thence to Portage de la Terre Blanche, about 400 paces long; thence to Portage des Chênes, which is about 200 paces. Hence it is but a few yards to the first Eaux qui Remuent portage, of about 400 paces, on making which we proceeded to the Décharge de L'Islette; both of these we saulted, although we commonly carry at those places. We then came to the last Eaux qui Remuent, about 400 paces over. Loaded, embarked, and came down the last Décharge of Winipic river, where also at times we are obliged to carry, according to the state of the water. Camped this evening at Galet de la Pointe aux Loutres, where formerly the storehouse for provisions stood.<sup>38</sup> Here we found two men fishing with hook and line.

long" and 3 m. below the last. To this, "another small portage immediately succeeds," says McKenzie; this is Henry's Galet du Bonnet, which Keating omits. All the authors agree on Portage de la Terre Blanche, otherwise White Earth portage, which is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. below the last-named galet. Portage des Chênes, Oak portage, does not appear in McKenzie, who enumerates *three* Eaux qui Remuent portages, his first of which is apparently Oak portage, close to his second one, his third being  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. below; the phrase means "waters which move," *i. e.*, troubled waters—in a word, breakers. Keating gives (1) Portage des Chênes; (2) Portage des Grandes Eaux qui remuent; (3) Décharge du défunt Minet—a name I have not seen elsewhere. Keating's next is his Décharge de l'Illet, apparently the same as Henry's Décharge de L'Islette. Henry's last Eaux qui Remuent seem to be Keating's last Portage des Eaux mouvantes. Neither McKenzie nor Keating has a name for either of the two other places Henry names. The course of Winnipeg r. from Bonnet l. to Lake Winnipeg is N. W. (independently of its minor bends), through Tps. 16, 17, R. xi, the corner of Tp. 17, R. x, Tp. 18, R. x, E. of the princ. merid., on the W. border of which last tp. it enters the present Indian reserve, through which it runs to its debouchment in Traverse bay of Lake Winnipeg. In this course two of the principal obstructions are those now called Silver falls and Manitou rapids, both in the tp. last said. The river receives some small tributaries along here, among them Maskwa r., which enters on the right between the falls and the rapids named. The Indian reserve (Kakepenais) occupies portions of three contiguous tps. about the mouth of the river; and here is the situation of establishments which date back to 1734.

<sup>38</sup> Otter Point Rock is thus designated as the site of a N. W. Co. establishment which was "old" in 1800, and is to be carefully distinguished from the post of the same company in operation at that date, as well as from several others to be presently mentioned. Thompson's MS. of Sept. 1st, 1797, speaks



*Aug. 14th.* This morning I waited for my canoes, which arrived at ten o'clock; when we loaded, embarked, and in a short time arrived at the fort or establishment of Bas de la Rivière Winipic,<sup>39</sup> the general dépôt for provisions which are brought from Red and Assiniboine rivers every spring in long boats. These carry from 100 to 250 bags of provisions, of 90 pounds each.

Here we unloaded our canoes, and sent a party of men over the river to the little fort for boats. At twelve

of passing "the *old* house on the left" as he came down river, and then keeping on a mile or so to the occupied post of his company. The situation was thus approx. that of Fort Alexander, being about 4 m. above the mouth of the river, and across it from the site of Fort Maurepas: see next note.

<sup>39</sup> "Bas de la Rivière" has been notable in the annals of the fur-trade for more than a century and a half. It was naturally a key position, on one of the greatest waterways—the entrance of Winnipeg r. into Traverse bay of Lake Winnipeg. It was only thrown out of the main line of travel when the Canadian Pacific Ry. went through, further S., and Fort Alexander is still maintained as a post of the H. B. Co., though no considerable settlement has ever sprung up on the historic spot. The record of occupancy by the whites goes back to 1734, when Verendrye built Fort Maurepas on the right bank of the river near its mouth; and named it, as he also had named the whole river, in honor of Jean Frédéric Phélippeaux, Comte de Maurepas, minister under Louis XV. and Louis XVI., b. July 9th, 1701, d. Nov. 21st, 1781, and in trouble with the Pompadour about 1749. Verendrye himself was at his post again Sept. 22d, 1738; he calls it Fort Marpas, and says that he left in charge M. de la Rivière and nine men: Rep. Canad. Arch., 1890, p. 7. When the elder Henry came by, in Aug., 1775, the place was occupied by a large Cree village, but nothing is said of any trading-house. In 1792 the site of Fort Alexander was occupied by Toussaint Le Sieur, and we hear about this time of "the Sieur's Fort," as it was once called: *e. g.*, in J. McDonnell's journal of May 27th, 1793, in Masson, I. 1886, p. 291. This Le Sieur was in charge at Fort Alexander in 1794; he is probably the same as one Le Sieur who was in partnership with Simon Fraser in 1789; and we shall hear again of Toussaint Le Sieur, as a clerk of the N. W. Co., in Henry's text. The N. W. Co. house which Henry has reached was within some rods of Fort Alexander, on the S. or left bank of the river. Thompson's MSS. of 1796 and later, speak of it as the Winnipeg House, avoiding the rather awkward F. phrase which was then most current—Fort au Bas de la Rivière was its usual form, as much as to say "Down river" fort, by a sort of adverbial construction. Harmon, who passed Bas de la Rivière two weeks before Henry did, in 1800, says that the N. W. Co. and the H. B. Co. "have each a fort," p. 46.

o'clock they returned with two, the others having been burned last spring for the purpose of collecting the nails to make new ones the ensuing season. This day we passed in repairing the boats and canoes, making setting-poles, and examining the different baggages; found small packages much damaged, and kegs of wine not more than half full, having been cracked by falling upon the rocks and the liquor leaked out. The Canadians are certainly smart, active men as voyageurs, but very careless of property committed to their charge.

The H. B. Co. have an establishment at this place near the N. W. Co. They have a clerk and two men who pass the summer here, but talk about throwing it up this fall, as a post will not pay expenses. Their object in settling was to make packages, but, from the scarcity of beavers, they have been disappointed; and have no occasion for a dépôt of provisions, as they bring their fall stock from Martin's falls.

*Aug. 15th.* Fine clear weather; dried our bales and other articles; repaired boat and canoes. I also arranged the men and their loadings, taking from each canoe one man and five packages to put on board the boat; gave each craft a bag of provisions, with grease, gum, bark, and wattap.<sup>40</sup> At 3 p. m. they were ready, when I sent them off down to the entrance of the lake.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Of these articles, the grease was a part of the provisions. The gum was the resinous substance of spruce or other conifers, as prepared for stopping leaks in canoes by a process like calking. The bark was that of the birch, of which the canoes were themselves made, in pieces to be used for patching broken or weakened places. Wattap was the fine fibrous roots of spruce or fir, used for lacing the canoes: see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 101. We also see from the above paragraph a distinction drawn between the large "boat" and the ordinary canoe.

<sup>41</sup> Mouth of Winnipeg r., at the head of Traverse bay, an arm of Lake Winnipeg. The Point de Sable, which Henry next mentions, was on the S. side, marking the outlet of the river. Thompson says that he went N. 10° W.  $\frac{1}{6}$  m., N. 28° W.  $\frac{2}{3}$  m., and N. 28° W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  m., from the N. W. Co. House to this Point of Sand, and that the river was there  $\frac{1}{3}$  m. wide. Traverse bay is marked off on the N. by present Point Metassé, about 6 m. N. N. W. of Sandy pt.; and is better marked on the S. and W. by a large projection of land which ends

*Aug. 16th.* Early I embarked and soon overtook my people at Pointe de Sable; they were all busy loading. Having waited for them, we instantly entered Lake Winipic, keeping the last land on the S. shore. The weather being fine and clear, we stood out with the intention of making the traverse; but had not gone above a mile when suddenly the wind rose to a gale from the N., followed by a high swell. Before we could reach the shore we had several sand-banks to pass over, where it was almost too shallow for the craft to swim. This occasioned a short, tumbling sea which dashed over us, and before we could land our canoes were half full of water, and all of us wet to the skin. After much trouble we got everything on shore, though one of my canoes was split asunder from one gunnel to the other. The guide

about 12 m. W. N. W. of Sandy pt. Close off this land's end is present Elk isl., formerly Red Deer isl., and before that Isle à la Biche—a name which once caused Traverse bay to be known as Baie de l'Isle à la Biche. Henry has to weather the land's end and then turn S. to the head of Lake Winnipeg, to reach the mouth of the Red River of the North. The immense body of water upon which he will thus enter has probably been known, or known of, by the whites since 1660, through information received from Radisson and Groseilliers; it appears on Franquelin's map, 1688, and about the end of the century was well enough known to be delineated in the two parts into which it is separated at the Narrows; and these two had already received different names. The lake has been called by four distinct names, without counting the unnumbered variants of three of these.

1. About the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century the main upper portion was the Lake of the Crees or Kris—Lac des Christineaux, Cristinaux, Kristineaux, Kinistinoes, Killistinaux, Killistinoes, Killistinons, Knistineaux—and what not in way of variation in that insufferable word. The elder Henry says that the lake was sometimes so called in 1776: but the Cree designation seems to have usually attached rather to the main part than to the whole, and from the first was alternative to the name which reflected a different tribe of Indians—the Stone Sioux, or Assiniboines.
2. Thus, we find Lac des Assinipoulacs, Assinebouels, Assenepolis, Assinipoils, Asiliboils, etc., as a name of the whole, though with more special application to the southern extension of these waters, and often so applied exclusively. I have cited only some of the early forms of this word, which ran through variants probably only less numerous than the other one just said.
3. Nothing like the present name Winnipeg has been traced back of the Ouinipigon of Verendrye, 1734; so that this series of names probably comes third in order of time: see note <sup>30</sup>, p. 27.
4. But about the middle of the last century, at least as early as 1749, when Verendrye estab-

was instantly at work repairing her, whilst all hands were employed in drying the goods. Having fine weather, we got everything in order again; at two o'clock the wind abated, we embarked, and soon after passed Red Deer [now Elk] island. Here is a narrow strait between the island and the mainland, which some years obliges us to portage about 200 paces, across a neck of sand; but this year the water being very high we got through without unloading. From Bas de la Rivière to this place is W. six leagues. We had no sooner got from behind the island than the wind sprung up from the W., off the lake, accompanied by a heavy swell, which obliged us to put ashore and unload. We remained until sunset, when the wind abated. With great difficulty

lished Fort Bourbon on the Saskatchewan (Cedar l.), the lake came to be called Lac Bourbon, or de Bourbon; and the same name was extended to the great river by which it discharges into Hudson's bay, afterward known as York and now as Nelson r. But Lake Bourbon seems never to have been in very general use, nor to have been long current. 5. I have noted the term Grand Lac, but this may have been a mere descriptive epithet rather than a proper name. Recurring now to the very early history, I should not omit to note the journal of Henry Kelsey, of the H. B. Co., showing that he was on Lake Winnipeg in July and Aug., 1692: see Bell, *l. c.* A great deal was learned of the lake under the old régime, as is shown by the many French names of its various features which still linger in their original forms, or have been rendered in English equivalents; and there are more of the latter than would be suspected at first blush. The lake may be considered to have become well known in its main features soon after the change from French to English rule in 1763. It extends through about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude, between  $50^{\circ}$  and  $54^{\circ}$ , having a length of some 250 m., of which the southern division only forms some 85 m.; the general direction of the long axis is not far from N. and S., with the meridian of  $98^{\circ}$  dividing it into approximately equal parts E. and W.; the southern division and about half of the main northern portion are in Manitoba, the rest in Keewatin. Besides its numerous small feeders, Lake Winnipeg receives the waters of the Rainy River and English River systems, as we have already seen; of the Red River of the North and the Assiniboine, whose united stream enters the head of the southern division; of the Dauphin River system, from Lake Manitoba, etc., which enter in the S. W. portion of the northern division; and the Saskatchewan waters, issuing at the extreme W. of the northern division. The discharge of the whole lake is from its N. end through Nelson r. into Hudson's bay. It may be called the great reservoir of all the waters thus indicated; and these are gathered from sources as remote from one another as the vicinity of Lake Superior is distant from the Continental Divide of the Rocky mts.



we loaded and embarked, with an aft wind, from the N. Our course from Red Deer island was about S. After dark the wind increased. We could find no convenient place to land—nothing but large rocks, over which the sea broke dangerously. Necessity kept us on with our sails close-reefed, until we reached the Point of the Grand Marais. Here the sea ran so high that we shipped a quantity of water, which kept us using kettles to bail it out as fast as it came in. At last we sighted the Grand Marais, and finding ourselves more under a lee, we ran in safely about ten o'clock.<sup>42</sup> It was some time before all the canoes and boats reached us.

*Sunday, Aug. 17th.* Early this morning I was anxious to proceed. The wind had fallen, but as the swell was still very high, the guide thought it imprudent to attempt the traverse of about six leagues to the entrance of Red river. Our disaster of yesterday being no encouragement to defy the elements, we dried our things and I went duck shooting, having seen great numbers in the marais during my walk. I shot several, and observed the tracks of moose, red deer, and bears. The beach was covered with grasshoppers,<sup>48</sup> which had been thrown up by the waves and formed one continuous line as far as the eye could reach; in some places they lay from six to nine inches deep, and in a state of putrefaction, which occasioned a horrid stench. I also shot a pelican [*Pelecanus erythrorhynchus*], of which there are great plenty here. During my absence a party of my people had been out to raise cedar for repairing their canoes

<sup>42</sup> Henry put in on the W. shore of the peninsula which delimits Traverse bay, about halfway from the land's end of that peninsula to the mouth of Red r. The Grand Marais or Big Marsh used to be called 6 leagues from Red r., but is not quite so far. A bay in this vicinity was known as Indian Portage bay, because they used to carry 5 or 6 m. N. E. across the peninsula into Traverse bay, instead of rounding the point. Henry habitually uses the F. *marais*, not only in proper names, but as an English word, instead of marsh, morass, swamp, or bog; the copy commonly spells *marrais*, which I correct.

<sup>43</sup> Rocky Mountain locust, *Caloptenus spretus*: compare date of June 25th, 1808, beyond.



next spring, there being no wood of that kind on Red river; another party had been raising wattap for the same purpose. We found an abundance of sand-cherries [*Prunus pumila*], which were of an excellent flavor. At twelve o'clock we embarked, but there being still some wind, we thought prudent to coast the bay. We accordingly proceeded along a fine sandy beach to Catfish river, when our course changed to the W.<sup>44</sup> This river rises out of some large swamps and small lakes on Cypress hills, which bear about S. S. E. We proceeded along a low strip of land with shoal water, which kept us some distance from shore. At three o'clock we arrived at the entrance of Red river.<sup>45</sup> This river empties into Lake Winipic by three large channels; the middle one is that by which we generally pass, as there is a tolerably good camp at its mouth; the land is low, and may be said to consist of one continued marais; what little dry land is to be found is covered with low willows and high grass and reeds. Wild fowl are very numerous. We found some Indians, who had many sturgeon and various kinds of small

<sup>44</sup> The bay which Henry coasts to his Catfish r. is the general angular indentation at the head of which is the place called Balsam Bay, about the center of Tp. 17, R. vii, E. of the princ. merid. A winter road goes hence N. E. across the base of the peninsula to Fort Alexander. Catfish r. is now called Brokenhead r., and has a place of the same name on it; it arises in the Provencher district of Manitoba, where the Dawson road crosses it not very far from its sources, flows on the whole little W. of N. through Selkirk district, in which it is crossed by the Canadian Pacific Ry. at Beausejour, and falls into Pruden's bay through the present Indian reserve, in Tp. 16, R. vi.

<sup>45</sup> For a contemporary account of the Red River of the North, up which Henry now goes to establish his post for the winter of 1800-01, see John McDonnell's *Some Account of the Red River*, about 1797, with Extracts from his Journals, 1793-95, in Masson's *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, 1st ser., 1889, pp. 265-95. John McDonnell was a brother of Miles McDonnell, the first governor of Lord Selkirk's Red River colony. John became a partner of the N. W. Co. about 1796, and remained in the country until 1815; sold out, and settled at Pointe Fortune, in the township of Hawkesbury, where he kept a store, ran boats to Montreal, died, leaving several children who died without issue, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery of Rigaud. W. J. McDonnell, vice consul of France at Toronto in 1886, was his nephew. Red r. has an extensive marshy delta with several small channels besides the three main openings through the middle one of which Henry enters Pruden's bay.

fishes, such as catfish, piccanan, male achegan, brim, pois d'oile, etc. They use a seine about five fathoms in length, hauled between two canoes. We purchased some fish for liquor, and proceeded up Red river, with a gentle current and deep water. Our course was S. until we passed the other two channels, when we turned W. and soon came to Rivière aux Morts,<sup>46</sup> about nine miles from the lake. Here was another small camp of Indians, who had plenty of fish, some dried meat, and a few beaver skins which I traded.

This small river comes in from the W., receiving its waters from some lakes and bogs a little E. of Lake Manitoubane [Manitoba]. It derives its melancholy name from a tragic event which happened many years ago, when the Crees, who had no other means of procuring necessaries than by making an annual journey to York Factory, on Hudson's bay, generally assembled at this spot in the spring. Having made every necessary preparation, the chiefs and most active young men and women embarked in small canoes with their furs, leaving the old people and children to pass the summer at this place, where there was plenty of game and fish. Once, during the absence of the main party, the Sioux fell upon this helpless camp, and destroyed a great number of old men, women, and children. The others arrived too late to revenge themselves upon the enemy. At this river the mainland really begins, although it is nearly nine miles from the lake; Red river is here about a quarter of a mile wide.

<sup>46</sup> R. aux Morts translates the aboriginal name which, in its application to this creek, is found as Nipuwini, or Nipuwinsipi; in James' Tanner's Narr. Ne-bo-wese-be (*i. e.*, Nebowe r.), p. 177; in Keating's Long's Exp. Onepowe; it is translated River of the Dead, Dead r., and Death r. The tragic event Henry narrates is said to have occurred about 1780. The stream is now called Netley or Nettley cr.; it falls in at the N. border of the large Indian reserve, which hence extends up both sides of the river for about 11 m., the mouth of the creek being in Tp. 15 of R. v, E. of the princ. merid. Slightly below this point Red r. expands into a little lake, also called Netley; and also receives Devil's cr., a small stream from the S. E. which cuts the N. E. corner of the Indian reserve, and in passing that point presents the dilatation known as Devil's l.

We proceeded with scarcely any current, the land very low on both sides; our course was S. Passed a small river that comes in from the W. [*sic*<sup>47</sup>]. It takes its water from a large marais at no great distance. Soon afterward we passed Rivière qui Déboule [*sic*<sup>48</sup>], which rises in Cypress hills; near its entrance is an island about half a mile long, the only one in the Red river. We proceeded to the foot of the Sault à la Biche,<sup>49</sup> where we encamped. All hands were soon busy with the hook and line; they caught a great many lacaishe, a small fish about a foot long, with some catfish, pike, pois d'once, and male achegan. We were much tormented by mosquitoes this evening.

*Aug. 18th.* Early we embarked to ascend the rapids, which are nothing more than a very strong current; however, as we proceeded, we found the large stones and reefs to increase in number, and in some places had difficulty, as the water was low. At twelve o'clock we got safely to the

<sup>47</sup> Unidentified; I can find no stream from the W. anywhere along here, except Netley cr. If it be supposed that "W." is a mistake for E., this questionable stream may be taken for the Devil's cr. above said, which otherwise Henry passes unnoticed.

<sup>48</sup> The verb appar. *débouillir*, to boil, and the phrase equivalent to Boiling r. If I am right in identifying this stream with modern Cook's cr., it falls in from the S., on the right bank of Red r. (left-hand side ascending), a little above and across the river from present village of Dynevor.

<sup>49</sup> Elk or Red Deer rapids, now St. Andrew's rapids, to reach which Henry has come by West Selkirk, East Selkirk, and Lower Fort Garry. The latter was built by order of Sir George Simpson in 1831-33, in St. Andrew's, about the border of St. Clement's, and strengthened with loopholes and bastions in 1841. McDonnell says, *l. c.*, p. 268: "Two or three leagues above Rivière aux Morts is a clear spot on which Mr. Joseph Frobisher is said to have passed a winter, and is called 'Fort à M. Frobisher.' The first rapid we come to is the Sault à la Biche, about 3 leagues above Mr. Frobisher's Fort, and 3 leagues long." This bears on Henry's statement that here had been a point where Crees and Assiniboines assembled, but is specially notable in fixing with some precision the site of Frobisher's post—perhaps the earliest on Red r., after the original F. establishments, and one of which very little seems to be known. This Frobisher is to be distinguished from his brother Thomas, and from the somewhat later Benjamin Frobisher—to say nothing of the much earlier Sir Martin Frobisher, discoverer of Frobisher's bay, who died 1594. (The name will come up again, in another connection.)

head of the rapid, where we put ashore to gum. The chain of rocks which intercepts the channel appears to come from the N. W.; and having crossed the river, soon ends on the E. side, where the land is low and marshy. At a short distance there is a beautiful plain on the W., more elevated than that on the E. The Crees and Assiniboines formerly assembled here in large camps, to await the arrival of the traders, and here we may say the meadow country commences. The grass is long, but there is no wood on the W. We saw several fresh tracks of moose, red deer, and bears; also, some wolves and foxes. Pelicans are very numerous in this rapid, attracted, as I suppose, by the shoals of fish which frequent it. At one o'clock we loaded and embarked, leaving this barrier of limestone; we found the current not very strong, plenty of water, and seldom a stone. Passed Frog pond,<sup>50</sup> on the W., and soon afterward Rivière la Seine,<sup>51</sup> a creek which receives its waters from Cypress hills, and after a winding course through a low country, which in the spring is generally flooded, empties at this place. The entrance is very narrow, though the river above is wider and deeper. In a short time we arrived at the Forks,<sup>52</sup> where the Assiniboine joins Red river, the

<sup>50</sup> Frog pond is "at Kildonan church," Bell, *l. c.*, p. 4. Kildonan parish was named by Selkirk in 1817 from his settlers' home in Sutherlandshire, Scotland.

<sup>51</sup> Seine r. is present name of the small stream which falls in opp. Fort Garry (Winnipeg). It was called German cr. after 1817, from the persons of that nationality of the De Meuron regiment, which came to Winnipeg under Lord Selkirk.

<sup>52</sup> Winnipeg, formerly and long Fort Garry; capital of Manitoba, county seat of Selkirk, metropolis of the Canadian Northwest, incorporated in 1873; pop. 25,642, in 1891; lat. 49° 56' N., long. 97° 7' W., 36 m. (direct) S. of Lake Winnipeg, 58 m. (direct) N. of Pembina, 65 m. by rail from Pembina; Canadian Pacific and other railroads; opposite is St. Boniface, on the E. side of Red r. The confluence of the Assiniboine with Red r. was the site of the first establishment of the whites in this region—Fort Rouge, built by Verendrye in 1734, probably on the N. side of the Assiniboine. It had been abandoned in 1737, became an "Ancien Fort" on a map of 1750, and is not in Bougainville's list of F. forts of 1757. Under the somewhat elusive circumstances of this case, what Henry will have



former coming in from the W., while the latter keeps its direct course from the S.

I found about 40 Saulteurs awaiting my arrival; they were provided with a plentiful stock of dried buffalo meat, and anxious for a dram. I accordingly gave liquor in return for their provisions; they fell to and kept drinking all night, during which we were plagued by mosquitoes, and

to say of old F. traces is specially interesting. Mr. Bell, *l. c.*, p. 4, cites Henry, believing that he refers to Fort Rouge, and that what he says shows it was on the N. side of the Assiniboine, and not on the S., as generally has been supposed. Mr. Bell believes that he has determined the exact spot; viz., the Indian graveyard Henry speaks of: "even as late as 1870, when I arrived at Fort Garry, the thicket of willows and brambles which stretched along what is now the east side of Main street, from near the entrance of Graham St., south to York St., covered the site of an extensive Indian graveyard, and was evidently the locality mentioned by Henry as the resort of the watersnakes." The Forks was the name of the confluence of the two rivers by the end of the last century, and consequently the fort H. B. Co. built there, about that time, was so designated. This was on the N. side of the mouth of the Assiniboine. In the summer of 1807 John McDonald of Garth built Fort Gibraltar for the N. W. Co. at the mouth of the Assiniboine, near the present site of the H. B. Co. mill; this was seized by Colin Robertson for the H. B. Co. in Apr., 1816, and destroyed by Governor Semple before June 19th of that year. Fort Douglas was built in 1812 by Miles McDonnell on Red r., a mile below present Fort Garry, "on the N. side of a coulee which entered the river, just below where Mayor Logan's house now stands" (Bell, 1885); it was occupied by the half-breed forces under Cuthbert Grant after the fight of June 19th, 1816. The name is that of Lord Selkirk's family, and the fort was occupied by the first Selkirk settlers, who came from Hudson's bay in 1812. Fort Garry, which so long gave name to the place, was built in 1835-36 by Mr. Christie, for the H. B. Co.; it became the nucleus about which the city finally accreted, and has never ceased to be an important establishment. But there was an earlier H. B. Co. post of the same or similar name, for Keating's Long speaks of Fort Gerry, in 1823 in charge of Donald McKenzie, chf. factor H. B. Co. (the same who had been one of the overland Astorians); this was coexistent with the colonists' Fort Douglas; there were then also two churches, a school, and a pop. of 600. The earliest H. B. Co. post is said to have been built about 1799. Yet other trading-houses than those herein mentioned have been built at various times on this historic spot, and we shall learn of some of them from our author. The Forks he has now reached are so evenly matched in size that it was once a question, Which is the main stream, and which the branch? This has been answered by common consent in favor of Red r., the stream which arises in Minnesota, in relation and to some extent in actual connection with certain



prevented from sleeping by the howling the Indians and their dogs kept up.

*Aug. 19th.* We began early this morning to unpack, assort, and divide the goods, one-half being intended for Portage la Prairie on the Assiniboine, and the remainder for Red river. This employed us most of the day, during which we also settled the men, delivered the baggages, and attended to the Indians, who were still drinking. At twelve o'clock,

Mississippian waters about the heads of Crow Wing and Minnesota rivers, separates Minnesota from North Dakota, enters Manitoba at 49° N., and keeps on N. through the latter to Lake Winnipeg. Our name translates F. Rivière Rouge, given by 1740 or earlier, and that translates Miscousipi of the aborigines; but whether the implication be the "red" of the soil, or of the water, or of the blood that had been spilled in these parts, may long exercise our wits to discover. Beltrami inclines to the view implied by his term Rivière Sanglante, Bloody r., 1823. The full form of the name is Red River of the North, in distinction from six or seven great Red rivers in the United States, besides many little ones. Turning now to the other fork—the Assiniboine, as it is now called in Canada, and as I shall uniformly render the name in this work, though Assinniboin is commoner with us: *This* was the Red r. of various writers, both before and during Henry's time. Thus Thompson's MS. of 1797-98, now before me, repeatedly speaks of Red r., meaning the Assiniboine—though his usual name was Stone Indian r. When such double employ of "Red" was in vogue, the present Red r. used to be qualified as Lower Red r., while the Assiniboine was called Upper Red r., and such were their respective official designations in the N. W. Co. An early, if not the first, distinctive name of the Assiniboine was given in 1738 by Verendrye, who called it Rivière St. Charles, thus canonizing his friend and patron, Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois, governor and lieutenant-general of New France; though, when he was on the spot where Henry now is, Sept. 24th, 1738, he called it La Fourche des Assiliboiles, Fork of the Assiniboines. Among uncounted, if not countless, forms of the latter word may be here noted a series with initial O instead of A; these are generally connected with or traceable to Lord Selkirk, who speaks of the Ossiniboyne r. and District of Ossiniboia. Bell, *l. c.*, p. 5, cites a curious verballity due to one Lieut. Chappel, 1814, quoted as saying that "the infant colony [Selkirk's] is called by his Lordship Osna Boia, two Gaelic words, signifying Ossian's town, from the resemblance between that and the Indian name of Red river—Asnaboyne." Bell humorously remarks upon this that it was probably not an attempt to prove that the Assiniboines were originally Scotchmen! (Compare Osnaburg, actual name of various places, and recall Assiniboia, official designation of the lately created district of the Canadian Northwest.) We shall learn much of both the large rivers here noted as we follow Henry.

five H. B. Co. boats, from Albany factory, or rather Martin's falls, arrived, Robert Goodwin, master, assisted by Mr. Brown; they put ashore, and remained with us until four o'clock, when they proceeded up the Assiniboine. Their boats carry about 45 packages, of unequal weights, but averaging 80 pounds each, and are conducted by four oarsmen and a steersman. They are neatly built and painted, and sharp at both ends. Our people found amusement in fishing with hook and line, and were well recompensed for their trouble, as they took a great many of different kinds. Pigeons were in great numbers; the trees were every moment covered with them, and the continual firing of our people did not appear to diminish their numbers.

In French times there was a trading establishment on this spot, traces of which are still to be seen where the chimneys and cellars stood [Verendrye's Fort Rouge]. I am also informed there was a chapel and a missionary here for several years; but I don't believe they ever made much progress toward civilizing the natives.

We are troubled by swarms of water-snakes, which even come into our tents at midday; every morning some are sure to be found on our beds; but they are harmless. They appear to lurk and breed in the old graves, of which there are many, this spot having been a place of great resort for the natives in 1781-82; and at the time the small-pox made such havoc many hundreds of men, women, and children were buried here.

This afternoon a few Indians arrived on horseback. They came from the direction of Portage la Prairie, and were of the tribe called Snakes, who formerly inhabited Lake of the Woods. They once were numerous, but 'now cannot muster more than 50 men. They may be said to be of the same nation as the Crees, but have a different dialect, somewhat resembling the Saulteur language. They are a mischievous and thieving set of scoundrels. They now inhabit a tract of land upon the Assiniboine, about 30

leagues W. from this place, and some of them are to be found almost all over the country where there are Saulteurs and Crees.

I purchased a horse from them for a 9-gallon keg of mixed rum, and one of my people bought another for the same price. Those were the first and only two horses we had on Red river; the Saulteurs had none, but always used canoes. This afternoon I took a ride, equipped with a miserable wooden saddle and a leather string for a bridle. Most of the horses which belong to these Indians have very sore backs, which I suppose is occasioned by their bad saddles. The poor brutes are in a shocking condition; some of them, as soon as they are unsaddled, will bite and tear the raw flesh until the blood flows, and then kick and roll for some time, whilst their whole bodies quiver and they appear to be in agony. Indians and Canadians ride horses in this condition with the greatest composure, and no care is taken of them. After a day's journey their fore-feet are tied together, and they are sent to look out for themselves; but they seldom stray far from camp.

This evening the Assiniboine brigade overtook and camped with us—Mr. John McDonnell,<sup>53</sup> one of the propri-

<sup>53</sup> John McDonnell's Journal, 1793-97, in Masson, I., 1889, p. 284, begins thus: "1793. October 11th, Fri. Arrived at the Fort of the River *qui appelle*, called by Mr. Robert Grant, when he built it, Fort Espérance." Mr. Cuthbert Grant was then there; he left on the 18th, at which date we read, p. 284: "Neil McKay set out to build and winter at the forks of the river, alongside of Mr. Peter Grant, who has made his pitch about five leagues from here. . . Mr. C. Grant also set out for his quarters of River *Tremblante*, about 30 leagues from here." McDonnell locates Fort Espérance "two short days' march in canoes" up the Qu'Appelle r. from its mouth, states that it "has been settled these ten years past," and inhabited ever since, summer and winter; and that it was "chiefly Mr. Robert Grant's residence while he superintended the Red River affair." He describes R. *Tremblante* as being little further above R. à Coquille than the latter is above R. Qu'Appelle. R. à Coquille is present Shell r., once Clam r., the origin of whose name is seen in the following extract: "We returned by the way of Swan River, and the Menaukonoskeeg, towards Red River. About the Menaukonoskeeg and Aissugsebee, or Clam River, whose head waters interlock," etc., James' Tanner's Narr., p. 93. These memoranda will be useful for future reference.

etors of the N. W. Co., who has nine canoes and three boats, and proposes to winter at Rivière Qu' Appelle.

*Aug. 20th.* Early this morning Mr. McDonell with his brigade left us, and I soon sent off my canoes, whilst I remained to get the Indians off; they were scarcely sober yet, but by noon the ground was clear of them. The Opposition or X. Y. Co. brigade of nine canoes and one boat soon arrived, and passed directly up the Assiniboine, not seeing any Indians to induce them to go up Red river.

At twelve o'clock I embarked and proceeded about six miles,<sup>54</sup> when I found my canoes camped with all the Indians. The latter were anxiously awaiting my arrival, with the expectation of getting more liquor; but I would not give out any, being anxious to get on my journey. Some of their principal men assembled at my tent and made long speeches for the purpose of getting liquor, but as I persisted in refusing, they returned to their cabins. My men caught upward of 300 lacaishe and some catfish. We were much troubled with mosquitoes; it was very sultry and warm, with showers of rain.

The beach along this river being black mud, the last rain turned it into a kind of mortar that adheres to the foot like tar, so that at every step we raise several pounds of it, and everything that touches it receives a share. The interpreter whom I had sent on by land was over two hours in coming, having found much difficulty in getting his horse through the woods. The S. side of the Assiniboine, particularly near the Forks, is a woody country, overgrown with poplars so thickly as scarcely to allow a man to pass on foot; this extends some miles W., when the wood is intersected by small meadows. This woody country continues S. up Red river to Rivière la Sale. On the E. side the land is low, overgrown with poplars and willows, frequently intersected by marshes, stagnant ponds, and small rivulets. Moose, red deer, and bears are numerous. The banks are covered on

<sup>54</sup> This would bring Henry to a position in the vicinity of present St. Vital, a small place on the W. bank, in the parish of the same name.



both sides with willows, which grow so thick and close as scarcely to admit going through; adjoining these is commonly a second bank of no great height. This is covered with very large wood, such as liard, bois blanc, elm, ash, and oak; some of the trees are of enormous size. In the rear of this are oaks alone; then poplars and willows, as mentioned above.<sup>55</sup>

*Aug. 21st.* Early this morning, having examined the baggages of my people, I embarked my brigade, now reduced to 4 canoes, with 26 packages apiece. On board are the following men and families:

#### RETURN OF RED RIVER BRIGADE, 1800-01.<sup>56</sup>

*First Canoe.*—1. Alexander Henry: Bourgeois, in charge of the brigade. 2. Jacques Barbé: Voyageur, conductor or bowman (ducent). 3. Étienne Charbonneau: Voyageur,

<sup>55</sup> As regards these trees: *Liard* of the F. is any one of the large species of *Populus* or poplars which in the West we commonly call cottonwood, as *P. balsamifera*, *P. monilifera*, and the like; Henry probably here means the former of these two. *Bois blanc* is the whitewood, basswood, or linden, *Tilia americana*. The elm is *Ulmus americana*. The commonest large oak of the Red r. is *Quercus macrocarpa*. What Henry calls "poplar," in distinction from *liard*, is a species of the same genus, *Populus tremuloides*, the common aspen of this country, usually called by us in the West quaking-ash or quaking-asp, from the shivering of its leaves in the breeze, and for the same reason known to the F. as *tremblier*. The commonest willow along Red r. is *Salix rostrata*. The ash of the text I have not identified—it is not necessarily *Fraxinus americana* in this case.

<sup>56</sup> This return can be checked by the list of names given beyond, p. 77, when the brigade is separated in two at Reed r., Sept. 3d. The total of the two lists differs; but the total of the men is the same—21. Some irreconcilable discrepancies in reckoning the women and children will be observed; but marriage, desertion, birth, death, and copyist's mistakes are enough to account for any such. The two lists of 21 men are identifiable in every case but that of No. 17 above. This stands as "François Seni" in my copy; while in the list of Sept. 3d no such name appears, but "Roger" occurs instead. As we know there was no change meanwhile in the men of the brigade, these two must be names of the same person, who can be given conjecturally as above. Several variants of names will be observed; these are deduced from the two lists, and from other passages in Henry, but there is no question of identity in any case. I shall hereafter, in each instance of such variants in my copy, cause it to conform to



steerer, or helmsman (guide). 4. Joseph Dubois: Voyageur, steerer, or helmsman. 5. Angus McDonald: Voyageur, midman. 6. Antoine Lafrance: Voyageur, midman. 7. Pierre Bonza or Bonga: a negro.

*Second Canoe.*—8. Michel (Coloret) Langlois: Clerk (com-mis); with his wife and daughter. 9. André Lagassé, Lagacé, or La Gassers: Voyageur, conductor; with his wife. 10. Joachim Daisville, or Donville, once Rainville:

the first spelling of the name as above given. For the rest, I have simply dressed Henry's copy a little for typographical appearances, as it was in singularly bad shape to print. I believe it to be as near right as it can be made. The probable error in this case is surprisingly slight—it is nothing in comparison with what we shall have to reckon with further on. Some additional items of information concerning these men may be conveniently presented, and I will take occasion to bring together here various memoranda I have made concerning other persons of the same surnames.

No. 3. Étienne Charbonneau continued as voyageur N. W. Co. after 1804, Lake Winnipeg.—Louis Charbonneau appears, same as Étienne. One of these was with Henry, 1807–08.—Toussaint Charbonneau of the N. W. Co. wintered at Pine fort on the Assiniboine, 1793–94. This is the individual whom Lewis and Clark engaged at the Mandans, winter of 1804–05, and who figures under so many aliases in the History of their Expedition.

No. 4. There appear to have been two of this name in the N. W. Co.—Joseph Dubois is listed as voyageur, Upper Red r., and the same as voyageur, Fort des Prairies, after the fusion of 1804.—Jean Baptiste Dubois came to Sault Ste. Marie in 1803, and appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804.—François Dubois, voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Rat River country; wintered, 1804–05, at the house on or near Cranberry l., under Joseph Cartier.—Antoine Dubois, Canadian, had been killed by Indians before 1807, when his daughter Marguerite, aged 14, married Jean Joseph Roulette 3d, at Prairie du Chien.

No. 5. Angus McDonald continued with Henry for some years, as we shall find. His humble station, if not his name, distinguishes him from the many McDonalds who are preferably noticed elsewhere.

No. 6. No further information of Antoine Lafrance.—One Lafrance retired with 12,000 francs in 1791.—One Lafrance was killed in the summer of 1799.—Jean Baptiste Lafrance, N. W. Co., left Fort Espérance for the Mandans, Dec. 10th, 1793. The same appears as interpreter N. W. Co., Upper Red River dept., Sept., 1804, and as clerk at the Mandans under F. A. Larocque, 1804; name misprinted Lachance in Masson, I. p. 81. The same, of H. B. Co., left the Assiniboine, at mouth of the Souris, May, 1806, to trade with the Mandans, and was that year found among them by Lewis and Clark, Henry, and others.

No. 7. Pierre Bonza appears as interpreter N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804.

No. 8. Michel Langlois appears oftener as Michel Coloret, Coleret, or

Voyageur, steerer. 11. André Beauchemin: Voyageur, midman. 12. Jean Baptiste Benoit: Voyageur, midman.

*Third Canoe.*—13. Jean Baptiste Desmarais: Interpreter; with his wife and two children. 14. Jean Baptiste Larocque, Sen.: Voyageur, conductor. 15. Jean Baptiste Larocque, Jun.: Voyageur, steerer. 16. Étienne Roy: Voyageur, midman. 17. François Roger, Sen. (?): Voyageur, midman.

*Fourth Canoe.*—18. Joseph Masson, or Maceon: Voyageur, conductor. 19. Charles Bellegarde: Voyageur, steerer. 20. Joseph Hamel: Voyageur, midman. 21. Nic-

Colletette; but Henry, who will have much to say of him, calls him Langlois, except in one place. The term appears to be an epithet rather than a personal name, as if L'Anglais, the Englishman.—Eustache Langlois was a voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Rainy Lake.

No. 9. No question of identity in this case.—There is at least one other of same surname, Charles Lagassé, or Lagacé, who was with Thompson on the Upper Saskatchewan in April, 1800; went with him to the Kootenays, Oct. 5th–23d, 1800; was fitted out to winter with them, 1800–01; was with Thompson in the Rocky mts., 1808–10; deserted May 17th, 1810, on Thompson's attempting to force him to duty for which he said he was not fit; reappears with Thompson at Ilthkoyape (Kettle) falls, on the Columbia, June 22d, 1811, and went S. Aug. 29th, 1811.

No. 10. "Daisville," or "Donville," is found in no other connection, and I suspect error, though the unusual first name, Joachim, would seem to preserve identity. The connection of "Rainville" with this case is likewise dubious.—Joseph Rainville, with Henry, at Pembina, in July, 1804, accidentally killed V. St. Germain.—Various persons, of more than one generation, were named Rainville, Reinville, or Renville: for example, see Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 39, 40, 87, 99, 180, 207, 242; see also biogr. of one Joseph Rainville in Tassé, I. pp. 293–304.

No. 11. André Beauchemin was still with Henry, 1807–08.—Jean Baptiste Beauchemin, voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Chipewyan, 1799–1800, is called "cet homme sans souci;" found at forks of Peace r., summer 1803; listed English r. after fusion of 1804.

No. 12. No further record.

No. 13. Identity complete, and much said of him beyond; record goes from 1799 to 1823, when he guided Long's party from Winnipeg to Lake Superior by the Kaministiquia route, Keating, II. p. 67, and is spoken very highly of, p. 78. There were several others of this surname, which varies to Demarais.—One Desmarais was with Peter Grant at Lac la Rouge, 1789, very likely Jean Baptiste.—François Desmarais is listed as interpreter N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—Ignace Desmarais, voyageur N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1804.—Louis Desmarais, voyageur N. W. Co., Rainy l., 1804; Red r., with Henry, 1807–08.

No. 14 and No. 15. Many persons, several generations, of this notable sur-

olas Pouliot, Pouliotte, Poultiatte, or Rubiette: Voyageur, midman.

#### RECAPITULATION.

Bourgeois (Henry), . . . . .	1
Clerk (Langlois), . . . . .	1
Interpreter (Desmarais), . . . . .	1
Negro (Bonza), . . . . .	1
Voyageurs (names as above), . . . . .	17
Women (one woman not given above), . . . . .	4
Children (one child not given above), . . . . .	4
<hr/>	
Persons, . . . . .	29
Horses, . . . . .	2

name, which varies to Laroche, Laroque, Le Rock, etc. (and without the definite article).—Auguste Laroche, voyageur N. W. Co., Red Lake dept., 1804.—Antoine Larocque, voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804; at Pembina, under Henry, 1807-08.—Charles Larocque, of N. W. Co., at Pembina, with Henry, 1807-08.—François Antoine Larocque, clerk N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804; led the Mandan expedition of that year, etc. His full record will be noted beyond, when Henry is at the Mandans.—Jacques Larocque, voyageur N. W. Co., Red Lake dept., 1804.—The two named Jean Baptiste Larocque, father and son, are not usually discriminated; we have records of one or both, 1800-08, Red r., English r., Saskatchewan r., etc.—Joseph Larocque, younger brother of Franç. Ant. Larocque, was clerk N. W. Co., English r., 1804; later an Astorian (full record beyond, when Henry is on the Columbia).—Pierre Larocque, voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, Lake Winnipeg, etc., 1804.—For one A. Rocque, or Roque, without the definite article, in Minnesota, 1805-06, see Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 36, 41, 61.—Joseph Rocque was interpreter among the Sioux in Minnesota about 1786.—Pascal Rocque is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Le Pic, 1804.

No. 16. (For many persons named Roy, see a note beyond.)

No. 17. Name wholly in question.

No. 18. Recorded on to 1804. The surname is the same as that of Senator L. R. Masson, whose Bourgeois, etc., is one of the most notable and valuable contributions ever made to the history of the subject now occupying us.

No. 19. No further record of Charles.—Another Bellegarde, first name unknown, of X. Y. Co., was near Fort Chipewyan, May 23d, 1800.

No. 20. Of Joseph Hamel, record to 1804, Lower Red r.—At this time François Hamel, voyageur N. W. Co., also there.

No. 21. Record of him to 1804. "Rubiette" is a mere clerical blunder, and the name has now settled into Pouliot, borne by several well-known Canadian families.

Having sent off the canoes, I endeavored to get the Indians away also; but the fellows were in no hurry to decamp, as generally is the case with Indians when they suspect that you do not wish to proceed without them. I was apprehensive lest some of them might return to the Forks. It was ten o'clock before I got them all off. Their brigade consisted of 45 canoes. Names of the Indians were as follows : <sup>67</sup>

NATIVE NAME.	FRENCH NAME.	ENGLISH NAME.
1.	1. Vieux Folle Avoine.	1. Old Wild Rice.
2. Tabashaw (chief).	2.	2.
3.	3. Le Pendu.	3. Hanged.
4.	4. La Berdash (Sucre's son).	4. Berdash.
5. Madgetonce.	5.	5.
6. Ocanashkit.	6.	6.
7. Sesai.	7.	7.
8.	8. Vieux Collier.	8. Old Necklace.
9.	9. Petite Coquille.	9. Little Shell.
10.	10. Poule d'Eau.	10. Water Hen.
11. Pegouisse.	11.	11.
12.	12. Bras Forts (or Gros).	12. Strong (or Thick) Arms.
13.	13. Perdrix Blanche.	13. White Partridge.
14. Aceguemanche.	14. Petit Chef.	14. Little Chief.
15.	15. Robe Noire.	15. Black Robe.
16. Kaygecaon.	16.	16.
17.	17. Petite Grue.	17. Little Crane.

<sup>67</sup> The list as it stands in copy is curiously trilingual; some names Ojibway, some French, some English, and others still a compound of French and English. I print the Indian names precisely as they stand, but translate the French and English into their equivalents, reciprocally, and correct the French forms. I will also hereafter hold Henry to the forms of the names which appear here, however variously they recur in the copy. The following remarks throw some little further light on the list: No. 1 stands in copy as Old Fallowine. No. 2 murdered his relative Missistaygouine, Feb. 15th, 1803; killed by Sioux late in 1807. No. 4. A berdash is any young man who affects the ways of a woman, and suffers himself to be used as such (see Catlin's pl. 296, 4th ed., 1844, II. p. 214). It is curious to find the name in the list with the feminine article. Tanner, p. 105, speaks of this very person: "Some time in the course of this winter, there came to our lodge one of the sons of the celebrated Ojibway chief, called Wesh-ko-bug [or Wiscoup], (the sweet [or Le Sucre]), who lived at Leech Lake. This man was one of those who make themselves



NATIVE NAME.	FRENCH NAME.	ENGLISH NAME.
18. Gausacegiushe.	18.	18.
19.	19. Mauvaise Hache.	19. Bad Ax.
20.	20. Liard.	20. Cottonwood.
21.	21. Le Borgne.	21. The Blind.
22.	22. Taon.	22. Gadfly.
23. Naubeenvishcung.	23.	23.
24. Aishquebugicoge.	24. Gueule Platte.	24. Flat Mouth.
25.	25. Bœuf.	25. Buffalo.
26. Wayquetoe.	26.	26.
27.	27. Grande Gueule.	27. Big Mouth.
28.	28. Terre Grosse (or Grasse).	28. Thick (or Fat) Earth.
29.	29. Bras Courts.	29. Short Arms.
30.	30. Capot Rouge.	30. Red Hood.
31. Ondainoiache.	31.	31.
32. Miseaebitte.	32.	32.
33.	33. Jambes Croches.	33. Crooked Legs.
34.	34. Petit Caribou.	34. Little Reindeer.
Two bands of O-ge-bois [Ojibways] or Saulteurs, inhabitants of the head-waters of the Mississippi, Leech Lake, etc., have left their lands since the years 1789-90.		
35. Quiniss.	35.	35.
36. Nanaundeyea.	36.	36.
37.	37. Grosse Loge.	37. Big Lodge.
38.	38. Corbeau.	38. Raven (or Crow).
39. Pickoutiss.	39.	39.
40. Maymiutch.	40.	40.
41.	41. Charlo (brother of Corbeau).	41. Charlo.

Red Sucker of Beavers, inhabitants of Red lake, which they abandoned in 1790.

women, and are called women by the Indians. There are several of this sort among most, if not all the Indian tribes; they are commonly called A-go-kwa, a word which is expressive of their condition. This creature, called Ozaw-wen-dib, (the yellow head,) was now near fifty years old, and had lived with many husbands." Tanner goes on to speak of "her," and relates his troubles in escaping from the "disgusting advances" which he, she, or it made. No. 6 is elsewhere Oucanaskit; died summer of 1802. No. 12 killed an Indian, Aupersoi, in Pembina mts., Mar. 13th, 1802, and was himself killed by Aupersoi's young brother the same day; whereupon No. 9 and No. 31 killed Aupersoi's mother. No. 12's son died Feb. 27th, 1803. No. 14 is elsewhere Aceguimance, Auguimance, Auguemance, Acquimance. No. 17 died Feb. 27th, 1803. No. 20's daughter became Henry's wife, Jan. 1st, 1801. No. 22 is also found as Toan and Taonsone; died summer of 1802. No. 23 is

I now embarked and pushed on after my canoes. The Indians advised me to be on my guard against the Sioux, who they said we had every reason to suppose would fall upon us before many days, as they had been at war during the past summer on the upper part of this river, and had found the vestiges of a Sioux camp. They were certainly in a state of great alarm when we arrived at the Forks, and had even made a sort of intrenchment by digging deep holes in the ground several yards long for the security of their women and children, and for their own defense in case of attack. We soon overtook my canoes, which seemed in no hurry to push on alone, having been warned of danger by Indians.

The current is not very strong. The course of the river is very winding, with deep water and not a stone to be seen. At two o'clock my canoe ran on a stump, and broke a hole in her. We put ashore and repaired. Meanwhile the Indians passed on; at three o'clock we followed, and found them all camped at the entrance of Rivière la Sale.<sup>58</sup> This small

also found as Naubunaijam; killed by Sioux early in 1806. No. 24 is the name of one of the most celebrated Ojibway chiefs who ever lived (see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 169). No. 26 is also Waiquetoe. No. 31 is also Ondoinoiache and Ondoiworache; killed by Sioux, Nov., 1803. No. 35 is probably also Cautoquoince. No. 36 is also spelled Nanaudaya, Nanauduge, Manaundea. No. 38 was brother of Charlo. No. 39 is also Picoutiss. No. 40 is elsewhere Maimiutch, Maiminch, Maimunch, etc. No. 41 died Jan. 15th, 1801.

<sup>58</sup> Henry's R. la Sale or Sale r. is still known by the same or a similar name, but oftener now called Stinking r., as it has been at times for at least 75 years. The F. word is *sale*, foul, filthy—not *salé*, salty; nor *saule*, willow; nor *sable*, sand; nor *salle*, hall; nor yet La Salle, a person's name—though I have found all these forms. Thompson, 1798, calls it Salt or Bad Water r. Another rendering is Wenagomo or Muddy r., in Keating's Long, II, 1824, p. 80. The stream heads not far from the Assiniboine, in the country S. of Portage la Prairie, runs on an average course about E. S. E. into Tp. 8, R. 1, E. of the princ. merid., a few miles below Blythfield, and there turns N. N. E. to meander into the Red r. at St. Norbert, about 10 m. S. of Winnipeg. It is crossed by the Pembina branch of the C. P. Ry. at or near La Salle, and higher up, at or near Starbuck, by the S. W. branch of the same, while the N. P. and Manitoba R. R. runs by some of its upper reaches to Portage la Prairie. The region drained by this stream lies entirely between Scratching r. on the S. and the Assiniboine on the N.

river comes in from the W., taking its water nearly opposite Portage la Prairie, in a long marsh, not above a mile from the Assiniboine. Its first course is S. for several miles, when it takes a sudden bend and runs E. until it empties into Red river, forming the N. boundary of the great meadows of this river. The country which lies between the Sale and Assiniboine is low, and forms in many places marshy meadows, thickly intersected with poplars and willows, which never grow to any height. Moose and red deer are very numerous at all seasons, and in the winter buffaloes resort here, for shelter from storms and cold. We went about half a mile and put ashore for the night. Having promised the Indians, on leaving the Forks, that they should have a drink here, they soon assembled; one of them brought me part of a red deer, and the others some wild fowl. Everything being ready, I gave Tabashaw, Maymitch, and Vieux Collier each some clothing and other articles, as follows: A scarlet laced coat; a laced hat; a red round feather; a white linen shirt; a pair of leggings; a breech clout; a flag; one fathom of tobacco, and a 9-gallon keg of rum. Among the others I divided three kegs of mixed liquor (nine quarts of high wine per keg), and four fathoms of tobacco. I then, in a long speech, encouraged them to behave well, and not to be afraid of the Sioux, but to follow me up to Turtle river, where I proposed to winter, and also told them that beavers were plenty in those quarters, so that they could procure all their necessaries with ease. Just as I was giving out the farewell glass, for them to return to their tents to enjoy the liquor, some of their women came running into camp, bawling out that they had heard several shots fired in the meadow. A council was instantly held. I ordered the Indians to leave their liquor with me, and put off drinking till to-morrow; but they had tasted it, and must drink, at the risk of their lives. They requested me to order my men to mount guard during the night, as the women appeared so very positive that they had heard shots, and we were con-

vinced there were no Saulteurs about us. I did not know what to think of it; however, the Indians went away and began to drink, whilst my people amused themselves fishing. About sunset three horsemen appeared on the W. side of the river; this gave an alarm, and everyone flew to arms, when the horsemen, observing our bustle and consternation, called out to us in Saulteur to ferry them over. This we did with pleasure. They proved to be three men of Red Sucker's band, who, having got wind of my arrival to winter up this river, had come to join us with their families from Grand Passage on the Assiniboine. They brought me the flesh of a cow which they had killed not far off, on the S. side of Rivière la Sale. They had seen several herds. I went over the river for a walk on the plains, but soon returned, as I found the walking too bad in the long grass, stunted poplars, willows, and rosebushes. No large wood was to be seen, excepting along the river. My men caught upward of 200 lacaishe and about 30 cat-fish. The Indians did not once trouble me during the night.

*Aug. 22d.* Indians still drinking. One of them brought me a large beaver. Many sturgeons were jumping night and day. The Indians plagued me much for goods on credit, but I did not think proper to give them any.

At ten o'clock we embarked, intending to go a few miles only and then wait for the Indians. We found a few stones; through carelessness a foreman ran his canoe upon one and broke her very much, but the others being near at hand we kept the property from getting wet. This affair took some time, and the accident having happened at a very ugly spot, where we had mud up to the middle, it was noon before we embarked. We came to a place we found very shallow for about a mile, the bottom a stiff black clay, the current almost a rapid. Having passed this, we entered deep water again. The river continues very crooked, and I am told the water is lower than has ever been known before; still there is enough for a Montreal canoe laden with 70



pieces. There are some few places that appear too shallow, but there is always a channel to be found amongst the lumps of clay, and stones are rare. Those passages in some places are very narrow and crooked, but deep.

Having come three leagues,<sup>59</sup> we put ashore to wait for the Indians. We crossed our horses over to the W. side, the country being more favorable for them than upon the E., which continues to be thick woods. After the rain the men began fishing as usual, while others went in search of fruit, of which they found great plenty, such as red plums, panbinas,<sup>60</sup> and grapes. The plums are just now ripe and very good; they appear to be of three different sorts—large yellow speckled, large red, and small red. There are also two other kinds—small gray speckled and small yellow speckled. The panbina is fine and large, of a beautiful red, but requires the frost to ripen it. The same is the case with the grapes, which are of a small sort, when ripe perfectly blue; the vines are bending to the ground with them. The Indians brought me a horse which I purchased for liquor. About sunset they all arrived and camped with us. Old Buffalo, still half drunk, brought me his eldest daughter, about nine years of age, and insisted upon my taking her for a wife, in hopes I would give him a keg of liquor; but I declined the offer. I gave him and each of his brethren a dram, and sent them to their cabins. I was plagued by several others. Charlo brought me his daughter, about 12 years old, for a wife, but I would have nothing to do with any of them, and a dram apiece was all they could get.

*Aug. 23d.* The Indians paid me a very early visit to demand dry goods on credit, in expectation of getting liquor. This is customary on their taking debts; we generally give them some liquor to encourage them to hunt

<sup>59</sup> The strong water which Henry has passed is that now known as Crooked rapids. He has probably passed Cartier, and camps in the vicinity of the place called Royal, 5 or 6 m. (direct) below the mouth of Rat r.

<sup>60</sup> Berries of *Viburnum oxycoccus*. The word yields several geographical names, to be discussed beyond (at Pembina).

and pay us. But we were still too near the Forks for me to listen to them, as I was well persuaded several would have returned and cheated me; but to encourage them to behave well I gave them a little powder, shot, balls, and tobacco. I then wished them to embark, but to no purpose; they told me that some of their old women had some liquor left over from yesterday, and they would go and drink it; as for me, they did not care whether I stayed with them or not. This was vexatious; but they were independent of us, and vigorous measures could have availed nothing. I therefore put the best face I could upon the matter, and they retired in sullen silence. My men as usual betook themselves to fishing, and in a short time caught upwards of 300 lacaishe. About twelve o'clock Tabashaw came to my tent, with some others; they were all intoxicated; he said his errand was liquor, and liquor he must have, otherwise "the children would cry." I comprehended his meaning, and desired my men to examine their guns and be on their guard, as I could not answer for the consequences of the present interview. We smoked several pipes, during which time Tabashaw made some speeches, the conclusion of which was always—"liquor." Others also spoke to the same purpose; but all this would not do. I was fully determined not to give them even a dram, as they had made use of very unbecoming expressions, and it appeared to me their plan was to frighten us. Reluctant as I was to have any misunderstanding with them at this early period, I could not suffer them to impose upon me. I plainly saw what they were bent upon, and no moderation would answer upon the present occasion. I therefore told them for the last time that I was determined to not give them a drop of liquor; that their behavior was indecent; that they saw the baggages—the rum was there, if they would have it they must take it; but this they must not expect to do whilst I and my men could fire a shot. This short speech had the desired effect. They said they did not come to rob or murder us; they only wanted a drop to

smoke a pipe comfortably ; but as I was so very fond of it, they would insist no longer, but wait patiently until I thought proper to treat them. They dropped away one by one, and in a short time were all gone except the chief, Tabashaw, whom I looked upon as the greatest villain of them all. He remained to make friends, and persuade me that he had been pushed on by the others; he hoped I would not think the worse of him, but continue to do him charity, etc. Thus ended an affair which at one time I thought would have serious consequences. I knew very well that the Indians I had to deal with were brave fellows, who had more than once pillaged traders.

*Sunday, Aug. 24th.* The Indians were sober, but very sullen. At twelve o'clock we embarked, and accompanied by a few canoes of Indians, saw many fresh tracks of moose, red deer, and bears, and I shot some wild fowl. The river winds as before, but our average course is S. Two bars in a canoe gave way ; we put ashore, and fastened them with rope. At five o'clock we camped at Rat river with some of the Indians. This small river is from the E.; at about three miles from its entrance it is divided into three branches, all of which rise from the Cypress hills, and after winding through low country, like the Seine, in whose neighborhood it runs, Rat river empties at this place.<sup>61</sup> A few years ago beavers were plenty on the upper

<sup>61</sup> The main forks of Rat r. unite much further than this from Red r.; they are known as the E. branch and the S. branch. Their general course, like that of their united stream, is from S. E. to N. W. On nearing Red r., Rat r. turns more to the N., receives a large branch from the S., and falls in nearly on the latter course. The drainage is approx. parallel with that of the Seine, with which Henry compares it. The location of Chaboillez's house is confirmed by Thompson, who passed it on Friday, Mar. 9th, 1798 ; he says that it was built  $\frac{1}{4}$  m. up Rat r., but does not say on which side. He made the lat.  $49^{\circ} 33' 58''$  N. This post must not be confounded with Chaboillez's house of 1797-98, on Red r., at site of Pembina. There were two persons named Chaboillez, father and son, both of the N. W. Co., and often confused. C. J. B. Chaboillez was on the Red and Assiniboine, etc., with some intermission, from 1796, or earlier, till 1805, or later ; he signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys.; in winter of 1804-05, he was in charge of Dept.

part of these forks, but now they are nearly destroyed. At the entrance of the Rat we observed the remains of some old buildings, where [Mr. Charles Jean Baptiste] Chaboillez wintered in 1796-97. This evening most of the Indians overtook us, apparently in a good humor. We caught but few fish, the reason being that, on approaching this little stream, Red river becomes broader, shallower, and often interrupted by large rocks, though there is plenty water for canoes.

*Aug. 25th.* I prevailed upon the Indians to decamp early. Sent Desmarais with the horse by land, as usual. The country does not admit of riding; it is too much overgrown with thick brush, poplars, and willows. At sunrise we embarked, and proceeded with great caution, to avoid running foul of the numerous stones. Came to the first rocky point, where we found all the Indians had put ashore. They informed us that they had heard several shots, and had left orders for us to await their return. I did not think proper to comply, but proceeded, advising them to follow, which they did. We soon met some Indians, who informed us that the shots had been fired by the Red Sucker Indians who had joined us at Rivière Sale, and who, having put their families on board canoes, had made a turn on the meadow, and were shooting buffalo.

We now passed the second rocky point. The current at both these places is very swift, and the passage winding, but there is plenty of water; we got up by means of our setting-poles. We had no sooner passed this narrow place,

of the Assiniboine at Montagne à la Bosse; and it was he who corresponded with Lewis and Clark at the Mandans: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 187. He died at Terrebonne in 1809. A daughter married the geographer, Joseph Bouchette; another married Roderick McKenzie; a third married Simon McTavish. His son Charles 2d succeeded him; this is the one who was at the Mandans in 1806. He died at Terrebonne in 1812, leaving three children, Charles 3d, Jean, and Marguerite. The name often appears as Chaboilles, Chaboiller, Chaboillier, Cheboillez, and in some other forms, as Shabboyer and Shabboyea in Tanner's Narr. Rat r. is rendered Wasushkwatape or Muskrat r. in Keating's Long, II. pp. 64, 80.



than one of my canoes ran upon a stone, and would have sunk, had we not been near to unload her instantly upon the three others. We dragged her from the stone, and hauled her ashore, but were so unlucky as to have mud up to the waist where we unloaded. This is the second time this canoe has foundered since leaving the Forks, so she is now in a sad condition. I left them to repair her, and went on with the Indians to the first salt pit, where we camped.

One of the Indians soon arrived, having killed a fine fat hart [male elk—*Cervus canadensis*], which he gave me. We are now past the stones, and have a gentle current, deep water, and an ugly, muddy beach; but beautiful encampments on the edge of the meadows which, at the turn of almost every two or three points, come down to within a few yards of the water's edge. I examined the salt pit, which lies on the W. side, only a few yards from the river, where it issues out of the ground; but the mouth would require to be dug away to form a kind of basin to dip out the water. It was late before our damaged canoe joined us, having broken twice since we left her. Fresh tracks of moose, red deer, and bears are now so frequent that we pay no attention to them; and this afternoon we observed the tracks of several bulls on the W. side, where they had come down to drink. The Indians prepared their guns to hunt buffalo to-morrow.

*Aug. 26th.* At sunrise we embarked, leaving the Indians behind. At nine o'clock we found those whom we heard fire yesterday; they were waiting for me, with the flesh of two fat cows, whose dépouilles [layers of fat under the skin] were about two inches thick. This was a fine sight for my people, who, for some days past, had been anxiously expecting to feast on vache grasse [fat cow beef]. We embarked the meat, and proceeded; the Indians' canoes were just coming in sight. At nine o'clock we passed the great salt pit on the W. side; it lies about 200 paces from the water, at the edge of the plains, where it issues out of

the ground, forming a small basin, whose center seems continually agitated, bubbling up like a pot of boiling water. This, I am told, is an excellent place for making salt at all seasons, as the water never freezes; but the process is tedious, and requires a number of large kettles, nine gallons of water producing only one pint of salt. This is fine and white, almost like basket salt, having no grain or grit. Having viewed the salt pit, we proceeded past a heap of fresh meat which lay on the bank; we supposed it intended for the Indians' families, and, therefore, did not touch it, but came on to the Rivière aux Gratias,<sup>62</sup> where we arrived at two o'clock. The Indians were all waiting for us, with

<sup>62</sup> *Gratia* is a Canadian French name of various plants with prickly burrs. The gratias of the Red River bottoms are two species of stickseed, *Echinopspermum floribundum* and *E. deflexum*, belonging to the borage family (*Borraginaceæ*). They are rough, hairy herbs, a foot or two high, with small blue flowers in bracted racemes, whose nutlets are garnished with stout prickles. *E. virginicum* is a species sometimes called beggar's-lice. The European species, *E. lappula*, is commonly naturalized in the U. S., as a weed in waste places. Rivière aux Gratias of the F. is sometimes Englished as Gratias r., but now oftener called Scratching r., as it has been at least as far back as 1815. Thompson calls it Burr brook, 1798. Keating's Long, II. 1824, p. 80, renders "the name of Kaomenakashe, (Gratiats of the French.)" It falls into Red r. from the W., in the N. E. portion of Tp. 4, R. 1, E. of the princ. merid., in the District of Provencher, and at the town of Morris, where several railroads now concenter. Scratching r. arises in the N. part of the Pembina mts., not far S. of the Assiniboine, and takes a general eastward course, under the name of Rivière aux Îlots de Bois (River of Clumps of Trees), till it is dissipated in some extensive marshes, about the contiguous corners of Selkirk, Lisgar, and Provencher districts; regathering from which, and taking the name of Rivière aux Gratias, it flows S. S. E. to its confluence with Red r. at Morris, as already said. The course of Scratching r. lies between Rivière Sale and Pembina r., and also between the S. W. branch of the C. P. Ry. and the Pacific and Manitoba R. R. Its branches are numerous, but unimportant (one of the largest being Tobacco cr.); and the same may be said of several places on or near them and it. J. Duford built for the X. Y. Co. at mouth of the river in Sept., 1801, and J. B. Desmarais for the N. W. Co. there at the same time: see the date beyond. In coming from Rat r. to Morris, Henry has not given us data to check his progress more closely than his mention of the rocky points and salt pits may enable us to do; but we may note that he has passed successively the places now called Ste. Agathe, Union Point, Aubigny, and Silver Plains.

great heaps of buffalo meat which they had just killed on the border of the meadow. Here we stopped for the night.

The Indians told me they had seen a wounded bull, which must have been shot by the Sioux; this was enough to give an alarm. We pitched upon an advantageous spot at the entrance of the meadow to defend ourselves in case of attack. The Indians had found the ground on which we tented covered with buffaloes, and shot several, the carcasses of which lay near us, only lacking the choice bits. The ravages of buffaloes at this place are astonishing to a person unaccustomed to these meadows. The beach, once a soft black mud into which a man would sink knee-deep, is now made hard as pavement by the numerous herds coming to drink. The willows are entirely trampled and torn to pieces; even the bark of the smaller trees is rubbed off in many places. The grass on the first bank of the river is entirely worn away. Numerous paths, some of which are a foot deep in the hard turf, come from the plains to the brink of the river, and the vast quantity of dung gives this place the appearance of a cattle yard. We have reached the commencement of the great plains of Red river, where the eye is lost in one continuous level westward. Not a tree or rising ground interrupts the view. But on the E. woody country continues.

Desmarais having arrived with our three horses, I could not refrain from satisfying my curiosity by taking a ride to view the buffaloes, having never seen any before.

We took our guns and mounted, whilst our men were arranging camp. We had gone about a mile when we perceived an animal lying in the grass. We dismounted and approached upon our bellies within about 30 paces; it was a large bull. I desired my companion, who was an old buffalo hunter, to fire at him as he lay; this he declined, as buffalo can seldom be shot dead in that posture; he begged me to start the bull with a shot, when he would be ready to fire. I aimed as best I could for the heart, and let fly—

when behold! the bull fell on his side, stretched out his legs, neck, and tail, and instantly expired—to my own great satisfaction, but the sad disappointment of my companion. Having plenty of meat in the camp we took only the tongue, leaving the animal for the wolves and crows, of which we saw many hovering around. Just as we mounted we perceived a large herd of cows to the southward, moving down to the river to drink. We rode toward them, and having got under the bank, which was scarcely high enough to conceal us, we kept on through the woods at full speed, in hopes of intercepting them. But in this we failed; we found they had drunk and returned to the meadows. No time was to be lost; we rode after them at full speed through the woods which line the river. I was so anxious to overtake them that I did not take proper care to avoid the trees, and suddenly my right breast struck full upon the point of an oak limb as thick as my wrist. Fortunately for me it broke off. I had not time to examine the wound, but cleared the woods and sighted the buffaloes, not more than 100 paces off. We gave our horses the rein, and were soon up with the herd. The dust they raised almost blinded us, having the wind ahead. My horse was none of the best hunters; he was fleet, but timid in closing up with buffaloes. I could only get a long shot, which fortunately knocked over a bull. I looked round for my companion and saw him still near the river, whipping his stubborn horse, which would not pursue the buffalo. I now examined my wound, when I found the limb had gone through my jacket, vest, and shirt, and penetrated the flesh half an inch, just below the right nipple. Desmarais having joined me, we took the tongue of the animal only, although he was tolerably fat, left him for the wolves to devour, and started homeward. On our way we killed two more bulls.

On our return to camp we found all the men awaiting my arrival. A council was held, when the chief informed me of their intention of passing the winter near this river, where there were bears. They apprehended the danger was too



great for them to venture further southward with their families. They therefore through him expressed their wish that I would build here and give them some liquor to drink this evening. This I would not agree to, telling them I was determined to proceed further up the river, even if I should go alone; if they were afraid of the Sioux, they might remain and join me after my fort was built; and as for liquor, they should have none at present. This sent them away in a pet.

My people have now given over fishing, having plenty of good meat. This evening our horses appeared restless, at times terrified, and could not be kept from nearing the fire; at times they would neigh and snort. This gave alarm, and obliged us to mount guard until daybreak; the Indians appeared very uneasy.

*Aug. 27th.* I took a walk along Rivière aux Gratiass, thus giving the Indians time to reflect on the answer I made them last night. None of them appeared in a humor to decamp, and it was not my wish to press them any further.

This small river rises in the Hair hills [Pembina mts.], where it at first takes the name of Rivière aux Islettes de Bois [Wooded Islets river],<sup>63</sup> and is divided into three branches which, after leaving the hills, continue through the level meadows on a winding course for about 20 leagues, with banks partially wooded. The wood then ceases and the water spreads into a large marsh in the open plain, upward of 20 leagues in circumference. The river then separates in two branches, which join again after running about 25 miles.

The Indians being so obstinately bent upon remaining at this place, where I was assured there were very few beavers, I sent for the principal men of the Red Sucker band, and by many persuasions and promises detached them from the

<sup>63</sup> Not necessarily implying that the river has small wooded islands, but that it is bordered at intervals by patches or clumps of trees, commonly called *islettes de bois* by the voyageurs. I presume *islettes* would be preferably written *îlots*: compare the literary F. phrase *îlots de maisons*, blocks of houses.

Saulteurs and prevailed upon them to decamp. Loaded my canoes and sent them off, whilst I remained to follow on horseback. The river continues very crooked, which gave us plenty of leisure to chase buffalo. At two o'clock we stopped at Plumb [Plum] river to await the canoes. Tabashaw soon joined us by land, told me a smooth story of his having prevailed upon the Indians to follow me, and begged I would camp early, that their canoes might overtake us this evening; in the meantime he would remain with me. My canoes having come up, I desired them to wait for the Indians. Before I left this place upward of 20 men had joined us by land, having sent their families on by water. We amused ourselves by lying in wait close under the bank for the buffaloes which came to drink. When the poor brutes came to within about 10 yards of us, on a sudden we would fire a volley of 25 guns at them, killing and wounding many, of which we only took the tongues. The Indians suggested that we should all fire together at one lone bull which appeared, to have the satisfaction, as they said, of killing him stone dead. The beast advanced until he was within six or eight paces, when the yell was given and all hands let fly; but instead of falling he galloped off, and it was only after several more discharges that he was brought to the ground. The Indians enjoyed this sport highly—it is true the ammunition cost them nothing. We now set off to join the canoes, and soon perceived the smoke where they were camped.

At the Grand Marais, just before we reached them, a bull rushed up from the water side. I being the only one on horseback, the Indians wished me to give it chase. I did so, and was soon near him. I sent a ball through the liver. The blood instantly gushed out of his nostrils and mouth, in a stream as thick as my arm; at the same time he turned about and plunged at me with his tongue hanging out of his mouth, and his tail twisted over his back, presenting a frightful figure. I was surprised at his agility in attempting to gore my horse; but I avoided him as best

I could, until a second shot knocked him down. This was another diversion for the Indians.

We then went to camp, but very few of the Indian canoes arrived this evening. Tabashaw and some others slept in my tent. They were very curious to know what I was writing every evening, as I never sent away any person with letters. To satisfy his curiosity, I told him I kept an exact account of the Indians' behavior; that every word they said was put down; that this memorandum was to be laid before the gentlemen at Grand Portage next summer, and that every Indian would be rewarded according to his deserts—which made Tabashaw look very serious.

*Aug. 28th.* Contrary to custom the Indians set out on foot ahead, telling us they would go and hunt, and requesting us to wait for their families, which we accordingly did. At nine o'clock, all having arrived, I sent off my canoes, and went myself on horseback with Desmarais. We soon overtook a party of the Indians, who had killed eight fat cows, three red deer, and four bears. They were busy cutting the meat up for my people to take aboard. I left them there and soon afterward found another party, who had killed five cows and were cutting them up. Finding myself now some distance ahead of my canoes, and perceiving numerous herds of buffaloes along Plumb river, which makes a bend almost opposite us, I took a ride in the plain to chase them. Plumb river<sup>64</sup> rises in Hair hills in a marsh a little S. of Buffalo Head [old Tête de Bœuf, or Bull's Head, now Calf mt.], whence it runs down the hills and through the level meadows; there it has no wood on its banks, excepting at one place where a few stunted willows and chance elms grow. This spot is called [Loge des Bœufs or] Buffaloes' Tent; it is situated halfway between the hills and Red river. The drought has been so great this season that there is scarcely any water in this little river, and the entrance is dry ground; this was thought extra-

<sup>64</sup> Plum r. is noted by the names of Pekasun or Plumb r. in Keating, II. 1824, p. 80; it was dry when Long's party passed in Aug., 1823.

ordinary by those acquainted with the country. Having killed a fat cow, we cut off the choice pieces and took our course for the entrance of *Rivière aux Marais*,<sup>65</sup> where my people had just arrived. The Indians requested me to wait here, as some of their families were still far behind. We accordingly encamped.

This small river receives its water out of several marshes which lie in the open meadows about six leagues distant, in a direct line W. S. W. It there runs on a very crooked winding course before it joins Red river. But the banks are wooded throughout, principally by oak and *bois blanc*. As I knew the Indians desired me to leave people to winter about this place, and having been informed there were beaver at the entrance of *Rivière aux Roseaux*,<sup>66</sup> which is about a mile above us, I went to look for a proper place to build. I returned about sunset, having pitched upon the

<sup>65</sup> Present name of the small stream which heads in marshes, as Henry says, about the international boundary of 49° N. between N. Dakota and Manitoba, flows on a general course N. N. E., and falls into the left side of Red r., a short distance below the mouth of Roseau r. Thompson calls it Brook of Swamps, Mar. 13th, 1798, and makes its mouth  $\frac{1}{4}$  m. from that of Roseau r. Keating gives it as Swampy or Petopek r., a mere brook, dry when Long's party passed in Aug., 1823. In coming here from Morris Henry has passed places on the W. side of the river called St. Jean Baptiste and Gauthier, and reached the immediate vicinity of Letellier.

<sup>66</sup> Present Roseau r., often wrongly Rosseau; name translated Reed and Reedgrass r.; Brook of Reeds of Thompson, 1798; Indian name Pekwionusk r. also found, in Keating's Long, II. 1824, p. 80. This is a large river, whose stream Thompson speaks of as not much less than that of Red r. itself. It gathers its waters in the great swamps W. of Lake of the Woods, above, on, and below lat. 49°; its two principal branches, or North and South forks, contribute to form East Reed r., which, with Pine r., flows into Roseau l., in the N. E. corner of Kittson Co., Minn., whence the main stream meanders W. near the N. border of that county, crosses 49° into the Provencher district of Manitoba, 33 m. E. of Pembina, at or near the boundary between Ranges vii and viii, E. of the princ. merid., and thence pursues a circuitous course to empty into Red r. through the Nashakepenais Indian reserve, which occupies the E. side of Red r. between Gauthier and St. Pie. The mouth of Reed r. is 13 m. N. of 49°, nearly opp. Letellier; the river is crossed at the station Dominion City by the Emerson branch of the C. P. Ry. The old boundary line of the Red Lake Indian reservation ran N. E. from Thief r., across various heads of Reed r., to reach Buffalo pt. on Lake of the Woods.



N. side of the entrance of that river for the spot. The Indians did not all join us this evening.

Reed river, which I had examined, comes in from the E. It receives its water from a lake of the same name not many [about 25] miles W. of Lac des Bois. The lake receives its waters from a number of rivulets which flow from all directions excepting the W. These are supplied by a low marshy country, excepting on the N., where they take their water from Cypress hills. Reed lake is nearly filled with small islands of reeds [*Phragmites communis*] and rushes [bulrushes, *Scirpus lacustris*], and surrounded by reeds and long grass for about half a mile from the water's edge. Fish are plenty, such as pike [probably *Stizostedion canadense*], pois d'ouce, and suckers, with other small kinds. Sturgeon [*Acipenser rubicundus*] also frequent this lake in the spring, by way of Reed river. The course of this river is winding, and interrupted by rapids, occasioned by frequent reefs of stone crossing the channel. The banks are well wooded. The country is low, particularly on the N.; it abounds in moose and red deer, with a few bears in the winter, when the weather is severe; buffaloes also resort here. While the French were in possession, they frequently passed by this route<sup>67</sup> to the Assiniboine.

Aug. 29th. I was unwell last night, as I imagined, from the violent exertion of the day before, when the weather had been hot and sultry. This morning I felt easier, but weak and languid, from the extraordinary evacuations during the night.

<sup>67</sup> Tanner's Narr., ed. James, 1830, p. 64, speaks of this route: "We then returned to the Lake of the Woods. From this lake the Indians have a road, to go to Red River, which the white men never follow; this is by way of the Muskeek, or swamp carrying place. We went up a river which the Indians call Muskeego-ne-gum-me-wee-see-bee, or Swamp River, for several days; we then dragged our canoes across a swamp for one day. . . Then we put our canoes into a small stream, which they called Begwionusk, from the begwionusk, or cow parsley, which grows upon it; this we descended into a small Sahkiegun [lake], which they call by the same name." This last is the Pekwionusk, Reed or Reedgrass, or Roseau r. It is named as Begwionushko r. on p. 172, and said to fall into Red r. "about 10 miles below Pembinah."

At twelve o'clock the Red Suckers band arrived, and camped on the W. side of Red river; all the Saulteurs camped on the E. side, exactly opposite us. At three o'clock I sent for them, to ask who would follow me up river, and how many would remain here, that I might assort the goods accordingly. I found only Maymiutch, Crow, Charlo, Aupersay,<sup>68</sup> and Little Crane inclined to go. All the others, through dread of the Sioux, were determined to remain about this place, where they told me there were more beaver than I perhaps imagined. This point settled, I made them a present of three kegs of mixed liquor, and sent them to enjoy themselves at their cabins, whilst I assorted the goods I proposed to leave. The Indians drank very quietly, but the least noise alarmed them, and they supposed the enemy to be upon them. However tumultuous the Saulteurs may be in their drinking-bouts when they apprehend no danger, they acted so differently on this occasion that they did not seem like the same band who had been roaring drunk at Rivière la Sale.

At night I was troubled by the visit of a young woman from the other side, which nearly occasioned an ugly affair. About ten o'clock she came into my tent without solicitation. I was asleep; she awoke me and asked for liquor. I recognized her voice and knew that her husband, the greatest scoundrel among them all, was exceedingly jealous. I therefore advised her to return instantly, and not let him know she had been here. She requested a dram, although she was sober. I offered her a little mixed liquor, which she refused, telling me she wanted "augumaucbane." I was obliged to open my case and give her a glass of French

<sup>68</sup> Aupersay does not appear in the list on pp. 53, 54, but is no doubt the name of one of the Indians there listed in equivalent French or English form, though I have seen a statement that the word is some sort of French for "sword"; it is elsewhere spelled Arepersay, Aupersoi, etc. Henry presently speaks of sending the Indians to their "cabins," and also uses the same expression in various other places; but we must not suppose that such structures were anything more than rude shelters made of bark for temporary use on the march, just as we would pitch tents.

brandy, which I made her swallow at one draught; but whether it actually choked her or she was feigning, she fell down as if senseless and lay like a corpse. I was anxious to get her away, but my endeavors were in vain; it was totally dark and I began to believe her dead. I thought to draw her to the tent door, and woke up my servant, whom I desired to assist me. I sent him for a kettle of water, which I poured over her head while he held her up; a second was applied in the same manner, but to no purpose. I became uneasy about her, and sent for a third kettle, the contents of which I dashed in her face with all my strength. She groaned, and began to speak. I lost no time before sending the man to conduct her to her canoe. In a half an hour she returned, having shifted her clothes and dressed very fine; her husband being an excellent hunter and without children, she had always plenty of finery. She told me in plain terms that she had left her husband and come to live with me. This was news I neither expected nor desired. I represented to her the impropriety of her doing so, her husband being fond of her and extremely jealous. Her answer was, that she did not care for him or any other Indian, and was determined to stay with me at the risk of her life. Just then we heard a great bustle across the river, and the Indians bawling out "take care!" We were going to be fired on. We saw the flash of a gun, but it appeared to miss fire. I had no doubt the woman was the cause of this, and I insisted on her returning to her husband; but she would not. Observing that the men had made a fire, I called my servant and desired him to take her to the fire and keep her from troubling me again. This he did much against her inclination, being compelled to use main strength, and by good luck got her on board a canoe that was crossing. The noise we had heard on the other side was made by the husband, who, knowing of his wife's intention, had determined to shoot at my tent; but his gun only flashed, and his brothers took it from him. On his wife's return he asked her where she had been. She made no

secret of the matter, but said she was determined to go with me. "Well, then," said the Indian, "if you are determined to leave me, I will at least have the satisfaction of spoiling your pretty face." He caught up a large fire-brand, threw her on her back, and rubbed it in her face with all his might, until the fire was extinguished. Then letting her up, "Now," says he, "go and see your beloved, and ask him if he likes you as well as he did before." Her face was in a horrid condition. I was sorry for it; she was really the handsomest woman on the river, and not more than 18 years of age. Still, I can say I never had connection with her, as she always told me if I did that she would publish it and live with me in spite of everybody. This I did not wish, as I was well aware of the consequences. Thus ended a very unpleasant affair, with the ruin of a pretty face.

*Aug. 30th.* The Indians continued drinking; one of them, who had received a stab in the knee during the night, came over for me to dress it. The wound was deep and in an ugly place. I had no doubt he would be lame the whole winter. Several of my men purchased dogs from the Indians for liquor. I was surprised to find they were drinking steadily, as I supposed the rum I had let them have must have given out. On inquiry I was informed they had a 9-gallon keg of high wine. I instantly examined my baggage, and found one keg wanting in Lagassé's canoe. I could get no intelligence of this keg, though I found the place where it had been hauled ashore, a little below camp. I quarreled and abused them all, but everyone pretended ignorance. I came back, telling them I would be soon revenged for their roguery. Not long afterward we saw an Indian coming down the riverside with the keg on his shoulder; he beckoned to us to come for him, which we did, and found it was the keg of high wine, out of which about a gallon had been taken. I recompensed the fellow for his trouble, and wished him to inform me who had stolen the keg; but he would not tell me, only saying he had found it in the woods.



*Sunday, Aug. 31st.* The Indians were sober, though some of them were troublesome and wanted liquor; others went hunting. I arranged everything with Mr. Langlois, whom I intended to leave here with half the property, and was soon ready to proceed on my journey; but the Indians were continually alarmed. At ten o'clock one of them returned in a great hurry, telling us he had seen three horsemen in the meadow going at full speed southward; one was mounted on a light-colored horse. In a few minutes Gueule Platte arrived and said he had been pursued by three horsemen, who attempted to intercept his route to camp; but his horse being fresh and more fleet than theirs, he escaped. He seemed to be in a great fright. This news spread alarm in the Indian camp on the opposite shore. All the women fell to work instantly to dig holes in the ground on the bank for themselves and their children to hide in. The Red Suckers band did not stir from my camp, saying they would die with us. Two of them set off with one of my men on horseback, on discoveries [*i. e.*, to scout or reconnoiter]. We arranged our baggage and camp as advantageously as the ground would permit. The Indians wished me to cross the river and camp with them, telling me that the Sioux, having nothing to interrupt their passage, would rush upon us and destroy us before we could put ourselves in any state of defense; whereas, upon the other side, the enemy would have the river to cross to attack us. I declined this proposal, telling them I did not believe there was any real danger. My notion in keeping my ground was to convince the Indians that I did not fear any danger, as by this means I hoped to get more of them to follow me. Had I appeared alarmed their fright would have been still greater, and probably they would all have returned below. I went over to see their trenches. There were three principal ones about 20 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. These were intended for the men to defend themselves in, whilst the women and children lie close on the bottom. I was sur-

prised to see how expeditious they had been, having neither hoes nor spades. They used axes to cut the earth; the women and children with their hands threw it into kettles and on blankets, and then tossed it up. At five o'clock the discovering [scouting] party returned, having been on the spot where Gueule Platte said he had been pursued. They saw the tracks of three red deer, which must have been the cause of his fright. I have often observed that the red deer, particularly at this season, when their horns are full grown, have at a distance a great resemblance to horsemen. The women and children lay in their trenches all night, the men in their cabins. I kept watch during the night, for I suspected the Saulteurs were rogues enough to give us a false alarm, to induce me to winter here and send nobody above, or even to return below, where they apprehended no danger.

*Monday, Sept. 1st.* Early this morning the Sucker band again set out on discoveries, and we soon heard several shots on the plain. This was certainly the Sioux, who had laid in wait and killed them. The Indians flew to arms, and ran to the meadows; but I contented myself with sending two men, whilst I remained with the others to take care of my property. At ten o'clock they all returned loaded with meat, the Red Suckers having fired on a herd of buffalo and killed several. Next, one of my horses was missing, and the Indians insisted that the enemy had taken him. I sent six men to search for him. At five o'clock the discovering party returned. Mr. Langlois, whom I had sent with them, informed me that they had been to the Grand Passage on Panbian [Pembina] river, where they found a bull fresh killed, and another with a broken leg; and thought this must have been done by our men. To this the Saulteurs would not agree, and held a council whether they should return to the Forks or remain here; but I paid no more attention to them, seeing they did all in their power to prevent one from going above. Tabashaw was perpetually urging them to return

to the Forks and go thence to Portage la Prairie, but I circumvented his proceedings so well that he always failed. The Red Suckers band were the only ones who appeared inclined to follow me. I informed them I intended to resume my journey to-morrow morning, but they begged for one day more to go again on discoveries along Red river, which I promised them.

*Sept. 2d.* Early this morning two parties of the Sucker band set off, some afoot, some on horseback. The Indians who were to remain insisted on taking their debts; but I put them off, as I thought they were too unsettled in mind at present. I hired one to go in search of my horse, but he was unsuccessful.

This evening I had a joke on my two seconds. I had a small keg of bad West India rum, which I broke open. Langlois was the first to taste it. He smacked his lips, and said it was the best French brandy he had ever tasted. Desmarais was then helped; he observed that French brandy was the only liquor of which he was a competent judge; that his friend had often attempted to deceive him by adulterating that liquor, but that he always discovered the cheat. He, too, began to smile, tasted, and smacked his lips, swearing it was real cognac, the only liquor he relished. Great praises were bestowed by them both on the flavor and richness of French brandy, as superior to any other spirits. I had a hearty laugh when I told them it was bad West India rum.

*Sept. 3d.* Early this morning a party went after their friends who left yesterday. An Indian child fell into the river, and was at the point of drowning, when an Indian jumped in, and drew up the child in a state of insensibility; it was some time before it recovered. Langlois and Desmarais had a glass of colored high wine to-day, which they praised as the best West India rum they ever drank; "how nice and pleasant," said they; "unlike that nasty strong stuff, high wine." I had a second laugh at them, when they swore never more to pretend to judge liquor.

Notwithstanding buffaloes and other animals are so numerous, we are again obliged to depend upon our hooks and lines. We take plenty of catfish and lacaishe. The Indians are too much alarmed to hunt, and I think it prudent to send my own men. At two o'clock the discovering party returned, but had seen only two or three wounded bulls, and a dead one, which must have been shot by some of us. I sent Langlois in two canoes with his baggage to camp at the entrance of Reed river, on the spot where I intended he should build. The canoes having returned, we gummed and prepared for departure to-morrow, giving one of my large canoes to the Indians to embark their families, as they supposed they would be safer all together, in one large canoe, than separated in small ones. I leave exactly one-half of my goods here, in charge of Michel Langlois.

Those who remain here are : Langlois, wife, and child ; Lagassé and wife ; Masson [wife, and two children ?] ; Hamel, Roy, Dubois, Pouliot, and the wife and two children of Desmarais ; total, 16.<sup>69</sup>

Those who go above are : myself, Desmarais, Bellegarde, Daisville, Roger [*sic*], Benoit, Larocque, sr., Larocque, jr., Beauchemin, Lafrance, Barbé, Charbonneau, McDonald, and Pierre (the negro). Thus we are 14 men, and we have not one woman or child with us.

<sup>69</sup> Compare the list on pp. 49-52. The copy before me gives " 16 " total. The discrepancy occurs in the case of Masson, of whose family nothing appears in the former list, but who is here credited with a representation of " 4 " persons.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE PARK RIVER POST, 1800-01.

SEPT. 4th. Loaded my canoes, and went along with them to the river, when, giving all hands a dram, I sent them off. I remained some time with Langlois, directing him to equip Indians, and send them inland as soon as possible; that done, he was to make up a small assortment of goods for Hair hills, and send Lagassé with two men to build a hut there. I had previously settled with Nanaundeyea to guide them and point out the place where they should build. I had been given by him to understand that we should see some Crees and Snakes, who generally hunt opposite this place in the hills. But he tells me it is too early to go there now. It is the common war road of the Sioux at this season; therefore, they should not set out until about Oct. 1st, when he supposes there will be little or no danger. I left one horse with Langlois for this purpose, and took the other two with me. Desmarais rides one, and I the other. Owlshead and Ponis<sup>1</sup> bid farewell to all hands, white and black, the latter telling me that in a month's time the Sioux would dance to some of our scalps. At ten o'clock Desmarais and myself mounted, and went after our canoes. I could not at this time say how many Indians were going with me; they appeared mostly inclined to remain. We came on to the Grand Marais, where we shot a bull and some wild fowl, and soon overtook my people, who were camped on a pretty spot at the Eagle's Nest, in the open meadow [in the vicinity of present Dufferin]. Our tents at a distance had

<sup>1</sup> Two names which have not appeared before, but are doubtless synonyms of two Indians already listed on pp. 53, 54.

a beautiful effect. It is not more than three leagues in a direct line from where we started this morning. The country for two miles from the river is overgrown by low willows. The course of the river is very crooked; the current is smooth, and in some places rather strong, but there are no rapids. The land on the E. side is well wooded for a mile in depth; then succeed low poplars and willows for two miles more, where the plains commence. This evening the following Indians and their families camped with me: Maymiutch; Crooked Legs; Aupersay; Charlo; Acegue-manche; Liard; Crow; Little Crane. These eight men were all I expected to go with me.

*Sept. 5th.* Early I sent the Indians ahead on discoveries; they had but one horse among them. At nine o'clock I sent off the canoes; Desmarais and myself proceeded by land. We came to Panbian [Pembina<sup>2</sup>] river and crossed it

<sup>2</sup> Henry is near the parallel of 49° N. when he starts, and soon crosses the line, passing from Manitoba into N. Dakota as he goes up the W. side of Red r., and having Minnesota on the E. In so doing he goes through West Lynn, Man., opposite which is Emerson, Man., and through Huron, N. Dak., at once; but it is still some little distance to Pembina, N. Dak., opposite which is St. Vincent, Minn.; then comes the mouth of Pembina r., close to which were Chaboillez's and Grant's houses; and it is then a little way to the U. S. Fort Pembina, N. Dak. So many points so near together naturally raise the question, where does the forty-ninth parallel cross Red r.? The full answer would involve a long history of international endeavor to fix the position of the line. David Thompson was here Mar. 14th-21st, 1798, as the guest of the elder Chaboillez, in whose house he spent the week observing, drawing, and writing. He determined the position of the house to be lat. 48° 58' 24" N., long. 97° 16' 40" W. He also says that there were 95 Chippeway men about the place, trading with the N. W. Co. and H. B. Co., showing that the latter had also a post at that time. Aug. 5th, 1823, Major Long's party arrived on the ground, for the purpose of determining and marking the parallel, some question concerning which had meanwhile arisen. He planted a flagstaff in what he called Camp Monroe, in honor of the President of the U. S., and its position was determined by repeated observations to be 48° 59' 57.20" N. The required distance to 49° being measured off, an oak post was set up to mark the boundary, lettered G. B. on the N. side and U. S. on the other; guns were fired, and the major proclaimed the result with due ceremony. But in April, 1870, when the U. S. military reservation for Fort Pembina was located, it was found by the engineers in charge of that work that the recognized boundary was nearly a mile (some

to the old fort which was built in 1797-98 by Mr. Chaboillez. Opposite the entrance of this river, on the E. side of Red river, are the remains of an old fort built by Mr. Peter

4,700 feet) too far S. This discovery led directly to the establishment of the U. S. Northern Boundary Commission, which worked in 1872-76 in co-operation with a corresponding British Commission, and ran the line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky mts., a distance of about 850 m. The determination of 49° on the Red r. was made in 1872, and is still in force : see note <sup>28</sup>, p. 25. I well remember the agitation of the subject in June, 1873, when I arrived with Major Twining and other officers at Fort Pembina, then a well-built and garrisoned military post, where we made our headquarters before taking the field westward. We were transported from Moorhead in a steamboat belonging to James J. Hill, since the distinguished president of the G. N. Ry.

Chaboillez's house was built in 1797, the same year that he abandoned his position on Rat r.; he wintered here 1797-98, but, as we see, had left it in 1800, when Henry came by. His post became known as Fort Paubna, which stood on the S. side of present Pembina r., at or near its mouth. Grant's earlier one was on the E. side of Red r., about opposite, thus nearly or exactly on the site of present St. Vincent. (Compare May 17th, 1801, beyond.) The exact date of Grant's house seems to have been lost, but was no doubt early in the '90's. Peter Grant was born 1764; he entered the N. W. Co. as clerk in 1784, and became a partner in 1791; was at Lac la Rouge with one Desmarais in 1789; built a post on R. la Coquille in 1794; was met by Thompson near Grand Portage, July 20th, 1797; was proprietor of the Rainy Lake post in 1799, and afterward in charge of the Red River department, in which most of his active life was spent. He signed the Montreal articles of agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys. On retiring he settled at St. Anne, Bout de l'Île, and died at Lachine in 1848. Peter is to be distinguished from several contemporaneous Grants in the fur-trade and especially from Cuthbert Grant. The latter was sent in 1786 with one Leroux, by Peter Pond, to Great Slave l., to establish at or near the mouth of Great Slave r. the post later called Fort Resolution; he wrecked two canoes and drowned five men on Slave r., at a place hence called Portage des Noyés. He was at Fort Chipewyan Sept. 12th, 1789, the day that A. McKenzie returned there from the Arctic ocean. He is named by D. Thompson at Grand Portage, July 22d, 1797, as agent of the N. W. Co. for "back of Red River"; he and Thompson traveled together that year to his post of 1797-98, on the Assiniboine, 21 m. below the Elbow, lat. 51° 26' 10" N., long. 101° 57' 03" W., according to Thompson's observations. He arrived at Grand Portage again July 2d, 1798, and died in 1799, before Aug. of that year. David Grant, who was in the N. W. Co. in 1789, or earlier, is called in 1796 an experienced old trader, at that time in opposition to the N. W. Co. James Grant was clerk and interpreter of the N. W. Co. in the Fond du Lac Department in 1804. The Grant whom Pike met on the upper Mississippi in 1805-06 is nowhere mentioned by his first name: see Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 133, 136, 137, 139,

Grant some years ago; this was the first establishment [of the N. W. Co.] ever built on Red river.

Panbian river<sup>3</sup> takes its rise out of the Ribbone lakes or

140, 142, 144, 146, 155, 156, 175, 176, 180, 184, 189, 190, 191, 261. The interval between Peter Grant and C. J. B. Chaboillez is a blank for Pembina; thus Tanner "found no people, whites or Indians," when he got there (probably in summer of 1797, though his dates are all slippery). To the foregoing posts at the mouth of Pembina r., add the one Henry caused Langlois to build in the summer of 1801, on the N. side: see May 17th-19th, 1801, beyond; add the one the H. B. Co. started to build on the E. side of Red r., Sept. 13th, 1801: see that date beyond; add the X. Y. Co. house built by J. Crébassa, Sept., 1801. After Henry's time, in the fall of 1812, Fort Daer was built by the H. B. Co. on the N. side of Pembina r. and W. side of Red r., site of present Pembina town, and named for Baron Daer (Lord Selkirk). In the spring of 1823 the H. B. post and Catholic mission moved down to Fort Douglas; and that summer the town had grown up to about 60 cabins, with 350 persons, of whom two-thirds were half-breeds, the rest Swiss and Scotch settlers (Keating). In 1870 the H. B. Co. were still maintaining an establishment there, on supposed British soil; this they were allowed to retain, on request and by courtesy, pending the final readjustment of the boundary.

<sup>3</sup> The sources of Pembina r. are on the N. and N. E. slopes of Turtle mt., W. of the Pembina mts., about long. 100°. The lakes of which Henry speaks are somewhat further E. Rib Bone translates F. Placotte correctly, but is easily corrupted to Ribbon and even Riband. We hear of *placottes* when it is a matter of taking out certain rib pieces in cutting up buffalo; and we observe that Tanner says, p. 133: "We went to Pekaukaune Sakhiegun, (Buffalo Hump Lake,) two days' journey from the head of Pembinah River." Three of the largest of these lakes are now called Pelican, Rock, and Swan; between the first two of these are two small ones, Lake Lorne and Lake Louise, lately named for personages prominent in Canadian politics and society. At Swan l., where there is an Indian reserve of that name, occupying nearly a township, the river is at its northernmost bend. Thence its general course is about S. E. till it crosses the parallel of 49° about 10 m. W. of long. 98°, not far from a place called Elkwood. Thence it continues in North Dakota, running S. E. in Cavalier Co., and then nearly E. through Pembina Co.; but it almost touches 49° again near Gretna, Man., where a branch of the Canadian Pacific meets one of the Great Northern Ry. The approximation to the boundary is closer there, in fact, than at the mouth of the river. The Pembina has many tributaries, but the principal branch is Tongue r., which falls in through Pembina Co. about 4 m. up stream from the town of Pembina.

Henry's Hair hills are those now known as Pembina mts., though hardly to be dignified as such. They form for a long distance the western boundary of the valley of the Red r., and to the same extent represent the eastern edge of the prairie plateau which stretches thence westward to the Coteau of the Mis-



Lacs du Placotte, a chain of lakes running about E. S. E. on the W. side of the Hair hills. Its first course is about

souri, though they are for the most part well wooded. The eastern acclivity of the range is greatest about lat.  $49^{\circ}$  N., on and near the boundary of the U. S., whence it gradually subsides into rolling prairie, both N. and S. of that parallel. It is difficult to say how long and broad these hills are, from their extreme irregularity and very gradual sloping in all directions, as well as the elasticity of the name as used by different persons; but the Hair hills or Pembina mts., more properly so called, lie nearly N. and S., mainly in the Dakotan counties of Nelson, Grand Forks, Walsh, Cavalier, and Pembina, and extend thence into the district of Lisgar in Manitoba. Pembina r. is a large stream which traverses a gorge eastward to seek the Red r., running N. first in Manitoba and then in N. Dak., and falling in close to the boundary. Scratching r. takes a similar course in Manitoba, further N., while in Dakota the principal other streams which flow eastward into Red r. from these elevations, successively from N. to S., are Park r., Salt r., Turtle r., and Goose r. Pembina r. enters Red r. in Pembina Co., N. Dak., 2 m. S. of  $49^{\circ}$ , between the town of Pembina and Fort Pembina; 4 m. above its mouth it receives Tongue r., its principal tributary, coming from the S. W. Henry traversed his Hair hills repeatedly, in various directions, and has much to say about them, during his residence at different places in the Red River dept. His use of the term is broad enough to cover not only the Pembina mts. in strictness, but all the elevated country on the W. of the Red River basin. He seldom, if ever, uses the name Pembina in any form for these hills; but consistently applies it to the river in the forms *Panbian* and *Paubian*, occasionally *Pambian* or *Pembian*, very rarely *Panbina*, etc. The word, which occurs in various other forms, as *Paubna*, etc., is clipped from the Ojibway name of a certain acid red berry, the fruit of *Viburnum opulus*. This is a caprifoliaceous plant, commonly called cranberry-tree, or high cranberry-bush; the varieties which produce the edible berries have been named *V. oxycoccus* and *V. edule*; a cultivated sterile variety is the well-known snowball-bush or guelder-rose. This plant is not related botanically to the true cranberries (*Vaccinium oxycoccus* and *V. macrocarpon*). The *b* in the name *Pembina* is intrusive, for the word is *anepeminan*, from *nepin*, summer, and *minan*, berry, or, as others say, *nipi-mina*. Tanner, who could not talk English when he was on Red r. in Henry's time, but spoke a sort of Ojibway, probably of the Court Oreille or Ottawa dialect, says, p. 80: "at this place, (since called Pembinah,) where the *Nebenninahneseebe* enters Red River," etc.; his editor, Dr. James, translates this High Craneberry r., and renders Red r. from Miskawgumme-wesebee. Keating's Long, II. 1824, p. 42, has: "a small stream, called by the Chippewas *Anepeminan sipi*." Larocque's Mandan journal, 1804-05, in Masson, I. 1889, has *Pain Binatat*, p. 313, and *Pimbina* elsewhere. In 1798 Thompson Englished the name as Summer Berry r. The fruit itself is still so called. The accent of the word Pembina is on the first syllable.

E. for many leagues. The valley through which it runs is about two miles broad, bounded by high hills which are practically wooded. It then bends S. E. for about the same distance, when it turns E. and enters the great level plains, where its banks are well lined with large wood, to its junction with Red river, after the confluence of Tongue river, which comes from the S. W. This takes its waters from several branches that are supplied by small lakes on the Hair hills; the streams join about two leagues before they empty into Red river.

We had a quarter of a mile of strong wood<sup>4</sup> to pass through on either side of Panbian river to reach the plains. Having seen my canoes pass at this place, we proceeded through a narrow winding path to the open country, when suddenly we heard the neighing of a horse, apparently in pursuit of us. Desmarais and myself instantly held a council. Who could it be? Our Indians had but one horse and he was gone ahead; we had seen his tracks where he had crossed the little river. It must be the Sioux—there was no time to lose! We turned off from the path a few paces and took our stand behind some large oaks, where we primed our guns and remained in suspense. But in a few moments we perceived Aupersay coming on Crow's mare. This was an agreeable surprise. He had chased a herd of red deer on the S. side of Panbian river, where he took to the woods in pursuit of them and crossed the river; but killed none. He came down upon the N. side to look for us, and observing where we had crossed had followed us. We three went on together, and soon overtook the Indians, who were approaching a herd of cows. Bulls were so numerous that, though we passed them at about 100 paces, they did not run, but only turned to stare at us. For three miles beyond Panbian river the ground is

<sup>4</sup> A phrase of frequent recurrence in Henry, translating *F. bois fort*, or *bois forts*, which he also uses. It means thick woods, or, as we should say, heavy timber. Some bands of Indians living in wooded country are distinguished from others by the same term.

overgrown with willows, which are twisted and torn up by red deer in many places. We saw several droves at the end of these willows. We then came upon a level plain, with no woods whatever except what lined Red river, which stretched ahead of us as far as the eye could reach. To the N. W. appeared a few spots of wood on the banks of Tongue river. We came to two small lakes, which were covered with swans, geese, and ducks of various kinds; white and gray cranes were also numerous. We next passed opposite Two Rivers,<sup>5</sup> where I thought proper to wait for my canoes, whilst the Indians went hunting red deer, which, being now in the rutting season, are heard in every direction excepting toward the plains.

I desired Desmarais to order my people to camp here, whilst I went on horseback with Crow to chase a bull we saw near at hand. But he declined, saying his horse was too weak. I pursued the bull alone. Just as I came up to him at full speed and prepared to fire, my horse suddenly stopped. The bull had turned about to face my horse, which was naturally afraid of buffaloes and startled at such a frightful object; he leaped to one side to avoid the bull. As I was not prepared for this I was pitched over his head, and fell within a few yards of the bull's nose; but fortunately for me he paid no more attention to my horse than to me. The grass was long and I lay quiet until a favorable opportunity offered as he presented his placotte. I dis-

<sup>5</sup> Present name of a stream in Kittson Co., Minn., so called because its two main courses unite but little above its entrance into Red r. The county seat, Hallock, is on the largest stream, as are other places, named Hazleton, Percy, Pelan, and Greenbush; on the other fork is Northcote. The G. N. Ry. crosses both branches at Hallock and Northcote respectively, between Kennedy and Fairview. There is no named place at the mouth of Two Rivers; but opposite it, at a little distance, is Joliette, on the N. P. R. R. Hallock was founded a few years ago by my friend Charles Hallock, Esq., formerly of New York, as a sort of sportsman's resort. Mr. Hallock and I were fellow travelers in Labrador in 1860. He established Forest and Stream in New York in 1873, and long edited that still flourishing weekly. He is the author of the Sportsman's Gazetteer and many other writings, and when I last heard from him, in 1895, was living at Moorhead, N. C.: see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 326.

charged both barrels of my double gun at him; he turned and made one plunge toward me, but had not time to repeat it before he fell, with his nose not more than three paces off. I must acknowledge he gave me a fright. My horse had gone at full speed in search of Crow's mare. I returned to Desmarais on foot. Crow had gone hunting red deer.

At five o'clock the canoes arrived and camped. My men told me they had seen a great many red deer and bears crossing the river; large herds were seen at every turn of the river. The Indians on board the canoes killed four otters [*Lutra canadensis*] and three beavers. They complained of my men making so much noise all day that it prevented them from killing bears and other large animals. This evening the hunters returned, having killed four biches and one bull, all extremely fat.

Two Rivers, opposite which we are camped, derives its name from the circumstance of dividing about three miles from its mouth into two forks, each of which after its separation takes a contrary course, one southward and the other northward; these forks are again divided into many other smaller branches, which come from a considerable distance, and take their waters out of large marshes W. of Lac des Bois. Near the entrance of this river is an excellent salt pit.

*Sept. 6th.* The Indians set out early, going ahead by land to hunt. At nine o'clock the canoes got off. I soon followed on horseback, but had not gone over two leagues when I found the Indians waiting for me. They had killed four bears and eight red deer. While I waited for my canoes the Indians began to talk about liquor.

At one o'clock the canoes arrived and gave us a momentary alert [alarm, by] saying they had seen fresh horse dung below the points, where two horses had drunk yesterday. The fellows were in such a hurry to tell me this news that they did not properly describe the place, but gave us wrong information. It made all hands very uneasy, when



the Indians said they would go no further. But on further inquiry I found it was Crow's mare and my horse that had occasioned the alarm. I wished to prevail upon the Indians to proceed, but in vain. Their excuse was that they wished to kill a few bears to make oil, and procure some red deer skins. They told me if I would give them some liquor for the meat they had given me they would remain here four days only, and would then follow me as far as Park river; but if I passed that place they would all return below. Observing this to be their settled plan, I gave them half a keg of mixed liquor and some tobacco, telling them I would go ahead to look out for a proper place to build a fort. I then sent off the canoes. The Indians again told me that if I went higher up than Park river they were determined to return, as they would not risk their families to follow me any further than that into the Sioux country. We followed our canoes, leaving the Indians to enjoy their liquor. We had not gone over a mile when we saw some people running afoot in the plains. On perceiving us they seemed to hide in the long grass and only show their heads as if to examine our motions. Desmarais and myself were at a loss how to act. I was uneasy about my canoes, and to return to the Indians without being fully satisfied would not answer. We therefore had but one way to act. We knew our horses were good runners and long-winded, and the people we saw were on foot. We primed our guns and advanced toward them at full gallop; they kept their ground. We soon observed they wore hats, which was a pleasant sight. We came up to them and found they were some of our men busy digging young wolves out of their holes. They had seen a large drove on the beach and pursued them for a joke. I desired the men to embark and proceed with all possible dispatch to the Bois Percé. Desmarais and myself went ahead, determined to have no more false alarms. On approaching the Bois Percé we found immense herds of buffalo, which appeared to touch the river and extend westward on the plains as far as the

eye could reach. The meadows were alive with them. On the E. side of the river we now for the first time saw buffaloes; they appeared to be fully as many as there were on the W. side. This is the first place we have found in coming up the river where the plain on that side comes down to the water and forms an open communication with that of the W. side. It is from this circumstance that this spot derives its name of Bois Percé.

As we did not wish to raise the buffalo, we tied our horses on the spot where I wished my people to camp. Desmarais and I went after buffalo; we soon crawled within gunshot, and each opened fire in turn, keeping ourselves concealed as much as possible in the long grass. At every shot they would start, but did not appear inclined to run off. We both emptied our powder horns, and by that time several cows were down. Having no more ammunition we went to dress our cows; but the herd started and with them all our wounded cows—not one remained on the spot. We were mortified to have fired so many shots to no purpose. We came back to where we had left our horses, and found the canoes had just arrived.

Whilst we were arranging camp I saw a bear on the E. side of the river, a little above us, coming down to drink. I crossed over and followed him; he soon stopped within a few paces and ran up a large oak. I shot him between the shoulders and he fell to the ground like a log, but in a moment was scampering away as fast as he could. I traced him by the blood and soon found him sitting under a brush-heap, grumbling and licking his wounds. A second shot dispatched him. By the hideous scream he uttered when he fell from the tree I imagined he was coming at me, and was waiting for him with my second barrel cocked when he ran off. I went for my two men, and it was hard work for us three to draw him to the canoe; he was very fat. I found that my first ball had gone through his heart. I was surprised that he should have been so active after a wound of that kind.

The ground along the river is worn down by the buffalo, especially at every bend of the river westward, where the plains run down to the water, and where the herds come day and night to drink, returning to the plains to feed. The Bois Percé, near which we are camped, has been a great crossing-place for many years. The ground on both sides is worn as smooth as a pavement, and the number of roads at the crossing, some of which are a foot deep, is really surprising. Considering the hard sod through which these tracks are beaten, I am at a loss to form any idea how many herds must have passed. My people saw many raccoons in the course of the day, and shot four.

*Sunday, Sept. 7th.* At nine o'clock sharp I sent off the canoes. The river makes a bend to the W. for some miles, when it resumes its southern direction. The river is deep, as at the forks, and the current is not very strong; no stones are to be seen. Desmarais and myself kept on ahead of the canoes. We saw buffalo in abundance, but did not disturb them, having plenty of fresh meat. At twelve o'clock we waited for the canoes; they arrived in three hours, when it began to rain, and we camped.

They had difficulty in coming up some shallow places, where the channels were narrow and difficult to find amongst the lumps of clay. Our situation not being proper for defense, and the rain coming on, I sent off the canoes, whilst Desmarais and myself went on ahead. We found a young bull with a broken leg. We killed him to examine the wound and found he had been shot with ball in two places; this made us rather uneasy. For the first time I perceived that Desmarais feared the Sioux were at hand. However, we determined to say nothing about this affair to the men, who were getting very uneasy and wished me to pitch upon a place to build a fort. We came on about three miles and waited for the canoes. Here we saw another wounded bull, which increased our anxiety. The buffalo, however, appeared to be quiet. Whilst we waited for the canoes, several herds on the E. side came down to

drink. We observed, also, on the opposite beach no fewer than seven bears drinking, all at the same time. The red deer were whistling in every direction, but our minds were not sufficiently at ease to enjoy our situation. A large white wolf, prowling rather imprudently, came within a few yards of us, and I shot him dead. When the canoes arrived the men swore they had seen horse tracks along the shore, but I did not believe them, as I supposed it to be buffalo tracks. Desmarais and myself nearly made the same mistake. On arrival at the Bois Percé yesterday we found the fresh track, as we supposed, of a horse along the beach, where the ground was too hard for the print of the hoof to penetrate; we followed it for some distance, persuaded it was a horse track, till, coming to a soft spot, we perceived the cleft prints of a buffalo's hoofs. About dusk it began to rain hard, and continued through the night. I had great difficulty to keep my horse from going back in search of Crow's mare; he is a headstrong, powerful beast, and requires a strong double codline to hold him.

*Sept. 8th.* The rain ceased, but the wind continued strong and cold. At eight o'clock I sent the canoes off; Desmarais and myself went on horseback. The buffaloes were all in motion, crossing from E. to W. side of the river, and directing their course toward the Hair hills as fast as they could walk. We chased several herds, and had fine sport, but killed only two fine fat cows. We each carried a small load of meat down to the river, for the canoes to take as they passed by. Here I lost one of my spurs. We determined to run buffalo no more, as it might be the means of our discovery by the Sioux. Having hung up the meat in a tree near the river, we set out, and did not stop until we reached Park river,<sup>6</sup> at two o'clock. Here we

<sup>6</sup> Park r., orig. R. aux Parcs of the F., arises by many headwaters in the elevated lands which continue S. from the Pembina mts., draining S. E. and then E. into the Red r. Some of its upper waters are in Cavalier and Pembina cos., N. Dak.; but most of these, and the whole of the main stream which they compose, run in Walsh Co., and empty about the S. E. section of the N.



found a wounded bull, which I killed to examine. The wound was occasioned by a ball not many days past. Desmarais said it had been done by an arrow. We tied our horses at the entrance of this little [Park] river, and searched for a proper spot to build, as I saw it was useless for me to attempt going further. I was well assured the Indians would not follow me. My men began to murmur very much; even Desmarais, who is a veteran, and one of the first who ever came up this river, seriously advised me to think about building. We went up [Park] river about a mile, when we fell in with two large harts; we killed one, and wounded the other, but did not go after him. Took off the skin and cut up the meat; the fat was four inches thick upon the rump. Being very thirsty, we attempted to drink at the river, but found the water a perfect brine. Having put our meat in safety for the night, and discovered this salt-water [Park] river, which is the first I have seen in this country, and on which I saw it would be impossible to build, even were the woods proper, we returned to our horses, and, as night was approaching, deferred our search until to-morrow. The entrance of this river is frequented by buffalo, red deer, moose, and bears; indeed, it appears that the higher we go, the more numerous are red deer and bears. On the beach raccoon tracks are plentiful. Wolves are numerous and insolent.

About dark the canoes arrived, the men fatigued and in bad humor. They had again seen a wounded buffalo on the E. side of Red river, and a bunch of leaves laid upon the shore where some person had drank. This had given them

E. township of this county. Two of the principal tributaries are South and Middle forks; a third is called Cart cr.; this is joined by the N. fork; the stream resulting from the confluence of Cart cr. with the Middle fork is joined by the South fork, a short distance above Grafton, county seat of Walsh, which is situated on the main Park r., about 12 m. in an air-line W. of Red r. In coming to this place from Two Rivers, Henry has passed Pittsburgh and Drayton, N. Dak., both on the river, and the latter on the N. P. R. R.; and has passed successively opp. Mattson, Teien, and Robbin, Minn., but has not come as far as opp. the mouth of Snake r., which runs in Marshall Co., Minn.

a serious alarm, and had I not told them this morning that I should stop here, I believe they would have returned. They had met with some shallow places, and had trouble to find their passage amongst the lumps of clay. They had seen a great number of sturgeon at those shallow places, and had killed one with my ax, which made us a good supper.

*Sept. 9th.* Early this morning I sent four men for the meat, who soon returned with it on their backs. I went in search of a proper place to build. I found none so well situated for defense, with timber at hand, as a point of wood on the W. side, about a quarter of a mile from the entrance of Park river, with a beautiful level plain intervening. I should have preferred to build at the entrance, but there was no wood on the one side, and the land was too low on the other. We also examined the E. side of Red river, but there the land was low, subject to overflow in the spring, with no wood but very large elms and oaks, too heavy for the men to stir.

This being settled, the canoes drifted down to the place I had chosen. Our first work was to unload and carry our baggages and canoes up the hill, which is about 30 feet high. We then arranged camp in the best order possible for defense, and made a suitable stage near by, to hold fresh meat, etc. I opened a case of ironworks [hardware]; gave each man a large ax to put in order, and then a dram of high wine. I then trenched out the spot for our fort, which I wished to make as compact as possible.

At four o'clock a herd of buffalo came down to drink, very near camp. I sent Desmarais to fire at them; he did so, but only wounded one cow; he came for his horse to chase her, as she had left the herd and was running alone; I saddled mine also, and went with him; we soon overtook and killed her. While he was cutting her up, I went after a wounded bull which I saw not far off. Having shot him, I found his wound was not more than a few days old. His leg had been badly broken, which con-

vinced me that it happened not far from this place, as he could scarcely walk. On returning I observed southward herds of buffalo, as far as the eye could reach, all running at full speed nearly toward us, but inclining to the open plain. Desmarais informed me that when he fired at the herd that was drinking, he saw a herd pass out in the plain in the same direction, and at full speed. We did not know what to think of this; certainly they must have been started, or even pursued by some people; otherwise they would not have run so far. Wolves sometimes start them, but then they run no great distance. They continued to run until we lost sight of them; this made us very uneasy. We took up our flesh and reached camp about dark.

I had seen on our way home a large flock of swans [*Olor columbianus*] rise out of Red river, about a mile above camp, apparently in a state of alarm and confusion. As soon as we had unloaded and fettered our horses, I broke open our gun cases and gave each man a gun, with some powder and ball. I then sent for three of my bravest men, told them what we had seen, and that I apprehended danger. But I did not wish them to mention it, and desired them to take their blankets and guns and keep watch during the night at particular places, which I pointed out. During the conversation, two of my brave fellows turned pale, and their lips began to quiver with fear; but as it would have been of no use to choose others, I stationed them at their posts, with orders to wake us upon the least noise. Having seen everything in order for defense and our fire put out, I lay down in my cloak. About midnight one of my sentries awoke Desmarais, saying he had seen a band of Sioux pass through the woods on horseback. Desmarais, suspecting the fellow of cowardice, told him to be quiet and show him where they had passed. He found it was my horse, which had strayed past this fellow, who lay asleep, and, perceiving the white blanket, had stopped and begun to snort as the man awoke, when, seeing the blanket move, he had run away as fast as his fetters

would permit, prancing and snorting. All was quiet again till another alarm was given by a man not on guard. He awoke me, saying he had heard a great noise in the plains, as if a number of horsemen were coming. I desired him to make no noise, while I went with him to the entrance of the woods, not more than 100 paces from my tent. There we had listened but a short time, when a large herd of buffalo came rushing down to the river to drink. This cleared up the second alarm. Everything was quiet during the rest of the night, except the bellowing of buffaloes in every direction and the whistling of red deer.

*Sept. 10th.* All hands were up early, and, having cracked some jokes at the expense of the brave sentry, I gave them all a dram and set them at work to build a storehouse, to get the goods under cover as soon as possible. Some were employed chopping logs, others cutting hay to cover, and others making wooden shovels. We have no other wood for building but oak.

This afternoon Crow arrived on horseback, having left the Indians at the Bois Percé ; they were coming up slowly. He was happy to find us building, and tells me I shall take out some good packs of beaver. We saw a band of red deer cross the river a little below camp, and soon four large black bears crossed. Desmarais went after them, but to no purpose.

Park river, near which we are settled, derives its name from the fact that the Assiniboines once made a park or pound on this river for buffalo. It receives its waters from a large lake and marshes in the Hair hills, which come down in three branches [present South fork, Middle fork, and Cart creek] to within about 15 miles of Red river, in a direct line, where they join nearly at the same spot to form one stream, which is here fine, clear water, with a sandy bottom. A few miles lower down is a lake three miles in circumference, which lies 200 paces from this river, on the N. side. This lake is an entire salt pit, which empties into Park river by a deep, narrow channel ; this con-



taminates the water, and even the soil, which is soft mud and clay, through which buffalo can scarcely make their way. The water is thick and muddy until it empties into Red river; its banks are almost level with the plain, and but partially wooded. Between this and Panbian river is one continual level plain, where not the least hillock nor wood of any kind is to be seen. The country southward appears to be the same as that we have already passed through.

*Sept. 11th.* I climbed up a tall oak, which I had trimmed for that purpose, at the entrance of the plain, from the top of which I had an extensive view of the country. Buffalo and red deer were everywhere in sight, passing to and fro. The weather being perfectly serene, I could distinguish the Hair hills on the W., though they were scarcely perceptible—nothing more than a blue stripe, running N. and S. The interval is a level meadow, with nothing to attract the eye but the winding course of Park river, whose wood is lost to the sight long before it reaches the hills. The distance may be between 12 and 15 leagues.

At ten o'clock Crow arrived on the only horse the Indians have. He informed me that last summer, when they went to war, they passed along the Hair hills, and that exactly opposite us, on the Middle branch of Park river, and at the foot of the hills, they fell upon a large camp of the enemy, where it appeared they had been tented a long time, and had dried vast quantities of buffalo flesh, but had decamped about 20 days before. This afternoon Charlo and family arrived on foot. He wanted liquor for four bearskins, but I would give him none until all the Indians arrived, when I proposed to sell them liquor for what few skins and provisions they might have; as giving them rum for nothing was out of the question. I had already given them as much as they deserved, and for the future, if they wanted liquor, they must expect to pay for it.

This afternoon my storehouse was finished; I immediately put everything into it, and a padlock on the door. I now desired each man to cut 50 oak stockades 12 feet

long, and carry them to the spot where I proposed erecting the fort. Maymiutch, Liard, and Aceguemanche arrived and camped; they had killed 12 bears. Crow, who had gone hunting, returned, having killed two bears. I shot a wolf that was passing on the opposite side of the river, and killed him dead. My double-barreled gun is an excellent piece. Buffaloes come down to drink, both day and night, near our camp; we seldom molest them, but allow them to return in quiet. The Indians this evening loaded our stage with bears' fat and choice meat. This would have been a glorious time for my men, had not dread of the Sioux deprived them of their appetite and made them only anxious to finish the fort.

*Sept. 12th.* The Indians left early to hunt and make discoveries above. My men were hard at work cutting and carrying the stockades. It required the full strength of two men to carry one log at a time on their shoulders, and though the distance was only about 200 paces, this was laborious, and soon took the skin off. Fear was an excellent overseer, and the work went on with expedition. At twelve o'clock the rest of the Indian families arrived, and soon after the hunters returned, having been up about four leagues to Salt river,<sup>7</sup> where they saw no sign of an enemy; they had killed four bears. I supposed they might now drink in safety, and therefore began to trade rum; they were all soon drunk, men, women, and even some of the children. I settled with Little Crane to hunt for me. I promised that if he would behave well, and kill as many animals as I might require for the season, I would

<sup>7</sup> Salt or Big Salt r. is a stream quite like Park r., on the same side of Red r., and next above or S. of Park r., with which its course is approx. parallel; but it is smaller. It rises in the same continuation of the Pembina mts., and runs chiefly in Walsh Co.; but some of the courses of the Middle and South fork run a little in Nelson Co., while most of the South fork, and much of the main stream below the junctions of all the forks, are in Grand Fork Co.; the mouth is in Walsh Co., only some 8 m. above the mouth of Park r., and about 3 m. above the town of Acton. Big Salt r. must be distinguished from several lesser ones of like name and similar alkaline character.

pay him 60 skins, furnish a gun, and ammunition, and give a clothing to himself and his wife.

*Sept. 13th.* The Indians still drunk, but I would give them no more rum. They fell asleep soon after I refused them. This small band are lambs in comparison with the scoundrels I left at Reed river. I have little trouble with them, as they are not unreasonable. Several men are plagued by a breaking out upon the skin, attended with intolerable itching. I gave them high wine and gunpowder to rub themselves with, which appeared to ease them and dry up the sores. This evening I settled a plan with Maymiutch for future operations, as he apprehended no danger from the enemy at present, the season being advanced when the Sioux resort to St. Peter's river [the Minnesota] to see their traders. He told me the Indians would go up Red river a few miles where there were bears and beaver cabins, and plenty of other animals; there they would remain some time and do for the best. Some of the women said they had heard a shot fired, to the southward, but we put no faith in it. Tekegonabick was disappointed in receiving her payment, by the appearance of Waquegante,<sup>8</sup> who drove her home with a cudgel.

<sup>8</sup> Same person as Waquetoe, No. 26 of list on p. 54. This identification is curiously confirmed by a passage in Tanner, p. 98: "We met with an old Ottawaw chief, called Wagetotahgun, (he that has a bell,) more commonly called Wagetoat. He was a relative of Netnokwa," etc. Here we have two pairs of names, the correspondence of which can hardly be accidental, and I have no doubt they are the same, in different dialects and with phonetic variation in the rendering.

This leads me to remark upon the extremely interesting and historically important relation between Henry and Tanner which has dawned on me by degrees in studying the two narrators. Tanner's Narrative has been since 1830 one of our stock stories of Indian captivity and subsequent Indianizing of a white man. Tanner was stolen from the Ohio at the mouth of the Big Miami, by Shawnees, in the spring of 1789, when he was about nine years old. In a couple of years he was transferred to an Ottawa band, and adopted by old Netnokwa, who thus became his "mother." In the same vicarious manner he acquired numerous relatives in the band, and became as wild an Indian as any of them. During all the years that Henry spent on the Red r., Tanner was roaming the same region as one of the very Indians with whom Henry traded.

*Sunday, Sept. 14th.* The men began early to plant the stockades, the women went for meat, and some of the Indians killed four bears. They say they heard two shots fired above us. I wanted them to go and discover, but they declined, saying they were fatigued. Desmarais went out, and did not return until late; he saw no enemy.

*Sept. 15th.* I equipped my hunter with clothing for himself and his wife, and then gave out to the Indians their necessities for debts to the amount of 20 skins each, and an assortment of small articles gratis, such as one scalper, two folders, and four flints apiece to the men, and to the women two awls, three needles, one seine of net thread, one fine steel, a little vermilion, and half a fathom of tobacco. My hunter killed a large bear near camp; when

Tanner mentions Henry repeatedly, by name; and even alludes to his subsequent death by drowning in the Columbia, p. 68. Tanner's "M'Gilveray," p. 69, is McGillivray. Tanner's "Shabboyea," p. 69, is C. J. B. Chaboillez. Tanner's "M'Kee," p. 94, and "M'Kie," p. 133, is Mr. McKay. Tanner's "M'Glees," p. 96, is Hugh McGillis. As for the Indians whom Henry names, Tanner knew most of them personally. We have already identified Henry's sodomist, or berdash, son of Wiscoup, or Le Sucre, with Tanner's agokwa, son of Weshkobug, the Sweet: see note <sup>57</sup>, p. 53. Tanner has much to say of Chief Tabushshah: compare Chief Tabashaw, No. 2 of Henry's list. Tanner, p. 125, has Ahketoons, the Little Caribou: compare Petit Caribou, No. 34 of Henry's list. Tanner, p. 77, has Wahgekaut or Crooked Legs: compare Henry's Jambes Croches or Crooked Legs, No. 33 of the list. Tanner has much to say of Aisainse or Little Clam, and notes his death, p. 180; this is no other than Petit Coquille or Little Shell, No. 9 of Henry's list. Tanner, p. 102, speaks of "Wawzhekawmaishkoon, whom I called my brother"; this seems to be the same name, if it be not the same Indian, as Henry's No. 14, Aceguemanche. Tanner has many incidents, chiefly brawls and murders, or fights with Sioux, identical with those Henry gives. In fine, *Tanner's Narrative is the Indian side of the story told in Henry's Journal for the Red River region—Henry is Tanner's palimpsest*; and thus do they serve to check, corroborate, illustrate, and amplify each other.

The great trouble with Tanner has always been his lack of dates. There is not a single complete date in the first 259 pages of Dr. James' book. On p. 260, however, we get some reckoning of the years; and in various places we can check Tanner, as by his reference to Lewis and Clark, 1804-05; to the war of 1812-14, etc. Taking one thing with another, by internal evidence—such as Tanner's alternation of the seasons, his sugar-making, his starving winters and traveling or fighting summers, and the like, and especially the new



I instantly sent for it; the hunter, returning with the men, killed another, and Maymiutch killed four more. Desmarais this evening went to seine with the men in two small canoes. They caught one sturgeon, two catfish, six brim, and a number of other small fish. Bulls continued near camp, but the cows kept at a distance. The Indians, proposing to embark to-morrow, were gumming their canoes.

*Sept. 16th.* I sent the men for the bears they killed yesterday; they returned at nine o'clock, and the Indians soon decamped. I gave them one keg of mixed rum to encourage them to hunt and pay their debts. I treated my men also to a dram, as they had labored hard. I sent my hunter in his small canoe to hunt above, with orders to bring down the meat himself, as I found it too troublesome to send my people daily for meat. The Indians having camped not many miles above us, some of them returned half drunk, and plagued me for liquor. I purchased three trained dogs for three quarts of mixed liquor. They remained all night, and never ceased to tease us.

*Sept. 17th.* Early this morning I sent three men for a bear that one of the lads shot yesterday; they returned soon. I once more got all the Indians off to their camps. One of our horses is missing. I have employed Indians

light thrown on his story by Henry—I find it possible to construct a Tanner chronology so accurately that we are seldom a single year out of the way. I find that Tanner tells a straight, coherent, and consecutive story, which can now for the first time be shown up in its proper historical perspective, for all the period of Henry's residence in the Red River region. Tanner's memory must have been prodigiously tenacious for events and incidents of his own life, or he never could have told Dr. James such a story in after years, when he had only gradually come into his white man's mind's estate after its Indianization since childhood. Tanner slips mainly when he tries to adjust to his personal history affairs in which he was not directly concerned. For example: p. 216, he speaks of the murder of "a Mr. M'Donald, or M'Dolland," governor, etc. But this was Governor Miles McDonnell, who was never murdered. Tanner was thinking of the killing of Governor Semple; yet the circumstances of the affair he gives are those of the murder of Owen Keveny, for which Charles de Reinhard was convicted and condemned to death at Quebec in 1818. Tanner's Ottawa name was Shawshawwabenase, translated Falcon; and in the present work he will figure anew as one of Henry's Indian customers!

and my own men to look for him since the 15th, but he cannot be found. Buffaloes continue very numerous; from the top of my oak, or ladder, I counted 15 herds.

My men were employed in cutting up and melting bears' fat, which we pour into red deer skins and wooden troughs; but we have collected such a quantity that we can find no place to store it, and the weather being sultry great quantities spoil. The raw fat will not keep many days, particularly when the weather is sultry, soon turning rancid; but when melted down and properly taken care of, it will keep good and sweet at any season.

*Sept. 18th.* I took my usual morning view from the top of my oak and saw more buffaloes than ever. They formed one body, commencing about half a mile from camp, whence the plain was covered on the W. side of the river as far as the eye could reach. They were moving southward slowly, and the meadow seemed as if in motion. Desmarais went below to look for his horse. At ten o'clock part of the women returned to camp, informing me that their husbands had altered their minds and intended to go up Red river. They had taken their bear-traps on their backs and proceeded S. W. toward the Hair hills, to a place where they had seen beaver last summer when they went to war. This was a dangerous undertaking, of which neither I nor they approved. They had sent me word to take care of their families, as they would bring me beaver or lose their heads.

This afternoon I rode a few miles up Park river. The few spots of wood along it have been ravaged by buffaloes; none but the large trees are standing, the bark of which is rubbed perfectly smooth, and heaps of wool and hair lie at the foot of the trees. The small wood and brush are entirely destroyed, and even the grass is not permitted to grow in the points of wood. The bare ground is more trampled by these cattle than the gate of a farm-yard. This is a delightful country, and, were it not for perpetual wars, the natives might be the happiest people upon earth.

I returned at sunset, having shot a fat cow, the choice pieces of which I brought in. I also killed four bulls, only the tongues of which I took. Desmarais did not return until late; he could not find his horse, and had ceased to look for him, but killed two large cows.

*Sept. 19th.* I sent men for the cows that Desmarais had killed; they returned with one, the other having been devoured by wolves. This afternoon we were obliged to throw away great quantities of bear, biche, and buffalo meat, for in hot weather it soon spoils.

My servant [Desmarais] is such a careless, indolent fellow that I cannot trust the storehouse to his care. I made to-day a complete overhaul, and found everything in the greatest confusion; I had no idea matters were so bad as I found them. I shall for the future take charge myself and find other work for him. Like most of his countrymen, he is much more interested for himself than for his employer, though he has a good salary for his abilities, which are not extraordinary, further than as interpreter. He is allowed £100 per annum, Halifax currency, which is two-thirds more than he deserves.

*Sept. 20th.* At daybreak I awoke my men to begin work; but they assembled around the fire and each began to relate his discoveries. This discourse brought up other matters of their own, and what with cutting tobacco and smoking the sun was high before they thought about their work. I was therefore obliged to reprimand them for their indolence, and remind them of our defenseless situation in case the Sioux should fall upon us. This had the desired effect; they labored with redoubled ardor, and our work went on with great dispatch. At noon two Indians came from above to ask me to send a large canoe for what they had collected at their tents.<sup>9</sup> They informed me they had killed

<sup>9</sup> The Indians had no tents, properly so called; Henry means the huts, or whatever shelter they made for themselves where they were camped: compare his use of *cabin*, note <sup>68</sup>, p. 71. In a still more general sense, *tent* was used of any abiding place or resort, and sometimes even as name of a locality; *e. g.*,

forty bears, some red deer, moose, and a few beavers and raccoons. This afternoon the men finished planting the stockades and hung the gates, so we are in a position to defend ourselves, and might defy several hundred Sioux. The Indian lad killed two bears.

*Sunday, Sept. 21st.* The men began to fell trees for our dwelling-houses. It was at their own option to work this day or not; their excuse is the necessity of forwarding their work as fast as possible to get under cover before cold weather. They are but few, badly provided with axes, and have much work still to do, cutting firewood, etc. I sent Desmarais and another man in a large canoe to the Indians' tent above, with nine gallons of mixed liquor for them. He returned with a canoe-load of bear's oil, fat, meat, skins, etc. He says the beach is covered with bear's fat where the Indians are tented, the women being too lazy to melt and preserve it in red deer skins.

*Sept. 22d.* Maymiutch informed me this morning of a great smoke E. S. E. from us toward Red lake, which he supposed was occasioned by Indians. I proposed to send him to inform them of our situation, but he declined to go at present, supposing them too distant. I gave him a few pounds of flour and sugar for his children and sent him home. There being nothing but oaks here, I sent two men up river to raft down our flooring of bois blanc. Sturgeon continued to jump day and night. We saw five bears. Desmarais and myself crossed over and pursued them. We had a long chase and repeatedly sighted them, but they escaped us in the brush. On our return we found a large one lying dead, which we supposed must have been wounded by the Indians some time ago. He was swelled up and ready to burst. Bears make prodigious ravages in the brush and willows; the plum trees are torn to pieces, and every tree that bears fruit has shared the same fate; the tops of the oaks are also very roughly handled, broken, and torn down,

Loge des Bœufs, a place where buffaloes were wont to stay, would be translatable Buffalo Tent.



to get the acorns. The havoc they commit is astonishing; their dung lies about in the woods as plentiful as that of the buffalo in the meadow.

*Sept. 23d.* Last night great numbers of swans and geese passed, flying S., and this morning they continued. The weather was cold, with a strong N. wind. A woman with two children from the Indian camp said they saw two Sioux not far from us, but we supposed it to have been two red deer. At ten o'clock I went out on a discovery with Desmarais on horseback, he having found Crow's mare. We cautiously approached the spot where we had been told the two men had been seen, but could perceive nothing. We then directed our course to the salt lake near Park river, where we found bulls in abundance licking up the salt on the beach and drinking the water. We shot three, and only took their tongues; I also killed a raccoon and two geese. It was dark before we got back; my people had been uneasy about us, and were overjoyed when they heard us hallo.

*Sept. 24th.* The stench about camp being so great from the quantities of flesh and fat thrown away since our arrival, and the bastions of my tent being complete, with a flooring about nine feet from the ground, I caused it to be pitched up in the S. W. bastion, on this flooring. Here, from the door of my tent, I could see everything that went on, both within and without the stockade, and also had a fine view of the country around us. I cut down a number of small oaks, which intercepted the full view of the plains. My men also pitched their tents inside the stockade, and we determined to be regular in shutting the gates at night. Our situation appeared very comfortable and my people began to enjoy their kettle more than heretofore. Crooked Legs and my hunter returned with three bears. My people went out to seine, and soon came back with a sturgeon, three catfish, eight brim, four achegan, five doré, three pike, and a few lacaïs.

*Sept. 25th.* I sent my hunter out with his wife in a small

canoe. One of my men got an ugly cut in the leg with an ax. I shot a large fat heron [*Ardea herodias*] which my men prefer to bear meat. Wind, N. E., wild fowl passing in abundance; the leaves are falling, having turned yellow a few days ago. My hunter returned, having killed a bear and some wild fowl. I took a ride northward, but saw only two bulls and three bears, on the E. side of Red river. No buffalo to be seen on the W. side; they appear to have gone toward the Hair hills.

*Sept. 26th.* I went on foot to shoot wild fowl along the river below. I saw a large she bear with two cubs on the E. side, but it would have been of no use to fire at them; a shot might have hit one, but I had no way to cross. I saw also a fisher [*Mustela pennanti*] on the same side, but returned with only a few ducks and pheasants [*Bonasa umbellus*]. My hunter had killed a red deer; Crooked Legs, a bear; and Desmarais, four geese.

*Sept. 27th.* An Indian came in early from the Salt River camp, and informed me they had been alarmed and were all gone on discoveries. One of them positively said he saw a man, who hid in the grass and willows. Another said he found the spot on the beach where a person had laid grass and sticks on the mud on purpose to drink, the prints of the hands being very plain. It appeared to them this must have been done by a stranger. We awaited with anxiety the result of this affair. Toward evening we saw Crow's family coming round the point; they camped with us. They said they heard firing to the S., and Aceguemanche insisted that he had seen a man in the grass with a gun, who ran away and disappeared in the woods. They plagued me a long time for liquor, but I would give them none. This alert will injure my returns, as the Indians had found some beavers' cabins and were preparing to hunt when they got alarmed. We had a hard frost last night; the water in our kettles this morning had a covering of ice about a quarter of an inch thick.

*Sunday, Sept. 28th.* The Indians paid their debts this

morning and wished to have liquor, but I was determined they should have none until the two beaver hunters who went to the hills returned. The men are making chimneys ; but, having no stone, we are obliged to build them of clay ; it is not of a very good kind for the purpose, being a coarse black mud, which, having no consistency, cracks and falls to pieces on drying. On digging a hole eight feet deep, in hopes of finding clay, we uncovered the carcass of a buffalo, about 40 feet from the level of the river, on a bank covered with oak. At ten o'clock Aupersay went out to hunt buffalo with Crow's mare, but seeing two men coming from the S. W., he returned at full speed to give the alarm. All hands flew to arms, and the tops of the trees were soon filled with people. We soon observed the strangers to be the two hunters, Crow and Charlo, each with a good pack of beaver. They gave me their skins, telling me they were thirsty, and wanted a drink of my milk to refresh them and give them a good taste for a smoke. They informed us they had been on the Hair hills, but had seen no tracks of the enemy. They had seen several dead buffalo, and some with broken legs, or otherwise wounded ; in particular, a cow with a broken back, which could not walk. The wound appeared fresh, and to have been made by a ball. They had found plenty of beaver at the hills, but would not kill more than they could carry on their backs. They traded for liquor, and all began to drink, men and women. At two o'clock the wind came from the S., and brought a thick smoke, which must have come from the enemy. The Indians grew more than usually troublesome. I quarreled with Maymiutch, and took his gun away. Crooked Legs' old wife came to inform me secretly that during the night she had seen a Sioux at the door of all the Indians' tents, who peeped in, and counted the number of men in each, and then retired. I wished to laugh her out of her story, but she insisted upon it. I suppose this old woman had a dream, and believed it to have been a fact ; they are

remarkably superstitious. I let the children sleep in the fort whilst the men and women were drinking in their tents. About midnight I heard one of them chopping the gate with an ax, and bawling out to let him in, as he wanted liquor. Desmarais took the ax from him, and told him if he cut the gate again he might depend upon receiving a sound beating. These people are not accustomed to traders who have their houses stockaded ; it is only of late years they have seen anything of the kind. Having been accustomed from infancy to full liberty of going in and out, day or night, and being naturally of a haughty, imperious disposition, the fellows cannot bear to knock at a gate that does not open at their command.

*Sept. 29th.* The Indians continued drinking. About ten o'clock I was informed that old Crooked Legs had killed his young wife. I instantly sent Desmarais to inquire into the business. He soon returned, and told me she was not dead, but had received three dreadful stabs. I went to see her ; she was stretched at full length in Crow's tent, with her relations around her, bawling and crying ; they were all blind drunk. The old man had retired to his own tent, where he sat singing and saying he was not afraid to die. We examined the wounds, and found the worst one just under the shoulder-blade ; another was through the arm, and the third where the knife had glanced from the elbow and entered the side between two ribs. At every motion of the lung the blood gushed out of the first and last wounds. I really thought she had not many minutes to live ; and, therefore, left her to the care of her own people, who were sucking the blood out of the wounds. Having done this for some time, they applied some roots and leaves ; she soon after fell asleep. The cause of the quarrel was jealousy. She was a stout, strong young woman, and he a poor infirm old man, very small and lean. He had reproached her for infidelity, and even threatened her with death if she continued to misbehave. She was wicked and full of resentment against the old man,



whom she always despised and detested. She thought this a favorable opportunity to be revenged, and, taking up a long stick, she gave him a blow on the head, which laid him senseless; then she ran off and hid in Crow's tent; as soon as he recovered he took his knife, and went for her; having found her, without any further quarrel or ceremony, he took her by the left arm, drew his knife, and began to stab her. He would have continued the blows, had not some of the women taken the knife from him. I thought it extraordinary that she did not attempt to defend herself, but was told she made no resistance or attempt to get away from him, which she easily could have done, but allowed herself to be butchered, although she was but little intoxicated. I have frequently observed this to be the case with these people. When they conceive themselves to have been revenged, they are careless as to consequences, and in a manner have no sense of fear. Even when death seems certain, they scorn to avoid it; but should the assailant fail in his undertaking, he may rest assured the consequences will be fatal to him some day. I attribute to this impulse of ferocity the many instances I have witnessed in which an Indian, having failed in a premeditated murder, and being well aware of the consequences, will injure or kill all who come in his way, until his passion is satisfied, when he will suddenly throw down his arms and give himself up to the judgment of the camp. Sitting with his head between his legs, he will allow even a child or an old woman to dispatch him, without saying one word in his own defense. If lenity is shown him he afterward becomes a mean devil, and in almost every drinking-bout will do some black deed until he receives his death-blow; this happens generally very soon, but sometimes immediately—particularly should he not belong to the clan [totem]. I had trouble in preventing the Indians from killing old Crooked Legs. Even his son seemed anxious to dispatch him. We took all their arms from them, and when at last I got them quiet, they promised to respite the old man until the woman was dead, when

they would certainly kill him. During all this bustle he sat in his tent singing and saying he was not afraid to die; he had not even a knife with which to defend himself. At four o'clock the wounded woman awoke. Her friends insisted upon her drinking with them, telling her it would do her good; she accordingly did so and was drunk all night.

Toward evening I took my gun and went out for a walk in the meadow to evade the Indians, as they were drunk and troublesome. On turning about I perceived at some distance, in a low piece of ground, something like a bear moving in the long grass, along the river on the plain between my fort and Park river. I had no doubt it was a bear, and, being close to the bank, I ran down opposite to where I supposed it would pass. Having crawled to the bank of the river, I raised myself up with my gun cocked; but nothing appeared. I advanced a little further; nothing was to be seen, although I could have discerned a ground squirrel, had he been within half a mile. I ran to an oak and climbed up to the top; still saw nothing. I could not conceive in what manner it could have escaped me. When I first perceived the object, it appeared to stretch out the neck, which did not resemble that of a bear, look toward me, then toward the fort, and immediately disappear. I went to the spot, but could perceive no tracks. I could distinctly hear the Indians singing and talking. I went home and, although it was getting dark, I informed Desmarais privately, desiring him to take his gun and go with me. We went to the place, made a circuit, and searched a long time in vain. Desmarais insisted upon its being a Sioux discoverer [scout or spy], and attempted to show me many ways by which he might have prevented my seeing him after I had gone down to the bank. Let this be as it may.

On our return I was surprised to find the gates shut, and all the men, women, and children still half drunk, in a row along the stockade, bawling out for admittance. Everyone was loaded with his own baggage, kettle, and blanket, pup-

pies were squealing, children crying—altogether it was such a scene of confusion that we almost began to believe the enemy was surrounding the fort. Having called out and been admitted, I allowed everybody to come in; amongst them was the wounded woman. I then inquired into the cause of the alarm, and I was informed that, contrary to my orders, Desmarais had told them I had seen a Sioux. This coming from me, there was not the least doubt it was true. I was vexed with Desmarais, but it stopped the drinking match. The Indians kept watch with us, and there were only some of the women drinking very quietly.

*Sept. 30th.* This morning the Indians wished me to allow them to pitch their tents inside the stockade, but my fort was too small. I told them they were welcome to sleep in it every night. They all retired to their cabins to sleep off the effects of the liquor; the wounded woman walked away also, attended by her old husband, who appeared very sorry for what he had done and was very attentive to her. He is a great doctor, and does not despair of curing her. She walked very stiff, her face as pale as a corpse, every moment casting cruel frowns upon the old gentleman. One of my men made a trap yesterday, and this morning caught a red fox [*Vulpus fulvus*].

*Oct. 1st.* I was unwell during the night, but found myself better this morning. It began to rain and continued all day. The Indians have all been hunting, but the rain prevented them from killing, although they had seen several bears and two wolves. One of them killed a bear this afternoon near the fort; it was a lucky supply, as we were short of fresh meat.

*Oct. 2d.* Fine clear weather. Indians all out hunting. I was still unwell, and therefore determined to ride down to the river alone. I went almost to the Bois Percé before I saw anything but bulls. Here I fell in with a large herd of red deer feeding on the edge of the woods. Having secured my horse to a tree, I approached them. I now

regretted having left my double-barreled gun behind. I had taken only a short gun, that had burst and been cut down. She was good for nothing; however, I opened fire on the herd, loading and shooting as fast as I could. This appeared to confuse them, and, instead of running away, they simply moved to and fro in the low brush. They attempted to enter the strong wood along the river, but I was alert enough to intercept them. They took to the plains as my ammunition was expended. The sun had set; I was at some distance from home, and also from my horse; and had lost my knife. I had killed one deer on the spot, but had only wounded four, which I saw walking slowly after the band, the blood streaming down their sides and legs. It was too late to go after them, even had I had ammunition, and I knew my people would be anxious about me. It was totally dark before I found my horse. I mounted and rode at full gallop. No noise was heard but that of swans and geese screaming, as they flew their way to warmer climates. At ten o'clock I came to the point of wood in which the fort was built, and just as I entered the wood at a gallop to take the road that led to the gate, a gun was fired about ten yards from me, apparently by a person who lay in the long grass. My horse was startled and jumped on one side, snorting and prancing; but I kept my seat, calling out, “Who is there?” No answer was returned. I instantly drew my gun from my belt and cocked her to fire, forgetting she was not loaded and I had no ammunition. I could still see the person running in the grass, and was disappointed in not having a shot at him. I again called out, “Who is there?” “C’est moi, Bourgeois!” It proved to be one of my men, Charbonneau. I was vexed with him for causing me such consternation. Having got home, I found all hands much alarmed. The Indians who had been out hunting said they had seen Sioux, and my absence till so late an hour had persuaded them I must have been killed. My men were apprehensive I had gone astray, and therefore, after dark, had been continually firing. When Charbonneau heard the



trampling of my horse, he fired for a joke, and pretended to hide. The fellow would have paid dear for his joke, had my gun been loaded.

*Oct. 3d.* Indians away hunting. One of my men was very ill with a colic. I gave him some essence of peppermint, but it did not cure him; soon after gave him some sweet oil, which he threw up; he was in great pain. I gave him a dose of jalap, which he soon threw up, and his pain increased. I then gave him an extraordinary dose of Glauber's salts, which, after some time, took its course, but did not appear to relieve him much. Charlo decamped on the E. side with his family, in search of beavers. The Indians killed two bears and some wild fowl. They are troublesome and peevish, and wish I would give them some cause to leave me. They are certainly in a chronic state of alarm, and always representing to me the danger of their situation.

*Oct. 4th.* My man still very sick. I gave him an emetic, as he complained of an inclination to vomit; it operated well, and I was surprised to see what a quantity of bile and other foul matter he threw up. The wounded woman complained most bitterly. Her old husband has the principal management of her wounds, which he dresses morning and evening with a mixture of roots and barks, whilst she takes inwardly a decoction of the same kind. At every dressing she vents her spleen in imprecations on the old man, whilst he, foolishly attached to her, receives her censure with the greatest submission, and even with tears in his eyes, telling her to take courage and live. She answers his tender advice with, "Get out, you old dog! If I live, it will be the worse for you." It is really a farce to see them.

I found to-day, in the kidney of a bull, a small solid substance of the size and shape of a bean, and as hard as a pebble [renal calculus]. On breaking it open, it showed shining particles of the nature of stone. I had often abstracted the same substance from the kidneys of bulls, generally like a bean, but some perfectly round.

About twelve o'clock, as I was writing in my tent, up in the bastion, I heard a great bustle in the fort below, and people calling out, "It is near at hand." The women and children began to scream and run into the fort. I jumped up and came to the tent-door. The Indians were standing in the fort with nothing on but their breech-clouts, powder-horns, shot-bags, and guns in their hands, calling out to the women and children to hide. I asked the cause of all this commotion, but everybody was too much occupied to listen or answer. My men, who had just placed their kettle of meat in the middle of the fort, were calling out, "To arms! to arms!" They had got up from around the kettle, and were gaping and staring at the Indians; some had bits of meat sticking out of their mouths; others had their mouths full; others, again, were with large pieces in their hands, whilst some had let them drop. All of them looked ghastly, their lips contracted, eyes rolling, and countenances pale as death. I could not conceive what was the occasion of this uproar. I supposed it might proceed from some monstrous grizzly bear at hand, or in pursuit of some person who was running to the fort, for, they all ran to the gates, some pushing them shut, and others opening them, some swearing they were better shut than open, others swearing to the contrary. By this time I had got down amongst them, and inquired the cause; when I was informed that somebody had seen two Indians not more than 200 yards from the fort, crawling on their bellies toward some children at play. Having brought my gun with me, I instantly ran after the Indians, desiring them to return, as we should stand a better chance within than without the stockades; they did so. Not one of my men had a gun in his hands, their consternation was so great. We were in the act of securing the gates, when we saw two lads coming, who, we knew, belonged to the camp. Observing the alarm, they informed us it was themselves who had played the trick to frighten the children. The Indians were highly incensed, and gave them a severe reprimand,

telling them it would have served them right if we had shot them.

I sent Desmarais and others to seine. They returned with five large sturgeon. Wolves are very numerous; they go in large droves, and keep up a terrible howling, day and night. My men caught a fox, a fisher, and two raccoons in their traps. I am told the sick woman, this evening, found great relief from something having, as she expressed it, burst inside the wound, which instantly discharged a great quantity of foul matter.

*Sunday, Oct. 5th.* Part of the Indians decamped up the river to hunt beaver. My man is very unwell still; the sick woman is so far recovered that she walks about, and sits up to make shoes. My hunter's child is sick. The buffaloes are moving southward in one body. My men brought a raft of flooring wood of bois blanc split. I supplied the sick with flour, sugar, and some tea. My men caught five raccoons in their traps along the beach.

*Oct. 6th.* Early this morning my hunter went out and returned at ten o'clock; he had shot a bear and two red deer. I sent eight men for the meat. My men caught three raccoons in their traps. At three o'clock the others returned with the meat. The bucks, having done rutting, are very lean and poor, whilst the does are fat. It is surprising how suddenly this change takes place in red deer.

*Oct. 7th.* One of my men cut his hand with an ax, in a very ugly manner. Desmarais has been employed for a few days on making a seine which is now finished; 2 pounds of sturgeon twine produces 4 fathoms 45 meshes high, and 2 skeins maître de nits and 40 balls finishes a seine. At ten o'clock I sent two men in a large canoe down river for red deer, it being necessary that one of the canoes should pass the winter below, as we may need it early in the spring. I propose to follow it on horseback, being anxious to know how Langlois is coming on with his Indians.

*Oct. 8th.* I gave all hands a dram, and at nine o'clock set off alone on horseback. It soon began to snow; the

wind increased. I saw several small herds of buffalo and red deer; also wild fowl in great abundance. I overtook the canoe a little below the Bois Percé. The wind blowing directly ahead, they could make no way against it, although they labored hard. We therefore camped at four o'clock. I had killed two buffaloes and some geese. The men complained that the canoe was heavy and leaky. One of them had to be almost continually bailing her with a dish, and we had no gum to repair her. This evening I tied my horse's hind legs together with a strong rope and put on his neck a long piece of line to which was fastened a large log of wood. I took this precaution as I supposed he was inclined to return to Crow's mare.

*Oct. 9th.* We looked about for my horse, but he was not to be found. He had broken the rope, and the cord that fastened his legs, and was off. I sent one of my men in pursuit, and took his place in the canoe. It was very cold; the tops of the trees and willows were covered with frimas [hoarfrost]. We were soon obliged to haul our canoe on the beach, and with great difficulty turned her up; when we scraped off all the gum we could get from her upper seams, gummed the bottom as best we could, and launched her. In doing this our dish fell into the river and sunk. We had nothing else to bail with. I therefore used my hat for that purpose. But the gum soon cracked and the water gained on us. We again hauled her up, plastered her over with some stiff, yellow clay we found on the beach, and re-embarked, but had not gone above a mile when, in spite of my hat, she filled and sunk before we could reach shore. With great trouble we got her near the beach, and by degrees emptied her. This was an ugly task, in mud and water up to our middle. It was a long time before we got her entirely clear, but our united efforts could not turn her up. We left her on the beach and made a fire for the night. We had nothing to eat, and no kettle to cook with. I had only the one pair of shoes that were on my feet, and which were much the worse for wear.



I saw plenty of buffalo on the plains, but my shoes would not permit me to go after them. Although I killed enough provisions yesterday to last us a month, to-day we are without a mouthful, so very improvident are people in this country. This morning we had embarked a lot of stock, but it soon got wet, and afterward muddy; we left it at the first place we put ashore to gum, thinking we should get plenty more for supper. I went out hunting along the beach, but returned with only an eagle, which we roasted. The wind came on a mere<sup>10</sup> hurricane from the N., very cold, with light snow, and we could find no shelter from the storm. Having no ax our fire was soon blown away, and we passed a very disagreeable night, shivering with the cold. I was angry with my men for having lost the ax.

*Oct. 10th.* As soon as I could see my way I went hunting along the beach, where I required no shoes. But as if the wild fowl were combined against us, not one was to be seen. At twelve o'clock my man arrived with the horse, which he did not overtake until he reached the fort. Having brought some gum with him, we repaired the canoe as best we could; but she was such a miserable crazy machine she could hardly support her own weight. At two o'clock the two men embarked; the wind still strong ahead and very cold. I mounted my horse and went hunting on the plains, where I soon killed a buffalo. I brought a small load of meat to Two Rivers, made a fire, and waited for the canoe. She arrived late, half-full of water. They had put ashore, and used all the gum to no purpose; she was as leaky as before. Here we camped. I determined to proceed by land to-morrow. The men had no good shoes, but they repaired the old ones the best

<sup>10</sup> "A mere hurricane" strikes us as a curious phrase. But that is because we have almost lost sight of the original meaning of *mere*, which prevailed with little or no modification at the time Henry wrote. Etymologically the word signifies "pure," "unmixed," "unqualified," and the like, whence it came to denote what we now mean when we say "sheer," "utter," "complete," etc., or use "very" as an adjective.

they could without an awl. I thought to make sure that my horse should not play me any more tricks, and make me journey afoot, as I had no shoes but my old ones, with scarcely any soles. I hopped his fore legs with a strong piece of leather, fastened one of his hind legs to them, and then tied him to a stump with a strong double of new codline. The night was cold and dreary, with light rain and strong N. E. wind. I kept an eye on my horse, which appeared very quiet till two hours before day, when I supposed there was no more danger. Having examined his fetters, which were in good order, I went sound asleep.

*Oct. 11th.* The first thing missing was my horse. I awoke the men and sent them in pursuit of him. They were gone about an hour, when they returned to tell me they had seen him running full speed southward. They brought the twisted and broken cords with which he had been tied. This was a sad disappointment. I resolved to wait no longer; so I cut up the leather of my saddle, wrapped it upon my feet as best I could, and cut off the skirt of my capot to serve me as mitts. Wrapping our blankets around us we set off at ten o'clock. The weather cruelly cold, with a strong wind. I killed a fat swan flying, and one of my men, being determined to eat it, took it up on his back. At two o'clock we crossed Panbian river; saw many red deer tracks; wild fowl passed in abundance. One of my men complained of being knocked up and wished me to stop for the night, but we were then some distance from Red river and choking with thirst. I encouraged him to push on and throw away the swan, but he would not consent to part with it. Our shoes were entirely worn out, and we had no more leather to put under the soles. The short, pointed grass [porcupine-grass, *Stipa spartea*] annoyed us very much as we crawled along in great misery and pain, almost every third step being upon a blade of this grass, which grows all over these level meadows. It is not more than two inches high, about the thickness of an awl, and fully as sharp; it even penetrates

strong leather and socks, and when it pierces the skin the point breaks off and remains in the flesh. Our thirst was excessive, and I apprehended some fatal consequences. However, we kept on till dark, when to our great joy we reached Red river. Having taken a hearty drink, we looked around and found we were some distance below Reed river. We determined to go up along the beach, in search of the buildings. The walking was very ugly and tedious for persons whose feet were stuck full of this pointed grass. The beach and banks here were overgrown with willows, high grass, and gratia. After walking some time I imagined we were about opposite to where I had desired Langlois to build. We sat down and called aloud, but received no answer. We shouted again, but to no purpose. I began to suspect that the Indians had prevailed upon Langlois to go down to Rivière aux Gratias and build there, as I had left it at his option in case the Indians appeared inclined to leave him. I mentioned this to the men and told them we might as well camp for the night, and to-morrow crawl to Rivière aux Gratias as best we could, by cutting up our blankets for shoes. The night was cloudy and dark, but I saw a small birch canoe drifting near by; we hauled her up and emptied the water, but found her in too bad a condition to be of any service. With one of my men I began to look for a place to sleep, whilst our fatigued companion lay stretched upon the beach, declaring he did not care to live. Suddenly he said in a faint voice that he heard some noise, but was not certain whence it proceeded. We called again, but no answer. I went a few paces up river, when, looking steadily across, I thought I saw a glimmer among the large elms. I rubbed my eyes and took a second look, when I was convinced it was really a light. I bellowed out lustily and was immediately answered by one of Langlois' men. Only those who have been in a similar situation can imagine the sensations one enjoys in a moment like this. My men joined me, and my knocked-up man was so overjoyed that he forgot his fatigue and scarcely knew what he was about.

We soon crossed and found our people in their houses, which had been finished some time. I was surrounded by every Indian at the house, anxious to know how we had escaped the Sioux, as they had supposed us all dead long ago. Having given them the desired information, they left me quiet to pluck the painful grass-blades out of my feet. I found our affairs going on tolerably well. Lagassé had gone to the Hair hills with a small assortment of goods, and the Indians had made a very fair hunt in beavers. I was informed that two of Langlois' Indians had killed and wounded the buffaloes that Crow and Charlo had seen in the hills some time ago. They had also seen two Indians, whom they took for Sioux, which made them return to Red river sooner than they had intended. They had brought each 30 beaver skins. The Indian who was stabbed in the knee last August at this place is still ill of the wound ; he cannot walk at all. The Indians have but moderate debts, from 20 to 25 skins, which I believe they will pay, although they are great rogues.

*Sunday, Oct. 12th.* I was agreeably surprised to find here Desmarais' black horse which we had lost above. He was found some time ago at Plumb river in company with a large herd of buffaloes. I was determined to take a trip to the hills to see how matters came on there, so I sent to search for the horse. The Indians plagued me for liquor, but I gave them none. I took the inventory, etc. My feet are very sore ; I can scarcely crawl about.

*Oct. 13th.* It was nine o'clock before we could get our horses over the river and set off. Langlois and myself proceeded along Rivière aux Marais. Leaving the woods of that river, we crossed the plains to L'Isle du Passage through one continuous herd of buffalo, but had no time to chase them. At one o'clock we stopped at this island to rest our horses, and then proceeded to the foot of the Panbian river traverse, where we allowed our horses another half hour's rest and feed. Here I climbed a high tree, and, as far as the eye could reach, the plains were covered with



buffalo in every direction. We set off, and at five o'clock arrived at the foot of the mountain or hills.

Here we found Lagassé and Dubois in a small hut, 15 feet square, which answered for dwelling, storehouse, and shop. Two Indians were with him, Nanaundeyea and Grosse Loge; they had made no hunt as yet. One of them a few days ago saw a full-grown bear as white as snow. His gun missed fire and the bear escaped. He assured me it was not the grizzly, but the common kind. The country from Red river to this mountain is one level plain, without a hill or a stone. The grass would be rather long were it not for the buffalo. On ascending the mountain, the face of the country suddenly changes, the soil is sandy, and stones are frequent. The ground is rough; deep wooded valleys and high barren hills are the principal objects. From the brow of the mountain, at the foot of which the building stands, there is a delightful view. On the E. lies the large level plain, where there is not a stick of wood to be seen, excepting along Panbian river, which runs in a serpentine course until it is lost to view far eastward. We have also a glimpse of Tongue river to the S. E., running N. E. to join Panbian river. The land between these two rivers is partially wooded, forming a famous country for moose and red deer. N. and S. the prospect is soon terminated by rising grounds, partially wooded, but westward the winding course of the Panbian is seen in a deep valley for many miles, W. of which appears a blue wooded ridge. Beyond this ridge the country is more level, and there is no wood for several days' journey; but the land never sinks again to the level of that adjoining Red river.

*Oct. 14th.* A thick fog this morning, but cold, with heavy frimas. Panbian river is here much broader than at its mouth; the bottom is sand, intermixed with a blue slaty gravel and frequently large stones, like all the small rivers which come from the Hair hills. Their first course is through deep valleys, where the beds are almost choked with stones. Then, on leaving the hills, the valleys end,

and the beds are of sand and blue gravel, with a few large stones lying nearly on a level with the meadows. After five or six miles nothing but sand is to be seen, and then, in a few miles more, come mud and mire, through which even buffalo have great difficulty in crossing. Our horses frequently stick fast, and it is only with great trouble we can get them out.

I hired Nanaundeyea to go toward the Ribbone lakes in search of the Crees and Assiniboinés, and try to prevail upon some of them to come to our establishment. As an inducement I desired him to inform them that I intended to establish a summer post on this river, where they could always find their necessary supplies; that this year I sent to the hills merely as a trial; but if I could be sure of seeing Indians here annually, I would form a permanent post. I desired him also to go to Pinancewaywining, which is the common route by which the Assiniboine River Indians pass over the mountain to hunt bear and buffalo on the E. side. He promised he would do his best to find the Indians.

At ten o'clock we remounted and came away. Thick fog continued, but the sun appearing, we directed our course as near as possible for Passage island, where we arrived about one o'clock; here we unsaddled to give our horses a rest. I shot two cows and a heifer two years old; the latter was extraordinarily fat, with over an inch of *dépouille*. Those young animals are seldom fat in *dépouille*. Buffalo have ravaged this small island; nothing remains but the large elms and oaks, whose bark has been polished to the height of the buffalo by their perpetual rubbing. Brush and grass are not to be seen in this little wood, which on the whole is a delightful spot. We took some choice pieces of meat upon our horses and set out. I shot a red fox at the distance of 100 paces, with my double-barreled gun, loaded with a single ball. At seven o'clock we crossed Panbian river; our horses were much fatigued, as we rode hard. I suppose the distance to be 15 leagues. We observed a thick smoke

toward the Ribbone lakes, which makes me believe my messenger will find the Indians there.

*Oct. 15th.* I found it necessary to alter the arrangement of the people at the hills. None would remain under the command of Lagassé, nor do I think him a fit person to have property in charge. I therefore sent Hamel to take charge, desiring Lagassé to return to this place. I was also obliged to leave here the two men who came with me to re-enforce the mountain post to which I sent them with Hamel. They took their baggage and some goods on their backs. Having no horses, I dispatched two men with gum, bark, and wattap, to repair and bring down the canoe we had abandoned at Two Rivers. The Indians decamped, saying they were going to hunt beaver on Two Rivers. But they will soon be at my fort, as they no longer apprehend danger.

*Oct. 16th.* At nine o'clock I mounted and set off alone on my return. At Panbian river I killed a fat swan; and opposite Fort des Trembles,<sup>11</sup> two bulls. It began to snow and blow hard from the N. At three o'clock I reached Two Rivers, where my two men had only just finished repairing the canoe. The snowstorm increasing, I determined to stop for the night. We accordingly carried our canoe into the woods, made a rousing fire, and took shelter under her, where we were perfectly comfortable, though it snowed all night.

*Oct. 17th.* The storm had abated, but it was very cold, the ground deep with snow, and the weather hazy, with a thick frimas. The men proposed to embark. I mounted, and proceeded alone; saw a few buffalo, and red deer in abundance. At two o'clock I reached my fort,

<sup>11</sup> Unidentified; there was no fort in existence on the E. side of Red r. in that vicinity. Chaboillez's house had been called Fort Paubna; and unless Fort des Trembles was another name of it, Henry probably refers to the site of Grant's house; see note <sup>3</sup>, p. 80. *Tremble* is good French for the aspen, as *tremblaie* is for aspen-grove; but either of these words appears oftener in Canadian records as *tremblier*: see note <sup>55</sup>, p. 49.

where I found the Indians awaiting my arrival. The fort was finished, and all hands had been housed since the 15th inst. I had been surprised this afternoon, when within a few miles of my fort, to see the flag flying; but my people had mistaken the day of the week, supposing this to be Sunday, and it was customary to hoist a flag on that day at all our establishments in the North West. During my absence the hunter had killed a large grizzly bear [*Ursus horribilis*] about a mile from the fort. He had seen two males and a female, but the latter escaped. My people having cooked and eaten some of the flesh were taken very ill, and most of them threw it up. This bear had been wounded in the fore leg some time before by an arrow, the iron head of which stuck fast in the bone, and was beginning to rust. Grizzly bears are not numerous along Red river, but more abundant in the Hair hills. At Lac du Diable [Devil's lake], which is about 30 leagues W., they are very common—I am told as common as the black bear [*Ursus americanus*] is here, and very malicious. Near that lake runs a principal branch of Schian [Cheyenne river], which is partially wooded. On the banks of this river I am informed they are also very numerous, and seldom molested by the hunters, it being the frontier of the Sioux, where none can hunt in safety; so there they breed and multiply in security.

*Oct. 18th.* My sick man is still pale and emaciated; he can scarcely walk, and has entirely lost his appetite. The Indians decamped, some for the mountain, others to hunt beaver on Two Rivers; none of them will consent to go above. My hunter plagued me for a small keg of liquor, having vowed, on killing the grizzly bear, that he would make a feast of rum. This is a common custom among the Saulteurs, when they kill any uncommon animal; if liquor cannot be got they use the best provisions they can procure, but liquor is considered to have the greatest virtue in appeasing the manes of the bear, and rendering thanks to the Manitou. I was obliged to satisfy the fellow. He



also required a quarter of a yard of scarlet cloth to hang up as a sacrifice.<sup>12</sup> The Indians being all gone and my buildings finished, I treated my people to a gallon of high wine, with a few pounds of sugar and flour, to make a feast for themselves after their hard labor.

This evening my sick man found himself suddenly relieved by something which burst inside, when instantly he felt a looseness and discharged a great quantity of foul matter. He was soon after inclined to eat and appeared much recovered. The wounded woman is perfectly well, and does duty as if nothing had happened. My men have caught 20 raccoons and 5 foxes.

*Sunday, Oct. 19th.* The Indians who went toward the mountain yesterday brought us in two cows. All the men are setting traps along the river. They bring in daily some raccoons, foxes, fishers, and wolves; of martens [*Mustela americana*], there are none. The raccoons are very fat, having dépouilles two or three inches thick, and are excellent eating when stripped of their fat and roasted.

*Oct. 20th.* Men out trapping. I examined my store, shop, etc., and put everything in order. The kegs of high wine I placed in a small cellar dug under the shop; powder and tobacco also. I have 15 ninety-pound packages of skins and furs.

*Oct. 21st.* Strong wind with heavy rain, which fell in such torrents as to penetrate the earth and straw which cover over our houses, and it was only by means of oil cloth we could keep the property from getting wet. The floors were covered with water, making us very uncomfortable. The rain continued all day and night.

*Oct. 22d.* I desired my men to begin to cut our winter

<sup>12</sup> During a voyage I lately made to the source of the Mississippi, I frequently noticed a similar "sacrifice" the Ojibways had made on killing a moose, the object being hung up on a tall stake planted at the water's edge. Some of the ceremonies with which Indians used to appease the ghosts of dead bear were curious: read for example the story the elder Henry tells, pp. 143-145.

stock of fuel—120 cords of oak will suffice for the four fire-places, as we shall leave early in the spring.

*Oct. 23d.* Men employed cutting wood. We perceive a thick smoke to the S. W. at no great distance. Desmarais says it is the Sioux, who have killed the Indians that are gone to the hills, and on their way homeward set fire to the meadows. This is the custom with both Sioux and Saulteurs when they are out to war, and a party turns homeward. Should it be in winter, they seek high reeds or rubbish, and if there is none to be found, they collect a great quantity of dry wood and brush and set fire to the pile. In course of the day I took a memorandum of our buildings. In my opinion the men have worked hard.

## WOOD USED IN OUR ESTABLISHMENT AT PARK RIVER, AUTUMN OF 1800.

Stockades, 15 ft. long, oak, . . . . .	564
do 8 ft., oak, for rembrits [?], . . . . .	564
do 6 ft. for 3d lining to bastion, . . . . .	100
do 5 ft. over the two gates, . . . . .	34
do 7 to 15 ft., oak, for laths, . . . . .	34
do 8 ft. for plank for gates, . . . . .	14
do 7 ft. for plank for bastions, . . . . .	20
Pegs, 1½ ft. for stockades, etc., . . . . .	770
Total, . . . . .	2,100

## FOR DWELLING-HOUSE.

Oak logs of 10 ft. for the square, . . . . .	72
do of 18 ft. for the pinions [ <i>pignons</i> , gables], . . . . .	18
do of 15 ft. for the cloisons [partitions], . . . . .	45
do of 9 ft. for the covering, . . . . .	230
do contg. 100 ft. for the sableries [ <i>sablières</i> , wall-plates], . . . . .	6
do contg. 100 ft. for the covering, . . . . .	6
do of 11 ft. for the aiguilles [rails?], . . . . .	5
do of 20 ft. for the faîtes [ridge-poles], . . . . .	3
Squared posts, 8 ft. for doors and covers, . . . . .	14
Posts, 4 ft. for windows, . . . . .	11
Planks, 8 ft. for flooring, . . . . .	105
Boards, 6 ft. for doors, beds, etc., . . . . .	115
Total, . . . . .	630

## FOR STOREHOUSE.

Oak logs of 24 ft. for square,	12
Pine logs of 13 ft. for pinions,	20
Oak logs of 9 ft. for covering,	120
do of 24 ft. for faîtes,	1
do of 22 ft. for covering,	2
do of 11 ft. for aiguilles,	3
Oak posts of 5 ft. for doors,	2
do planks of 5 ft. for doors,	3
do logs of 12 ft. for flooring,	50
Total,	213

## FOR SHOP.

Oak logs of 15 ft. for the square,	15
do of 13 ft. for the pinions,	20
do of 9 ft. for the covering,	73
do of 15 ft. for the faîtes,	3
do of 11 ft. for the aiguilles,	2
Oak posts of 5 ft. for the doors,	2
do planks 8 ft. for the flooring,	55
Total,	170
Pieces of timber and wood,	3,113
Oak stick of 55 ft. for a flag-staff,	1
Total,	3,114

*Oct. 24th.* Employed Desmarais to put a touch-hole in my double-barreled gun, which he did in an hour very neatly, without proper tools. I shot a few ducks and pheasants. My hunter came in with his canoe, bringing two red deer, a swan, and some ducks.

*Oct. 25th.* Maymiutch came from below with a few skins. He begged hard for liquor; I gave him some, when he began to drink with my hunter, who also came for rum. He told me Maymiutch wished him to stop hunting and go below, so that I might be obliged to pay a higher price for meat than I do. They shall have liquor after this for nothing but fresh meat. This dirty trick is his thanks for my kindness to him since we left the Forks. He has given my hunter an elegant drum, trimmed with all the

symbols of the Wabbano<sup>13</sup> medicine, a number of different medicines, and songs concerning that ceremony—articles of superior value and high consideration among these people; when given with a view to obtain any particular favor, that is seldom denied. However, on this occasion I succeeded in breaking the treaty. It might be considered ungrateful in Maymiutch to debauch my hunter away, but similar affairs occur so frequently among the Saulteurs that we think them not at all extraordinary. Gratitude they have none; treat them ever so well and satisfy every demand for a long time, then refuse them but a glass of liquor, and all past obligations are forgotten in an instant; those very persons are then your greatest enemies.

*Sunday, Oct. 26th.* Maymiutch having failed in his design, came to me and offered to go in search of the Red Lake Indians, and inform them I had built here. He wished to make friends with me, seeing I cared not a fig for him. I was anxious to hear from these Indians and I know of none so fit to search for them as himself, he being well acquainted in that quarter. I therefore arranged it with him. To better perform the journey, and prevent him from circulating falsehoods which might deter the Indians from coming this way, I determined to accompany him, with one of my men. We therefore began to make shoes, as I proposed to set off to-morrow. During the night my hunter got an alarm and knocked at the gate, saying he had heard the report of a gun in the plains, but I found it was only the door of my men's house that had slammed.

*Oct. 27th.* At daybreak I was up and sent for the Indians; crossed over my horse, and immediately set out on our journey, taking only a few fathoms of tobacco. The

<sup>13</sup> Waubeno or Wabeno, as now usually spelled; accent on the last syllable. The term is applied to the ceremony, to its charm, to the juggler himself, and to his implements. A picture of the drum or tamborine is given on p. 223 of Dr. W. J. Hoffman's *Medewiwin of the Ojibway* in *Seventh Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnology* for 1885-86, pub. 1891, Washington, Gov't Pr. Off., pp. 143-300—an article replete with curious information on Ojibway superstitions, and handsomely illustrated. Tanner describes the "fashionable Wawbeno," p. 135.



Indian and my man were also mounted, the former having borrowed his brother's mare, and the latter riding the black horse I brought from below. We had about a mile of strong woods to pass, after which we came to small poplars and willows in which we constantly roused red deer. At nine o'clock we came to the little Rivière aux Marais<sup>14</sup> which we did not cross, but kept in the woods along the N. side of it. Here the grass is very long, and we often had ugly bogs and low watery ground to pass, in which our horses sunk sometimes to their knees. The country is low, open, and level. At twelve o'clock we came to the firm ground, of fine plains and as delightful a country as on the W. side [of Red river]. Red deer were very numerous here not long ago, as the tops of the oaks along this little river are all broken and twisted. The plums and other fruit bushes are torn to pieces by bears. The river here takes a great bend to the S. We therefore left it and took our course S. E. over a fine level country. We saw a few bulls in the traverse, and at sunset regained Rivière aux Marais at Grosse Isle, where we camped. This little river takes its water out of the low marshy country about the source of Two Rivers and Lac des Voleurs [Thieves' lake]; it is at first divided into many branches, which run different courses to every point of the compass before they join a few miles E. of this camp; then after an extraordinarily winding course, the river empties into Red river a few miles above Park river. Our Indian guide tells me that if we do not find Indians tomorrow there will be no use of going any further, as they must be still at Red lake. He had hopes of finding them at this place, as it is their common route to Red river by land.

*Oct. 28th.* At sunrise we saddled and set off, crossed [Snake] river, [perhaps in the vicinity of Warren, seat of

<sup>14</sup> This "Rivière aux Marais" must not be confounded with the one of the same name in Manitoba, below Pembina. Henry crosses Red r. at his fort, and is traveling in Minnesota, in Marshall Co., on a course S. of E. The stream whose right bank he is now ascending is Snake r., on which is situated Warren, seat of Marshall Co.

Marshall Co., where the railroad now crosses], and directed our course S. E. over an open level plain toward an island of wood [islette de bois—clump of trees], which we could scarcely discern. Here we found a herd of buffalo, but we could see no wood, excepting that of the little river and of the island ahead of us. On approaching the latter we found some rising ground and barren hillocks, between which lay small lakes and marshes. Islands [clumps or patches] of poplar and willows were now very frequent. At twelve o'clock we came in sight of the tall wood of Red Lake river, commonly called Rivière du Lac Rouge.<sup>15</sup> We now had an ugly country to pass, overgrown with small poplars, willows, and long grass. Red deer were very numerous, and for the first time we saw numerous tracks and roads of the fallow deer or chevreuil [*Cariacus virginianus*], which we soon perceived jumping in every direction. We crossed Black river [present name] a few miles from its entrance. This small river takes its water from several marshes to the N. E., but at no great distance, and runs a winding course through a country of wood and meadow until it empties into Rivière

<sup>15</sup> Issuing from the W. side of the lower one of the two great divisions of Red l., this river runs very crookedly, but on the whole little N. of W. through the present Red Lake Indian reservation, to a place which rejoices in the name of Moose Dung, Polk Co., but little S. of the S. boundary of Marshall Co. Here it is joined from the N. by Thief r.; Thief River Falls at their junction. Red Lake r. then turns S., flows past St. Hilaire, and curves E. to the junction of Clearwater r., its main fork, at the place called Red Lake Falls. Continuing E. the river receives Black r., from the N., at a place called Huot. It continues past Gentilly and on to Crookston, county seat of Polk, where the railroads now cross the river, and then curves N. W. past Fisher and Mallory to fall into Red r. at East Grand Forks, opp. Grand Forks, N. Dak.—a place where five railroad tracks now concenter. Grand Forks is a term which translates F. Grandes Fourches; the name dates back to very early times; it is supposed to have been given by Verendrye's people, about 1734, to the highest point to which they then ascended Red r. Henry seems to have crossed Black r. at or near present town of Wylie. On reaching the confluence of the Clearwater with Red Lake r., he notes an "old wintering establishment." This was J. B. Cadotte's house. I have before me notes on Thompson's journey through these parts. He left Roy's house on Red r. near what he calls Salt rivulet, Mar. 23d, 1798; crossed Red r. from W. to E.; crossed and re-crossed what he calls Swamp r. (compare

du Lac Rouge [at Huot, Polk Co.]. Having crossed this river, which is not more than 15 feet wide, we proceeded through the woods to the banks of Red Lake river, and came out exactly opposite [Red Lake Falls, at the mouth of] Rivière à l'Eau Claire [Clearwater river], which falls in on the S. from the S. E. This river is navigable for small Indian canoes, but very rapid near the entrance, where there is famous sturgeon-fishing in the spring—indeed, it may be said to last all summer, unless the water is very low, which was the case at present. Near the entrance of this river are the remains of an old wintering habitation, now fallen to the ground. Here we were in great expectation of finding Indians, but were disappointed; not one fresh sign was to be seen. We proceeded up Rivière du Lac Rouge on foot, leading our horses by the bridles, the wood and the underbrush being too thick and strong to permit riding. We cut across the points of land, by which means we were often near the river. This river here runs from E. to W., is broad but shallow, and often interrupted by chains and reefs of stones which run across from shore to shore; in some places are rapids about half a mile long, over which a small Indian canoe would find some difficulty in passing. But it must be observed this is a year of extraordinarily low water, as the Indians tell me there is generally water enough in this river for large canoes to pass with full loads. The river now making a great bend in coming from N. to S.,

Henry's R. aux Marais), passed through a plain, and thus, by a route mostly identical with Henry's, reached the mouth of the Clearwater at 11 a. m., Sunday, Mar. 25th, 1798. There he found the house of "Monsr. Cadot," whom he also calls "Mons. de Chaddo." Cadotte was at home with his wife; a "Mons. Le Tems" was the opposition trader. Accompanied by Cadotte, Thompson made an ineffectual attempt to reach Red l. by way of Red Lake r.; finding the road impracticable at that season, they returned to the house Mar. 31st. There Thompson stayed a week, when, on Apr. 8th, he "bade adieu to Mr. and Mrs. Cadot," and started for Red l. by way of Clearwater r. He reached the lake Apr. 17th, and then passed on over to the Mississippi by way of Turtle r. Cadotte's house of the previous season, 1796-97, had been on Red l., a short distance S. of the exit of Red r. from that lake; Henry speaks of this establishment beyond.

we left it here and gained the plains, where we mounted our horses, crossed over a low level plain of about four miles, when we again fell among small poplars and willows, then on large wood, and immediately after came down to the river at a place called Campement de Plumb, opposite Liard [Cottonwood] river, which comes in here on the opposite side of Red Lake river. Here also we expected to find Indians, but there was no sign of any. Red and fallow deer are very numerous. They have beaten paths in the woods like those of the buffalo on the banks of Red river. It appears also that bears have been very plentiful, by marks on the oak trees and fruit bushes. Here we stopped for the night [on the E. bank of Red Lake river, at or near St. Hilaire, Polk Co.]. The river runs from N. to S., and is very rapid and shallow, but broader than below. The banks are low and well wooded with the elm, liard, oak, poplar, and bois blanc. My Indian guide was anxious for me to return, saying we should find no Indians this side of Red lake. But having come so far for nothing, I was determined to search one day more, when, if we did not find them, we would return. He tells me there is but one other place where there is any prospect of finding them, about half a day's journey higher up the river, at the entrance of Rivière aux Voleurs.

*Oct. 29th.* At sunrise we mounted and set off. The country near the river is covered with small poplars and willows, so intricate as to oblige us to seek the open country, which we found was little better than that near the river, the grass being long, and frequently boggy. Our course for some time was N. W., when we bore to the N., and then to the E., which is the course on which this river comes from Red lake; the country is low and level, with stunted woods and small meadows. There are a few pretty rising grounds that run N. and S., on which nothing grows but short grass; these are the only pleasant spots. They are not more than a quarter of a mile wide, some less. Deer of both kinds are numerous, but especially red deer. At one o'clock we arrived at Rivière Voleuse or aux Voleurs



(qui match it erck qui we scipei).<sup>16</sup> Here we found an Indian's tent, the master of which was surprised to see us, and at first took us for Sioux from our being on horseback, as he knew of no person who had horses in this part of the country but the enemy. The poor fellow was so alarmed on perceiving us that he scarcely knew what to do—whether to defend himself or to fly; but we were soon near him and, observing his consternation, dismounted and called to him that we were friends. Here we determined to remain; so we fettered our horses and sent them to feed.

The Indian, who is a young man, informs us that he has been away from Red lake nearly a moon, and that he left all the Indians waiting there for a trader whom they expected to come by way of Fond du Lac; but as the water was so very low he supposed they could not get through. At all events, he said, he expected his relatives to join him soon, as they were to pass the winter about this place, whence some of them would venture to hunt beaver and bear at Lake Craw-shaw-bau-way-gaw-maw,<sup>17</sup> which lies to the S., a few miles W. of l'Eau Claire, where fallow deer also abound. This is the longest lake hereabouts, being upward of three leagues long, but narrow. The true maple [*Acer saccharinum*], grows in great plenty along this lake, and it would be a capital place for making sugar, were it not for the Sioux, who frequently come here in search of the Saupteurs. Buffaloes, moose, red deer, fallow deer, and bears, are numerous, and there is plenty of fish in the lake, particularly large pike and doré. He also informed us that some of them were to winter northward on Lac aux Voleurs, at the source of this small river.

This lake and river I am told derive their name from an incident which occurred many years ago, when the Saupteurs obliged the Sioux to abandon this part of the country

<sup>16</sup> So copy, as the Indian phrase equivalent to the French terms of the text—Thief r., Thieving r., or R. of Thieves, already mentioned, at the junction of which with Red r. Henry camps.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps that lake in Polk Co. in the vicinity of a place called Maple Bay.

and move southward. But a few Sioux families secreted themselves in the woods about the lake, where they continued to hunt beaver for some years after all the rest of their people had fled to the Mississippi. They were discovered by the Saulteurs, who either drove them down this river or destroyed them. One thing certain is that about 80 years ago the Saulteurs and Sioux were in perfect enmity [amity?], and both inhabited the country eastward, more particularly Leech lake and its environs, which is considered the headwaters of the Mississippi.

Our Indian host had speared some excellent sturgeon and piccanan, of which he invited me to take what I would. He had also plenty of dried meat and a few beaver skins. I gave him some tobacco for his friends when they should arrive, and desired him to tell them I should be happy to see them at my place, when they had killed a few beaver. Maymiutch assured them there was no danger from Sioux.

*Oct. 30th.* Early this morning I bid the young man farewell, telling him I hoped to see him and his friends at my house with plenty of skins to trade. He smiled, but said nothing. Having no further occasion to keep along the river, we took our course directly homeward, about W. N. W., passing through tremblers [aspen groves—*Populus tremuloides*], willows, têtes-de-femme [tussocks of long grass], and small meadows until twelve o'clock, when we came to the open plain. At dusk we arrived at our camp of the 27th.

*Oct. 31st.* At daybreak we saddled, mounted, and came on at a round gallop and trot, by the same road we passed in going. We saw plenty of bulls and red deer, but did not attempt to kill any. At four o'clock we arrived opposite the fort, and were at once ferried over, with our horses. The poor beasts were much fatigued, having traveled hard since they left, mostly over bad roads. Soon after my arrival my hunter came in with three very fat red deer. I gave Maymiutch some liquor, and they both began to drink, but I was not apprehensive he would attempt to

seduce him away. I found that Desmarais had been visited during my absence by a party of Saulteurs from Portage la Prairie, who proposed to return with their families to their own land during the winter, and had come thus far ahead to see if there were any danger. The Indians from the hills also had been in with a few beaver skins and some dépouilles; they had seen no Sioux, contrary to our apprehension when we saw the smoke. It was themselves who had made it, by accident. My men had nearly finished cutting their firewood; they had made a number of traps and been very successful, particularly in taking raccoons and foxes. My sick man was much better; but another had split his thumb with an ax in a shocking manner, and having neglected it, the wound was in a sad condition. I washed it with sal ammoniac until it bled, when the poor fellow was dancing with pain, and swore he would rather have it cut off.

Desmarais told me the Indians were forming a war-party below us, near the Bois Percé, where several of them are tented. Langlois' Indians, and some of mine, were to be joined by a party of Crees and Assiniboines, who were to assemble at my establishment at the mountain, very soon. I did not like this news, being apprehensive they would trouble our people there, and, perhaps, even pillage them.

This evening a warm dispute between Desmarais and the men arose, concerning their trapping. It seemed that the former had encroached on the latter's premises—that is, he had set a line of traps on the same track, and within a few hundred yards of a line they had previously made; this they considered as an infringement upon their rights, and swore they would break his traps if he continued to lengthen his tracks. The dispute was getting serious, when they proposed to refer it to me. I soon put an end to their argument by telling them that this time I would pass over what had been said, but, in the future, the first one who raised a dispute about rights and privileges would be deprived of the liberty of visiting his traps, and so, if they

wished to hunt, they had better agree amongst themselves. This evening the Indians were drinking very quietly.

*Saturday, Nov. 1st.* At twelve o'clock two young men came in from the Bois Percé. I inquired what the Indians were doing. They told me the principal men were preparing for war, whilst the women were making mats for the winter. These mats are made with long rushes, which are laid parallel on smooth, level ground; threads of the inside bark of bois blanc, of the thickness of sturgeon twine, are then passed through each rush, and all are drawn so close together as to shed rain. They are made from 12 to 18 feet long, and 5 or 6 wide. With these mats the Saulteurs construct their winter tents and cabins. They are warm, yet airy, and far more comfortable than the birch bark covering or the leather tents of the Meadow Indians. The Saulteurs use bark for the summer only, as it makes a cooler cabin than the rush mats, and is much lighter and less bulky. I gave my people each a dram, this day being considered amongst them as a great fête. The Indians went back to their camp.

*Sunday, Nov. 2d.* Last night the wolves were very troublesome; they kept up a terrible howling about the fort, and even attempted to enter Maymiutch's tent. A large white one came boldly into the door and was advancing toward a young child, when he was shot dead. Some of them are very audacious. I have known them to follow people for several days, attempt to seize a person or a dog, and to be kept off only by fire-arms. It does not appear that hunger makes them so ferocious, as they have been known to pass carcasses of animals, which they might have eaten to their fill, but they would not touch flesh; their object seeming to be that of biting. The Canadians swear that these are mad wolves, and are much afraid of them.

*Nov. 3d.* Early this morning I sent two men to the salt lake with two large kettles, to make salt; but they never having been there, I was obliged to go with them. Therefore, about an hour after they were off, I mounted and rode



after them. On examining the lake, we found the water too shoal to dip without disturbing the muddy bottom. We, therefore, pitched upon the little creek by which it discharges into Park river ; but here the water was muddy and thick, requiring to be strained through a piece of woolen stuff. I left my men at work cutting wood and enjoying the comfortable camp. I attempted to cross Park river to chase a herd of buffalo, but it was impossible to find a place where my horse could get through. I had a stick, six feet long, which I ran into the mud and clay up to my hand, without finding any hard bottom. I was obliged to give up crossing ; but chased a herd of bulls, and killed a tolerably fat one. Maymiutch here joined me ; he had been hunting, but had killed nothing. As it was not far from the fort, I gave him the animal to cut up, and sent his family for it. I took only the tongue. In tying it on behind me, my knife ran through my hand and cut my thumb severely. On returning I found two Indians from the hills, with 30 beaver skins ; they paid their debts. I gave them liquor, and they began to drink. Soon after, Tabashaw, with six others of Langlois' Indians, came on a visit, being camped at the Bois Percé. They soon got a dram from those who had liquor, and then troubled me all the evening for more ; but I would not give them a drop, as I was displeased with them for having left Reed river and remained idle. Tabashaw and I had some hard words ; however, they availed him nothing.

*Nov. 4th.* The Indians set off early to return to their tents. I gave them a nine-gallon keg of liquor, on condition they would return to Red river, hunt, and pay their debts. They made me many fine promises. I sent all my men to make a bridge of logs over Park river, so that I could cross with my horse to the S. side, should I wish to hunt in that quarter.

One of Maymiutch's children, who was running about the fort, fell into a heap of red-hot embers that had been left by burning chips and other rubbish. It was some time

before he was perceived by his mother, when he was taken out in a shocking condition. The father instantly pounded and chewed a certain root and bark, which he sprinkled over the burns after he had thoroughly moistened them by taking water in his mouth and blowing it out. He then covered the whole with a quantity of swan's down and put the child to rest.

We are plagued by great numbers of mice, which destroy almost everything but metals; our strouds and blankets are nearly all damaged, and they even carry off our beads. At night we see them running in droves over the floor; they are not shy in the least. They often awake us by scampering over our faces and playing on our beds.

*Nov. 5th.* I sent two men in a small canoe up river to hunt ducks and other wild fowl, of which there are plenty. My hunter killed a bear, which I sent for. All hands were out tending their traps. The two men returned with a few wild fowl.

*Nov. 6th.* Two of my men had a boxing match, or rather a rough and tumble fight. One of them had been taking too many airs upon himself, bullying those whom he knew were not an equal match for him, and had used some of them very ill. This morning, when he as usual commanded one to go for water and cook, another man, who was as strong as himself, and with whom the bully had always been on friendly terms, got up and told him if he wanted water he should go for it in his turn; that the young men would no longer be his slaves; and, since they were not strong enough to defend themselves, he would take their part. A challenge was the consequence. To the joy of everybody, the bully got a beating which made him as quiet as a child, and the others began to crow over him. This afternoon arrived from Rivière Voleuse the Indian I had seen there, Le Pendu; he informed me that some of the Red Lake Indians had arrived there, and promised to see me in the course of the winter. He told me no trader had reached Red lake when they came away and also that three Indians

had gone down Rivière du Lac Rouge to hunt beaver below Black river; he supposed they would keep on to Grandes Fourches, where they would abandon their canoes and return to Rivière Voleuse by land with their beaver skins on their backs. He was positive they would not come here, as they traded with the Opposition, and would carry their hunt to Leech lake. This information determined me to go in search of them myself. I wished him to go with me, but he made many excuses, such as having sore legs, etc., though I saw that fear was the real cause of his being so backward. I applied to Maymiutch to accompany me, but he was afraid to leave his child, whose burns were very bad; otherwise he would go with pleasure. Late in the evening Charlo arrived on Crow's mare; he brought ten bears' skins and a few dépouilles from Hair hills.

*Nov. 7th.* Le Pendu returned early. I sent a fathom of tobacco to the Indians by him. Mayimutch with his family embarked and went down river to join those at Bois Percé. Charlo went out to look for his mare, but did not find her until late, and thought proper to remain here all day. So no Indians were camped here but my hunter. My men took great numbers of fat raccoons in their traps. We saw a great herd of cows going at full speed southward, but on coming to our track, which goes to the salt lake, they began to smell the ground, and, as suddenly as if they had been fired at, turned toward the mountain. It is surprising how sagacious those animals are. When in the least alarmed they will smell the track of even a single person in the grass, and run away in a contrary direction. I have seen large herds, walking very slowly to pasture, and feeding as they went, come to a place where some persons had passed on foot, when they would instantly stop, smell the ground, draw back a few paces, bellow, and tear up the earth with their horns. Sometimes the whole herd would range along the route, keeping up a terrible noise, until one of them was hardy enough to jump over, when they would all follow and run some distance.

This evening I had a long conversation with Charlo. He is a great rogue, but I was obliged to trust him for the present, and with some difficulty persuaded him to accompany me in search of the Indians about Grandes Fourches. He told me it was dangerous, and hoped I would reward him well for his trouble should we return safe. I promised him half a keg of liquor if he would set off to-morrow morning with me and take the mare with him. He was afraid his brother would be displeased. However, the liquor was too great a temptation; so he consented to risk his life and his brother's displeasure. We accordingly prepared to depart, which required no great ceremony; some shoes were all we needed, with a gallon of high wine and a fathom of tobacco for the Indians, if we found them.

*Nov. 8th.* We were up early, saddled, and set off, taking one other man along on the black horse. We crossed Park river on the bridge and proceeded through a low meadow overgrown with willows, which appear to run out in the plains for three miles. At ten o'clock we came to Salt river;<sup>18</sup> there the willows ended in fine open country. We had some difficulty in getting our horses over, as they sank in the mud up to their bellies, and one of them stuck fast. It was eleven o'clock before we got him out, which we did by cutting a quantity of long grass to support him. We were mud and dirt up to the eyes. Made a fire and refreshed ourselves. Salt river, like its neighbor, Park river, takes its waters in the Hair hills, where it comes down fresh and sweet, halfway to the level plain, where it is increased by small streams issuing from salt ponds, and soon after makes a perfect brine; which, after a winding

<sup>18</sup> Or Big Salt r., as it is also called now, for which see note <sup>7</sup>, p. 95.

The mouth of Salt r. is given by Thompson as the site of Roy's N. W. Co. house, at which he arrived at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, Mar. 22d, 1798. Roy was at home, and Thompson stayed overnight before crossing Red r., en route to Red l. and the Mississippi. What Roy this was, of the dozen or more who figure in the annals of those times, we are not informed—possibly the same one who had the house on Cass l., at which Pike stayed Feb. 12th–14th, 1806: see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 157. Henry nowhere mentions Roy's house on Red r.



course, empties into Red river. The banks are partially wooded. At twelve o'clock we continued on a fine level plain, keeping the line of wood of Red river near us on the left. We saw buffalo and red deer in great abundance, but did not molest them. We next came along a narrow marais,<sup>19</sup> which runs about five leagues on the edge of the wood, from nearly the entrance of Salt river to that of Turtle river. It is full of wild fowl, feeding on the plentiful wild rice. We shot a few ducks, which were excessively fat. We then came to the entrance of Turtle river,<sup>20</sup> which falls in from the S., running about six miles on a line with Red river, before it empties into the latter. We proceeded along its banks to the elbow, which makes a sudden bend in turning N. from the W. We were some time looking for a good crossing place, but found none, this river being of the same nature as Salt and Park rivers; like them, it rises in the Hair hills, by three branches, which, having joined, both its soil and water change. The fine gravel and sandy bottoms turn into muddy clay, and the clear, sweet stream into a muddy brine, which issues from a large salt marsh to the S., 12 miles in length and one-fourth of a mile broad. This marsh, which lies about halfway between Red river and the Hair hills, is a famous place for buffalo, as, indeed, are all salt lakes and marshes. We had much trouble in crossing; my man was pitched over his horse into the mud and water, and cut a most pitiable figure. The Indian waded over,

<sup>19</sup> This is Morse's slough, on which is situated Walshville, Walsh Co., N. Dak. It is what would be called on the Lower Mississippi a *chenal écarté*, or "snicarty."

<sup>20</sup> This "neighbor" of Salt r., as Henry aptly calls it, arises by N. and S. forks in the W. of Grand Forks Co., N. Dak., on and somewhat over the border of Nelson Co., and loops through the former county to fall into Red r. in the N. E. corner of the N. E. township of that county. About 5 m. above its mouth is the town of Turtle River, and from this point a narrow slough connects with Red r., some 6 m. higher up the latter, or halfway to the town of Grand Forks. A branch of the name of English cr. joins Turtle r., at or near the station Manvel, where the railroad crosses the river. Henry camps to-day near this place.

and led his mare by the cord. My horse was strong and active; I ventured in, and got safe through without a ducking. Here we thought proper to stop for the night, as there was a pond of fresh water near us—none of the sweetest, but rather foul and stagnant; but it was too late to go to Red river. We saw buffalo and red deer in every direction. The country is smooth and open, without a stick to be seen, except the woods of Red river, and some spots along Turtle river. Our Indian advised us to be on our guard during the night, to have our guns, fresh primed, alongside us, not to sleep too hard, and on the least noise to jump up. We had seen several wounded animals in the course of the day, but supposed it to have been done by some of our people.

*Sunday, Nov. 9th.* Charlo was in no hurry to proceed this morning; he said we must be cautious, as it was all level open country ahead, and the grass was short; the enemy might discover us at a distance, hide along the bank of the river, and knock us over *en passant*. At nine o'clock we set out, holding the same S. course as yesterday. We made a traverse to reach Red river; when we came near the woods we crossed a small creek, which comes E. from the plains. Buffalo and red deer were not so numerous as yesterday; this makes our Indian uneasy, as he tells me we are approaching a place on the annual war road of the enemy, where they have been known to remain for nearly a month at a time, watching for any Indians that might be coming down Rivière du Lac Rouge [to the present site of Grand Forks]. We kept near the wood, soon entered it, and went on with great precautions until we came opposite Grandes Fourches, or entrance of the Rivière du Lac Rouge, which falls in from the E., and is about the same breadth as Red river, which keeps its direction from the S. They both appear very crooked. The soil, banks, and muddy beach are the same as below, and so are the large woods, with the addition of bois inconnu and prickly ash [*Xanthoxylum americanum*], of which there is an abun-

dance. The water appears very deep at the confluence, and my guide tells me that many sturgeon winter here ; we saw several jump. Our first object was to look for any sign of the enemy. We saw several old war camps, and a range of elm-bark cabins, which our guide tells me were erected last summer by the Sioux, who remained nearly a month. We found also a camp of this summer, of about 100 men, who had been here before the leaves were full grown ; but we saw no fresh tracks. Near this last war camp was a great quantity of horse dung, and stakes driven into the ground to fasten their horses. Being satisfied there was no enemy near, we determined to stop for the night, in hopes of seeing the Indians we were pursuing. We assisted Charlo to make a raft, on which he crossed Red river to search for them. My man and myself arranged a snug camp, and boiled some fat ducks for supper. There were plenty of wild fowl here, but we did not fire, for fear of alarming any Indians who should be within hearing ; these ducks were the remainder of yesterday's hunt.

About dusk our Indian returned ; he had been some distance up the E. branch, but saw no sign of anybody. He found several beaver cabins along the river, but none had been worked ; this made me suppose the Indians had not yet come thus far. I therefore proposed to wait a few days in hopes of their arrival ; but this did not please our guide. I then told him I was anxious to see Goose river, as I wished to send my Indians there in the spring to hunt beaver, and I would be pleased if he would go with me. He started many objections. However, I prevailed upon him to accompany me, on condition I would give him a treat of high wine on our return to this place, where I intended to leave the small keg *en cache*. He informed me that the country on the E. side is the same as on the W., open and level, with no wood excepting that on the banks of the river.

*Nov. 10th.* At daybreak we mounted and proceeded along the wood, cutting from point to point, on a fine level

plain. At sunrise we could distinguish the Hair hills on the right. They appear high and barren; no wood seems to grow on them S. of Park river, excepting that on the banks of the different branches of the small rivers. Those blue stripes of wood of Turtle river, running up the mountain, formed a delightful contrast this morning with the barren straw-colored hills; but as the sun rose, it vanished. Buffalo are not very numerous; we seldom see a herd of cows. Red deer are seen continually in droves near the woods. At one o'clock we came opposite Rivière aux Buttes de Sable [Sand Hill river<sup>21</sup>], which comes in from the E. Near the entrance of this little river the wood suddenly ceases on both sides of Red river for about a mile; then it begins again for a half a mile, again ceases for the same distance, and once more begins. Intervals of this kind become more frequent as we proceed. At this first open space we had a fine view of the plains on both sides of Red river, and of the course of Rivière aux Buttes de Sable, whose wood soon ends. This small river derives its name from some barren, sandy hills about 15 leagues to the E.; it takes its water out of the same low boggy country and small lakes whence Rivière l'Eau Claire does, but, taking a more direct western course, passes S. of Lake Crawshaw-bau-way-gaw-maw, and within a few miles of that lake. In the upper part, in the strong wood, this river is of some considerable breadth and has high banks; but as it approaches the plains, it dwindles away until it is lost in a large marsh, on the W. side of which it reappears; and it is only a creek where it empties into Red river. At four o'clock we reached the entrance of Goose river, or Rivière aux Outardes [at Caledonia, Traill Co., N. Dak.<sup>22</sup>]

<sup>21</sup> Henry describes the river well. It heads in marshes about the S. E. corner of Polk and N. E. corner of Norman Co., Minn., but after that runs entirely in the latter (excepting a dip into Norman at the N. W. corner of the White Earth Indian Reservation), on an average due W. course. Two railroads cross it, near places called Fertile and Edna.

<sup>22</sup> Goose r., including its tributaries, arises in Nelson Co. and western parts of Grand Fork Co., whence it enters Steele Co., in which its main forks join; it



Here we stopped for the night—indeed this was the extent of our journey to the S., as nothing could induce our guide to cross Goose river. For we were near the enemies' land; we had seen several war camps during the day, and here we found the sign of 30 tents of last year, which our guide assured me was a Sioux camp. We saw also poles on which they had stretched beaver skins, old broken horse-travaill<sup>23</sup>, some tent-poles, and plenty of horse-dung. Goose river takes its water from the Hair hills, in small lakes and large marshes. It has several branches, but three principal ones, which join a short distance after leaving Hair hills. The water is fresh, and the bed hard with stones, gravel, and sand; its course is very winding. Beavers appear to be very numerous, but we kept as quiet as possible, made no fire, fired no gun, and held our horses always near us; while the Indian was continually on the lookout from the tops of the oaks. We crossed Goose river here without any trouble, and I climbed up one of the highest trees to have a view southward. The country appeared the same as that we had passed through, open and level, with no woods to be seen, excepting those on Red and Goose rivers. The former holds its course from

then traverses Traill Co., on S. E. and finally E. courses. The main stream is crossed in three places by railroads—at Portland, Mayville, and Hillsboro, all in Traill Co. The county seat of the latter, Caledonia, is situated on the river, close to its mouth. At this point Henry is just about 60 m. in an air line from his fort, a little E. of S.

<sup>23</sup> *Travail à cheval*, pl. *travaills à cheval*, literally horse-litter, also called in English *travail*, *travaille*, *travois*, *traverse*, and *travee*. It is a sort of drag much used by Indians, voyageurs, and coureurs in the Northwest. It consists of two long poles, sometimes of several Indian lodge-poles, one end of each or all of which is fastened to the horse's side, while the other drags on the ground. The poles of opposite sides are connected by cross-pieces, or otherwise lashed together, and a sacking of canvas or hides may be stretched between the poles to complete a litter for the reception of a person or other things. The French plural is often erroneously given as *travaux*, as if it were the plural of *travail*, meaning "work"; but it has nothing to do with this, the etymology of the word being from Lat. *trabeculum*, diminutive of *trabs*, a beam, through such forms as *travallum* and *trabale*, meaning a trave, brake, or shackle.

the S., and the latter from the W. The wood is not so long or large as below. The oaks are stunted, the elms, liards, etc., are small; the soil appears more sandy; the bed of Red river is firm and frequently stony; the reaches are short and very crooked; the bends, sudden. It is here about half as wide as at Pembina river, but has plenty of water.

A few miles above, on the E., is Rivière à la Folle Avoine [Wild Rice river<sup>24</sup>], navigable for small Indian canoes. This river takes its water from a lake of the same name in the strong woods, but soon enters the plains, where it runs a winding course, receiving several small streams; its low banks are tolerably well wooded. A short distance N. of this river, soon after it enters the plains, is a large spot of wood called La Grosse Isle de la Rivière à la Folle Avoine, a famous place for fallow deer. The country on the E. is very low for 12 or 15 leagues, when, on approaching the pines and strong wood, we meet with some sandy rising grounds and barren hillocks. Beavers are numerous along

<sup>24</sup> The principal drainage of Norman Co., Minn., heading in the marshy eastern part of that county, and also somewhat over its boundary in Becker and Beltrami cos. Its ultimate sources thus closely approach the sources and uppermost courses both of the Red r. itself and of the Mississippi. Most of the lakes referred to are comprised within the present White Earth Indian reservation, which occupies portions of all three of the counties named; some are just over that divide between Hudsonian and Mexican waters which is known as Nicollet's Height of Land. The general course of Wild Rice r. is W. for 75 m. or more, representing about the direct distance between Red r. and Lake Itasca; but in approaching Red r., Wild Rice r. divides in two channels, whose mouths are some 10 m. apart. This division occurs in the vicinity of Ada, seat of Norman Co., and both channels are crossed by the G. N. Ry. near their separation. The main channel loops between Goldner and Perry, and then past Hendrum, to fall into Red r. close to Halstad, Minn., and Hague, N. Dak. The other channel runs more directly N. W., to fall in about a mile below Henry's position at the mouth of Goose r., and thus nearly opp. Caledonia, N. Dak. This other channel is known now as Marsh r., being that Rivière aux Marais which Henry describes beyond: see note<sup>30</sup>. Ada is on this Marsh r., as are also places called Marsh River and Colenso. The N. P. R. R. crosses Wild Rice r. above its separation in two channels, at Heiburg. Other names of the river have been Manominee and Pse.

this river, and from the number of small branches which fall into it, they cannot be destroyed for many years to come. Large animals are also in great numbers.

Beyond this river, about 12 leagues by land, is Schian [Cheyenne<sup>25</sup>] river, on the W. This derives its name from a formerly numerous tribe of Indians, who inhabited its upper part. They were a neutral tribe between the Sioux and the Saulteurs for many years; but the latter, who are of a jealous disposition, suspected they favored the Sioux. A very large party having been once unsuccessful in discovering their enemies, on their return wreaked their vengeance on those people, destroying their village and murdering most of them. This happened about 60 years ago, when the Saulteurs were at war with their natural enemies, the Sioux of the Plains, who are the only inhabitants of St. Peter's river. The Schians having been nearly exterminated, abandoned their old territories and fled southward across the Missouri, where they are now a wandering tribe. Their numbers have increased suprisingly. They are generally in amity with their neighbors, the Gens de Vache,

<sup>25</sup> This Cheyenne r., not to be confounded with a large tributary of the Missouri of the same name, is by far the longest branch of Red r. Its main course, or what Henry calls the North Fork, arises on the Coteau de Missouri, nearly or quite as far W. as the longitude of Bismarck, N. Dak.; runs N. E. in Wells Co. and E. in Benson Co., and in Eddy Co. forms the whole S. boundary of the present Devil's Lake Indian reservation (with a little overlapping in Ramsey Co.). It continues E. in Nelson Co., turns S. through Griggs and Barnes into Ransom Co., meanders the latter very crookedly eastward, continues E. through Richland Co., and when about 10 m. from Red r. turns N. into Cass Co., and runs N. in the latter, nearly parallel with Red r., to fall into the last named river about 10 m. N. of Fargo. In all this long and very circuitous course, Cheyenne r. receives no very notable tributaries; as its drainage area is exceptionally narrow for its length, being hemmed in on the N. and E. by various rivers we have already rehearsed, and on the S. and W. by Jacques, James, or Dakota r. The principal branch is the united stream of Maple r. and Rush r., which falls in in Cass Co., only 6 or 8 m. N. W. of Fargo. As will be seen further on, Henry considers Cheyenne r. to be the N. one of two "principal branches" which compose Red r., his S. branch being Red r. itself above the mouth of the Cheyenne. The forms of the name are very numerous, Keating, p. 39, has Shienne or Shahiada r.

the Panis [Pawnees], the Tetons (a tribe of Sioux on the Missouri), and the Mandanes.

Red river has two principal branches; the north one [Cheyenne river] takes its water out of a large marsh and some small lakes about 15 leagues from the Missouri, where there are no woods—nothing but a few willows. It runs E. within a few miles of Lac du Diable [Devil's lake], opposite which it begins to have well-wooded banks; and as it increases in size, the valley spreads and the banks are high. This branch is navigable only for small canoes, in the spring, when the water is high. Beavers are more numerous than elsewhere; grizzly bears are to be seen in droves; and it may be called the nursery of buffalo and red deer. It is a delightful country, but seldom can our Saulteurs kill a beaver there without falling in with their enemies, who are no great beaver hunters.

The South branch [Red river itself<sup>26</sup>] takes its water from

<sup>26</sup> Henry is noting the origin of Red r. as it was in his day and long afterward supposed to be—in Lake Traverse, which separates the N. E. corner of South Dakota from Traverse Co., Minn. Lake Traverse comes very close to Big Stone l., a principal source of the Minnesota or St. Peter's r., and in a certain sense the two great rivers do lay their heads together: for some details of this approximation of two lakes, one discharging ultimately into Hudson's bay and the other into the Gulf of Mexico, see Lewis and Clark, ed. 1893, p. 89. But: at a place on Red r. called Breckenridge, seat of Wilkin Co., Minn., a river comes in from the E. whose course is very much longer than what is left of Red r. above that place. Therefore, *this* is the main continuation of Red r., and what remains of the old Red r. between Breckenridge and Lake Traverse takes a different name—Bois des Sioux or Sioux Wood r.—a phrase found as "Boise de Sioux" on the latest G. L. O. map of Minnesota. The origin of this name is found in a certain grove or clump of trees, called Bois des Sioux, which was "supposed to be the northernmost limit of the undisputed property of the Sioux on Red River," Keating's Long, II. 1824, p. 13. This section was also called shortly Sioux r.—a name which sometimes extended much further down Red r., in the debatable land which was claimed both by Sioux and Ojibways. Sioux r. is said by Keating, *ibid.*, p. 12, to be called by the Sioux themselves Kantoko, "from a thicket of plum bushes near its head." The Bois des Sioux is said to have been about 9 m. up the river of that name, *i.e.*, that distance above its confluence with the main branch from Otter Tail l.

On this understanding, Red r. now comes from the E. through Wilkin Co., from Otter Tail Co., Minn., and its course is traced upward a long way further



a chain of lakes, which by means of one or two short carrying-places communicates with the St. Peter's river. This branch at some seasons is navigable for large canoes, and is the country where Sioux are generally to be found at any season. Its course is winding and in some places rapid, and after passing within sight of Montagne de Chef forms a junction with the north branch [Cheyenne river] just as they enter the level country. Several other branches empty into it, but none from any great distance. From the forks downward it is a fine river, with a sandy bottom and some rapids, and is navigable for large canoes.

still—past Fergus Falls, and on to Otter Tail l., the largest one in the county—past this to Rush l.—on to Pine l. and Little Pine l.—still on through lakes out of Otter Tail Co., into Becker Co.—northward further to the so-called Height of Land l.—onward through more lakes, into the White Earth Indian reservation—there through Round l., Many Point l., Elbow l., and others—over the line into Beltrami Co., in the S. W. corner of which are the sources of the Red River of the North, fully abreast of the source of the Mississippi in latitude, and only some 12 or 15 m. due W. of Lake Itasca itself! These upper reaches of Red r. have not long been fully established, though in their main features they have been known as Otter Tail r. They would not be imagined from the latest G. L. O. map of Minnesota, which cuts off Red r. before it comes even as high as Fergus Falls, and turns it into the course of its principal branch from the N., called Pelican r.; but they are carefully delineated on the Jewett map. One of the larger collateral sources of Red r. is Toad r., which comes S. from Toad l. into Pine l. The most practically important relation between Red and Mississippian waters is probably that between Otter Tail l. and Portage l., connecting Red r. with sources of Crow Wing r. Even so bare an outline as this will show that Bois de Sioux r. is by no means the true Red r. above Breckenridge, but merely the discharge of Lake Traverse into Red r. Once again: far as we have thus traced the fish-hook bend of Red r. in Minnesota, it does not compare in length with Cheyenne r. in North Dakota. The source of the Cheyenne is the most remote origin of Red r.—just as the source of the Missouri is the most remote origin of the Mississippi.

The principal tributary of Lake Traverse is one named Muslinka r. on the latest G. L. O. map of Minnesota; upon this is Wheaton, seat of Traverse Co., Minn. The word means hare or rabbit; thus, we read in Keating's Long, II. 1824, p. 7: "we stopped to dine upon the banks of what is termed Mushtincha Watapan, (Hare River.)" But Rabbit r. is present name of the next stream below, mainly in Wilkin Co. Lake Traverse was once the site of a H. B. Co. post, 2 m. from its head, at the very place where Long found one of the Columbia Fur Co., in 1823, *ibid.*, p. 226, and pl. 6.

On leaving Rivière des Schians we soon reach Rivière aux Bœufs [now Buffalo river<sup>27</sup>] from the E. This has two principal branches; one from the S. E. and the other from the N. E.; they both take their water out of a number of small lakes in the strong wood, and, after a long winding course through the open plain, join within about five leagues of Red river. This river is also navigable for small canoes, and large ones have been known to ascend the E. branch in the spring, when the waters were high.

About seven leagues by land beyond this river, Rivière aux Oiseaux Puants or Vulture river<sup>28</sup> comes in from the W.

<sup>27</sup> The reader will remember that Henry is not traveling now—he has stopped in his camp on Goose r., and is only going on paper. Buffalo r. is a large forked stream, whose main course flows from Buffalo l. and others in the maze of lakes in Becker Co., Minn., in and near the southern part of the White Earth Indian reservation, runs N. W., turns S. W. into Hawley Tp. of Clay Co., continues nearly W. till it receives its main fork from Otter Tail Co., through Clay Co., and from their junction flows about N. W. into Red r. at Georgetown, Clay Co., Minn., opp. Trysil, Cass Co., N. Dak. The N. P. R. R., going E. from Moorhead, crosses the S. fork of Buffalo r. at Tenny, and afterward crosses and re-crosses the main or E. fork at or near Stockwood, Muskoda, Hawley, and Winnipeg Junction. The mouth of Buffalo r. is a few miles lower down Red r. than that of the Cheyenne, instead of being higher up, as Henry's text implies in saying that we reach Buffalo r. after leaving the Cheyenne. Nicollet marks Buffalo r. with the alternative name Pijihi.

<sup>28</sup> The "stinking birds" here said are turkey-buzzards (*Cathartes aura*). This river is now called Wild Rice r.—to be distinguished from all those so named in Minnesota. Nicollet uses the alternative name Psihu; this is the same Sioux word as the Pse of note <sup>23</sup>; Keating calls it Pse r., p. 39. Tanner, p. 142, speaks of "the Gaunenoway, a considerable river which heads in the Chief Mountain, and runs into Red River, several days' journey from Lake Traverse." This "Gaunenoway" stands for Manominee. Tanner also has, p. 140: "Due west from Lake Traverse, and at the distance of two days' travel, is a mountain, called Ogemahwudju (chief mountain)," *i. e.*, Henry's Montagne de Chef, given as source of this Wild Rice r. The stream flows mainly in Richland Co., N. Dak., where for a long distance it closely hugs the W. side of Red r.—with the C., M., and St. P. R. R. between the two. It enters Cass Co., and falls into Red r. a few miles above Fargo; town or sta. Wild Rice at its mouth.

Above the mouth of Wild Rice r., Fort Abercrombie was established pursuant to A. of C., March 3d, 1857, and orders from hdqrs. of the army, June 24th, 1857, at a point on the W. bank of Red r. 12 m. N. of the confluence of Bois des Sioux and Otter Tail rivers, the intention being to build near the head of

This small stream takes its water by several branches in the environs of Montagne de Chef ; its course is very crooked, running through a fine open country, with partially wooded banks. Beavers are numerous here ; Charlo informs me he saw plenty two summers ago, on a war excursion, when they crossed this river southward in search of the enemy. Beyond this small river wood soon ceases on both sides of Red river ; for about 15 leagues only stunted willows are seen. The country is beautiful, level, and open ; the soil barren and sandy, with some stones. Montagne de Chef is on the W. ; it here takes that name, but it is the same ridge, running in the same direction as the Hair hills ; only the latter loses its wood at Park river, and is all barren ground until it reaches this well-wooded mountain.

Soon after reaching wood again on Red river, we arrive at Pelican river,<sup>29</sup> from the E. This is navigable for small canoes, and even large ones have ascended it in the spring. It receives its water from several considerable lakes, the principal of which are Pelican lake, Lac de Bois Blanc navigation, "in the vicinity of a place known as Graham's Point, Minn." The position is nearly opposite places now called McCauleyville and Kent, Minn. The Chic., Milw. and St. P. R. R. runs through the site. The name stands "Ambercombe" on a map before me. Lt. Col. J. J. Abercrombie arrived on the spot Aug. 28th, 1858, and the troops were quartered for the winter of 1858-59. The post was abandoned July 25th, 1859 ; re-occupied July, 1860 ; attacked by Sioux, Sept. 3d and Sept. 6th, 1862 ; building finished in Feb., 1863 ; it was operative in 1873, when I last heard of it.

<sup>29</sup> Pelican r. is present name of that branch of Red r. which runs S. from Pelican and other lakes in Becker and Otter Tail cos., and falls into Red r. a little W. of Fergus Falls. But this does not seem to be exactly the stream which Henry means, and there is some further difficulty in following out the remainder of the account of Red r. which Henry gives, as will be remembered, upon hearsay evidence. For example, I do not know what "Lac de Travers" he mentions in this connection ; or what his "Rivière aux Schaitake" can be, unless it be present Pelican r. ; or how Red r. can be said to have a "direct course," "due N." from Otter Tail l. to Lake Winnipeg, considering the fish-hook bend we have traced, note<sup>25</sup>. Waiving some such points as these, which do not seem clear, we find Henry presenting a good outline of the traverse *par l'aile de corbeau* from the Otter Tail waters of Red r. to the Crow Wing branch, of the Mississippi ; and we may take his account on this main understanding without further criticism in detail.

[Basswood lake], and Lac de Travers [Traverse lake]. These adjoin the strong wood, and are supplied by many rivulets. Leaving Rivière aux Schaitake [*sic*], Red river becomes shallow and rapid, with frequent reefs of stone. There is, however, no fall or cascade, but continual rapids. Passing these rapids, which are navigable for large canoes with full loads of 70 pieces, baggage included, we come to a small round lake [?], which is crossed from N. to S., not more than a mile, when a short, narrow rivulet succeeds to Otter Tail lake [Lac à la Queue de Loutre]. This is the principal source of Red river, and is about nine miles in circumference; its shores are partially wooded, and the surrounding country is level and open—on the whole, a delightful place.

The direct course of Red river, from Otter Tail lake to Lake Winipeg [Winnipeg], may be said to run due N., or rather W. of N., through as pleasant a country as there is in America, with plenty of water for navigation, an excellent, fertile soil, and the best of wood for every purpose. Tall oaks are to be found, as straight as a reed, without a branch for 30 to 50 feet from the ground. The liard is of extraordinary size; I have measured them of seven fathoms circumference, at five feet from the ground. The elm and bois blanc are also very large, and so are many of the ashes. There is abundance of wood on the banks of the river to answer every purpose for ages to come.

On the S. side of Otter Tail lake is a portage about a mile long, through a fine, open plain to a small lake; then again a short portage to another small lake, on the S. side of which issues a small creek, running southward, and soon falling into Leaf lake, which is of no great size. Here commences Leaf river, which is broad, shallow, and frequently interrupted by stones and rapids; but large canoes can pass with ease, full loaded. Having run E. for about 12 leagues, Leaf river enters the strong wood, the meadows stretching southward; a few leagues more, and it empties into Rivière à L'Aile du Corbeau [Crow Wing river], which meets it



from the N. E. After this junction it bears the name of the latter river, and then becomes more navigable ; it runs a S. E. course of about 15 leagues to the Mississippi, which here comes in from the N. E. Having received its principal waters from Leech lake, Petit Lac Winipic [Winnibigoshish lake], [Upper] Red Cedar [Cass] lake, and a number of smaller lakes and rivers, from a great bend toward the S. and S. E., where it receives the discharge of Sandy lake [Lac de Sable], the Mississippi then turns to a S. W. course until it receives Rivière à L'Aile du Corbeau, when it takes a more southern direction, receiving innumerable small rivers in its course.

But to return to my journey. We passed an uncomfortable night ; the air was cold, and we made no fire for fear of being discovered. Every wolf or other animal that came near us we supposed was the enemy, and were in a state of alarm the whole night.

*Nov. 11th.* We took a farewell view of the country southward from the top of a large oak. The mirage was fine as the sun rose, and the prospect delightful. Goose river, on the right, wound over the plains to the W. until it divided into several branches, which, soon after reaching the Hair hills, appeared like blue, serpentine stripes across the barren ground until lost to view. On the left, Red river stretched southward through a level country as far as the eye could reach. On the E. side appeared the level plain, through which Folle Avoine river ran, until the wood grew blue and was lost to sight, while its many sudden bends added to the beauty of the prospect.

About a mile below, on the E., I observed the small Rivière aux Marais<sup>30</sup> [Marsh river], which retained its wood only four or five miles out in the plain, and was then seen no more. I also had a glimpse of the woods on the Schian river, to the S. W. In every direction animals were seen—

<sup>30</sup> This is the third tributary of Red r. of such name. But *this* Marsh r. is not an independent river—merely one of the two channels into which Wild Rice r. divides in the vicinity of Ada, Norman Co., Minn.

buffalo feeding on the plain, and red deer in the edge of the wood or passing through the open spaces.

My guide was anxious to depart. At eight o'clock we set out, and, without making halt to rest our horses, we reached our camp at Grandes Fourches at sunset. Here I was obliged to treat my guide with high wine; he was soon intoxicated, and brave as a lion, saying he was sorry we had seen no Sioux, as he would have taken some scalps, and even offering to go to Otter Tail lake. After much of his boasting, I asked him once more to go with my man up Rivière du Lac Rouge [Red Lake river] to-morrow in search of the Indians. He offered to start instantly if I would give him the keg to take, in case he should find them; but this would not do. I gave him an extra dose of undiluted high wine, and, after some trouble to keep him from crossing the river, which he attempted to do several times, in intervals of running toward the plain and calling the Sioux "old women," he fell asleep exhausted.

*Nov. 12th.* At sunrise the Indian and my man crossed the river on the raft, whilst I remained to take care of our horses. The poor beasts required rest. I gave the men proper directions, should they fall in with the Indians, to bring them here. I slept most of the day. At sunset my people returned, having been up as far as Deux Rivières aux Marais,<sup>31</sup> two small parallel rivers on the S. side of Red Lake river. At the entrance of one of them they found the sign of some persons who had worked the beaver lately, and whom the Indian believed to have been those we sought; he said that, judging by the marks he saw, they had returned to their families.

*Nov. 13th.* At daybreak we were on horseback. We had some trouble to cross Turtle river. The mud was frozen on each side, but the crust was not strong enough to bear our horses; their legs went through, and they were in danger of being hurt. However, we got over, and proceeded to

<sup>31</sup> No doubt the pair of small streams which fall into Red Lake r. from the S. in the vicinity of Fisher, Polk Co., Minn.

Salt river, where we had another fine piece of business, worse than at Turtle river. Charlo, willing to show his horsemanship, attempted to drive through on his mare at a round pace; but, before she got halfway over, she plunged her nose into the mud and fell on her side. Charlo came souse into the water at full length. We had some trouble to get her out; but he stood ferryman and helped us over, when we mounted and went on at a gallop to warm our horses. Late in the evening we arrived safe at the fort, heartily glad to find ourselves at home.

But my joy was of a short duration. Two of Langlois' men were waiting for me, with word that a number of Crees and Assiniboines were daily assembling near our establishment at Panbian mountain. They had some furs, and were preparing for war. Langlois feared they might do some mischief to our people, as some of the young Crees had already insulted Hamel. He therefore wished me to go and see how matters stood. I found another cause of vexation. My hunter's father-in-law arrived here yesterday from Red lake, without a skin of any kind; his errand was for his gendre [son-in-law] to return with him, and he would accept of no excuse. This will be some loss to me. The young man says he will not return till he has skins enough to pay for goods I have advanced him, but I do not believe him. Nau-bun-ai-jam<sup>32</sup> tells me that when he left the lake, some time ago, Mr. Jean Baptiste Cadotte was making the Red Lake portage, about 10 miles long, and had informed the Indians he would winter on the lake; but that many of them had left on their way to this place, having heard of my being here.

*Nov. 14th.* My two men came in, having made two kegs of salt. They complain of the bad quality of the water.

I had my three canoes put in safety for the winter, between my house and the stockades, bottom upward, on three cross poles, and well covered with about a foot thick of straw, having loosened the ribs. Old Taon and family arrived from

<sup>32</sup> No. 23 of the list on p. 54, there spelled Naubeenvishcung.

the Bois Percé on his way to Salt river. As I was certain my hunter would leave me, I arranged with Taon to hunt, paying him three skins per animal and furnishing ammunition. I desired him to camp near Salt river and hunt red deer, there being no animals near the fort excepting bulls, which are lean and indifferent at this season.

*Nov. 15th.* My little hunter and his father-in-law set off for Rivière aux Vautours [Vulture, *i. e.*, Turkey-buzzard, river], and old Taon decamped for Salt river to hunt. At nine o'clock I mounted and set off for Langlois', leaving Charlo preparing to depart for his tent at the foot of the Hair hills. At the Bois Percé I remained about an hour with the worthless vagabonds, who do nothing but play at the game of platter. Nothing is heard but the noise of the dish, and children bawling from hunger; their scoundrelly fathers are deaf to their cries, until necessity obliges them to kill a bull for their sustenance. I overtook the two men I sent off on foot this morning before daylight. We came on slowly to Panbian river and encamped.

*Sunday, Nov. 16th.* A very cold morning, the ice drifting in large bodies in Red river. On arriving opposite Reed river, we had some difficulty to cross among the drifting ice, and found most of the people sick. Langlois had a cold and cough, his wife a sore hand, and their daughter was in convulsions. She lies senseless for half an hour or more, and the fit occurs twice or thrice a day. When it takes her she lies like a person in a trance, without any struggle or contortions, and recovers as from a dream. She is about 10 years of age, and appears otherwise in good health. A child about four years of age had his left buttock mostly torn off by an accidental shot in an Indian's cabin a few days ago during a drinking match. He is now in a fair way of recovery, though the gun was loaded with large beaver shot. It is surprising he was not killed, but it seems the shot passed obliquely, and he will escape with the loss of a few pounds of flesh.

*Nov. 17th.* This morning the ice was sufficiently strong



to cross on. I passed a tedious day amongst the sick and lame. In the afternoon I made shift to crawl over the river with my man, in search of my horse, and brought him down to drink. He was troubled with lampers, which prevented him from drinking freely. My man sharpened a piece of hard dry oak, and, putting a gag in the mouth, pierced the part affected in several places; it bled copiously. On letting him loose he began to eat with a good appetite. Capot Rouge and White Partridge arrived from the upper part of Red river, with 30 skins each.

*Nov. 18th.* At daybreak Langlois and myself crossed on the ice, and having found our horses, set off for Panbian mountain. Great numbers of swans were passing S.—almost one continuous flock the whole day; I was astonished to see so many. At sunset we arrived at the house, and found our people well. The Crees had brought a good trade. This evening two of them arrived on horseback. They brought three black bear skins and a few foxes. They informed me the war party had failed, and been put off till spring. There are now about 50 Crees and Snakes at Pinancewaywining river, to remain till February, when they will return to the Assiniboine. I gave out some tobacco for the principal men.

*Nov. 19th.* Early we set off, and were obliged to ride hard, as the wind was very cold. We arrived early at Red river. *20th.* Very cold, and about six inches of snow. I sent off my men on foot before day; at nine o'clock I followed and overtook them. The cold was so severe, that I could not keep on my horse, but was obliged to run and walk. Shot two bulls, and camped opposite Two Rivers.

*Nov. 21st.* This morning early we were on our way in cruel weather. The storm had increased to a gale from the N. W. We were often obliged to keep in the woods, and under the lee of the banks, for shelter from the piercing wind. Riding was out of the question, as none of us were provided for such cold weather. The drifts prevented us from seeing more than 15 yards ahead. I was determined

not to stop at the Bois Percé, so I made a short turn to avoid the Indian camp there, and at four o'clock reached the fort, to the great surprise of my people, who had supposed it impossible to march in such weather. Nothing had happened since my departure. There was a cow herd at hand, but our hunters were killing plenty of red deer. They take no more raccoons with traps. Those animals are lodged in hollow trees, where they will remain, like bears, until spring, without any subsistence. The men take plenty of foxes and wolves, a few fishers, and a chance marten; the latter are very scarce.

*Nov. 22d.* My chimney smoked intolerably; therefore, the weather being moderate, I had it torn down and built anew. My men came in with a load of meat from the hunter's tent. Bulls are numerous. Ten Red Lake Indians arrived from Rivière aux Voleurs; amongst them were those I had been in search of above. They brought a tolerably good trade. I treated them well, and they made great promises—probably more than they will perform.

*Sunday, Nov. 23d.* The Indians set off early on their return, well pleased with their reception. The mice destroy everything; they eat my skins and peltries—indeed, anything that is not iron or steel goes down with them.

*Nov. 24th.* My men making dog sleighs to haul meat home. They have excellent oak for that purpose. Desmarais making snowshoes. Bois inconnu is the best wood we have, preferable to birch, or any other I know of. It is light, and bends remarkably well. We find none of it N. of this place, but the further S. we go the more plentiful it is.

*Nov. 25th.* I sent two men early, with letters to Portage la Prairie, to inform our gentlemen to the N. of my transactions in this quarter. They take one sleigh and two dogs, to draw their provisions and blankets. I directed them to proceed to Langlois, and thence to Hamel, at the Hair hills, where I hoped they would get a guide to conduct them to Portage la Prairie. Sent my people off for meat. The weather having been mild for a few days, the snow is

entirely melted away. Crooked Legs and his family arrived from below. His young wife is now perfectly recovered, and enjoys a glass. All who had any skins to trade held a drinking match, during which the lady gave her old husband a cruel beating with a stick, and then, throwing him on his back, applied a fire brand to his privates, and rubbed it in, until somebody interfered and took her away. She left him in a shocking condition, with the parts nearly roasted. I believe she would have killed him, had she not been prevented; if he recovers, it will be extraordinary. This was done in revenge for his having stabbed her some time ago.

*Nov. 26th.* Indians sober. Crooked Legs too ill to stir; his old wife waits on him, and the young one makes fun of him. *27th.* A young man arrived from the hills, to inform us that Charlo's wife died suddenly last night. He brought a few skins to buy rum for the funeral, to drown their sorrows, and lament the deceased with a better grace. He returned immediately with a small keg.

*Nov. 28th.* Two men from Portage la Prairie arrived with the two I had sent from here on the 25th. They met at Reed river, where both parties arrived the same day. They bring me letters from all my friends on the Assiniboine, and dispatches from Grand Portage of Aug. 9th.

I find myself obliged to send Desmarais to join Mr. [Charles Jean Baptiste] Chaboillez at Portage la Prairie. Larocque, senior, came in from his traps, with a skunk, a badger, and a large white wolf, all three caught in the same trap at once, as he said. This we thought extraordinary—indeed, a falsehood—until he explained the affair. His trap was made in a hollow stump, in the center of which there was a deep hole in the ground. He found the wolf just caught, and still alive; he dispatched him, and on taking him out, noticed something stirring and making a noise in the hole in the ground. Upon looking in he perceived the badger, which he killed with a stick, and on pulling him out, smelled the horrid stench of the skunk, which was in one

corner of the hole ; he soon dispatched him also. From this the Indians all predicted some great misfortune, either to the person to whom the traps belonged, or to our fort. Some supposed the Sioux would destroy us all.

*Nov. 29th.* Desmarais prepared for his departure with a heavy heart, as he is fond of this place.

*Sunday, Nov. 30th.* Men and Desmarais preparing themselves. I intend to send two men with them. Some went raccoon hunting, the weather being warm. They returned in the evening with seven, which they had found in one hollow tree. The size of this tree was enormous, having a hollow six feet in diameter, the rim or shell being two feet thick, including the bark. Raccoon hunting is common here in the winter season. The hunter examines every hollow tree met with, and when he sees the fresh marks of the claws, he makes a hole with an ax, and thus opens the hollow space, in which he lights a fire to find out if there be any raccoons within, as they often climb trees in the autumn, and, not finding them proper for the purpose, leave them and seek others. But if they be within, the smoke obliges them to ascend and put their heads out of the hole they entered. On observing this, the ax is applied to the tree ; with the assistance of the fire, it is soon down, and the hunter stands ready to dispatch the animals whilst they are stunned by the fall. But sometimes they are so obstinate as to remain at the bottom of the hole, until they are suffocated or roasted to death. The bears, both grizzly and common black, which reside on Red river, take to the hollow trees also, and are hunted by the Indians in the same manner as raccoons. But the bears in the Hair hills, and other elevated places, never take to the trees for their winter quarters. They reside in holes in the ground, in the most intricate thicket they can find, generally under the roots of trees that have been torn up by the wind, or have otherwise fallen. These are more difficult to find, requiring good dogs that are naturally given to hunt bears. The reason why the bears differ so



widely in the choice of their winter habitations is obvious. The low points along the river, where the woods principally grow, are every spring subject to overflow when the ice breaks up. The mud carried down with the current, and left on the banks, makes their dens uncomfortable. On the Hair hills and other high lands, where the ground is free from inundation, the soft and sandy soil is not so cold as the stiff, black mud on the banks of the river, which appears to be made ground. Frequently, on digging holes in winter, we found the frost had penetrated the ground nearly four feet, like one solid body of ice, while in a high, dry, sandy soil, it seldom exceeds one foot in depth.

*Monday, Dec. 1st.* Having finished my dispatches, Desmarais took his leave, with tears in his eyes—poor old man, I felt for him. I sent with him my own two men, besides the two from Portage la Prairie; wrote 12 letters—one of 20 pages to Charles Clark. This afternoon I saw an extraordinary race—a badger in pursuit of a skunk. I wished to see what would be the consequences, but one of my men killed both with a club before I thought of preventing him. This chase convinced me of the possibility of my man having taken the three animals in the same trap. At sunset I saw a thick smoke rising at the foot of the mountain toward the Indians' camp, and soon after perceived the plains on fire. The weather was cloudy at dusk, and the wind blew strong from the N., causing the flame to make rapid progress; at ten o'clock it had extended as far as Salt river, presenting a dismal and lurid appearance. We could plainly distinguish the flames, which at intervals rose to an extraordinary height, as they passed through low spots of long grass or reeds. They then would cease their ravages for a few moments, soon afterward rise again with redoubled fury, and then die away to their usual height. The sight was awful, indeed, but as the wind was from us, and the fire was on the S. side of Park river, we had nothing to dread. If this fire spreads all over the country, we shall be hard up for provisions, as there will be no buffalo;

nothing can stop its fury but snow or rain. This morning we had a light fall of snow, but it had no effect on the fire. Indians came in from the camp below, and even from the upper part of Two Rivers, to inquire into the cause of the conflagration. They supposed that the Sioux had destroyed this fort, and set fire to the grass, as is their custom when they return from war. I was uneasy for some time, fearing the Indians' camp at the hills was destroyed. But the Crees came in with a few skins, and informed us the fire had been lighted at their tents by accident.

Charlo has lost his eldest daughter, who died a few days ago. He wants me to send him a small keg of rum, to drown his sorrows, which are very great. The Crees inform me they have seen a calf as white as snow in a herd of buffalo. White buffalo are very scarce. They are of inestimable value among the nations of the Missouri, but of none to the Crees and Assiniboinés, except to trade with other nations. There are also some of a dirty gray, but these are very rare.

I have frequent visits from the Red Lake Indians, who bring a few skins. On the 5th the fire was extinguished. On the 8th I prevailed upon the old woman and Crooked Legs to decamp with others—some for the salt lake, some for the Bois Percé, and others again for the E. side of Rivière aux Marais, where a number of Red Lake Indians are camped. The old gent with the roasted cods was in a sad condition, and appeared to be failing fast. I had him dragged away on a *travaille* with my horse, and now the ground is clear of needy pensioners and lazy jades.

On the 10th no bulls were to be seen, the fire having driven them away. On the 11th a fall of snow, with excessively cold weather. The Saulteurs are everywhere preparing for war, and assure me the Crees will join them soon. I am much plagued with a smoky chimney, which on the 14th fell on the floor while I was in bed. This was an ugly affair; however, I got it raised again. Bulls began to appear from the N. W. On the 15th I sent all hands for

meat, and my negro went to his traps, so that I was alone. I climbed my oak as usual for a view of the plains; bulls and red deer were passing. Suddenly I saw to the S. W. a person coming on horseback. I supposed it to be somebody on Crow's mare who had made an unusual turn southward on a hunting excursion. But soon after I perceived a second person on horseback, and then a third, coming full speed, raising a cloud of snow. I was perplexed to know what this could mean, being fully persuaded there were no horses in that quarter but Crow's mare. When they came within about a mile of me, I thought it was high time to prepare for battle. Accordingly I made the best of my way into the fort, shut the door and barred the gates, ran into the house for my gun, and repaired to the S. W. bastion, where I took my stand, reflecting that this certainly was my last day. However, I was determined to defend myself as long as I could. As I peered through the loop-holes, I saw them enter the little wood, and on a nearer approach recognized their faces. I jumped down, leaving the gun in the bastion, and opened the gates before they reached the stockade, as I did not wish them to know of my alarm. They had been to all the Indian camps to carry tobacco concerning the war,<sup>33</sup> and were on their way to their tents from Salt river; they had chased a herd of buffalo, which had taken them out of their road. They had purchased their horses from the Crees at the Hair hills. On the 19th some of the Red Lake Indians, having traded here for liquor which they took to their camp, quarreled among themselves. Cautoquoince<sup>34</sup> jumped on Terre Grasse, and bit his nose off. It was some time before the piece could be found; but at last, by tumbling and tossing the straw about, it was recovered,

<sup>33</sup> That is, these Indian runners had been canvassing the subject of going to war, and had as usual taken tobacco to smoke in council with those whom they wished to draw into that enterprise.

<sup>34</sup> Name not found before, but probably same as Quiniss, No. 35 of the list on p. 54. For a similar nose-biting story, see Tanner, p. 164.

stuck on, and bandaged, as best the drunken people could, in hopes it would grow again. The quarrel proceeded from jealousy.

*Sunday, Dec. 21st.* Sent two men with an Indian guide to take a stallion and a mare to Red lake, whence Michel Cadotte will forward them to Mr. Grant at Rainy lake. They both are in high order, without sore backs. On the 22d the plains were covered with buffalo in every direction. I went hunting on foot with one of my men; we killed three cows. My people killed three bulls within 100 yards of the stockades, which served for our dogs. Next day all hands went for meat with sleighs. On the 24th my two men returned from Portage la Prairie with letters of the 15th inst. The people are starving in that quarter.

*Thursday, Dec. 25th—Christmas.* Treated my people with high wine, flour, and sugar. *26th.* Crow came in with his brother Charlo on a travaille, at the point of death. *28th.* Sent two men to make salt, near the entrance of the little river. I was informed of a cruel affair which happened two years ago at Red lake. The woman is here to whom the affair happened. It seems her husband was a young Indian by whom she had one child, but who thought proper to have two wives. Not liking this, she joined another camp, where she took a new husband. Soon after this second marriage, the two camps met and had a drinking match. The first husband went to his rival, and insisted upon taking the child, telling him he might keep the woman, as he did not want her. They were both scoundrels; the child was not many months old. The father caught hold of one leg of the child, saying he would have him; the husband caught hold of the other leg, saying the father should not take him away. They began to pull and haul; on a sudden the father gave a jerk; and the other resisting, the child was torn asunder. Charlo lies here very sick; he is troubled with an ugly cough, and can scarcely move. His brothers have only been once to see him; they have no more feeling than brutes, and have



left him to care for his two young children, one five and the other seven years of age. In a drinking match a few days ago one of the women bit an Indian's finger off. She came to me for salve to cure it as best I could. On the 31st an Indian woman arrived, who is a near relation of Charlo's deceased wife. She sat down by him, screaming and howling in a terrible manner, calling on the deceased by name, and frequently sobbing, "Oh, my relation! my relation!" I began to feel for the poor woman, but she soon after dried her tears, and was the merriest one we had in the house. This is real Indian grief, but does not affect the heart. This evening I was offered a bed-fellow, but refused. The Indians are very officious in wishing to provide me with a wife, but my inclination does not agree with theirs in the least.

*Sunday, Jan. 1st, 1801.* The new year was ushered in by several volleys, which alarmed a camp of Indians near by. The men came running in armed, having ordered the women to hide themselves. But they were agreeably deceived, and got a share of what was going—some sherub<sup>35</sup> and cakes. Every woman and child was soon at the fort; all was bustle and confusion. I gave my men some high wine, flour, and sugar; the Indians purchased liquor, and by sunrise every soul of them was raving drunk—even the children. Buffalo in great abundance; some within gunshot of the fort. The plains were entirely covered; all were moving in a body from N. to S.

An Indian who pretended to be a medicine man was employed by Maymiutch to cure his sick brother. The fellow came accordingly with his drum and medicine bag, half drunk, and began to make a terrible noise, beating the

<sup>35</sup> An unusual spelling of our word *shrab* or *shrub*, a beverage, but one etymologically preferable, as being nearer the Arabic and Hindu *sharab*, whence are also derived *sherbet* and *syrup*. But, no doubt, the drink by any other name would have made them just as drunk as they were, when they celebrated the new year with such orgiastic and ithyphallic rites as Henry refrains from fully describing. (For the medicine story, compare Tanner, p. 90.)

drum, singing and dancing, tumbling and tossing, and blowing upon the sick man, until he worked himself into a foam ; when, redoubling his exertions, with one heavy stroke he burst his drum, trampled it to pieces, and went away quite exhausted, leaving his patient almost worried to death. However, this affair got him two blankets, a large kettle, and Charlo's gun. I saw a curious farce during the night between my men and some old women about 70 years of age [details omitted]. Liard's daughter took possession of my room, and the devil could not have got her out.

*Jan. 2d.* At daybreak I heard a crash in my kitchen, and found the chimney had fallen from top to bottom ; it was lying on the floor, and the fire was blazing on. The cold was severe ; weather cloudy and calm. The oaks made a continual cracking noise as they split with the frost, sometimes like the report of a gun. Buffaloes came within gunshot of the stockades, but the dogs drove them away. I was tempted to go hunting for two reasons. One was, to give the men time to repair the chimney, and the other, to get rid of the encumbrance who occupied my room. I soon came near the buffaloes, and found an Indian who had killed a cow, and was cutting her up. But the cold was so intense that it obliged him to give it up and return to his tent. I fired many shots, but killed only three ; it was impossible to cut them up. I contented myself with raising the fat and tongues, and returned at dusk with a heavy load on my back. I was vexed to find my room still occupied, and no sign of her budging.

Berdash, a son of Sucrie [Sucre, Sweet, or Wiscoup], arrived from the Assiniboine, where he had been with a young man to carry tobacco concerning the war. This person is a curious compound between a man and a woman. He is a man both as to members and courage, but pretends to be womanish, and dresses as such. His walk and mode of sitting, his manners, occupations, and language are those of a woman. His father, who is a great chief amongst the Saulteurs, cannot persuade him to act like a man. About

a month ago, in a drinking match, he got into a quarrel and had one of his eyes knocked out with a club. He is very troublesome when drunk. He is very fleet, and a few years ago was reckoned the best runner among the Saulteurs. Both his speed and his courage were tested some years ago on the Schian river, when Monsieur Reaume<sup>36</sup> attempted to make peace between the two nations, and Berdash accompanied a party of Saulteurs to the Sioux camp. They at first appeared reconciled to each other through the intercession of the whites, but on the return of the Saulteurs, the Sioux pursued them. Both parties were on foot, and the Sioux have the name of being extraordinarily swift. The Saulteurs imprudently dispersed in the plains, and several were killed; but the party with Berdash escaped without any accident, in the following manner: One of them had got from the Sioux a bow, but only a few arrows. On starting and finding themselves pursued, they ran a considerable distance, until they perceived the Sioux were gaining fast upon them, when Berdash took the bow and arrows from his comrades, and told them to run as fast as possible, without minding him, as he feared no danger. He then

<sup>36</sup> There were several persons of this name in the fur-trade, identification of whom is not easy, as the Christian name is generally omitted; the surname varies to Réaume, Rhéaume, and sometimes Raymond.—“Mons.” Reaume is often mentioned in Thompson’s MS.; *e. g.*, en route from Grand Portage, Aug. 12th, 1797, and in Sept., 1797, fitted out by Cuthbert Grant for a post near “Falle à la Perdrix” (Partridge falls, somewhere about Dauphin r. and Lake Winnipegosis).—Simon Raume or Raymond is mentioned by Thompson as being at Red Deer Lake house Oct. 31st, 1798.—Simon Réaume appears in a N. W. Co. list as at Fort des Prairies and Fort Lac Orignal, winter of 1789–90, and on Upper English r., 1799.—One Reaume was at Portage la Prairie, 1794–95, in opposition to Wm. Mackay of the N. W. Co.—One Reaume is mentioned in Wm. Morrison’s letter of 1856 as coming into the trade prior to 1803.—J. Réaume was a trader on Red l., winter of 1784–85.—Joseph Réaume of the N. W. Co. was in the Fond du Lac Dept. in 1799; wages 1,000 livres.—Joseph Réaume of the N. W. Co. wintered at Folle Avoine lake or river, 1801–02: see the abstract at the end of Chap. iv.—Joseph Rhéaume appears as a voyageur of the N. W. Co. in the Athabasca Dept., 1804.—For Charles Réaume, b. near Montréal, 1752, married Mdle. Sanguinet, d. Baie Verte in 1821, see the biogr. in Tassé, I. pp. 123–136, and work there cited, p. 351.

faced the enemy, and began to let fly his arrows. This checked their course, and they returned the compliment with interest, but it was so far off that only a chance arrow could have hurt him, as they had nearly spent their strength when they fell near him. His own arrows were soon expended, but he lost no time in gathering up those that fell near him, and thus he had a continual supply. Seeing his friends some distance ahead, and the Sioux moving to surround him, he turned and ran full speed to join his comrades, the Sioux after him. When the latter approached too near, Berdash again stopped and faced them with his bow and arrows, and kept them at bay. Thus did he continue to manœuvre until they reached a spot of strong wood which the Sioux dared not enter. Some of the Saulteurs who were present have often recounted the affair to me. It seems the Sioux from the first were inclined to treachery, being very numerous, and the others but few. The Saulteurs were well provided with guns and ammunition, but on their first meeting were surrounded and the guns taken from them, in return for which the Sioux gave them bows and arrows; but in a manner to be of little use, giving one a bow and no arrows, another a quiver of arrows, but no bow. The white men had some difficulty to keep their arms, by which means they escaped.

*Jan. 6th.* Langlois arrived. He informed me that a party of Crees and Sonnants had left their camp to go to war, but on reaching our house at the Hair hills, and hearing the Saulteurs were ready for them, they gave it up for the present and wished to plunder the house. Fortunately there were two or three old men among them, who prevented the pillage and remained several days after the party had gone off, fearing lest they might come back and accomplish their design. This would have been easy, as there were but two whites at the house.

To-day was a holiday [Épiphanie, Epiphany, Twelfth Day or Little Christmas] for my people. Gave them a treat of high wine, sugar, flour, etc.



We had a bitch in heat; she was very troublesome, and the dogs made a terrible noise on her account day and night. I drove them all to the plains; a band of wolves got scent of the bitch, and a furious battle ensued, in which one of our dogs was torn to pieces. This often happens at this season, when the wolves are copulating and our dogs get among them. The female wolves prefer our dogs to their own species, and daily come near the fort to entice the dogs. They often succeed, and if the dogs ever return, they are in a miserable condition, lean and covered with sores. Some of my men have amused themselves by watching their motions in the act of copulating; rushing upon them with an ax or club, when the dog, apprehending no danger, would remain quiet, and the wolf, unable to run off, could be dispatched.

My two men returned from Red lake, having got there in eight days, with the horses, which were to be forwarded immediately to Rainy lake, where Mr. Cadotte is starving.

*Jan. 8th.* Langlois started with two of my men for Reed river. On the 9th we had a terrible snowstorm. The buffalo now keep at a distance. We are collecting our winter stock very slowly, having no good buffalo hunter. On the 13th my men returned from below; they informed me that Hamel had been *en derouine*<sup>37</sup> to the Cree camp at Prairie de la Tête de Bœuf, when the Sonnants and Crees had pillaged him of all the property he had with him, among

<sup>37</sup> The phrase means that he had gone as a "commercial traveler" to the Cree camp to drum up trade. *En derouine* was a technical term in the fur-trade: thus we read in Masson, I. p. 306, "No *derouine* to take place," etc. The traders as a rule established themselves in certain places to which the Indians were obliged to repair to dispose of their skins in exchange for goods, and take their debts for the next hunt. But sometimes a trader would go about among them to secure skins, with a few goods to exchange, or none; and if he procured skins for which the Indians were not paid, he gave them orders upon the nearest establishment for the amount due. This was *s'en aller en derouine*, or *courir la derouine*—go drumming; and the whole transaction was *une derouine*, which rival traders sometimes agreed not to allow. *Coureur de derouine* was a drummer. The forms *déroutine* and *drouine* also occur.

which was a large keg of sugar and liquor; he had a narrow escape for his life.

*Jan. 14th.* At daybreak I was awakened by the bellowing of buffaloes. I got up, and was astonished when I climbed into the S. W. bastion. On my right the plains were black, and appeared as if in motion, S. to N. Opposite the fort the ice was covered; and on my left, to the utmost extent of the reach below us, the river was covered with buffalo moving northward. Our dogs were confined within the fort, which allowed the buffalo to pass within a few paces. I dressed and climbed my oak for a better view. I had seen almost incredible numbers of buffalo in the fall, but nothing in comparison to what I now beheld. The ground was covered at every point of the compass, as far as the eye could reach, and every animal was in motion. All hands soon attacked them with a tremendous running fire, which put them to a quicker pace, but had no effect in altering their course. The first roads beaten in the snow were followed by those in the rear. They passed at full speed until about nine o'clock, when their numbers decreased and they kept further off in the plain. There was about 15 inches of snow on a level, in some places drifted in great banks. Notwithstanding the buffalo were so numerous, and 12 guns were employed, we killed only three cows and one old bull, but must have wounded a great number.

*Jan. 15th.* The plains were still covered with buffalo moving slowly northward. Charlo died early this morning. Since last August his two eldest daughters, two sons, their mother, and now their father, have died. There are still living a boy and a girl. Their complaint was a cough, which soon killed them. They were all in good health when I arrived at the Forks last summer. Maymiutch asked me for liquor to lament the death of his brother. He tells me he knows why all his brother's family died so suddenly: It was because Charlo went to Rivière la Souris [Mouse river], and stole three horses from the H. B. Co. there, and Mr.

Goodwin, who is a doctor, threw bad medicine on him and his family. He says further that the Indians at Bois Percé advised him to be revenged on us for the death of his brother; but that he had rejected their proposal, telling them it was not we who had occasioned Charlo's death, and that he always knew his brother was a bad Indian, who lived in all kinds of wickedness, stealing horses, cheating the traders, and never paying his debts; so that, even had we caused his brother's death, he never would harbor any thoughts of revenge; his heart was too weak to permit him to injure people who had always been charitable to him, and provided him with necessaries to bring up his children and supply their daily wants. The end of this was, I must give him some liquor to wash the grief from his heart, as it was very much oppressed.

*Jan. 19th.* Most of the Indians camped at the fort, having left off hunting. A bull followed the plains road within about 40 yards of the fort, when he was perceived by the Indians and fired at. The ball went into one eye and came out of the other. The poor blinded animal ran at random against the trees and stumps, and was dispatched with an ax. This was excellent sport for the Indians. Shortly after another came by the same route, and was shot dead within 50 paces of the stockades. This evening, in a drinking match, Wayquette shot an arrow at his wife, which entered her right side below the ribs, and was pulled out on the left; at the same time he fired another at her supposed beloved, and shot him through the arm. The woman lies dangerously ill.

My winter stock of provision is complete—all good, fat buffalo meat, and my men have little to do. They, therefore, amuse themselves by sliding down the bank on sleighs from the S. gate. Their descent is so great as to cause their trains to run across Red river. The Indian women join them, and they have excellent sport. They have given over trapping since Christmas, as they took nothing worth their while. Indians go hunting on the E. side of the river,

where the buffalo are as numerous as on the W., and much easier to approach in the willows and long grass. My men have finished hauling in fire-wood, with the assistance of their dogs only, as we have no horses.

*Jan. 24th.* This is delightful weather for the Indian women to play their favorite game of coullion on the ice; they generally keep it up till dark, whilst the men are at their game of platter, and others beat the drum to their wabbano songs. Hunting is out of the question now.

*Jan. 26th.* The Indians threatened to destroy us—Tabashaw at the head, and Chamanau second in command. But I soon convinced them that it would prove a tough bone for them to gnaw. They then made a merit of necessity, and the ringleaders informed against the others; but I knew them too well to allow them to impose on me.

*Jan. 30th.* I got rid of my bed-fellow, who returned to her father with a good grace. Fine weather. One of my men had a narrow escape from being killed by a wounded bull. The dogs have fine sport chasing the old scabby bulls that take shelter in the woods, but they are very alert and active for animals of their bulk, and the dogs cannot hurt them. I saw one pass to-day with a crow [*Corvus americanus*] perched on his back, pecking his scabs, which caused him to kick and twist his tail.

*Sunday, Feb. 1st.* I sent two men to Portage la Prairie with two trains and four dogs, loaded with goods; sent also a man to Reed river, with directions for Langlois. The lady returned. A terrible snowstorm. Stormy weather causes the buffalo to approach the woods for shelter, and it no sooner abates than they return to the plain. On the 3d it was very cold; I went hunting on the E. side. Saw plenty of buffalo; killed two cows and one calf. One of them, a large fat cow, I shot at 125 paces, directly through the head, with my double-barreled gun. I took only the tongues and dépouilles, and returned after dark. On the 17th we had a terrible snowstorm. I can count daily, from the top of my oak, from 20 to 30 herds of buffalo



feeding in the plains. It is surprising how the cows resist the piercing N. wind, which at times blows with such violence over the bleak plains, and raises such drifts, that it cannot be faced ; still, those animals graze in the open field. Aceguemanche, who has the care of Wayquetoe's wounded wife, came to say that, by means of his art in medicine, and his superior knowledge of the wabbano, he had extracted a bit of iron from his patient's back, which had given her much relief ; but that, by conjuration, he found she had a piece of some hard metal in her neck, which baffles his powers. He has exhausted his skill in vain, has sung songs, and beaten his drum, day and night, for some time past ; still the metal does not appear. But he does not despair of getting it out. This is a trick of the fellow to get more property from the husband.

*Feb. 20th.* A party of Red Lake Indians and of my Saulteurs are decamping for Red lake, to prepare for the sugar season, which commences about the end of March. They are very troublesome, begging liquor and ammunition. On the 24th I went hunting above, and killed three buffalo ; they are getting very lean. Examined my shop, and perceived a place where some person had attempted to steal in at the back, opposite the silver-works that were lying on a shelf. They had taken the clay from between the logs, and with a knife had cut away the wood, both above and below, so as to pass a stick through with a gun-screw on the end. They did not succeed, as I found the worm fast to an arm-band, and some other articles drawn from their places ; but apparently the worm had slipped off and could not be recovered. The snow on the outside was so beaten by dogs I could not identify the tracks.

*Feb. 25th.* A herd of cows were crossing the ice near the fort ; the dogs chased them, and prevented one from getting on shore. Perceiving this the men took a codline, which they doubled and then entangled her legs in such a manner that she fell upon her side. She lay quiet while

they fastened the line around her horns and dragged her to the fort, as she was too obstinate to stand up. But here she jumped up and made at the dogs, taking no notice of us. Crow and Pierre both got on her back, but this did not incommode her; she was as nimble in jumping and kicking at the dogs as before, although they are two stout men—Crow weighing at least 190 pounds. She was not full grown, and very lean. What must be the strength of a full-grown bull, double the weight of a cow? It is common to see a bull exceed 1,500 pounds, but a cow is seldom over 700 or 800 pounds gross.

My men are making soap with tallow, to which a certain kind of salt is added; it seems an excellent article, hard and dry, and some have the art of making it almost white. When cut in cakes it looks good, and they say it washes as well as English soap.

*Sunday, Feb. 28th.* Wolves and crows are very numerous, feeding on the buffalo carcasses that lie in every direction. I shot two cows, a calf, and two bulls, and got home after dark. I was choking with thirst, having chased the buffalo on snowshoes in the heat of the day, when the snow so adheres that one is scarcely able to raise the feet. A draught of water was the sweetest beverage I ever tasted. An Indian brought in a calf of this year, which he found dead. It was well grown, and must have perished last night in the cold. This was thought extraordinary; they say it denotes an early spring.

*Mar. 5th.* The snow being entirely melted, and the ground thawing about noon, renders it very muddy, at times over the shoes. This proceeds from the water overflowing the bank on the breaking up of the ice, and leaving vast quantities of mud and slime, so glutinous that it adheres to whatever it touches.

The buffalo have for some time been wandering in every direction. My men have raised and put their traps in order for the spring hunt, as the raccoons begin to come out of their winter quarters in the daytime, though they

retire to the hollow trees at night. On the 8th it rained for four hours; fresh meat thawed. On the 9th we saw the first spring bird. Bald eagles [*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*] we have seen the whole winter, but now they are numerous, feeding on the buffalo carcasses. My men begin to take raccoons, which are very lean.

*Mar. 11th.* Clear, mild weather; wind S. E.; snow melting fast. I sent four men, with two kegs of high wine each, to Portage la Prairie. On the 12th we saw an outarde [wild goose, *Bernicla canadensis*] on the ice; and another swimming, where the melting of the snow had caused the ice to rise and leave an open space. I also saw a swan. The small bastard maple [box-elder or ash-leaved maple, *Negundo aceroides*] begins to run. The Canadians call this tree érable à gigoire. The sap yields a fine white sugar, but it is not so sweet as that of the real maple [*Acer saccharinum*], and more is required to make the same quantity of sugar. There is also an abundance of bois tors [twisted wood, the so-called climbing bitter-sweet, *Celastrus scandens*], a short shrub that winds up the stocks of larger trees; the wood is soft and spongy, with a thick bark, which is often eaten by the natives in time of famine. There are two species of this shrub; one grows much thicker than the other, and is very sweet, but too astringent. The smaller kind is more insipid and less unwholesome. They cut it into pieces and boil it a long time, when the bark is peeled off and eaten without any further preparation. I have subsisted upon this bark for days, but always found my weakness increased upon me.

*Mar. 14th.* My two men that I sent to Portage la Prairie Feb. 1st, arrived with Messrs. Chaboillez [senior or junior?] and John Cameron. They bring the Northwest Company's northern winter express, which will proceed with all dispatch to Grand Portage; there to be put on board the vessel and conveyed to Sault Ste. Marie, where it arrives about June 1st, and sometimes in May, according to the state of the ice in Lake Superior. It generally starts from Athabasca Jan. 1st.

The ice is rising in a body, in consequence of the melting snow. Being apprehensive the water would come into the fort and overflow the property, I set all hands to erect a large stage, on which we laid most of our property. On the 15th we saw six swans and several outardes going N., and on the 17th had a terrible snowstorm; buffaloes near the fort. 18th. Had much trouble to cross the express; there being a broad space of open water on each side of the river, and the ice in the middle scarcely able to support the man's weight. All got over by means of a small canoe. Mr. Cameron goes to Grand Portage with four men for a land load of goods, to come as soon as navigation opens. The express will pass by Red lake and Lac la Pluie. I sent Crow to guide them; all go on foot, without dogs. 19th. Mr. Chaboillez and his men set off with two of mine, loaded with goods. The river continues to rise, and is now only a few feet from the gate. Got out my canoes, repaired and gummed them, and placed them in the fort ready to load, to save ourselves in the plain, in case the water rises suddenly. 20th. I saw a sturgeon jump. 21st. My anxiety about the water increasing, I set the men at work, carried our property to a rising ground about a quarter of a mile from the fort, and covered it with oil cloths. It was tedious, as our pemmican had not yet been made up.<sup>38</sup> Wild fowl now abound; also buffalo. My faithful dog Castor died with a swelling in the neck; it was the tenth day he had eaten nothing. I had pierced it several times and let out much foul matter. This swelling in the neck and head is common among our dogs, and many die of it. 22d. The ice moved all in one body, but soon stopped. Indian women are making sugar. Saw another sturgeon jump. 23d. My men returned from Reed river; they had seen two calves of this year. We now see many kinds of summer birds. 27th.

<sup>38</sup> In *taureaux*, or the large skin sacks in which it was to be packed for transportation, so that its removal in loose bulk was a tedious process. For the *taureaux*, see beyond, where Henry repeatedly uses the word; but it baffled his copyist, as I find it *farireaux*, *ieauveaux*, *taveraux*, *terraux*, etc.



I killed two cows ; they have an ugly appearance, as their long winter hair is falling in large patches. *28th*. A snow-storm caused the wild fowl to return southward. *30th*. Rain broke up the ice ; it drifted in large masses, making a great noise by crushing, tumbling, and tossing in every direction, driven by a strong current. Many trunks of trees and much mud are carried down on the ice. It continued to drift on the 31st, bearing great numbers of dead buffalo from above, which must have been drowned in attempting to cross while the ice was weak. My four men returned from Portage la Prairie. The water is falling fast, leaving us an ugly, dirty bank, covered with nearly a foot of slime and mud ; had it risen two feet more, we should have had it in our houses. A heavy fall of snow.

*Wednesday, Apr. 1st*. The river clear of ice, but drowned buffalo continue to drift by entire herds. Several are lodged on the banks near the fort. The women cut up some of the fattest for their own use ; the flesh appeared to be fresh and good. It is really astonishing what vast numbers have perished ; they formed one continuous line in the current for two days and nights.<sup>39</sup> One of my men found a herd that had fallen through the ice in Park river and all been drowned ; they were sticking in the ice, which had not yet moved in that part. The women had excellent sport in raising the back fat and tongues. On the 5th, the plains having been clear of snow and dry, we had two feet of snow, and the river nearly froze over again. We brought our baggage into the fort. *7th*. One of my men brought in

<sup>39</sup> This account is not exaggerated. John McDonnell's Journal of May 18th, 1795, when he was descending Qu'Appelle r., states : " Observing a good many carcasses of buffaloes in the river and along its banks, I was taken up the whole day with counting them, and, to my surprise, found I had numbered when we put up at night, 7,360, drowned and mired along the river and in it. It is true, in one or two places, I went on shore and walked from one carcass to the other, where they lay from three to five files deep" (Masson, I. 1889, p. 294). It is probable that the total number of buffalo killed by man in those days was insignificant in comparison with the destruction wrought by the warring of nature's elements against the poor brutes.

three wolves of this year, which he had found in a hole in the ground; they sometimes have their young in a hollow log or stump. The river almost every morning frozen over, but drifting in the afternoon. I sent a man on the 9th to Reed river with directions for Langlois concerning his Indians. Another of my men brought in six young wolves he had found in one hole; they were very tame, and we proposed to keep them for the trains, as they are of the large species. The ground was clear of snow on the 10th.

The Indians are in continual alarm on account of the Sioux; they wish to persuade me they see them almost every day, and have made a kind of fort or barrier with trees and brushwood. I made up my pemmican into bags of 90 pounds each—50 pounds of beef and 40 pounds of grease. The women continue to cut up drowned buffalo to make tallow. Crow arrived from Red lake with letters from there and Lac la Pluie. The horses got safe to their destination last February. *11th.* Fine warm weather. Buffalo are now mostly with calves of this spring. *12th.* Frogs began to croak. I made up my packs. *15th.* Maymiutch came down Park river in a skin canoe, with 25 beaver skins, 12 of which were still in the meat; he had only been gone two days. *18th.* Rain; drowned buffalo still drifting down the river, but not in such vast numbers as before, many having lodged on the banks and along the beach. Desmarais arrived from Fort Dauphin,<sup>40</sup> via Portage

<sup>40</sup> Fort Dauphin of Verendrye is given on a recent historical map (Devine's, Ontario, 1878) as having been situated, "before 1749," on the W. side of present Lake St. Martin, which discharges by present Dauphin r. into Sturgeon bay of Lake Winnipeg—and not on present Lake Dauphin, which lies W. of Lake Manitoba. The date appears to be 1741; for Verendrye, returning from a visit to Canada he had made in 1740 (after his Mandan tour), reached Fort la Reine at Portage la Prairie on the Assiniboine, Oct. 13th, 1741, and pushed on to found Fort Dauphin on the lake which thereupon received its name. There is no question in my mind that Verendrye located his Fort Dauphin at the N. W. angle of Lake Manitoba, at or near the E. end of present Meadow portage (which goes over to Lake Winnipegosis). This position is clearly indicated on Gallisonière's *Carte*, "dressée sur les mémoires de M<sup>r</sup>. de la Vérandrie," etc., 1750. The map in Ontario Sessional Papers for 1889, XXI. pt. vi., marks the

la Prairie ; he complains of having passed a very disagreeable winter. I sent two men in a small canoe for Portage la Prairie, with two kegs of high wine and one bale of goods. *20th.* Indians arrived in skin canoes from the Salt river ; they are alarmed, having, as they said, seen the enemy ; but this they say every day, being anxious to drift down river. *22d.* Pigeons flying N. in great numbers. Desmarais caught one sturgeon, three large catfish, and a number of smaller fishes. *25th.* Drowned buffalo drift down river day and night. *26th.* I sent Desmarais with a man in a skin canoe to Langlois ; the latter is to proceed to Portage la Prairie with dispatches for Mr. Chaboillez. Smoke is rising in every direction ; this is caused by the Indians returning from their beaver hunts. We shot three large bears swimming down river opposite the fort. *29th.* Desmarais having brought me a horse from Portage la Prairie I went hunting and chased buffalo ; but the ground being slippery my horse fell, and I cut my head on the cock of my gun. I killed four calves, of which I took only the thighs, and brought two calves home alive ; they no sooner lost sight

same position. A. Begg's Hist. N. W., I. p. 84, and D. Mills, Rep. Ont. Gov., are to the identical effect. Almost every indication points clearly to the N. W. angle of Lake Manitoba, and I see no reason to bring either present Lake Dauphin or present Lake St. Martin into the case. But settlement of Verendrye's original position does not dispose of the question, Where was the N. W. Co. Fort Dauphin—the post operative in Henry's time ? Peter Pond's N. W. Co. map, pub. in Canadian Arch. Rep., 1890, p. 53, marks "Fort Dauphin, 1775, P. P." on present Lake Dauphin. Again, Devine's Crown Lands map of 1857 letters "Dauphin L. and Ho." on the S. side of present Lake Dauphin, a little S.E. from the position assigned to Fort Dauphin by Pond.

One Fort Dauphin is on record as the scene of a smallpox epidemic in 1780. In navigating Lake St. Martin, Sept., 1797, Thompson speaks of an "old house of Cameron and Latour" there ; he goes on to say that Michel Allerie was being fitted out by Cuthbert Grant for the N. W. Co.'s Fort Dauphin, but does not specify its position. That is just the trouble—this Fort Dauphin, of Thompson's and Henry's time—during the whole life of the N. W. Co., in fact—was so well known that nobody I have read takes the pains to say where it was. But Thompson's large unpub. map marks "N.W. Co." on the S. side of present Lake Dauphin, on a river running N. into this lake ; and if this mark means Fort Dauphin, it settles the case.

of the herd than they followed my horse like dogs, directly into the fort. On chasing a herd at this season, the calves follow until they are fatigued, when they throw themselves down in high grass and lie still, hiding their heads, if possible. On coming to them they start to run, but seeing only the person and his horse, remain quiet and allow themselves to be taken. Having been a little handled, they follow like dogs. But if they are not discovered by the hunter they keep still until their mothers return in search of them, as I observed to-day—while cutting up a calf on a low piece of ground. I heard something running toward me, and on looking up saw a large cow coming over the little rising ground directly at me. I had only time to catch up my gun and fire, at which she turned about at full speed. My consternation was so great I did not take proper aim, and so only slightly wounded her; she looked very fierce, and I believe, had my gun been a few yards further off, she would have attacked me. *30th.* Chased a herd and killed two. They are now getting in very good flesh. Killed also two calves, whose thighs make excellent steaks. Drowned buffalo drift as usual. Indians making skin canoes and preparing to embark.

*May 1st.* The stench from the vast numbers of drowned buffalo along the river was intolerable. Gummed my canoes. *2d.* Two hunters arrived in a skin canoe from Grandes Fourches with 30 beaver and 7 bear skins. They tell me the number of buffalo lying along the beach and on the banks above passes all imagination; they form one continuous line, and emit a horrid stench. I am informed that every spring it is about the same.

*May 4th.* All hands up early, prepared for embarkation; Indians still drinking, and troublesome for liquor. At ten o'clock I sent off the canoes with 45 pieces of 90 pounds each per canoe, but only two men, there being no room for more on board. Quantities of fresh meat remain in my provision store, perfectly good to eat. The canoes were no sooner off than the women and children began to rummage



the buildings, even raising the floors, to search for any trifle that might have been lost during the winter. I remained till noon, wishing them to embark on board their skin canoes, which they then did ; and, having seen them all off, I bid adieu to Park river, and started on horseback. On my way down I chased a herd, killed a tolerably fat young bull, and got a tumble from my horse. Encamped at the Bois Percé with my people, I was actually prevented from taking supper by the stench of drowned buffalo that lay on the banks in a state of putrefaction. Early on the 5th the canoes were off, and I soon followed on horseback. I chased a herd, and killed a cow and a calf. I have an excellent horse for the chase—an old hunter, very swift and well trained to the business ; he comes from the Mandanes. We found it impossible to cross our horses over Panbian river at the entrance ; the mud and mire were too deep. This obliged us to go up to Tongue river, and even there we were under the necessity of making a raft, and had a deal of trouble. We camped at the Eagle's Nest. 6th. It rained, with a cold N. W. wind. At nine o'clock I reached Reed river, half frozen and wet to the skin. The canoes arrived at three o'clock and unloaded. Several of Langlois' Indians not yet arrived from their spring hunt ; no fresh meat, although buffalo were at hand. 7th. Some men hunting and others seining ; all were successful. The sturgeon was excellent. The men brought in a parcel of ducks' eggs which they found in the marais.

*May 8th.* The Indians arrived and commenced drinking. Tabashaw was very troublesome. I had a long quarrel with him ; he told me he was independent of everybody, as he had a secret power of making rum, iron arrows, etc. It was some time before I got rid of him. Soon afterward, Chamanau's wife came to me ; she is a very decent, sober woman, for a native ; she had overheard our dispute, and asked me if I knew what Tabashaw meant by saying he was independent, telling me she would explain it. Some time ago Tabashaw did his juggling, fasting, and singing when

he was out alone, setting his beaver traps. He relates that one night during the ceremonies, a person dressed in a white linen shirt, rather dirty, a short black jacket and breeches, stockings and shoes, appeared to him, called him comrade in a formal manner, and asked him what he was doing. Tabashaw told him he was hunting beaver. They then seated themselves and had a long conversation, the whole of which Tabashaw does not think proper to divulge, but says that he was told, among many other things, that the Indians were wrong in addressing themselves to the sun for favor or protection when they performed any ceremony, made feasts or medicine affairs, or prepared for war; that the sun had no power over mankind; that only he who now spoke to Tabashaw had command of the world and all that moved on the face of the earth—he who was the great Shaymanitou [Kitchimanitou] or Father of Life, the good spirit to whom Indians should address themselves on all occasions—he who knew everything that went on in the world, and continually moved up and down to keep things in order. In proof of his perpetual perambulation he pointed to the condition of his shoes, which were almost worn out. Tabashaw then gave him a new pair to help him on his route. The great spirit further told him that the traders treated him (Tabashaw) very ill, and, therefore, he must return them his medals; while as for liquor, ammunition, and tobacco, he should never want for any—at the same time putting a writing in his hand, by virtue of which he could procure whatever he wanted. The ghostly visitor then asked where Tabashaw had set his traps; the places were pointed out, and then, after they had smoked a couple of pipes together, the spirit vanished. Next morning, on going to his traps, Tabashaw found the person had hauled them on the banks, and pulled up the stakes to which they were tied. I suspected the fellow had been breeding this story all the spring, in hopes the Indians would believe him, and that by such means he could recover the authority he had lost over the Saulteurs.

He is a sly scoundrel, and I shall take measures to counteract his proceedings.<sup>41</sup>

Ever since April 25th we have been plagued with wood ticks [a species of *Ixodes*]; and now that we are daily in the woods and grass, our clothes swarm with those troublesome and dangerous insects, which often get into the ear and cause inflammation. When they have time to get firm hold they cannot be removed without pulling the body from the head, which remains in the skin, and causes an itching which may last for several months. The bellies of our horses and dogs are covered with them; they adhere to the flesh until they have sucked themselves full of blood and are swelled nearly to the size of a musket ball, when they fall off of themselves. Their natural size is about that of a grain of barley, and in shape they are perfectly flat, with a tough, hard skin, of a chestnut color. They continue to the end of July, when they suddenly disappear.

*May 10th.* Two of my men came from Portage la Prairie. *11th.* All the Indians arrived; also, a canoe from Red lake, containing an Indian and his family, with 20 beaver and five bear skins. *12th.* I assembled them all, and gave them five kegs of mixed rum gratis, besides clothings to the two chiefs, Vieux Collier and Chamanau, with a long speech, telling them how they must conduct themselves, and informing them of my determination to build a fort this summer on Panbian river, where Langlois was to remain with six men for that purpose. Three men arrived from Portage la Prairie with tools for building, bringing also 30 very small potatoes, making about half a hat full, and four horses to haul wood. *14th.* The plains on fire in every direction, and smoke darkens the air.

*May 15th.* I made up the packs. Indians drinking and troublesome. Engaged Langlois, Desmarais, Pierre, and

<sup>41</sup> No doubt the "sly scoundrel" was lying, and perhaps the story was made of whole cloth; nevertheless, see Tanner, p. 124, where Tabushshah is spoken of in connection with a certain Aguskogaut, named as "a Muskego chief," who "called himself a prophet of the Great Spirit, like the one who appeared some

some others to settle the men's accounts. *16th.* I sent off the canoes with the remaining property, the summer men, etc., for Panbian river, and dispatched to the Forks two men in two skin canoes loaded with bags of pemmican, 10 in each.

These canoes are made by constructing a frame with willows, nearly in the shape of a canoe, and stretching one or sometimes two raw buffalo hides over this frame, according to the required size; if two, they are cut square at the shoulders and sewed together with sinews. The sides are then brought over the largest willow, which serves as the gunnel, and lashed fast with leather cords. The hair is generally on the inside. These canoes will carry great loads, but it is necessary to unload them at least once a day and dry them in the sun or over the fire; otherwise they would soon sink. They are only fit for drifting down the current.

*May 17th.* The baggages, 40 pieces per canoe and two men in each, were sent off to the Forks. I went up to Panbian river on horseback to find a proper spot for building. I got there at twelve o'clock, crossed Red river with Desmarais, planted my potatoes and sowed a few garden seeds on the spot where Mr. Grant's fort stood. We recrossed, and, after examining the ground, pitched on the N. side of Panbian river, at the point of land between that and Red river, about 100 paces from each. The ground was so encumbered with large fallen trees, and the underwood so intricate, that we could not see ten yards before us; however, I drew out the place as soon as possible. Between this spot and the plains on the W. are great numbers of fine large oaks, very proper for building, and on the N. side, between this and a small rivulet, are plenty of fine large bois blancs, proper for flooring and covering. The stockades

years since among the Shawanees." Tanner's probable date is too late for the particular story Henry had from Tabashaw; but the woods were as full of volunteer Messiahs in those days as they are now, and Tabashaw could easily have been favored with such a revelation as he professed to have received.



must be hauled from some distance below, where there are fine patches of poplar.

This being settled, I remained for the night and slept in the old [Chaboillez's] fort on the S. side. Fleas and wood lice made me very uncomfortable; the former always abound in our old buildings and are very troublesome. Early on the 18th we returned to Reed river and found the Indians busy making the grand medicine—a ceremony performed every spring, when they meet and there is some novice to be admitted into the mysteries of this solemn affair. On this occasion two young men were received, besides a woman and Langlois' girl. Many curious circumstances are reported concerning the admittance of women into this mystery of mysteries. The most ancient and famous for the art among the men, it is said, take every privilege with a novice and are granted every favor they wish to enjoy.

*May 19th.* I embarked, leaving all hands preparing to proceed up to Panbian river. Mr. Langlois is principal trader; Desmarais is in charge of the garden, horses, fishing, etc.; Le Duc [?] conducts the work with Rainville [Daisville], Dubord [Dubois], Hamel, Pouliotte [Pouliot]; and Le Bœuf [an Indian] is to hunt.<sup>42</sup> The Indians saluted me with

<sup>42</sup> Compare the list on p. 77. The name "Le Duc" does not appear there, and looks as if it here stands for Larocque: but see Oct. 27th, 1801, beyond. There is no difficulty in identifying the other names, though here is the one place where we find "Rainville" for the Daisville or Donville of p. 50; I suspect that Rainville is the proper name. With regard to the functions of this man, Dubois, Hamel, and Pouliot, the punctuation of the copy is ambiguous; I construe it that they are all to work under "Le Duc," and that the Indian Le Bœuf is the only professional hunter: he is eulogized in this capacity beyond (Nov. 2d, 1802). But in citing this passage Bell, *l. c.* p. 8, has: "Le Diec [*sic*], conductor of the work: with Rainville, Dubard [*sic*], Hamel, Poulivette [*sic*], and Le Bœuf, to hunt." Whatever their respective functions, this is the definitely ascertained party who break up the post of 1800-01 on Roseau or Reed r., and proceed to establish a new post on the N. side of the mouth of Pembina r., at the site Henry selected May 17th. See p. 80, and note present confirmation of positions there assigned to Grant's, Chaboillez's, and Henry's houses, respectively.

firearms as I pushed off from the shore, and told me to make all expedition possible, as they would soon be thirsty. We camped at the salt pit, very much troubled with mosquitoes and woodticks. Early on the 20th we embarked. At five o'clock we perceived three black bears on the beach. I debarked and approached them, when, upon firing at the largest, which I killed dead on the spot, the other two climbed up an oak, whence I knocked them both down. The fur is still very fine and the skins valuable. At the entrance of Rat river I perceived a large moose, and went after him; but he decamped. Killed an outarde, a duck, and a pigeon. At Rivière la Sale I saw two moose crossing. I debarked and went after them by making a circuit in the woods; but they had landed before I could reach the spot. I made a turn in the woods, and finding myself at a proper distance, I was approaching, when they started and rushed back to the river. I chased and found them already more than half over. I fired at the nearest one and lodged the ball in his head between the ears, which killed him instantly, but he sunk to the bottom. My canoe joined me; we drifted slowly down with the current, and soon saw the ears of the moose appear out of water. We hauled him ashore, cut him up, and took the meat in my canoe.

At sunset we arrived at the Forks, where I found my people waiting for me. No news from Assiniboine river, except that they are starving at Portage la Prairie, and exist only on esquebois [*Psoralea esculenta?*], a root about the thickness and length of a man's finger, which may be termed the wild potato or pomme de terre of this country; it has a thin skin of a yellowish color, the inside perfectly white, and when boiled is tolerably good eating. They are also eaten raw, but are then of a windy nature, and sometimes cause a severe colic. I have known people to suffer much after eating a moderate quantity.

*May 21st.* Men fishing with hook and line, and others with the seine; all were successful, taking plenty of catfish, sturgeon, lacaishe, and other kinds.

*May 22d.* Gave my people directions to take care of the baggage, and set off on horseback for Portage la Prairie, where I arrived at dusk. Found all hands actually starving. I remained here until June 1st, when I embarked for Grand Portage in a light canoe with eight men.

RETURNS OF LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1800-01.

	REED RIVER, M. LANGLOIS.	PARK RIVER, A. HENRY.	TOTALS, IN 4 CANOES.
Beaver skins; weight, 1,904 lbs.....	832	643	1,475
Black bear skins.....	52	125	177
Brown bear do.....	20	23	43
Grizzly bear do.....	4	2	6
Wolf do.....	111	83	204
Red fox do.....	82	102	184
Kitt do.....	9	7	16
Raccoon do.....	37	160	197
Fisher do.....	108	70	178
Otter do.....	60	36	96
Marten do.....	26	36	62
Mink do.....	68	29	97
Wolverene do.....	2	3	5
Loup-cervier do.....	9	11	20
Dressed moose and biche skins.....	1	20	21
Shaved and parchment do.....	63	29	92
Muskrat do.....	1	26	27
Buffalo robes.....	26	31	56
Badger skins.....	1	9	10
Packs of 90 lbs. each.....	26	34	60
Bags of pemmican of 90 lbs. each.....	20	57	77
Kegs of grease.....		4	4
" " beef.....		7	7
Bales of dried meat.....		10	10

Gain, Halifax currency, £1,958 11s. 11d.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PEMBINA RIVER POST : 1801-02.

**AUG.** 22d, 1801.<sup>1</sup> We arrived at the Forks of the Assiniboine ; sent on the canoes ; took the horse myself, and, with two men, proceeded by land up the Assiniboine three leagues to the Grand Passage, where we crossed, having the water up to our saddles. Came on, and slept at the passage on Sale river.

*Aug. 23d.* Early we were on our horses ; saw numerous herds of buffalo in the grand traverse, and at sunset reached Panbian river, where we found camped, near the fort, 55 men bearing arms—the same people we traded with last winter, with a few more Saulteurs from Red lake. Not an Assiniboine or a Cree has been here during the summer. The former are doubtful of the behavior of the Saulteurs toward them ; the latter have made several trips to the Assiniboine, and purchased a number of horses, for guns and medicines. The latter are of their own collection, and consist of different roots and barks, some of which are found on this river, and others are brought from the Fond du Lac country, and even from the south side of Lake Superior. I found the stockades erected, and our houses and stores nearly finished. My people have been alarmed the whole summer, our Indians telling them almost every day that they saw the enemy. Those alerts, however, always proved to be false—

<sup>1</sup> A new narrative begins abruptly at this date. Henry has been to Grand Portage, on Lake Superior, during this summer, and has returned, thus making a journey of which we have no account. We pick him up at the confluence of the Assiniboine with Red r.—at Winnipeg. He is en route to the post which Michel Langlois established last May at the mouth of Pembina r. He sends his brigade up Red r. to that place, and goes himself by land, his first move being up the Assiniboine to the fording-place known as the Grand Passage ; whence he continues to camp at Rivière la Sale : for this, see note <sup>58</sup>, p. 55.



merely schemes to shelter their indolence, as they have done nothing, not even providing any provisions, though buffalo have been very numerous, commonly in sight of the fort. Ten packs of furs and skins have been brought by the Indians from Red lake, etc. On the 28th my canoes and bateaux arrived. I gave the Indians a present of ten kegs of mixed liquor and as many fathoms of tobacco, for which I did not receive one penny; still, several were displeased and asked for more.

*Aug. 30th.* Indians still drinking, and very troublesome. I gave the summer men their equipments and advances, and made up an assortment of goods of 25 pieces for Grandes Fourches,<sup>2</sup> and another of 15 pieces for the Hair hills.

An Indian arrived with his family in a small canoe, 15 days from Leech lake, bringing intelligence of several Saulteurs having murdered one another in a drinking match at that place a few days before he left. This caused a terrible uproar in camp here, the deceased persons being near relatives to some of our Indians, among whom were also persons related to the murderers; the former insisted on retaliating, and it was with great trouble that we prevented them by taking away their arms. They were all drunk, and kept up a terrible bawling, lamenting the deaths of their relations. The liquor tended to augment their grief.

*Sept. 1st.* I sent off the boat for Grandes Fourches, John Cameron, master. He goes by land with four horses. I also sent off Langlois with four men and five small carts, each drawn by one horse, loaded with three packs of goods and baggage. Indians now sober and decamping to follow their traders, some to Grandes Fourches, and others to the Hair hills. I sent a party of my men for buffalo; Joseph Roy<sup>3</sup> served as hunter.

<sup>2</sup> Of Red r.—present Grand Forks, N. Dak., at which point Henry was about to establish a post: see note <sup>15</sup>, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Persons named Roy, Roi, Le Roy, Leroy, etc., were many in the fur-trade; their names frequently appear, for the most part without Christian appellatives,

*Sept. 7th.* Bras Court's [Short Arm's] daughter died, aged nine years. Great lamentation—must have a keg of liquor to wash away the grief from the heart, a fathom of cloth to cover the body, and a quarter of a pound of vermilion to paint the same. On the 13th Thomas Miller, with eight Orkney men of the H. B. Co., arrived from Albany factory and began to build below me, on the E. side of Red river [appar. about site of present St. Vincent, Minn.]. They have one boat and one canoe. I went hunting on horseback, killed two buffalo, and had the misfortune to burst my double-barreled gun. *17th.* I went below to meet the X. Y. opposition. Found Mr. Desfond<sup>4</sup> building at Rivière aux Gratias; he had one

and hence are not easily identified. We have had already in Henry, Étienne Roy: see list, p. 51, and compare note <sup>18</sup>, p. 137. I have made memoranda of the following: Aimable Roy's family was one of seven of which the settlement of Baye Verte consisted in 1785.—Augustin Roy of the N. W. Co. was on 600 livres wages at Le Pic, 1799.—Baptiste Roy (full name no doubt Jean Baptiste Roy) of N. W. Co. was at Lower Fort des Prairies on the Saskatchewan, 1799; Baptiste Roy, again, was voyageur of the N. W. Co. in the Fond du Lac Dept., 1804.—François Roy of N. W. Co. was at L'Anse, 1801-02: see abstract at end of this chapter.—François Roy was voyageur, N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804.—Jean Roy (full name no doubt Jean Baptiste Roy) was with the trader Umfreville, about 1782.—Jean Baptiste Roy of the N. W. Co. was at Fort Gibraltar on Red r. when it was seized by Colin Robertson for the H. B. Co. in Apr., 1816, and was a witness at Toronto in the Semple case in Oct., 1818.—Jean Baptiste Louis Roy was one of the defenders of Côte sans Dessein on the Missouri against Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas, 1814: see Tassé, II. pp. 131-36.—Joseph Roy's family was one of seven of which Baye Verte consisted in 1785: compare Aimable Roy.—Joseph Roy of the N. W. Co. was foreman in the Athabasca Dept., 1804.—Joseph Roy, alias Portelance, was voyageur, N. W. Co., Le Pic, 1804.—Vincent Roy was voyageur or interpreter, or both, N. W. Co., Fond du Lac Dept., 1799 and 1804.—One Roy was "found by himself" by David Thompson, Aug. 27th, 1798, at the mouth of R. aux Rapides (Missinipi waters, near Lac la Rouge).—One Roy, employee N. W. Co., was under Thompson at the fort near Forks of Peace r., summer and fall of 1803.—Pierre Voison, alias Roy, appears in N. W. Co. lists as at Kaministiquia, 1804.

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere J. Desford and J. Duford—latter appar. the correct name. He was at Pembina for the X. Y. Co., winter of 1803-04; joined the N. W. Co. after the coalition of 1804; was shot by an Indian at Pembina, 2 a. m., Oct. 31st, 1805, died 2 p. m., Nov. 1st, 1805: details beyond, at these dates.

canoe and five men. I met also one of my canoes that had made a second trip from Bas de la Rivière to Lac la Pluie [mouth of the Winnipeg to Rainy lake], Augustin Cadotte,<sup>5</sup> guide. *21st.* Mr. J. Crébassa<sup>6</sup> arrived with two canoes and ten men for the X. Y.; they build also below me; none of them dare build above me for fear of the Sioux. *25th.* Sent J. B. Desmarais and five men in a canoe with 15 pieces to build at Rivière aux Gratias. *27th.* Hard frost last night; melons and cucumbers frozen. *30th.* Hunting on horseback with Ven. St. Germain;<sup>7</sup> buffalo very numerous at Grand Marais; I killed three cows, one extraordinarily fat, with nearly three inches of dépouilles.

*Oct. 1st.* My fort and buildings finished. Sent men to make hay on the E. side of Red river. *3d.* Went hunting with St. Germain; killed one cow and a calf. *6th.* A

<sup>5</sup> Augustin Cadotte is listed as clerk and interpreter, N. W. Co., 1804, Lower Red r.; he was under Henry at Salt r. on Red r. to oppose the X. Y. Co. there, winter of 1804-05: see beyond. Augustin Cadot appears as a witness in Semple case at Toronto, Oct., 1818, when he is said to have been 38 years in the Red River region, etc.

<sup>6</sup> John Crébassa appears as clerk, N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804, after the coalition. A Mr. Crébassa was in charge of Fort au Bas de la Rivière, July, 1814.

<sup>7</sup> St. Germain is a surname of various persons in the fur-trade.—One St. Germain was contre-maître (foreman) under Umfreville, about 1782.—One St. Germain arrived at Athabasca post Oct. 10th, 1788.—One St. Germain was at Lac la Pluie, 1789-90.—One St. Germain of the N. W. Co. was on the Assiniboine, 1799-1800—very likely the one of our text.—One St. Germain was voyageur on Franklin's first Exped., 1821.—Baptiste or Jean Baptiste St. Germain of the N. W. Co. was at Michipicoten in 1799; wages 1,200 livres.—Hy. St. Germain had a house on Lake Superior, two days from Grand Portage, in 1798: so Thompson, and the St. Germain met by him on the new Kaministiquia route, Aug. 1st, 1804, may have been this one. "Hy." stands for Hyacinthe or Hippolyte.—Joseph St. Germain, of Isle Jésus, near Montréal, was the father of Ven. St. Germain of the text.—Joseph St. Germain, clerk and interpreter, N. W. Co., Lower Red r., was sent by Henry to summer at Portage la Prairie, May 25th, 1804.—Venant (or Vincent) St. Germain, son of Jos. St. Germain, was apprenticed clerk N. W. Co. 1804, was sent by A. Henry to summer at Portage la Prairie, visited Pembina July, 1804, and was there killed by Joseph Rainville.—Lemaire St. Germain of N. W. Co. was at Michipicoten in 1799; wages same as Baptiste's.

heavy fall of snow. I took my potatoes out of the ground,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushels; the horses had destroyed my other vegetables. Mr. Chaboillez arrived from Portage la Prairie. *10th.* Went to the Hair hills with Mr. Cameron; <sup>8</sup> arrived at sunset; found Langlois had built about three leagues higher up than our house was last winter, exactly at the foot of the steep sandy banks, where the river first issues from the mountain. *13th.* Returned home. Chamanau arrived

<sup>8</sup> The Camerons were numerous; I have the following memoranda concerning them: Æneas Cameron, N. W. Co., signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys.—Donald Cameron wintered on the Assiniboine at the mouth of Mouse r., 1793-94.—Donald Cameron of the N. W. Co. was in the Nepigon Dept. in 1799; wages 1,200.—Dugald Cameron was a clerk of the N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1797, with Duncan and Ronald; Nepigon also 1799; wages 600; left Fort William with Ronald Cameron for winter quarters, Aug. 6th, 1812.—Duncan Cameron was the son of a United Empire Loyalist from Scotland, who settled at Schenectady, N. Y., and afterward went to Canada. Duncan entered N. W. Co. as clerk in 1785; clerk, Nepigon, 1797; in chge. of the Nepigon district, 1799; signed Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys.; was agent of N. W. Co. at Forks of Red r. in 1814, and was ordered by Miles McDonnell, Oct. 21st, 1814, to quit in six months; took part in the violent disturbances which resulted in the destruction of Fort Gibraltar and Fort Douglas, death of Gov. Semple, and dispersion of the Selkirk colony, June 19th, 1816. He was arrested at Fort Gibraltar, detained for over a year at York Factory, sent to England, released without trial, returned to Canada, retired from N. W. Co., and settled at Williamstown, Glengary Co., which he represented in the Assembly of Upper Canada, 1820-24: see his journal of 1804-05 in Masson, II. pp. 267-300, 1885.—One of his sons is Sir Roderick Cameron, in the Australian trade in New York, 1889.—Jonathan Cameron is listed as a clerk of the N. W. Co. for the Muskako country, 1797.—John Cameron is listed as of the N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg Dept., 1799; wages 240.—John Dugald (or Dougal) Cameron, supposed to be brother of Hon. Duncan Cameron, entered N. W. Co. about 1790; served mostly in the Nepigon district, where he was clerk in 1804; was still in service of H. B. Co. in 1843; in 1844 settled at Craiton, near Coburg, where he died, leaving a son, Ronald Cameron, whose dau. became Mrs. Clouston of Winnipeg.—Ronald Cameron was clerk N. W. Co. for Nepigon, 1797, with Duncan Cameron and another Cameron; Ronald left Fort William for his winter quarters with Dougal or Dugald Cameron Aug. 6th, 1812.—“Mr.” Cameron of N. W. Co., under A. Henry, on Red r., died 7 p. m., Jan. 3d, 1804, at N. W. post on Rivière aux Liards: see the date, beyond.—For Murdoch Cameron, trader on St. Peter's r., in Minnesota, 1805, and thereabouts, see Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 66, 67, 70, 82, 86, 202, 208, 238.



from the hills, bringing his deceased wife on a *travaille* to be buried here. It cost me a large keg of mixed liquor, a blanket, three pots, and a quarter of a pound of vermilion to cover the corpse. A few Assiniboines, Crees, and Sonnants begin to come to our mountain house to trade. *15th*. Mr. Cameron started off; I went with him to Gratiass river. *17th*. Returned home; the plains on fire in every direction. *19th*. Set a man at work to cut my winter stock of fire wood. *22d*. I had a watch-house built fronting the X. Y. door; placed St. Germain and Le Duc<sup>9</sup> to watch their motions. Terrible fires all over the plains. Wayquetoe's wife died of the wounds of last winter, when her husband shot her.

*Oct. 27th*. Le Sucrie [Sucre, Sweet, or Wiscoup] and ten other Indians arrived from Leech lake. Cournoyer<sup>10</sup> of the X. Y. started with four men for the Hair hills, to build near Langlois. Neither of my neighbors has a horse; all their transportation is on men's backs. The H. B. Co. started to build at the Grand Passage on Panbian river. I sent to the Hair hills for earth to whitewash my houses, there being none near Red river. This white earth generally lies in the open plain, covered with about a foot of black soil. It is sometimes in strata a foot thick, intermixed with black soil and sand, and, again, is simply covered with the black soil, under which it is pure and white, like lime, and answers the same purpose in setting our buildings.

*Nov. 1st*. Snow fell about six inches in depth. I went to the mountain to meet the Stone Indians. Old Frog and his band have ten tents. I settled with them, and they made great promises to hunt well. *5th*. Panbian river

<sup>9</sup> Compare note <sup>42</sup>, p. 182.—One Le Duc, of the seigneurie of Les Cèdres, in 1761 the uppermost white settlement on the St. Lawrence, had been a fur-trader on Lake Superior and at Michilimackinac.—François Leduc is listed as a voyageur, N. W. Co., Nepigon Dept., 1804.—Jean Baptiste Leduc, an old trader in 1785, was then living with Aimable Roy at Baye Verte.

<sup>10</sup> Whether or not the same as Jean Baptiste Cournoyer, listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, after the fusion of 1804.

frozen over at the Hair hills. I returned home. 7th. Red river frozen over. Desmarais and old Mouge have abandoned Rivière aux Gratias; both parties were coming up in their canoes, but on the 5th were stopped by ice near Panbian river; they have not seen one Indian since their arrival. I ordered Desmarais to return with his baggage to Rivière aux Gratias on the ice. 13th. My men finished a stable for our working horses. 15th. Heavy rain, which melted all the snow. Men now go again for meat, with small carts, the wheels of which are each of one solid piece, sawed off the ends of trees whose diameter is three feet. Those carriages we find much more convenient and advantageous than it is to load horses, the country being so smooth and level that we can use them in every direction. An Indian brought me a large cabbri,<sup>11</sup> which had four inches of fat on the rump. 22d-24th. Snow continued. Men making sleighs. The Saulteurs at the Hair hills have joined the Stone Indians, and all are camped together in idleness, singing, dancing, smoking, and trading medicine for horses. 28th. The men put up a flag-staff—an oak stick of 75 feet, without splicing. I gave them two gallons of high wine, four fathoms of tobacco, and some flour and sugar, to make merry. 30th. Men begin to use sleighs and dogs.

Dec. 1st. Three men arrived from Grandes Fourches; no Indians there; all gone below. Our people there are continually in a state of alarm, and keep watch day and night. 2d. I sent two men to make salt at Rivière aux Gratias. 3d. Two men arrived from Portage la Prairie with letters. 4th. Men returned to Portage la Prairie and Grandes Fourches; sent letters northward. Snow all day.

<sup>11</sup> Variant in Henry and elsewhere to cabbre, cabbrie, caberie, cabre, cabree, cabri, cabrie, etc. The word is commonly supposed to be from the Spanish *cabra* or *cabri*, goat, same as Lat. *capra*, and I have so considered it, *e. g.*, L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 35, *q. v.* But it occurs in early annals of the N. W. under circumstances which lead me to believe it an entirely different word, of Indian origin. The animal designated is the well-known American antelope, *Antilocapra americana*.

14th. Buffalo near the fort. Three men arrived from Grandes Fourches. 16th. Sent them back. Went to the hills with a horse and cariole, low and surrounded with parchment buffalo skin; it only weighed 20 pounds, but was large enough for one person and his bedding. 19th. Returned home; buffalo in abundance near the fort. 21st. Set off for Rivière aux Gratiass with my horse and cariole. I met Joseph St. Germain and family at Rivière aux Marais, en route from Portage la Prairie; they came to remain at Panbian river. Desmarais takes a few fish every day at the entrance of the little river, with a small net; he caught a large sturgeon some time ago, and often takes small ones of the rough, scaly sort, called sturgeon millers.<sup>12</sup>

Friday, Dec. 25th.—Christmas. Snowed all day. Indians perpetually going and coming from one house to another, getting what they ask for, without the trouble of hunting. 27th. Lac la Pluie Indians arrived, for people to go *en derouine* on the upper part of Two Rivers. 28th. Red Lake Indians arrived from Lac aux Voleurs. We have our hands full; since my arrival it has been the same—never one day quiet. 31st. I came home from Grandes Fourches, Rivière aux Gratiass, and Hair hills.

Friday, Jan. 1st, 1802. This morning the usual ceremony of firing, etc., was performed. I treated my people with two gallons of high wine, five fathoms of tobacco, and some flour and sugar. My neighbors came visiting, and before sunrise both sexes of all parties were intoxicated and more troublesome than double their number of Saul-teurs; the men were fighting and quarreling all night. Joseph St. Germain and others returned from a *derouine* with 200 skins, all good—the best *derouine* ever made from Panbian river. 3d. People continually *en derouine* to Indians' tents; arrivals from and departures to the different

<sup>12</sup> So copy, perhaps for the F. term *esturgeon milieu*. The species meant is not the shovel-nosed sturgeon, *Scaphirhynchops platyrhynchus*, but simply the young of the common sturgeon of British American fresh waters, *Acipenser rubicundus*, differing much from the adult in appearance.

outposts, and men hauling home meat from the hunters' tent. Buffalo near the fort; I killed two bulls with one ball. *10th.* Hunters running buffalo, with which the plains are covered; at the fort heard them fire, and saw the cows fall; they killed 23. The beasts were bellowing all night.

*Jan. 13th.* Before daybreak I set off with two men for the Assiniboine, by way of Rivière aux Gratias. Each of my men had a train of two dogs, with my baggage and provisions, and I a train drawn by three stout dogs. Snow very deep; my men were obliged to beat the road all the way on snowshoes. We were one day going to Rivière aux Gratias; five thence to Portage la Prairie; five thence to Rivière la Souris; two thence to Delorme's<sup>13</sup> house in the Hair hills; four to Langlois' house; and one back to Panbian river. All this distance my men walked hard upon snowshoes.

*Feb. 13th.* During my absence my people went up to Rivière aux Parcs, and made 10 kegs of salt. My winter stock of fresh meat is complete. Derouines and trips to outposts continue as usual. Men came from Lake Winipic for provisions. *15th.* Very severe weather. One of our horses, attempting to drink, fell into our water-hole in the river, and perished. Buffalo have destroyed all the grass, and our horses are starving. *23d.* Lac la Pluie Indians arrived—a new band. I got 100 good skins from them in one derouine. X. Y. are starving, though buffalo surround

<sup>13</sup> Delorme or De Lorme was a common name; the one meant in the text is not further specified.—Pierre De Lorme was one of the men who started on Sir Alexander McKenzie's memorable voyage to the Arctic ocean, June 3d, 1789.—François Delorme is listed as of N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1799.—One Delorme of the N. W. Co. was with Thompson at the fort near the forks of Peace r., summer and fall of 1803; perhaps Pierre.—Pierre Lemay, *dît* Delorme, is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Athabasca Dept., 1804.—Aimable Delorme is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Nepigon district, 1804.—“Mr.” Delorme of N. W. Co. was sent by Henry to summer at Portage la Prairie, 1804; no doubt same as the Delorme of the above text.—Thompson speaks of meeting five Slave lake canoes “under Delorme,” May 21st, 1812.—One Delorme was a freeman at Winnipeg, Aug. 10th, 1808.—François Enos, *dît* Delorme, was a witness in the Semple case at Toronto, Oct., 1818.



them. They eat the old scabby bulls we kill for our diversion. 28th. Three of our horses died. The cold is very severe; snow deep, and no grass.

Mar. 3d. Finding the poplar stockades were neither strong nor durable, I set all my men to work cutting oak stockades to make a new fort. 5th. Mr. Cameron arrived from Grandes Fourches. A large wolf came into my tent three times, and always escaped a shot. Next day, while hunting, I found him dead about a mile from the fort; he was very lean and covered with scabs. 7th. We made a *feu-de-joie* with the H. B. Co., whose houses at Grand Passage burned, with their baggage, and roasted the meat of 10 cows in their storehouse—fine sport for the wolves and crows. 12th. Pierre's [Bonza's] wife was delivered of a daughter—the first fruit at this fort, and a very black one.

Mar. 14th. In a drinking match at the Hills yesterday, Gros Bras [Thick Arms] in a fit of jealousy stabbed Aupusoi to death with a hand-dague [dagger]; the first stroke opened his left side, the second his belly, and the the third his breast; he never stirred, although he had a knife in his belt, and died instantly. Soon after this Aupusoi's brother, a boy about 10 years of age, took the deceased's gun, loaded it with two balls, and approached Gros Bras' tent. Putting the muzzle of the gun through the door the boy fired the two balls into his breast and killed him dead, just as he was reproaching his wife for her affection for Aupusoi, and boasting of the revenge he had taken. The little fellow ran into the woods and hid. Little Shell [Petite Coquille] found the old woman, Aupusoi's mother, in her tent; he instantly stabbed her. Ondainoiache then came in, took the knife, and gave her a second stab. Little Shell, in his turn taking the knife, gave a third blow. In this manner did these two rascals continue to murder the old woman, as long as there was any life in her. The boy escaped into Langlois' house, and was kept hid until they were all sober. Next morning

a hole was dug in the ground, and all three were buried together. This affair kept the Indians from hunting, as Gros Bras was nearly related to the principal hunters.

*Mar. 15th.* Killed four cows; saw a swan, an oiseau puant [turkey-buzzard], and a hawk—the first spring birds. *17th.* I sent Jos. and Vent. St. Germain with two men to Red lake to trade sugar and recover debts. *20th.* Tobacco is passing between the Saulteurs and Crees and Assiniboines for war next summer; great preparations are sent to Leech lake and Fort Dauphin. They propose to assemble here June 30th. *30th.* A dispute with the men about hauling stockades across the little creek. Augustin Cadotte and myself convinced them it was not impossible, by setting the example. Continual snowstorm. *31st.* The northern winter express arrived; it comes only from Fort des Prairies.

*April 1st.* Express off to Grandes Fourches per Augustin Cadotte. *2d.* Went to Rivière aux Gratiass; got snow-blind. One of my horses died. *5th.* Set my men to work building a storehouse 100 feet long and 20 wide, all oak. *7th.* Saw a few outardes. *9th.* The women began to make a little sugar. I saw a flock of pelicans [*Pelecanus erythrorhynchus*]. *14th.* X. Y. people began to build near my fort on the N. side of the little brook. *16th.* Panbian river broke up. Wild fowl now plenty. *19th.* Red river began to give away, and the ice moved; snow all melted on the plains. I went hunting; calves are very numerous, and I brought one home with me alive. *20th.* Buffalo in abundance on the E. side of Red river and crossing opposite the fort. *23d.* River clear of ice. Pigeons [*Ectopistes migratorius*] passing N. *24th.* Crow and Nanaundeyea came down Tongue river with 36 whole beavers in a skin canoe. Cyr<sup>14</sup> killed two beavers opposite the fort. *25th.* Augustin

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Cyr, whose name appears twice in Masson's lists of the N. W. Co., 1804, Lower Red r. (II. pp. 402 and 405), with alternative spellings Sire, Sear, and Seers. Henry describes Jos. Cyr as a freeman, his hunter at Pembina, winter of 1803-04. Thompson also names one Cyr. Compare the term St. Cyr.

Cadotte arrived in a small canoe, four days from Grandes Fourches. He brought 10 beaver skins, some wild fowl, and two kegs of high wine. *26th*. Went down to meet Desmarais at Reed river; got 30 beaver skins from Pickoutiss, [one of the Red Lake Ojibways]. *27th*. Storehouse finished. *28th*. Desmarais' canoe arrived from Rivière aux Gratiass. Thomas Mitchel, H. B. Co., embarked *en baggage* for the Forks. Mélancon<sup>15</sup> deserted from us. Men began to erect stockades. *30th*. Fire on the plains in every direction.

*Saturday, May 1st*. I set fire to the E. side of the river. We sent our horses to graze in the plains on the W. side. *2d*. Langlois and others came *en baggage* down Panbian river in three skin canoes; one had upset and some property been lost—sugar, beat meat,<sup>16</sup> axes, etc. The current had drawn her with such violence against a tree as to turn her over. The river Indians are camping and all drinking hard—men, women, and children. *3d*. Arrived and camped four Assiniboinés, with the Saulteurs—the first that have come here to trade and drink. They are very suspicious of the Saulteurs, and always on their guard with guns, bows, and arrows in their hands. The young Saulteurs would fain insult them during their drinking matches, but we prevented it. *4th*. Indians all arrived. I gave them their spring presents; to some, clothing, to others large kegs of mixed liquor. The chiefs were: Little Shell; Buffalo; Nanaundeyea; Chamanou; Terre Grasse; Maymiutch; Tabashaw; and an Assiniboine. Total, eight chiefs<sup>17</sup> furnished with clothing and 10 kegs of liquor. This was exclusive of about four kegs of mixed liquor I gave away during the boison [drinking bout].

<sup>15</sup> This name appears in Masson's list without further specification, as that of a voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804.

<sup>16</sup> *Sic*, meaning beaten meat—beef or venison, dried and pounded into shreds.

<sup>17</sup> Of the eight, six will be recognized in the list on p. 53—Nos. 9, 25, 36, 28, 40, and 2. "Chamanou" does not figure there, but has appeared before in Henry's text. The Assiniboine chief is nameless.

*May 5th.* Heavy rain ; some snow. Seine, but take nothing. *7th.* Finished the fort. I gave the men a gallon of high wine and some sugar. Desfond [Duford] quarreled and parted from his wife ; he wished to detain his son, a boy about nine years of age ; but the little fellow preferred to go with his mother, and on leaving the house fired three arrows at his father, but missed him ; for, although the old man was intoxicated, he had sense enough to avoid the arrows, and allowed the child to walk off with his mother. *9th.* Set a sturgeon net, the first ever put in this river, the usual manner of taking sturgeon being with the seine. It required 90 fathoms of net to cross the river, as the water is high, and the strong current forms a great bend ; it was with much difficulty we could set it. *11th.* Nine inches of snow. Water falling ; it had risen almost as high as last year. Caught one sturgeon. *12th.* An Indian and his family arrived in a small canoe from Red lake, bringing news that the Sioux had killed seven Saulteurs in that quarter, all nearly related to those who are camped here drunk. The man had scarcely landed before they were in an uproar, bawling, howling, and lamenting the death of their relations, the end of which was to beg rum to wash the sorrow from their hearts. *15th.* Indians sober. I began to sow garden seeds. Joseph Cyr deserted under pretense of going to Portage la Prairie. Men bringing home calves daily. *18th.* We take plenty of sturgeon. Indians tormenting me for liquor gratis. *20th.* Indians performing their grand medicine, as usual in the spring. *21st.* A small canoe arrived from Portage la Prairie, bringing nearly a bushel of potatoes for seed, some ammunition, tobacco, etc. Made my packs, began the pemmican, and planted my potatoes. Mr. Cameron arrived from Grandes Fourches. Mosquitoes and woodlice in abundance. *24th.* Cabbage appeared above ground. I purchased horses from the Indians, sold them to the men at 200 G. V. P. Cy.<sup>18</sup> each, and

<sup>18</sup> So copy—I suppose it means Grand Portage currency, reckoned in French livres, as distinguished from Halifax currency, reckoned in English £. s. d.



obliged them to do the work of the fort, hauling fuel, lumber for building, etc. Augustin Cadotte moved to Tekogonaibick. The Indians have daily alarms and would persuade me of danger; but I am no longer a stranger, and not easily imposed upon.

RETURNS OF LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1801-02.

	JOHN CAMERON, X. V. OPPOSITION, GRANDES FOURCHES.	M. LANGLOIS, HAIR HILLS.	J. B. DESMARAIS, OLD MOUGE, RIVIÈRE AUX GRATIAS.	A. HENRY, JOHN CRÉBASSA, PAMBIAN RIVER.	TOTALS, IN FOUR CANOES.
Beavers, weighing 1,805 lbs.....	410	200	130	629	1,369
Black bears.....	22	24	..	18	64
Brown bears.....	2	5	..	4	11
Wolves.....	30	160	8	58	256
Foxes.....	20	39	2	16	77
Raccoons.....	29	14	3	39	85
Fishers.....	23	57	38	67	185
Otters.....	29	5	2	24	60
Martens.....	..	13	5	6	24
Minks.....	6	..	5	26	40
Wolverenes.....	..	3	1	..	1
Loup-cerviers.....	..	8	8	51	67
Dressed moose and biches.....	..	20	..	..	20
Shaved and parchment biches.....	..	220	12	38	270
Muskrats.....	..	5	..	8	13
Buffalo robes.....	..	1	7	2	10
Packs of 90 lbs. each.....	9	24	3½	25½	62
Bags of pemmican, of 90 lbs. each.....	..	50	7	33	90
Kegs of beef.....	..	..	..	16	16
Kegs of grease.....	3	..	..	..	3
Kegs of sugar.....	3	..	..	..	3

Gain, Halifax currency, £1,171 15s. 7d.

*May 27th.* Little Devil, an Assiniboine chief, with five others, arrived from Buffalo Head on horseback, bringing a pack of beaver skins and some provisions. H. B. Co. men preparing their canoes and boat. The Indians, having finished the grand medicine, are making the wabbano. This ceremony is performed at all seasons, but more particularly

in the fall and spring, when they assemble in large parties. It is not so solemn as the grand medicine, nor does it require such ceremonious initiation. People of all ages and both sexes may partake in the outward show of singing and dancing, but not all of them are acquainted with such mysteries as the different medicines, songs, and conjuration tricks.

## ABSTRACT OF NORTHWEST RETURNS OF 1802 FOR OUTFIT OF 1801.

	ATHABASCA.*			SLAVE LAKE.*			MACKENZIE RIVER.*	
	£	s.	d.					
Lac la Biche .....	708	16	7	..	..	..	84	B.
Upper English river.....	4,581	14	10 ¼	..	..	..	148	C. & D.
Rat river.....	..	..	..	31	13	7	28	E.
Upper Fort des Prairies....	1,333	6	10	..	..	..	193	G. & H.
Lower Fort des Prairies....	643	19	9	..	..	..	22	F. & I.
Swan river ...	846	11	7	..	..	..	119	K.
Lake Winipic .....	2,045	17	5	..	..	..	138	L.
Upper Red river.....	..	..	..	1,902	19	5	143	N.
Lower Red river.....	156	16	6	..	..	..	103	O.
Lac la Pluie .....	1,271	4	6	..	..	..	56	P.
Nepigon .....	3,314	10	8	..	..	..	147	Q.
Pic and L. river.....	1,243	17	10	..	..	..	34	R.
Fond du Lac.....	..	..	..	10	7	1 ½	101	S.
M. & M. Cadottes.....	1,334	2	2 ½	..	..	..	71	T.
Michepicotton.....	737	10	..	..	..	..	21	U.
Batchewoinan bay.....	258	1	2	..	..	..	11	V.
Grand Portage.....	414	12	9 ½	..	..	..	18	W.
Red lake, Fond du Lac ....	179	3	3	..	..	..	15	
François Roy, L'Anse.....	334	4	11	..	..	..	11	R. A.
Joseph Réaume, Folleavoine	411	3	..	..	..	..	28	
Lac des Mille Lacs.....	466	17	2	..	..	..	25	
	20,300	11	0 ¼	1,945	0	1 ½	1516†	

\* Not given.

† Inland packs of 90 lbs.

*May 28th.* Everything is ready for embarkation—packs and pemmican made, canoes repaired, and people settled for the summer. We pass our time chasing buffalo, for which we have many good horses, and take plenty of sturgeon.

An Indian made medicine to ask his Manitou whether a certain sick person would recover. He started his juggling after dark, and sang for a long time, keeping chorus with a

rattle. At times he pretended to converse with a spirit, muttering very low; then he interpreted to the bystanders what his Manitou had told him concerning the case—the cause and nature of the sickness, and then some crime committed which prevented the cure. Before his conversation with the spirit his juggling machine always appeared in motion, bending to and fro as if shaken by the wind, while he continued to sing with his utmost force, and appeared greatly agitated; when suddenly he ceased and appeared deeply engaged in discourse. This ceremony continued

*Dr.*

N. W.

## LOWER RED RIVER OUTFIT

0

	£	s.	d.
To Amt. of invoice as per Grand Portage books,	2,457	9	2
" Equipment for Proprietor,	20	0	0
" Do. 8 Clerks and Interpreters @ 400s.,	160	0	0
" Do. 2 Guides and Interpreters @ 300s.,	30	0	0
" Do. 33 Canoeemen (10 summer men excluded) @ 78s.,	128	14	0
Interest thereon @ 4.66 $\frac{1}{2}$ ct. to Nov. 30th, 1801,	2,796	3	2
To Inventory of 1801 inland,	129	9	0
	286	17	0
Interest thereon for 12 months @ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ct. to Nov. 30th, 1802,	3,212	9	2
Freight to Montreal of 93 packs of 100 lbs., @ 41s. 8d.,	192	14	0
	193	15	0
Wages of 8 Clerks and Interpreters,	3,598	18	2
" 2 Guides "	5,720		
" 43 Men (including 10 summer men),	1,550		
Extra wages for 2d trip to Lac la Pluie,	16,750		
	1,510		
N. W. Co. livres	25,530	or	
	2,110	16	8
Balance on this outfit,	5,709	14	10
	156	16	6
Halifax Cy.,	£5,866	11	4
8 Canoes from Grand Portage, 4 to Portage la Prairie, 4 to Lower Red river,			
Loss on them, £1,014 19s. 1d.			
Gain on them, 1,171 11s. 7d.			

until after midnight, when he at last declared he was in doubt whether the sick person would recover or not.

*May 29th.* Took inventories of the property to be left.

*Sunday, May 30th.* At daybreak all hands were up, baggage was given out, and at sunrise two large canoes, three small ones, and a bateau, all very deeply loaded, were drifting down the river.

*May 31st.* At ten o'clock I embarked in my own canoe with eight men; overtook the brigade, and arrived at the Forks at 4 p. m., June 1st.

*Cr.*

FOR 1801 CONTRA.

	£	s.	d.
By Inventory of 1802, . . . . .	292	4	7
" Advances to men inland, . . . . .	808	11	8
" 102 Bags of Pemmican, at Bas de la Rivière, weight, . . . . . 8,772 lbs., @ 1s.	438	12	0
" 3 Kegs of Grease, weight, . . . . . 210 lbs., @ 1s.	10	10	0
" 7 Kegs of Beef, weight, . . . . . 490 lbs., @ 1s.	24	10	0
" Contents of 103 Packs :			
3,185 Beavers, weight 4,334 lbs., @ 12s. 6d.			
39 lb., . . . . . £2,708 15 0			
265 Wolves, @ 7s. 6d. . . . . each,	99	7	6
277 Deer and Parchments, @ 4s. 6d. " . . . .	62	6	6
112 Black Bears, @ 6s. . . . . " . . . .	364	0	0
35 Brown " @ 100s. . . . . " . . . .	175	0	0
131 Loup-cerviers, @ 9s. . . . . " . . . .	58	19	0
90 Raccoons, @ 2s. . . . . " . . . .	9	0	0
101 Foxes, @ 8s. 6d. . . . . " . . . .	42	18	6
61 Minks, @ 4s. . . . . " . . . .	12	4	0
336 Fishers, @ 6s. . . . . " . . . .	100	16	0
203 Otters, 20s. @ . . . . . " . . . .	203	0	0
482 Martens, @ 4s. 6d. . . . . " . . . .	108	9	0
10 Buffalo robes, @ 18s. . . . . " . . . .	9	0	0
40 Muskrats, @ 1s. 1d. . . . . " . . . .	2	3	4
50 Dressed skins, @ 7s. 6d. . . . . " . . . .	18	15	0
13 Carcajoux, @ 5s. . . . . " . . . .	3	5	0
	3,977	18	10
By Discount for six months @ 6 3/4 ct., . . . .	115	0	0
Sterling, 3,862 18 10			
	4,292	3	1
Halifax Cy., £5,866		11	4



## CHAPTER V.

### THE PEMBINA RIVER POST, CONTINUED: 1802-03.

**S**EPT. 4th, 1802. We arrived at the Forks of the Assiniboine. Delivered to Mr. [Charles Jean Baptiste] Chaboillez the Upper Red River, or rather the Assiniboine River, brigade in charge, he having remained inland during the summer. Mr. J. McDonell [John McDonnell<sup>1</sup>] goes to

<sup>1</sup> See his lively, rough-and-ready journal of 1793-97, already cited at date of Aug. 19th, 1800, note <sup>53</sup>, p. 47. This McDonell or McDonnell is to be distinguished from various persons of the identical surname, and also from sundry McDonalds of a different family—particularly John McDonald of Garth. One liability of mistake in the identity of persons named John is, that in annals of the period "John" was often abbreviated "Jo.," as if "Joe" or Joseph; but the regular abbreviation of the latter was "Jos." John McDonnell was brother of Gov. Miles McDonnell, and uncle of W. J. McDonnell, some time vice-consul at Toronto; Miles McDonnell was Lord Selkirk's agent and first governor of that colony, nicknamed *chef des jardiniers* ("head gardener"). John entered the N. W. Co. as clerk in 1793 or earlier, and arrived at Grant's Fort Espérance on Qu'Appelle r., Oct. 11th, 1793. He became a partner about 1796, and spent some years in the Upper Red River Dept. In 1797-98 he had the N. W. house on the Assiniboine, 1½ m. above the mouth of Mouse r.—a notable place, as this was the usual point of departure for the Mandans on the Missouri. Thompson went from and returned to it in 1797-98; he gives its position as lat. 49° 41' 06" N., long. 99° 59' 15" W. Our author is going to make the same trip in 1806. McDonnell went in to Fort William in 1798, arriving June 29th. He goes to the Athabasca Dept. in 1802, as Henry tells us. He signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys. He arrived at Fort William at 2 p. m. Sunday, Aug. 2d, 1812, on the Invincible. He sold out in 1815, settled at Point Fortune, died there, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery of Rigaud, leaving several children.—Æneas McDonell or McDonald, a clerk N. W. Co., Nepigon District, was shot by one Mowat, clerk H. B. Co., 1810.—Alexander McDonnell was assistant to John McDonald of Garth on the Assiniboine or Qu'Appelle r., winter of 1807-08; he succeeded Miles McDonnell, and was nicknamed by the half-breeds "grass-hopper governor" (*gouverneur sauterelle*); he was at one time in charge of Fort Garry.—Allen McDonnell or Macdonell was at the Mandans in the summer of 1806, when Charles Chaboillez, *junior*, Charles McKenzie, Mr. Caldwell, and

Athabasca. I sent off my canoes for Panbian river, and proceeded on horseback to Portage la Prairie, taking three canoes and a boat for that quarter. We found there a great many Indians camped, expecting our arrival. I remained three days awaiting the canoes and making out the appointments, as follows:

Mr. E. Harrison,<sup>2</sup> to winter here. Mr. L. Dorion, at Bear's Head river. Mr. J. McDonell [junior], at the Manitoubanee [Lake Manitoba]. Joseph St. Germain, at Fort Dauphin Mountain, Prairie en Longue [Long Prairie].

*Sept. 13th.* Left Portage la Prairie on horseback, came down to the Grand Passage and crossed the Assiniboine.

*15th.* Arrived at Panbian river, and found everything in order; 60 Saulteurs camped at my fort. The canoes had arrived some time before I came, and the Indians were anxiously awaiting me, to taste the "new milk," as they generally call rum when speaking in a ceremonious style. Some Assiniboines and Crees had been here with skins and a quantity of provisions. They appeared well reconciled to the Saulteurs, and the latter equally so to them. During the summer three of my Indians died and were buried here, Chizchickquoi, Ocanashkit, Le Taonsone, and the Cizeau.<sup>3</sup>

our author, were also there; we shall hear more of him later on.—J. Macdonell, *junior*, appears as of N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1799, at wages 240 livres: see next paragraph above, and see beyond, Jan. 4th, 1803, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Harrison, clerk N. W. Co. "Mr." Harrison was met by David Thompson on the Height of Land near Grand Portage July 20th, 1797. "Mr." Harrison arrived with five canoes on account of Mr. Ogilvie at Grand Portage June 24th, 1798, and was on Rainy l. July 22d, 1798. Edward Harrison was clerking in the Fort Dauphin Dept. in 1799, and at Portage la Prairie in the summer of 1804.

"Old Durion" is a familiar figure in Lewis and Clark: see ed. of 1893, pp. 21, 70, 80, 94, 106, 1174, 1207, 1208, and for his son Pierre, pp. 21, 91, 94, 106, 1201. Durion and Dorion are the same name, and Henry's Louis Dorion might easily be "Old Durion"; but I have no such identification. Joseph St. Germain is already accounted for: see note <sup>1</sup>, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> See the list, p. 53, for two of these four, No. 6 and No. 22. "The Cizeau" appears as if it were meant for Ciseau, French for chisel, but may be same as Sesai, No. 7 of the list. Chizchickquoi has not been named before that I can discover. (Copy gives four names, but only three deaths.)

Their complaint is cough, spitting, and pains in the breast; they linger for a long time, get very lean, and seldom recover. This [pulmonary consumption] is the most common and fatal disease among them.

*Sept. 16th.* I gave them their usual autumnal present; all were soon intoxicated and more troublesome than before, as the X. Y. were well established here.

*Sept. 17th.* A boy about 10 years of age was putting his gun in order to shoot ducks; his old mother was sitting opposite in the tent, and observed he was giving himself trouble to no purpose, as he could not kill a duck. This was jocular, as she knew he was an excellent little hunter for his age, and he took it as such. Having loaded and primed his gun, he aimed it at the old woman's head, saying, "If I cannot kill a duck I can kill you, if I want to." The gun went off and blew her brains out. The lad's gun fell from his hands; when he recollected himself he declared he had no intention of shooting his mother, and could not account for the discharge. However, the old woman was dead; her brains and hair were sticking to the tent-pole near which she had been sitting. The lad appeared much afflicted, as he was very fond of her.

I made up the assortment of goods for the outposts, equipped the summer men, clerks, etc.

*Sept. 20th.* I sent Mr. Cameron, with his boat and eight men, to build at Turtle river;<sup>4</sup> Augustin Cadotte, with Antoine Payet [or Paget<sup>5</sup>] and five men, to build at Pinancewaywining a post for the Crees, Sonnants, and Stone Indians; Michel Langlois, with a writer [*commis*, clerk], goes to Red lake with a band of Saulteurs. The two latter posts are overland, and require horses to trans-

<sup>4</sup> Branch of Red r., Grand Forks Co., N. Dak.: see note <sup>20</sup>, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Surname thus variant in the annals of the fur-trade. One Payet, N. W. Co., was interpreter under Harmon, Fort Bird Mountain, on the Assiniboine, winter of 1801-02.—Antoine Payet or Paget is with Henry as said, 1802-03, and appears as clerk and interpreter N. W. Co., English r. 1804.—Joseph Paget appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.

port the property. We have enough for all purposes, and a new sort of cart which facilitates transportation, hauling home meat, etc. They are about four feet high and perfectly straight; the spokes are perpendicular, without the least bending outward ["dishing"], and only four to each wheel. These carts carry about five pieces, and are drawn by one horse.

*Sept. 25th.* Indians decamping to follow their traders to the outposts, and those who intend to remain about this place are taking debts and preparing to decamp. My man out hunting; buffalo in abundance. *28th.* One of my young men, S. Purie [*sic*—qu: Jean Baptiste St. Pierre?] shot two cows dead, with one ball.

*Oct. 5th.* Wayquatchewine,<sup>6</sup> in a drinking match, stabbed another Indian on the shoulder blade, but the knife was arrested by the bone, and the wound was not mortal. At the same time he stabbed a woman in the breast; it appears to be an ugly wound, but not very deep, as the knife went in slanting and made a great gash. *15th.* Indians going off and returning to plague us for liquor. The X. Y. arrived with two canoes. Duford [note<sup>4</sup>, p. 187] followed Langlois to Red Lake river; high water over the plains prevented their reaching Red lake. They built at Terre Blanche.<sup>7</sup>

*Nov. 2d.* Sent trains for meat. Buffalo in abundance. I hired Le Bœuf as hunter [note<sup>42</sup>, p. 182]. This man is supposed to be the best among the Saulteurs for buffalo and other strong, wild animals; his name is derived from his superior capacities in hunting the buffalo. He has often, even in seasons when there is no snow, approached a herd, and then, when on his firing they ran off, chased them on foot for a long distance, loading and firing rapidly,

<sup>6</sup> Name not in the list, p. 53: compare the first element of the word with Wayquetoe, No. 26, and the balance with Saskatchewan, name of the river.

<sup>7</sup> This French phrase is the origin of modern White Earth as name of the large Indian reservation in Minnesota, and of a lake and a river in that reservation, tributary to Wild Rice r. We are left in doubt of the exact location of Langlois' outpost, but it was probably within the limits of the present reservation, and perhaps on Wild Rice or White Earth r.



and keeping in the thick of the herd until he killed as many as he wished. He came in to-day with a loup-cervier<sup>8</sup> that he had caught in the plains in a fair chase and killed with his small ax; he certainly is an extraordinary runner. He is a tall man, spare and lean, of a mild disposition, but wicked when provoked to anger.

*Nov. 4th.* We crossed Red river on the ice, as this was an extraordinarily early winter; however, it did not last long. On the 6th the river was again clear of ice, and fine mild weather ensued until the 17th, when it began to snow, and we once more ran sleighs.

*Nov. 24th.* A day so dark that I was obliged to use a candle to write at midday. We had a heavy fall of snow and hail, with tremendous claps of thunder and lightning, which continued most of the day, and a strong N. E. wind. About 18 inches of snow fell in 12 hours. The river froze again.

*Nov. 26th.* One of my men, who was much in debt, offered me his services as long as he could perform any duty, on condition I would clothe him and allow him to take a woman he had fallen in love with; for himself he asked nothing but dressed leather to make a shirt, capot, and trousers, all the year round, and a little tobacco. He is an able-bodied young man. This proposal did not surprise me, having seen several people as foolish as he is, who would not hesitate to sign an agreement of perpetual bondage on condition of being permitted to have a woman who struck their fancy.

*Nov. 27th.* We cannot stir out doors without snowshoes. Buffalo are very numerous; I shot three cows. The cold was so severe that I froze all one side of my face, which was soon an entire scab and very painful.

*Dec. 25th.* Buffalo passing in droves within 100 yards of the fort. My winter stock complete.

<sup>8</sup> Canada lynx, *Lynx canadensis*, of northerly parts of America, differing in several respects from the common bay lynx or wild cat, *L. rufus*: see Lewis, and Clark, ed. 1893, pp. 211, 734.

*January 1st, 1803.* Plagued with the ceremonies of the day—men and women drinking and fighting, pell mell.

*Jan. 4th.* Leaving the fort in charge of V. St. Germain and P. [Pierre Bonza?], I took two men and set out on a journey.<sup>9</sup> I had a light cariole drawn by four strong

<sup>9</sup> Memoranda of this journey: Leaving his post at the mouth of Pembina r. Henry passed through the Pembina mts. or Hair hills, and continued on to the mouth of Mouse r. This confluence with the Assiniboine is in the middle of Tp. 8, R. xvi, W. of the princ. merid.; the S. W. branch of the C. P. Ry. passes close by; station Tresbank, and places called Two Rivers and Awene, are in the same township. The N. W. Co. house was on the N. bank of the Assiniboine, a mile or more above the junction of Mouse r.; Thompson calls it Stone Indian River house and McDonnell's house, 1797-98. It also became known as Fort Assiniboine and Assiniboine house, the X. Y. house close by being called Fort Souris. The locality seems to have been a favorite one; in the winter of 1794-95, no fewer than five mutually opposing trading-houses were there. C. J. B. Chaboillez was still there in the winter of 1804-05, when he corresponded with Lewis and Clark at the Mandans: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 187. Dauphin, as a name of various things in this region, dates back to Verendrye, 1741. Fort Dauphin mt., or the Dauphin mts., is or are the general and extensive elevation now called Riding mt., W. of Lake Manitoba. Dauphin l., still so called, lies N. and E. of these mountains, W. of the upper division of Lake Manitoba, and directly S. of Lake Winnipegosis, into which latter it discharges by Mossy r., and it is near enough to afford a portage of the same name. Its principal feeders are the rivers called Drifting, Valley, Wilson, and Vermilion, all from the W., with Ocher and Turtle from the S. Its figure is quite regular, with a long axis of about 30 m., nearly N. and S., and a breadth of from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{3}$  as much, E. and W. The White r. of the above text is the one on which we found Henry at the beginning, in 1799: see note<sup>1</sup> for description of this principal tributary of Lake Manitoba. This lake is a very large body of water in Manitoba, W. of Lake Winnipeg and S. E. of Lake Winnipegosis; the total length is over 100 m., about N. N. W. and S. S. W.; the width is little in comparison, and greatest near the lower end. The lake is sharply divided near the middle by The Narrows into an upper or northern and a lower or southern section, of approx. equal areas. The N. division is of extremely irregular figure; it discharges through Lake St. Martin and by Sturgeon r. into Lake Winnipeg, and is connected with Lake Winnipegosis by the two Water-hen rivers and Water-hen lake; but a more direct communication is afforded by Meadow (formerly Savannah) portage, 1 m., 57 chains, 20 links long. The S. division is of pyriform figure, with the thick end southward nearly to lat. 50°, and within some 18 m. of Portage la Prairie on the Assiniboine; alt. 810 feet above sea-level. The lake has a history of over 150 years, has been the site of many different establishments, and still has several Indian reserves on its shores. It was called Lac des Prairies in 1740, and at various

dogs, and my men each a train with three dogs, for our baggage and provisions. The snow was very deep, but in the plains hard enough to bear a man on snowshoes, and my dogs also. Our first stage was two days to [Augustin] Cadotte's house at Pinancewaywining [in Pembina mountains]; thence four days' hard marching to Rivière la Souris [Mouse river], where Mr. [C. J. B.] Chaboillez is wintering. Thence our course was N. for three days to the foot of Fort Dauphin mountain, where Joseph St. Germain had built on a branch of White [Terre Blanche or White Mud] river. Thence our course was N. E. through a low marshy country overgrown with willows, reeds, stunted poplars, and lastly épinettes [tamarac, *Larix americana*] that had been so tossed down across each other, that it was hard work to reach Lake Manitouabanc [Manitoba] in two days. Here we found Mr. [J.] McDonnell, Junior, starving with buffalo at his door. Thence we took the ice on our return, and had terribly stormy weather on the lake. Our course was about S. for three days to Portage la Prairie, and thence about S. E. for four hard days to Panbian river, where we arrived Feb. 3d. Through all this country we never marched a day without passing herds of buffalo; even along the shore of the lake they were very numerous.

On arrival I found some of Mr. Cameron's men from above; they have lately been up as far as Goose river, and

times Prairie l., Meadow l., Lake of the Meadows; also, Assiniboine l., in various forms of the term; also, Swan l.; Henry gives Rush l., beyond; and Harmon calls the N. division Muddy l., p. 51. The forms of the word Manitoba are numerous; Henry or his copyist gives us several, McKenzie maps Manitaubos, 1801, and I have noted Manito (without the end element), Manitoban, Manethowaubane, Manithoabang, etc. Bell, *l. c.*, has: "The word is said by Père Lacombe, an excellent authority on the Cree language, to be derived from Manitowapaw, supernatural or god-like. Other authorities say it means 'the place where the spirit dwells,' alluding to the Narrows of Lake Manitoba, where the water seldom, if ever, freezes over, owing to the presence of springs or its rapid motion at that place." Henry does not locate McDonnell's house closely; but as he was three days in reaching Portage la Prairie, it must have been pretty high up toward the Narrows—perhaps at or near present Manitoba house and settlement; present Kinosota in that vicinity.

tell me the buffalo continue in abundance from this place to that river, and as far as the eye could reach southward. What vast numbers there must be!

*Feb. 6th.* I went to Turtle river; was gone eight days. The crust on the snow is so hard as to bear a man without snowshoes, which makes it pleasant traveling with dogs.

*Feb. 15th.* Indians drinking at the fort. Tabashaw stabbed a near relation of his own, Missistaygouine, in six different places in the breast and sides; every stab went up to the handle; the poor fellow lingered an hour and died. Water Hen [Poule d'Eau], in fighting with another Indian, was thrown into the fire and roasted terribly from his neck to his rump. Both these affairs proceeded from jealousy.

*25th.* In the evening we were surprised by hearing three reports of a gun. Old Fallewine [Vieux Folle Avoine, Old Wild Rice], soon arrived, and bawled out at a distance, as soon as he thought we could hear him, that five Indians had been murdered near Portage la Prairie since I passed there, relations of himself and some others camped here. This firing was the usual signal of death in carrying news from one camp to another. But the Indians totally neglect their ancient customs; and to what can this degeneracy be ascribed but to their intercourse with us, particularly as they are so unfortunate as to have a continual succession of opposition parties to teach them roguery and destroy both mind and body with that pernicious article, rum? What a different set of people they would be, were there not a drop of liquor in the country! If a murder is committed among the Saulteurs, it is always in a drinking match. We may truly say that liquor is the root of all evil in the North West. Great bawling and lamentation went on, and I was troubled most of the night for liquor to wash away grief.

*Feb. 27th.* Little Crane [Petite Grue], and Gros Bras' [Thick Arms] son, died about the same time. We buried them in one grave; the ground was frozen solid for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. I have a net under the ice, and take daily from 5 to 10 fish, lacaishe, suckers, pike, doré, etc.



*Mar. 19th.* I saw nightingales, a gull, and a hawk. We take from 30 to 50 fish daily. *25th.* Heavy rain; snow all gone; wild fowl in abundance, Red river clear of ice. Water very high. Women making sugar. Very few drowned buffalo drift down this spring. *27th.* The plains are covered with water from the melting of the snow so suddenly, and our men suffer much, as they are continually on the march, looking after Indians in every creek and little river. The water is commonly knee deep, in some places up to the middle, and in the morning is usually covered with ice, which makes it tedious and even dangerous traveling. Some of our best men lose the use of their legs while still in the prime of life. *30th.* One of my men undertook to make a real pair of wheels on the plan of those in Canada; he finished them to-day, and they were very well done. I made him chief wheelwright, and we shall soon have some capital carts. A man gave a large stout dog a kick in the side, of which the poor beast died instantly.

*Apr. 8th.* Plains on fire in every direction. We began to fear the Assiniboines and Crees might steal our horses; they have seemed honest thus far, but they are all horse-thieves. *13th.* Men making blockhouses to defend the fort. We pretend it is on account of the Sioux, but I apprehend much less danger from them than from the Saulteurs, who are getting numerous, and at times insolent. *14th.* Men working at the new ground, and manuring the garden. Indians arriving daily and drinking the proceeds of the spring hunt. *19th.* The men began to demolish our dwelling-houses, which were built of bad wood, and to build new ones of oak. The nests of mice we found, and the swarms of fleas hopping in every direction, were astonishing. *20th.* Indians drinking. Le Bœuf quarreled with his wife and knocked her senseless with a club, which opened a gash on her head six inches long and down to the bone. She laid so long before she recovered her senses that I believed her dead. *22d.* Mr. [Augustin] Cadotte arrived from Hair hills *en baggage*. *23d.* I sent a man

with a new cart to Portage la Prairie by way of White Horse plains, which is a little above the Grand Passage on the Assiniboine. *26th.* Fire raging all over the plains, causing a great smoke; Indians still drinking. One woman stabbed another with a knife in four places, but I supposed none of them dangerous, being all flesh wounds. *30th.* The Indians made a barrier in Panbian river to take sturgeon on their return down the current. Men brought me in a few outarde eggs. Women were gathering rat-tails to eat. This root is about the size of a pipe-stem, and from 6 to 10 inches long; a number of them grow from the same stalk, in pools and marshes; they are of a yellowish color, tender and pleasant to the taste, at all seasons, but particularly in the spring. They are preferable to the esquebois.

*May 1st.* We take plenty of sturgeon. Settled the men's accounts and hired some of them for three years, but the Kamanistiquia route deters others from settling for the present. Our men and the X. Y. fighting and quarreling. Augustin Cadotte and his men arrived with their baggage from Pinancewaywining. Indians drinking; two of them stabbed, but not dangerously. *5th.* I started Mr. Cadotte with a man for Rivière aux Islets de Bois, with one of our new carts. This invention is worth four horses to us, as it would require five horses to carry as much on their backs as one will drag in each of those large carts. *6th.* Indians arrive daily and drink continually. *7th.* I planted potatoes, turnips, carrots, beets, parsnips, onions, and cabbage-stalks for seeds. Sowed cabbage seed. *10th.* We finished planting eight kegs of potatoes. *12th.* My beau-père desired me to take his second daughter, saying one woman was not sufficient for a chief, and that all great men should have a plurality of wives, the more the better, provided they were all of the same family. He set a striking example of this himself, as he had for wives three sisters at that time. Cadotte returned with a cart-load of sugar and skins; his wife was delivered of a daughter. *13th.* X. Y. embarked for the Forks. The

men's range of new buildings are finished. *16th.* Sowing carrot, onion, and other seeds. Lambert<sup>10</sup> making his gum, which he collected during the winter on Rat river. *18th.* Laverdure<sup>11</sup> making bellows for his shop. *20th.* Two men in a small canoe arrived from Portage la Prairie, with two kegs of potatoes, and a cat for *les souris* [the mice]. We take plenty of catfish with a night-line of 60 hooks, and 20 to 30 sturgeon a day. Turnips begin to appear. *21st.* Mr. Cameron arrived from Red lake with a cargo of sugar, 10 days from that place; he could have purchased a greater quantity, but had no means of bringing it down. *23d.* Indians making their grand medicine. Langlois returned with a few packs of beavers and bears.

*May 24th.* Set off with four men on horseback for Portage la Prairie, to arrange that post for the summer. We found much water in the plains; swam our horses over Rivière aux Marais, Panbian river, and Rivière aux Gratias, where we camped; no wood; mosquitoes by the millions, and woodticks. *25th.* Camped at Rivière aux Islets de Bois; water up to our horses' bellies. Quiniss [No. 35, p. 54] traded some skins. *26th.* Hired an Assiniboine to guide

<sup>10</sup> There were at fewest five Lamberts of the N. W. Co. about this time.—One Lambert, Fort Chipewyan, 1799.—Antoine Lambert, Lake Winnipeg, 1804.—Étienne Lambert, in the Athabasca Dept., 1804; quite likely the one first said.—“Mr.” Lambert was with Henry at Pembina, winter of 1803–04.—Joseph Lambert was with Henry at Pembina in 1807–08.—Jean Baptiste Lambert guided Henry's brigade on the Kaministiquia route in June, 1806, and was again his guide in 1807–08. The three last said are probably only two persons, but which one is the Lambert of the above text does not appear. In Masson, I. p. 401, “Lambert” appears as an alternative name of J. B. Robillard, guide of the Lower Red River brigade, 1804. As this brigade was Henry's, and “J. B.” almost invariably means Jean Baptiste, the identity seems unquestionable.—Pierre Lambert was drowned in a small lake near Lake McLeod, in the Rocky mts., May, 1812.

<sup>11</sup> Name in question, whether Laverdure, Laventure, or Lacouture, all of which occur in N. W. Co. annals about this time.—One Laverdure was in Athabasca, 1788–89.—Joseph Riquerin, *dit* Laverdure, is listed in 1804, Fort des Prairies and English r.—Louis L'Aventure is listed in 1804, Fort Dauphin.—Paul Laventure is listed in 1804, Fond du Lac.—One La Couture was on Mouse r. in 1794.—François Lacouture is listed in 1804, Upper Red r.

us through the strong woods. Sent two men for bark to repair canoes; hired Quiniss to guide them. At twelve o'clock we were obliged to leave our horses, the road being too bad, with water, mire, and sticks crossed. I left a man to watch them. Camped at the Beaver dam; woodticks, mosquitoes, rain, and no covering. *27th.* Early on our march; water and mud up to the middle, and cross-sticks every moment tripping us headlong. Our guide killed a young moose. At ten o'clock we arrived opposite the house; water very high. Crossed in a loaded boat that had come from Alexandria<sup>12</sup> on her way to Bas de la Rivière, with two men and 70 pieces—packs and pemmican. Indians camped here, and people from the outposts arrived. I made every arrangement for the summer, and on the 29th set off to retrace our steps through the strong woods, water, mud, and cross-sticks. We came to where we had left our horses and stopped for the night, tormented almost to death by insects. *30th.* Reached Rivière aux Islets de Bois and remained with the Indians all night; the men arrived, but brought no good bark. *31st.* Never have I seen so many mosquitoes as to-day. The weather was calm, and there was too much water on the plains for our horses to proceed. We were suffocated and suffered intolerably. Buffalo in abundance. We picked up a quantity of eggs of different kinds. Camped at Rivière aux Gratias, without wood.

*Wednesday, June 1st.* At one o'clock we reached Panbian river. We take from 30 to 40 sturgeon a day. The leaves are at full size, and all vegetables are out of the

<sup>12</sup> Fort Alexandria, high up on the Assiniboine, 9 m. above one of the H. B. Co. posts, 2 days from Swan r., 4 days from Fort Dauphin, on rising ground near a prairie 10 m. long and 4 to 1 m. broad, woods at a little distance in the rear; the fort 16 x 12 rods, well built, plastered and whitewashed; strengthened in 1801, for fear of Fall Indians; abandoned Apr. 18th, 1805. Harmon arr. Oct. 23d, 1800; McLeod in charge then; Hugh McGillis arrived Dec. 21st, from Red Deer r.; Harmon wintered there, 1800-01: see his Journal, 1820, p. 59 seq. (Not to be confounded with that Fort Alexandria which was named for Sir Alexander McKenzie, because built on the spot where he began his retreat June 23d, 1793; nor with Fort Alexander, au Bas de la Rivière.)



ground; the men are weeding, hoeing potatoes, and repairing canoes; Indians drinking. *4th*. I sent off a boat loaded with pemmican for the Forks. *6th*. Transplanted 500 cabbages. *7th*. Indians all decamped on the E. side. Twenty Indian canoes arrived from Red lake with sugar and furs. *8th*. The Indians who had decamped returned to drink; Lambert beat Le Sieur.<sup>13</sup> Indians fighting among themselves and with us also—a very troublesome drinking match. Made up my packs. Traded for 10 kegs of sugar and some skins and furs. *10th*. Finished gumming and repairing the canoes. The summer men came in with 10 buffalo, which are numerous, near at hand, and very fat. *11th*. Sent off six canoes for the Forks.

*June 13th*. At nine o'clock I embarked on board my canoe with eight men, leaving M. Langlois in charge of the fort, with six men. I gave the Indians six kegs of liquor, and bade them adieu. *14th*. At ten o'clock I arrived at the Forks. Mr. Chaboillez embarked with his brigade. X. Y. Rocheblave<sup>14</sup> from Fort Dauphin Prairie for pemmican. Duford drunk. Mr. [E.] Harrison, Delorme [note<sup>13</sup> p. 193],

<sup>13</sup> For Lambert, see note<sup>10</sup>, p. 212. The above Le Sieur is probably not the Toussaint Le Sieur of note<sup>39</sup>, p. 35, who built Fort Alexander in 1792, but another of the same full name, listed as a clerk of the N. W. Co. on Lower Red r. in 1804; Henry speaks of this one beyond, Oct., 1804.—Calixte Lesieur appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804.

<sup>14</sup> That is, Monsieur Pierre de Rocheblave, then a bourgeois of the X. Y. Co., who became a personage later on. He was nephew of Philippe de Rocheblave, who fought on the Monongahela near Fort Duquesne, July 9th, 1755. He entered the N. W. Co. early, became a partner in the X. Y. Co. in 1801, and went to superintend the Athabasca Dept. He arrived at McLeod's fort, Peace r., Oct. 7th, 1803, with Mr. Leith, also of the X. Y.; their clerks were Chatellain and Lamotte. Rocheblave signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys., and replaced the elder Chaboillez in the Dept. of the Assiniboine in 1805. He arrived at Fort William, 2 p. m. Sunday, Aug. 2d, 1812, on the Invincible, and in 1817 was sent there to procure the arrest of Lord Selkirk. After his retirement he became a member of the Legislative Assembly of Montreal, and subsequently of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Lower Canada and Commissioner of Parishes. Mrs. Rocheblave had been Miss Elmire Bouthiller. Of two daughters, one became Mrs. Captain Willoughby.

and Veaudrie [Toussaint Vaudry<sup>15</sup>] started for Portage la Prairie, to summer there. *16th.* Gave out baggages and sent off the canoes and boats. At ten I embarked, passed them, and camped at the entrance of Red river. *17th.* Stopped by the strong N. W. wind and rain. My brigade overtook me. *18th.* The wind continued; examined and dried the packs. Portage la Prairie pemmican and packs rotten, through the carelessness of the master. *19th.* Wind continued; embarked and worked against it all day; at sunset I arrived at Bas de la Rivière. *20th.* I remained awaiting the canoes from Athabasca river, Fort des Prairies, Lake Winipic, and Upper Red river; my brigade went ahead.

*Sunday, June 21st.* We embarked at the Gallois in six light canoes, manned by 15 men. We were: from Athabasca river, Mr. McLain;<sup>16</sup> Fort des Prairies, Mr. [John] McDonnell; Swan river, Mr. McGillis<sup>17</sup>; Upper Red river,

<sup>15</sup> No question of identity. The name occurs in many forms in the Henry MSS.—Vaudry, Veaudry, Vaudrie, Veaudrie, and in any case with *n* for *u* by scribe's error; Thompson calls him Vaudril. Toussaint Vaudry was a well-known character, who had been 30 years in the Northwest in 1818, when he was at Toronto as a witness in the Semple case. He went with Thompson to the Mandans in 1797-98, and with Henry on the same journey in 1806. We shall hear more of him when we come to that part of Henry's journal.

<sup>16</sup> John McLain, a clerk of the N. W. Co., was in charge of Fort de la Montée, on the Saskatchewan, in June, 1814.

<sup>17</sup> There were at least three persons of this name: A. McGillis, full name unknown; Hugh McGillis; and Donald McGillis. The one here in mention was not Donald (who is the "M'Gilles" of Irving's Astoria, and of whom we shall hear more when Henry is on the Columbia). But he may have been either A. or Hugh, both of whom were at Fort Dauphin and in that region for some years before and after 1800, and have more than once been confused. The proof that they were two persons appears in Henry Feb. 17th, 1806, when A. McGillis reaches Pembina from Fort Dauphin, Hugh McGillis being known to have been at Leech l. at that date. The certain memoranda I have of A. McGillis are only the one just said, and one in Thompson's MS. of July 9th, 1806, at which date "Mr. McGillis of Fort Dauphin" was at Lac la Croix on the new Kaministiquia route.—Hugh McGillis was in the Fort Dauphin Dept. in 1799; he left Encampment isl. in Lake Winnipegosis Sept., 1800, en route to winter, 1800-01, at the N. W. Co. house on that Red Deer r. which falls into the lake said; wintered 1802-03 at Fort Alexandria, where he arr. Oct. 21st, 1802; returned Oct. 19th, 1803, from Grand Portage to Fort Alexandria, and wintered there

Mr. Cameron ; Lake Winipic, Mr. McKenzie<sup>18</sup> ; Lower Red river, myself. We had but a scanty stock of provisions, and not one pack or package. Some had neither tent nor blanket. Everything went over the portages at one trip. Canoes and all at full trot ; embarked all hands helter-skel-

1803-04 ; left Apr. 29th, 1804, for Kaministiquia. He signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys. He wintered, 1805-06, at Leech l. : see Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 154, 155, 171, 172, 173, 174, 180, 241, 247, 250, 254, 274.—Memoranda applicable either to A. or H. McGillis are : “Mr.” McGillis, clerk N. W. Co. for Red Deer r., left Grand Portage with David Thompson at 9 a. m. Wednesday, Aug. 9th, 1797. “Mr.” McGillis was at Winnipeg House, July 31st, 1798. “Mr.” McGillis’ Indian father-in-law was met on Lake Winnipeg, Aug. 23d, 1804. “Mr.” McGillis arrived at Fort William on the Invincible at 2 p. m. Sunday, Aug. 2d, 1812.

<sup>18</sup> It is always difficult, and as a rule impossible, to identify a Mackenzie or McKenzie whose full name is not given, and in the present case I am entirely in the dark. I speak elsewhere of Sir Alexander McKenzie, the most commanding figure in all these annals ; of his cousin, Hon. Roderic McKenzie, and of another Roderic McKenzie ; of Charles McKenzie, whom we shall find at the Mandans with Henry in 1806 ; of Donald McKenzie, the overland Astorian, whom we shall find on the Columbia with Henry ; and of many others. But I find no better place than this to record some memoranda of Daniel McKenzie and James McKenzie, without raising any question of the pertinence of these names in the present connection.

Daniel McKenzie of the N. W. Co. is named by Thompson at Grand Portage, July 22d, 1797, as agent for Fort des Prairies and Red Deer r. He was a proprietor of the company in 1799 in the Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mountain Depts. He arrived at Fort George on the Saskatchewan Sept. 22d, 1799, from Turtle r., and left for Fort Augustus Sept. 25th. ; with him were Messrs. Stuart and King. He was on the Kaministiquia route in Aug., 1804, and he signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys.—“D.” McKenzie was held by ice on Lac la Rouge, with 34 packs, June 14th, 1812, and this was not Donald McKenzie, who was then on the Columbia.

James McKenzie, brother of Hon. Roderic McKenzie, entered the N. W. Co. in 1794. He arrived at Grand Portage from Athabasca July 2d, 1798, and left for Athabasca July 10th, 1798. There he had charge of Fort Chipewyan, winter of 1799-1800, with W. F. Wentzel : see his Journal, pub. 1890 in Masson, II. pp. 371-99. He became a partner of the N. W. Co. in 1802, and settled at Quebec in charge of the King’s Posts leased by the company : see his account of them in Masson, *l. c.*, pp. 401-54. He signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys. He died at Quebec in 1849, leaving two sons and two daughters. One of the former, Keith McKenzie, of the H. B. Co., was living in 1889 ; one of the daughters became Mrs. Patrick, and the other was in 1889 widow of Lt. Col. McDougall of Kingston (Masson, I. p. 56).

ter, pushed off, and all paddled as if chased by an enemy. The Lake Winipic canoe was a dull vessel; threw her away at Lac du Bonnet and embarked her men in the five others. Arrived at Lac la Pluie early on the 26th. We had been stopped by the wind in Lac des Bois. 27th. I procured a guide to take our brigade by the Kamanistiquia road.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Thus far en route from Lake Winnipeg to Fort William on Lake Superior, Henry has retraced the regular route up Winnipeg r., through Lake of the Woods, up Rainy r., through Rainy l. and so on to Lac la Croix: see back, p. 17, note <sup>19</sup> and following. In 1803 Fort William was just established, and a "new route" began to be followed from Lac la Croix to Kaministiquia. Henry takes this one, which we will proceed to follow to his destination, though he gives us hardly any data for so doing. But Book No. 15, forming Vol. vii. of the precious Thompson MSS., contains A Journey from Kaministiquia to the West End of Lac la Croix, July 25th to Aug. 9th, 1804, together with 12 folios of traverse-tables of the same route, thus outlining all its main features. With whatever deviation in detail, the Kaministiquia route at the beginning of this century corresponds in most of its extent to the present Dawson route as a practicable waterway, with various portages, from Lac la Croix to Thunder bay of Lake Superior. The general trend is E. N. E. up past Lac des Mille Lacs to the Height of Land between Hudsonian and Laurentian waters, then S. S. E. down Kaministiquia r.

Thus, the voyageur in Lac la Croix passed the great Coleman isl. on his right and went on E. to the N. E. extension of the lake, past the mouth of Wild Goose r., left, and so entered Rivière Maligne (present Malign or Sturgeon r.), and was thus fairly en route by the "new" track. Bell isl. and Lou isl. lie at the entrance of Sturgeon r.; at the latter was a chute, now dammed, causing the Island portage. Sturgeon r. soon dilates into Tanner's l., the head of which receives the discharge of Pooh Bah l. through a river of the same elegant name, but alongside this the main course of Sturgeon r., more northerly, continues; Malign chute, portage, and present dam mark this section of the river, which flows from the large Sturgeon l., on an island in which is Maclaren's trading-house. Sturgeon narrows succeeds the lake, and at the head of this narrow section, Sturgeon r. is left off to the right, to pursue its way until it connects, through a maze of lakes, with Lake Saganaga, on the route we have traced before: see note <sup>13</sup>, p. 12. The whole area thus inclosed is now called Hunter's isl., perhaps 50 m. long. But turning N. from the head of Sturgeon narrows the route passes through a body of water which receives Pickerel r., and then by way of Deux Rivières or Two Rivers portage into Pine Portage or Doré l. This connects by Pine portage, where the H. B. Co. house stands, with Pickerel l., the largest one on the route thus far. This is traversed its whole length to its head, where it receives French r., discharging from French l. Passing this small lake, the track takes what the voyageurs called Portage Français, 131 chains long, and is thus conducted to a stream which comes from the present Lake



28th. Early we embarked in four canoes, with Muffle d'Orignal [Moose Muzzle] as our guide (Pisaunegawpe). In Lac la Croix, at Pointe du Mai we struck away from the Grand Portage route, steering an E. course to the left just when we had overtaken an X. Y. brigade steering on the old track to Grand Portage, where they continue to hold their general rendezvous. The water was remarkably high in

Windigoostigwan, a long, narrow body of water which conducts directly into Lac des Mille Lacs. This is the largest one on the whole route : compare its namesake in Minnesota, bearing a similar relation to the many lesser ones about itself. Among its feeders is one which falls in at its head ; this is Savanna or Meadow r., some tributaries of which are gathered from the Height of Land. The route goes up Savanna r. and takes one of these tributaries, now crossed by the C. P. Ry. The traverse of the highlands includes a small lake and two portages which Thompson calls Swampy and Meadow, and gives as respectively 2,659 and 4,566 yards, N. 50° E. and N. 60° E. (reversing his courses). Dawson's map marks four portages, called Savanne, Middle, Prairie, and à L'Eau Froide. The voyageur was thus brought to Dog r., of the Lake Superior watershed : and Dog r. is the principal tributary of the Kaministiquia. In fact, Thompson calls it all Dog r. down to Fort William ; but the name now seems to be restricted to the upper reach of the Kaministiquia r., above Dog l. Dog river is descended about S. E. to the lake said, the traverse of which is S. 10 m. Continuing down present Kaministiquia r., the route presents Dog portage, given by Thompson as 3,181 yards, and many others, as what he calls Wandering portage, 848 yards, Mountain portage, and Lazy portage (Portage Paresseux of the voyageurs). Dawson names Dog Portage, Little Dog Portage, Mokaman or Mokoman falls, Island falls, Portage Écarté, and Kababeka or Kakabeka falls, besides numerous rapids, before coming to Lazy portage (lettered "Parisseux Rapid").

It thus appears that Henry's Kaministiquia route was practically identical with the present Dawson route from Lac la Croix to Lac des Mille Lacs, but beyond this differed widely. The Dawson route became nearly fixed after cart roads were cut across various portages. At present a road 41 m. long runs from Port Arthur to Shebandowan l., thus avoiding the lower part of the old Kaministiquia route altogether. (See Rep. Expl., etc., by S. J. Dawson, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, Toronto, 1859, folio, maps.)

In 1804 an X. Y. house was passed within a mile above Fort William. Before 1800 the route thus sketched was an "old" French waterway, which had been abandoned and in a measure lost sight of by the English, who used the Pigeon River route from Grand Portage ; but in 1797 it was tried and reopened by Roderick McKenzie, with the result that headquarters were soon removed from Grand Portage to the mouth of the Kaministiquia, and Fort William was established : Henry's text shows us this place in the building of it.

the rivers on the new road. Met at Prairie portage J. M. Bouché,<sup>20</sup> who has built a hut and an oven to bake bread to sell to the winterers en passant for dressed leather, buffalo robes, etc. He had a great stock of provisions and other articles for sale. He dunned us with news from Canada, all of which we knew better than himself, having met our dispatches from Montreal, etc., at Lac la Pluie. Those petty traders are really a nuisance on the route. At Portage des Chênes [Oak portage<sup>21</sup>] we found another one, but he was not so loquacious as Bouché. We therefore soon got rid of him by taking wherewith to treat our men of liquor and provisions.

*July 3d.* In the afternoon we arrived at our new establishment of Kamanistiquia.<sup>22</sup> The first objects that struck

<sup>20</sup> J. M. Bouché must have been a freeman, to have so stimulated Henry's fine scorn. The surname is probably originally identical with Boucher, so long famous in Canadian annals; but with none of the many Bouchers who appear in N. W. Co. records have we anything to do in this instance. Of Bouchés I have noted:—Joseph Bouché, N. W. Co., Fort Chipewyan, 1799.—One Bouché of the X. Y. Co. at Fort George on the Saskatchewan Sept. 15th, 1799, when Thompson says that "Buche's canoe of the little society" put up there.—One Bouché of the N. W. Co., 1804, was arranged by Thompson with La Frenière on the Missinipi.—One Bouché (or Boucher), guide and foreman N. W. Co., was killed with two other persons, 1804, at or near Bois d'Original, under John McDonald of Garth.—One Bouché or Buché was one of three men under Jules Maurice Quesnel at the Rocky Mountain house when Thompson arr. there, Oct. 11th, 1806; he was with Thompson in the Rocky mts. about headwaters of the Columbia, etc., from May, 1807, to 1810, and very likely is the same as—Jean Baptiste Bouché, interpreter N. W. Co., in 1810–11 under Harmon at Fraser l. and Stuart l., British Columbia, said to have taken to wife the first Tacully or Carrier squaw ever kept by a white man.

<sup>21</sup> Compare Gabriel Franchère, orig. ed., p. 267, date of July 14th, 1814: "Nous embarquâmes avant le jour, et arrivâmes au Portage des Chiens, qui est long et montueux. Nous trouvâmes au bas de ce portage, une espèce de cabaret [restaurant] tenu par un nommé *Boucher*. Nous régâlâmes nos gens d'un peu d'eau-de-vie, et mangeâmes des saucissons détestables, tant ils étaient salés." No doubt this was Henry's obnoxious freeman, still in business on the Kaministiquia route.

<sup>22</sup> The long name of the short river whose mouth we have reached has fluctuated to some extent, but never irreducibly since we have heard of it—say 1678, date of the first establishment there, made by D. G. Duluth. It has settled as Kaministiquia, with some traces still of Kamanistiquia, the form

us were two vessels lying with their sides against the bank,

Henry uses. Senator Masson prefers Kaministikia, and I observe Kaministiquia and Kaministiqua on the latest U. S. chart of Lake Superior. The initial *k* varies to *c* and *g*, the *q* to *g*, and there were permutations in most of the vowels. Thus, Gamanestigouya appears in Verendrye's journal, 1738-39; we hear from the beginning of Camenistiquoia or Three Rivers, in allusion to the three channels by which the river debouches; Kaministi Kweya is said by Pettitot to mean Wide r.; Caministiquia is Sir A. McKenzie's form; Harmon prints Kâministiquiâ; Kamanaitiquoya appears in Malhiot; Kamanatekwoya or river of Fort William is in Keating, p. 135. I have found Wandering r. once; and Dog r. was common in Henry's, Thompson's, and Harmon's time, as above noted. The river discharges from the W. into Thunder bay of Lake Superior between lat. 49° 20' and 49° 20' 30" N., in long. 89° 20' 30" W., by three channels, which form a triangular delta including two islands. The upper or N. one of these is the main mouth, 2¾ m. from that of the lower or Big fork; the middle or Little fork empties about midway between the other two. On the S. side, some 3 m. from the first forking, McKay's mt. rises 1,000 ft. above the bay, and the last rapids in the river are about the same distance (direct) above the point of this hill. The main entrance to the river was dredged to a depth of 11 ft., with a width of 100 ft., in 1875. On the N. two rivulets make into the bay, at distances of about 1 and 2 m. respectively; further N., 2¾ or 3 m. from Fort William, is Prince Arthur's ldg., to which steamboats come. Off the delta 5 m. is the little group of Welcome isls.; and at nearly twice that distance further is the bold point of Thunder cape, which delimits the bay 14 m. S. E. from Prince Arthur's ldg.; the steamboat channel rounds the cape between itself and Pie isl. The ground about the fort is low and swampy, in its natural state supporting a heavy growth of mixed woods of spruce, larch, fir, poplar, birch, and white cedar, with white pine and maple on McKay's mt. Fort William stood and stands on the N. bank of the N. or main channel, a mile up. Thompson's observations yielded for the position a mean of lat. 48° 23' 42" N., long. 89° 24' 15" W. The H. B. Co. post was built across the river, at Pointe de Meuron. After Duluth's original post had been abandoned, there was nothing until La Noue rebuilt it, or built on the same site, in 1717, a post which had been abandoned and long forgotten by the time of the change from the French régime to English rule, 1763. I find the date of founding of Fort William to vary, with different authorities, from 1801 to 1807; the date usually assigned is 1803, memorable alike to England, France, Spain, and the United States of America. The cloud is easily accounted for, if not entirely dispelled, by the records we possess. The movement from Grand Portage to Kaministiquia appears to have begun in 1801; and building went on in 1802 and 1803, as we see by Henry, but was not expected to be completed till 1804. Moreover, the fort did not receive its present name till 1807, when it was so called in honor of William Macgillivray, then one of the personages of the N. W. Co. Thus, Harmon simply calls it, in 1805, the "New Fort," at which he

the Invincible and the Otter,<sup>23</sup> which were unloading their cargoes.

RETURNS OF LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1802-03.<sup>24</sup>

NINE CANOES, N. W. Co.		Alex. Henry, John Crébassa, Panbian River.	John Cameron, Turtle River.	Michel Langlois, J. Duford, Red Lake.	Augustin Cadotte, Hair Hills.	Joseph St. Germain, Lajeunesse, Prairie en Longue.	Louis Dorion, Bear's Head.	John McDonnell, Lake Manitoba.	Edward Harrison, Campbell, Portage la Prairie.
1801 Beavers, weight, 2,825 lbs.....	550	337	85	30	150	254	116	229	
152 Black Bears.....	30	28	3	39	3	7	12	30	
42 Brown Bears.....	8	12	1	8	..	3	2	8	
1 Grizzly Bear.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
801 Wolves.....	104	114	..	364	5	22	4	188	
190 Foxes.....	23	61	..	78	1	..	5	22	
24 Kitts.....	..	1	..	23	..	..	..	..	
127 Raccoons.....	25	63	..	14	..	8	..	17	
496 Fishers.....	69	98	3	111	60	15	35	105	
172 Otters.....	30	34	10	6	19	13	41	19	
722 Martens.....	9	26	12	47	47	6	243	332	
122 Minks.....	39	3	2	8	..	7	..	43	
10 Wolverenes.....	4	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	
194 Lynxes.....	11	13	2	23	60	28	11	46	
139 Dressed Moose and Biches.....	5	62	13	10	..	31	18	..	
129 Shaved and Parchment Skins.....	18	1	1	26	..	1	3	79	
144 Muskrats.....	46	54	4	27	..	..	13	..	
4 Buffalo Robes.....	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	
9 Badgers.....	1	1	1	2	..	1	..	3	
94 Packs of 90 lbs. each.....	22	16	2	12	4	8	8	22	
95 Bags of Pemmican of 90 lbs. each,	20	..	..	33	..	..	..	42	
10 Kegs of Sugar.....	6	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	
12 Kegs of Grease.....	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	

notes there were 1,000 laboring men in July of that year. For the condition of things in 1814, see for example Franchère, orig. F. ed. p. 267; E. trans., p. 359. When Long was there, Sept., 1823, it was becoming ruinous; Mr. Roderic McKenzie was superintendent, and Mr. Henry (qu.: Robert or William?) was with him: so Keating, II. 1824, p. 174. The romance of this great rendezvous of the Northmen is celebrated in Irving's Astoria, with that fine penman's wonted felicity.

<sup>23</sup> We hear of the Invincible till lost Nov. 13, 1816. The Sloop Otter, Capt. Bennett, was plying on Lake Superior in 1798.

<sup>24</sup> Of the persons named in this list, those on a line with Henry had charge of the different outposts in his department: Edward Harrison, John McDonnell, junior, Louis Dorion, Joseph St. Germain, Augustin Cadotte, Michel Langlois, John Cameron. The names in the next line are those of the clerks or assistants in four instances.—We have already noted John Crébassa and J. Duford.—Lajeunesse is in due form; but the name does not occur in Masson, and I have no mem. of any such person, excepting one Lajeunesse whom



We found great improvements had been made for one winter—fort, store, shop, etc., built, but not enough dwelling houses. Only one range was erected, and that not complete; here were the mess room and apartments for the agents from Montreal, with a temporary kitchen adjoining. We were obliged to erect our tents during our stay, which seldom exceeded 20 days. Building was going on briskly in every corner of the fort; brick kilns had been erected and were turning out many bricks, so that we shall have

Thompson met on the Saskatchewan July 3d, 1810, between Carp r. and the mouth of Bow r., in a small canoe with one Duplessier, from Cumberland House.—The Campbells are naturally numerous, considering the marked Scotch element in the N. W. Co.; but few of them are easily identifiable. The most prominent name is John Duncan Campbell, a partner of the company, in 1799 in the Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mountain Dept.; signer of the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys.; in 1819 captured with Benjamin Frobisher, Angus Shaw, John G. McTavish, and some others, imprisoned for some months and released.—From him is to be distinguished a Duncan Campbell, listed as clerk and interpreter N. W. Co., English r., after the fusion of 1804. He thus comes close to Henry's man in grade and date, if not the same individual.—Colin or Collin Campbell of the N. W. Co. stands out well for identity; he wintered 1812–13 at Fort Dunvegan on Peace r., and was in temporary charge of it during John Macgillivray's absence in Feb. and Mar.—Mr. J. Campbell was on the Kaministiquia route in July, 1804.—“Mr.” Campbell was at New Cumberland House June 23d, 1797. “Mr.” Campbell wintered in the Athabasca country 1799–1800. “Mr.” Campbell of the N. W. Co. was on Rapid r. late in 1804. “Mr.” Campbell was on Lake Winnipeg in June, 1806. “Mr.” Campbell left Rainy Lake House Aug. 3d, 1808, for the interior. “Mr.” Campbell was at Fort Isle à la Crosse in June, 1812, with Mr. Black. “Mr.” Campbell left Fort William for his winter quarters Aug. 5th, 1812, with Mr. Thomson (not David Thompson). Some of the foregoing items unquestionably mean Colin Campbell, and others may relate to John Duncan Campbell.—One Campbell, free trader on Minnesota r. with J. B. Faribault, 1804 and later, was soon killed at mouth of St. Mary's r., near Drummond isl., in a duel with one Crawford, brother of one Crawford of the N. W. Co. This case is a typical illustration of the difficulty experienced in sifting fur-trade annals for the identification of personal names, so seldom are they given in full. One clew, good as far as it goes, is found in the fact that persons of the grade of clerk and upward were “gentlemen,” generally “mistered” in speaking and writing, all the others being “men,” to whom no form of address or title was applicable, as a rule. Scotch names are generally of the highest class, but often also attach to half-breeds; amount of wages is sometimes a useful indication.

everything complete and in good order before our arrival next year. Mr. R. McKenzie<sup>25</sup> has charge during the absence of the agents.

<sup>25</sup> Implying Roderic McKenzie, of which identical name were two persons. One Roderick McKenzie was still a clerk of the N. W. Co. after the fusion of 1804, in the Nepigon district, and wintered 1807-08 at Fort Duncan, on Lake Nepigon. The early life of the other may be outlined as follows :

Not only among the many McKenzies or Mackenzies who were in the fur-trade, but also among all the persons of the N. W. Co. and other organizations apart from the H. B. Co., the name of Roderic or Roderick stands out with a prominence second only to that of his famous cousin, Sir Alexander. He came from Scotland to Canada in 1784, and was apprenticed for three years as clerk to Gregory, McTavish & Co. He left St. Anne for Grand Portage in the summer of 1785, and was again at the latter place in the summer of 1786. He went with his cousin to English r. this year, and is found at Lac des Serpents, Isle à la Crosse, etc., 1786-87. He built old Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca, in the fall of 1788; came in, 1789; returned to winter there 1789-90, and remained in charge of that post when Sir Alexander left it en route to the Pacific, Oct. 10th, 1792. He appears to have stayed out continuously for eight years of which I have made no memoranda; for he was in Canada in 1797, "after a long absence." Thompson met him on the Missinipi June 13th, 1797, en route for Grand Portage, and this was the year in which he, first of the Northmen, reached that place from Lac la Croix by the "new" (old French) Kaministiquia route, thus re-opening a long-abandoned and half-forgotten way. Thompson, July 22d, 1797, speaks of him as at Grand Portage that day, and names him as agent of the N. W. Co. "for Montreal" (McTavish, Frobisher & Co.). He came to Grand Portage again July 1st, 1798, left July 10th for the Athabasca region, was found about Isle à la Crosse that fall, and wintered there 1798-99. He came in again in 1799, the year so critical in the history of the N. W. Co., when the rivalry between Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Simon McTavish culminated in the withdrawal of the former, amidst angry dissensions at Grand Portage between the wintering bourgeois and the agents of the company, during the summer of 1799; Roderic took Sir Alexander's place, and thus became an agent: see Masson, I. p. 72. Sir Alexander went to England, published his work, received his title, and returned in 1801, to become the head of the "New N. W. Co.," also known as "Sir Alexander Mackenzie & Co.," but still better as the "X. Y. Co.," and also styled in derision the "Little Company" (whence probably the nickname "Potties," by Indian corruption of F. Les Petits, "Little Ones"). Roderic went to Montreal soon, for he was en route thence to Grand Portage in May, 1800. He is found on the Kaministiquia route in Aug., 1804, and his name appears among the signatures of the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, which finished the X. Y. Co. by absorption into the N. W. Co. See further, Reminiscences of Hon. Roderic McKenzie, etc., extending to 1829, in Masson, I. pp. 7-66, pub. 1889.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE PEMBINA RIVER POST, CONTINUED : 1803-04.

**F**RIDAY, July 29th, 1803. I left Kamanistiquia with my brigade of eight canoes, 26 pieces per canoe, two less than by the Grand Portage route.

*Aug. 25th.* Arrived at Lac la Pluie.

*Sept. 20th.* After a long tedious passage we arrived at the Forks [Winnipeg]. We were 10 days in getting through Lake Winipic, as it blew a gale. Our stock of corn gave out at Portage de l'Isle [on Winnipeg river], and the men were starving, with nothing to eat but a little flour; here we found abundance of dried meat. I sent some Indians hunting moose, red deer, and bear, of which there is an abundance. Others were drinking; Mithanasconce was so troublesome that we were obliged to tie him with ropes to prevent his doing mischief. He was stabbed in the back in three different places about a month ago. His wounds were still open, and had an ugly appearance; in his struggling to get loose they burst out afresh and bled a great deal. We had much trouble to stop the blood, as the fellow was insensible to pain or danger; his only aim was to bite us. We had some narrow escapes, until we secured his mouth, and then he fell asleep.

*Sept. 22d.* Men repairing canoes and boats, others fishing; caught some catfish that weighed upward of 20 pounds. I sent a hunter to Petite Montagne de Roche, who returned with the meat of four cows. The leaves are nearly all fallen, and wild fowl returning southward. Made out the assortment of goods for Portage la Prairie and Lake Manitoubane, gave every necessary direction concerning that quarter to Mr. Harrison, and sent them off.

*Sept. 27th.* I made up an assortment of goods for this place, where I leave Mr. [Louis] Dorion, and another for Rivière aux Morts, where I send Mr. T. Veindre [Toussaint Vaudry]. Having settled these matters in a manner to avoid going to Portage la Prairie this fall as usual, I started my canoes for Panbian river, and proceeded by land on horseback, with three men. *27th [bis].* Early in the morning we arrived; myself very unwell—could scarcely keep my saddle. Found my new house nearly finished. Indians camped at the fort, awaiting my arrival—60 men. Buffalo in abundance. *28th.* I gave the Indians their usual presents of liquor and tobacco, equipped summer men, and made out assortments for the outposts. *30th.* Indian women and children stealing potatoes; obliged to set a watch day and night.

*Oct. 1st.* Mr. Cameron off with a boat in pursuit of the X. Y. Ducharme up the river. Fire in the plains in every direction. Indians decamping, but many of them sick, with bad coughs. It seems to be a very prevalent disease at this time; all ages and sexes are attacked. As for myself I can hardly crawl about to attend to my affairs, so much indisposed am I by that disorder. We set a night-line for catfish, of which we take 40 a day; they are excellent eating. The fleas plague us very much, and prevent sleep; the great number of dogs at the fort increases these troublesome vermin.

*Oct. 3d.* Mr. Langlois and others started for the Hair hills. This caravan demands notice, to show the vast difference it makes in a place where horses are introduced. It is true they are useful animals, but if there were not one in all the North West, we should have less trouble and expense. Our men would neither be so burdened with families, nor so indolent and insolent as they are, and the natives in general would be more honest and industrious. Let an impartial eye look into the affair, to discover whence originates the unbounded extravagance of our meadow gentry, both white and native, and horses will be found one



of the principal causes. Let us view the bustle and noise which attended the transportation of five pieces of goods to a place where the houses were built in 1801-02. The men were up at break of day and their horses tackled long before sunrise ; but they were not ready to move before ten o'clock, when I had the curiosity to climb on top of my house to watch their motions and observe their order of march.

Antoine Payet, guide and second in command, leads the van, with a cart drawn by two horses and loaded with his private baggage, cassetêtes,<sup>1</sup> bags, kettles, and mashque-minctes [?]. Madame Payet follows the cart with a child a year old on her back, very merry. Charles Bottineau,<sup>2</sup> with two horses and a cart loaded with 1½ packs, his own baggage, and two young children with kettles and other trash hanging on to it. Madame Bottineau with a squalling infant on her back, scolding and tossing it about. Joseph Dubord goes on foot, with his long pipe-stem and calumet in his hand ; Madame Dubord follows on foot, carrying his tobacco pouch with a broad bead tail. Antoine Thellier,<sup>3</sup> with a cart and two horses, loaded with 1½ packs of goods and Dubois' baggage. Antoine La Pointe<sup>4</sup> with another cart and horses, loaded with two pieces of goods and with baggage belonging to Brisebois, Jasmin, and Pouliot, and a kettle hung on each side. Auguste Brisebois<sup>5</sup> follows with only

<sup>1</sup> *Cassetête* is good French for tomahawk, literally something to break a head with, and may be intended here ; copy so reads plainly. But F. *cassette*, cas-  
ket, was the usual word with the voyageurs for any sort of a box in which they  
carried small articles, as distinguished from the large packs, sacks, bales, or  
other "pieces" of which most of their loads consisted. The curious word  
which follows kettles I cannot make out. For Payet or Paget, see note <sup>5</sup>, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Name reappearing in MS. and print as Battineau, Battimeau, and Bottureau.  
Charles is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804, and we shall find  
him with Henry to 1808.

<sup>3</sup> Plainly so in copy : no other record noted.

<sup>4</sup> Antoine Lapointe, voyageur N. W. Co., remains with Henry to 1808 ; he  
had been about 15 years in this country in Oct., 1818, when he was in Toronto  
as a witness in the Semple case.—Joseph Lapointe is listed voyageur N. W.  
Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804.—Michel Lapointe, listed, Nepigon, 1804.

<sup>5</sup> Auguste Brisebois appears in print as Angus, evidently by mistaking the

his gun on his shoulder and a fresh-lighted pipe in his mouth. Michel Jasmin<sup>6</sup> goes next, like Brisebois, with gun and pipe puffing out clouds of smoke. Nicolas Pouliot, the greatest smoker in the North West, has nothing but pipe and pouch. Those three fellows, having taken a farewell dram and lighted fresh pipes, go on brisk and merry, playing numerous pranks. Domin Livernois,<sup>7</sup> with a young mare, the property of Mr. Langlois, loaded with weeds for smoking, an old worsted bag (madame's property), some squashes and potatoes, a small keg of fresh water, and two young whelps howling. Next goes Livernois' young horse, drawing a *travaille* loaded with his baggage and a large worsted mashguemcate [?] belonging to Madame Langlois. Next appears Madame [John] Cameron's mare, kicking, rearing, and snorting, hauling a *travaille* loaded with a bag of flour, cabbages, turnips, onions, a small keg of water, and a large kettle of broth. Michel Langlois, who is master of the band, now comes on leading a horse that draws a *travaille* nicely covered with a new painted tent, under which his daughter and Mrs. Cameron lie at full length, very sick; this covering or canopy has a pretty effect in the caravan, and appears at a great distance in the plains. Madame Langlois brings up the rear of the human beings, following the *travaille* with a slow step and melancholy air, attending to the wants of her daughter, who, notwithstanding her sickness, can find no other expressions of gratitude to her parents than by calling them dogs, fools, beasts, etc. The rear guard consists of a long train of 20 dogs, some for sleighs, some for game, and others of no use whatever, except to snarl and destroy meat. The

abbreviation "Aug." for "Ang." He remains with Henry to 1808.—Joseph Brisebois was guide N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—Michel Brisebois, one of the oldest inhabitants of Prairie du Chien, was made a judge by Lewis Cass, May 12th, 1819: died 1839.

<sup>6</sup> Michel Jasmin, sometimes Jesmin, voyageur N. W. Co.: no record beyond 1804.

<sup>7</sup> Dominic or Dominique Livernois: no further record.

total forms a procession nearly a mile long, and appears like a large band of Assiniboinés.

*Oct. 4th.* Fire is raging at every point of the compass; thick clouds of smoke nearly deprive us of the sight of the sun, and at night the view from the top of my house is awful indeed. In every direction are flames, some leaping to a prodigious height as the fire rushes through willows and long grass, or low places covered with reeds and rushes. We apprehended no danger, as the fire had already passed near the fort. On the 6th two men returned with the body of Mrs. Cameron, who died yesterday at the Grand Passage. *9th.* We buried the corpse. *12th.* We had frost. I took up my quarters in my new house, which was finished. Collected garden seeds, of which I have a great quantity.

*Oct. 16th.* Hesse<sup>8</sup> and his woman arrived in a small canoe from Red lake. *17th.* Snow. I took my vegetables up—300 large heads of cabbage, 8 bushels of carrots, 16 bushels of onions, 10 bushels of turnips, some beets, parsnips, etc. *20th.* I took in my potatoes—420 bushels, the produce of 7 bushels, exclusive of the quantity we have roasted since our arrival, and what the Indians have stolen, which must be at least 200 bushels more. I measured an onion, 22 inches in circumference; a carrot, 18 inches long, and, at the thick end, 14 inches in circumference; a turnip with its leaves weighed 25 pounds, and the leaves alone weighed 15 pounds. The common weight is from 9 to 12 pounds, without the leaves. *22d.* The blacksmith making coals.

*Oct. 24th.* I went to the Hair hills on horseback to meet the Assiniboinés and Crees. Indians all sick with coughs, and some at the point of death, which prevents all hunting. Livernois had exchanged his mare for a young wife, about eight [*sic*] years of age; it is common in the North West to give a horse for a woman. On my return I killed five

<sup>8</sup> Charles Hesse, clerk N. W. Co., appears at Grand Portage in 1799, and as such with Henry, Lower Red r., 1803-04.

bulls. The plains are burned almost everywhere; only a few small spots have escaped the fury of the flames.

*Oct. 31st.* Foie de Rat [Rat's Liver<sup>9</sup>] and some other troublesome Indians are camped at the fort, drinking daily. Great fires appear to the S. W. and W., at some distance. A canoe arrived from above; Mr. Cameron sent me a corpse to bury—one of our principal Indian's children. Men begin to cut their stock of winter firewood.

*Nov. 2d.* Rain and snow; swans and geese passing S. in abundance. *3d.* I set off on horseback to go up and see Mr. Cameron, who was building at Rivière aux Marais [present Snake river, Minn.], near Park river. I arrived at sunset; found him doing nothing. I set off on the 5th to visit his Indians at the Hair hills. Lagassé was my guide; both of us on horseback. We slept on the hills, but could find no Indians. Very cold; we had no blankets, nor any covering but our capots, as we had expected to get to the tent to-day, where Cadotte was with merchandise.

*Nov. 6th.* A strong north wind, with a heavy fall of snow. We searched for the Indians, but to no purpose; wandered about in the storm, and could find no tracks. We saw several bands of red deer. Having not a mouthful to eat, I chased them, but the blustering weather prevented my killing any. The ground on the declivity of the mountain where I ran them was rough, stony, boggy, and underbrushed. We at last found ourselves entangled in a thick wood on the top of the hills, and neither Lagassé nor myself knew where we were; the storm continued with great violence. We saw the tracks of a large bear in the snow. After wandering for some time in the thick wood, leading

<sup>9</sup> Tanner, p. 115, has: "an old man, called O-zhusk-koo-koon, (the muskrat's liver,) a chief of the Me-tai, came to my lodge, bringing a young woman, his grand-daughter, together with the girl's parents. This was a handsome young girl, not more than 15 years old; but Netnokwa did not think favourably of her." So Tanner's mother advised him to be off. "I did so," he adds, "and O-zhusk-koo-koon apparently relinquished the hope of marrying me to his grand-daughter." The Me-tai here said was not a tribe of Indians, but a certain religious ceremony which Rat's Liver conducted.



our horses by the bridle, and clearing the road for them, we came to a small river with very high banks, covered with strong wood and huge stones; its course made me suspect it to be the principal branch of Tongue river. We therefore determined to follow it down to the plains; and, since we had failed to find Indians, to return to Panbian river as best we could. We had much trouble in working our way down stream, being obliged to cross it often, ascending and descending its steep banks, at the risk of breaking our legs. When we found ourselves in the open plain, the violence of the storm prevented us from seeing many yards ahead. We kept along the foot of the hills as nearly as we could; and, happening to get a glimpse of the sun, found we were on the right course, about N. E. We saw several herds of buffalo, but our anxiety made us forget our hunger. In the afternoon the storm ceased. We saw on our left the mountain, and on our right the plain; but neither of us had ever passed here before. We came to a small creek, and attempted to cross our horses on the ice, but they fell in, and we had much trouble to pull them out; one got his leg cut by the ice. Night coming on, we stopped on a small island of dry poplars, and made a fire. The north wind was piercingly cold, and we could make no shelter; we had neither ax nor blanket, nothing to eat, and not a drop of water. We passed a miserable night, turning about every moment to warm ourselves, and quenching our thirst with snow. Daylight was welcome, as the storm had recommenced and we were covered with snow. We saddled and set out, wind N. E., directly ahead. At ten o'clock the weather cleared up for a few moments, when I perceived Big island of Tongue river, a place where I had already been to chase buffalo. This revived our spirits; and we hurried to reach it as fast as possible; but the storm came on with greater violence, and we were a long time in reaching Tongue river, at the Elbow, where it begins to run E. [vicinity of Bathgate, Pembina Co., N. Dak.]. We now had a side wind, and came on more at our ease, keeping

under the lee of the woods; but it was excessively cold. We could not remain on horseback for any time, but were obliged to get off and run to warm ourselves. At four o'clock we arrived at my fort; we had much trouble getting our horses over, as the ice was drifting in great bodies. A good cup of tea was welcome, and put all to rights; my man got also a hearty glass of high wine; he was as happy as if he had drawn the £20,000 prize. X. Y. J. Desford<sup>10</sup> had threatened to kill my servant [Pierre Bonza] in my absence, but did not escape without a sound beating.

*Nov. 8th.* Exceedingly cold weather; Red river frozen over, and we crossed on the ice. Continual derouines to the Indian tents, for little or nothing—sometimes not even one skin, and always liquor expected.

*Nov. 15th.* A great fire to the S. W., although the ground is covered with snow. *18th.* I was sick with a pain in the back and side; could scarcely crawl about; rubbed the parts with camphorated spirits and warm flannel, which gave relief. We have but few buffalo toward Plumb river. X. Y. starving. *25th.* I gave Little Shell, a troublesome drunken Indian, 120 drops of laudanum in high wine, but it had no effect in putting him to sleep; he took it in doses of 20 drops in the course of an hour. A young Maskegan stabbed Capot Rouge with a knife in the back. *26th.* An Indian arrived from above, a Sioux having killed Ondainoiache and two other Saulteurs who were working beaver on Folle Avoine river. This was one of the fellows who assisted Little Shell to murder the old woman at the hills. Charles Hesse cut an ugly gash in his woman's head with a cutlass this morning, through jealousy. *30th.* Much plagued with my hunter, Joseph Cyr. Those freemen are a nuisance in the country, and generally scoundrels; I never yet found one honest man amongst them.

<sup>10</sup> So copy, meaning J. Duford, of X. Y. Co.; of N. W. Co. after the coalition of 1804; shot by an Indian at Pembina, 2 a. m., Oct. 31st, 1805; d. 2 p. m., next day; see these dates, beyond.

*Dec. 1st.* I set two small nets under the ice at the entrance of Panbian river. *4th.* An Indian tent of five families took fire; it was burned to the ground and everything consumed. They had just taken debts to the amount of nearly 200 skins. The powder was saved, but never one skin of the goods<sup>11</sup> will be paid by them. We now were obliged to eat pemmican. I had a few bags remaining from last spring, which had been lying all summer in a heap covered with a leathern tent, and never had been stirred or turned, in a damp storehouse. I was apprehensive it was spoiled, from the complaints made by my friends about the bad quality of the Lower Red river pemmican, but was surprised to find every bag excellent. This was clear proof to me that the bad pemmican must have come from another quarter—I suspect Portage la Prairie, as I am confident my method of mixing and preparing it is good. My men having finished cutting our stock of winter firewood on the 5th, began to cut 3,000 stockades, eight feet in length, to inclose my potato-field. *10th.* As an Indian was firing his gun to-day she burst and shattered his left hand in a shocking manner. We have nothing but tough and lean bulls to eat, and the X. Y. not even that. *17th.* I shot a shelldrake in the small pond in the river that was still open. Maymiutch shot at Mr. Langlois, at the hills; the ball stuck in the house between two women, his own niece and Payet's woman. *21st.* Lac la Pluie Indians arrived for men to go en derouine. *23d.* Cows begin to appear, but the great scarcity of grass keeps them always on the walk in search of food.

*Dec. 24th.* I set out early on horseback and with a cariole, and Lambert also in the same manner, on a visit to Mr. Cotton<sup>12</sup> at [the confluence of?] Rivière aux Liards with Rivière du Lac Rouge, that establishment being under

<sup>11</sup> That is, the value of one of the 200 beaver skins for which these five families were in debt for goods received by them on credit.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Cotton had come into the country recently, and was at Fond du Lac Supérieur in 1805. I have not identified Henry's R. aux Liards satisfactorily;

my direction this year. I arrived at Mr. Cameron's; as he was unwell, I wished him to hire me an Indian guide, but he preferred to accompany me, having already been there.

*Sunday, Christmas, Dec. 25th.* We remained. *26th.* I set out on horseback with Mr. Lambert and Lagassé. Mr. Cameron used my cariole, being too much indisposed to ride on horseback. At nine o'clock, as we found scarcely any snow, Mr. Cameron was obliged to mount a horse and ride. We camped at Bear island, on Rivière aux Marais, where we put the cariole *en cache*, there not being snow sufficient. *27th.* At dusk we arrived at Cotton's house—a good day's ride; found him surrounded with his Indians, all idle. X. Y. J. Stit<sup>13</sup> opposes him—the filthiest house and wife I ever saw. Mr. Cameron's illness increased, and on coming out of the house he vomited for some time; indeed I felt inclined to do the same myself. *28th.* Cotton's men arrived from derouines, each with a pack of furs on his back and some fresh fallow deer meat. The men use neither horses nor dogs to perform their duty, all being carried with slings on their backs; they have hard work of it, but do not murmur or complain like our meadow gentry. Settled with two men and Lallonde<sup>14</sup> to pass the summer at Red lake and build a fort there. *29th.* Mr. Cameron's illness prevented our departure. *30th.* My affairs would not permit me to remain any longer, though I was unwilling to leave Mr. Cameron behind us. There was not enough snow for a train, and he was unable to ride on horseback; he complained of a pain in the breast, with a bad cough and want of appetite; still he looked well in the face, though lean in body. I certainly did not suppose

it seems to have been a branch of Red Lake r., possibly the Clearwater itself, though Henry uses the latter name.

<sup>13</sup> Copy elsewhere J. Stitt. This is no doubt John Still, who became a clerk of the N. W. Co. after the fusion of 1804, and was in the Nepigon district.

<sup>14</sup> A surname which varies in MS. and print to Lalonde, La Londe, and La Lande. One of this name, a middle-aged man in 1785, was a guide in the service of Gregory, McLeod & Co.—Jean Baptiste Lalonde appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804.



him in any danger until, after breakfasting with him, on bidding him adieu the tears started in his eyes. I proposed to delay my departure, if he thought I could be of any service, but he urged me to set off without him, as he knew that my affairs required me to return; he said he hoped to be able to follow me in a few days. I left him Lagassé and two horses, and desired Cotton to get a sleigh made for him, that he might come on the first fall of snow. Poor fellow! We parted never to meet again in this world. I overtook two men I had sent ahead on foot, and X. Y. Stitt, who was going to X. Y. Ducharme.<sup>15</sup> We stopped at our old encampment. *31st.* Before daybreak we were off in the dark; got lost, and did not find our way until daylight. At twelve o'clock we arrived at Rivière aux Marais, the men on foot; Stitt with his two men arrived late in the afternoon, very much fatigued. Met an express with letters from the northward. It will be necessary for me to make a trip as soon as possible to all my other outposts.

*Sunday, Jan. 1st, 1804.* A dull and gloomy New Year's

<sup>15</sup> Ducharme is an old and numerous name in Canadian history, in and out of the fur-trade. Jean Marie Ducharme, b. *ca.* 1723, was living at Lachine near Montreal on the invasion of 1775-76; became a trader at Michilimackinac and elsewhere; took a prominent part in the disturbances of 1780, "l'année du grand coup"; returned to Lachine *ca.* 1800; became blind, and d. there *ca.* 1803: biogr. in Tassé, I. pp. 341-350. He had a brother Dominique, a cousin Laurent, and three sons, Joseph, Dominique, and Paul. Dominique 1st was associated with his brother in various enterprises. Dominique 2d became a trader, was Indian agent at Lac des Deux Montagnes, and took part in the war of 1812: see Tassé, I. p. 355. Joseph was also a trader. Laurent Ducharme is historical. He witnessed the Michilimackinac massacre, June 4th, 1763, of which he had warned Major Etherington unavailingly; and had a trading house on Milwaukee r. in 1777. In 1857 Paul Ducharme was *ca.* 87 years old, and had been at Baie Verte over 60: Tassé, I. p. 356.—For others of the same name but different families: One Ducharme was with Thompson on the Saskatchewan in June, 1800.—Antoine Ducharme appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804.—Nicholas Ducharme, guide N. W. Co. in 1804, Fort Dauphin, was a witness in the Semple case at Toronto, Oct. 1818.—Pierre Ducharme is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804, and may or may not be same as the Pierre Étienne Ducharme who was on the Assiniboine in 1794.

Day. I gave charge of the place to Cadotte until Mr. Cameron should return. *2d.* Before daybreak I set off with my horse and cariole, and at four o'clock reached my fort; Cotton's two men arrived in the evening. I found two men awaiting my arrival for a supply of goods for Portage la Prairie.

*Jan. 6th.* Lagassé arrived from Rivière aux Liards with news of Mr. Cameron's death; he expired on the 3d inst. at 7 p. m. As he was sitting on a stool, he fell on his face upon the floor, and died instantly, without uttering one word. *7th.* Long before day I was on the way up to Rivière aux Marais. The cold was very severe, and weather blusterous. Two of my men had their faces badly frozen. My sleigh and dogs were of no use, the cold being too severe to ride; I was obliged to walk and run to keep from freezing to death. I got there at two o'clock. On the 8th I dispatched three men with a train and six dogs for the corpse. *9th.* I took an inventory of the property, both of the company and of the deceased, but found there had been some foul play and embezzlement, particularly in the wearing apparel of the deceased. I recovered all I could. I gave Cadotte charge of the place, but the establishment will turn out a heavy loss—a great quantity of goods gone, and very few packs of furs on hand. I could find no account book, either of Indian debts or the men's advances. I suspect foul play in this case, and that the book has been committed to the flames. *10th.* I returned home; weather very severe. On the 12th one of my men gave a mare that cost him, G. H. V. P. currency, equal to £16 13s. 4d., Halifax currency, for one single touch at a Slave girl. Another of my men, who was out with the hunter in a leather tent last night, got up in his sleep and fell into the fire with his buttocks foremost; he is much burned, and cannot walk. *13th.* I sent two men to make salt above Park river. My house was set on fire during the night by the burning of the cannouilles [cannelures] in the chimney; a part of the upper floor falling,

awoke me. The wind was very high, but we extinguished the fire without much damage. *15th.* The men arrived with the corpse on a train, wrapped in a Russia sheeting and two parchment skins. They had attempted to bring it in a coffin, but it was too broad for a train. This was a melancholy day for us all. Langlois had arrived from his place, and was just sitting down to his dinner, when the corpse was announced. What a sudden change! Only a few days ago he was merry and cheerful, as we were riding along cracking jokes and running races, and little did he believe himself so near his end. He was a good-natured, inoffensive, zealous, and sober young man. *16th.* Having got a coffin made, we buried Mr. Cameron alongside his deceased wife, attended by all the men, women, and children of the fort. His easy, affable manners had won the esteem of all. *17th.* Mr. Langlois returned to his place. I prepared for departure to my northern outposts.

*Jan. 19th.* Before day I set off with two men, well provided with sleighs and dogs. We camped at Rivière aux Gratiass. *20th.* The most severe, cold morning I recollect to have ever experienced; we could not leave the fire to tackle our dogs and prepare for our march. When the weather was perfectly clear and calm we took to the ice, came down, and camped at Rat river. Next day we got to the Forks. Mr. Dorion was starving, and making no packs. *24th.* Set off for Rivière aux Morts, where we arrived at four o'clock. T. Veandier [Vaudry] making out extraordinarily well. I wished a guide to take me across land to Manitouaubanc [Lake Manitoba], but there were no Indians at the house. *25th.* At noon I set off, and at ten p. m. arrived at the Forks. *28th.* I set off for Portage la Prairie. *29th.* On arrival I found all starving.

*Feb. 1st.* I set off with my two men and Mr. Harrison for the lake; a snowstorm obliged us to encamp at the N. end of the portage. *2d.* Early off; fell upon Lake Manitouaubanc; fine smooth ice. We kept the E. shore, passing from one bay to another across points; camped at a little

river. *3d.* Arrived at Desjarlaix's house, opposite Maple island;<sup>16</sup> he is making nothing. He takes daily a number of fine large whitefish in his nets. This fishery is abundant the whole year, but more particularly in the autumn, when almost any number may be caught; they generally weigh from 12 to 20 pounds. This part of the lake is erroneously called by us Manitoaubanc. It is a considerable body of water running nearly N. and S., and near the middle narrows to a strait not a league across. The S. part is called by the natives Rush lake, and the N. is called Manitoaubanc. From Desjarlaix's house we can see Fort Dauphin mountain very distinctly; the distance may be 12 leagues—that is, about one day's walk. Madame Desjarlaix contrived to get intoxicated, and, in her endeavors to show her art of cooking, came near poisoning us with filth. *5th.* We set off homeward; camped at the old encampment. *6th.* A terrible gale blew all day, and prevented our starting until sunset, when the wind ceased and we set out on the lake; traveled all night; excessively dark; the ice smooth and clear. Our dogs had no footing, and my fellow-traveler, Mr. Harrison, is one of the most awkward and miserable winter-travelers in the North West; he can neither walk, run, or ride with dogs. He lost us much time

<sup>16</sup> Two of the points along the E. shore of Lake Manitoba are now called Marshy and Long. The only considerable island I can find is one now called Duck isl., high up in the southern division of the lake, directly off the present Souseuse Indian reserve. Henry's remarks on the native nomenclature of the lake are specially interesting.

Antoine Desjarlaix, Desjarlais, Dejarlais, or Dejarlet, clerk and interpreter of the N. W. Co., the one here in mention, is probably to be distinguished from another Antoine Desjarlaix, who was in that country in 1799, and left the N. W. Co. in 1805, as this one could not read. The latter long lived on that Lac à la Biche or Red Deer l. which discharges by a river of the same name into Athabasca r. Thompson found him there May 29th, 1812, with his family, living in two tents and trading with the H. B. Co. I note him again of date June 5th, 1814, with wife, two sons, and two or more daughters; he had sisters in the parish of Verchères.—One Desjarlaix, N. W. Co., was horse-keeper to the Rocky Mountain house, Oct. 11th, 1806; no doubt one of the two, François and Joseph, who were in the Rocky mts., on Columbian waters with Thompson, winter of 1810-11.



in waiting for him every day he was with us ; but this dark night was still worse, and we were often near losing him entirely. At sunrise we reached the N. end of the portage. The grass has been burned here the same as all over the plains of Red river ; what little snow falls is instantly drifted off, and the bare ground is so much exposed to the frosts that the earth has cracked in a surprising manner. We met with crevices in the portage half a foot wide, and some few near a foot. These rents run in serpentine directions and make traveling in the dark dangerous, as they are of a great depth, and a person getting his foot or legs into one would be in danger. The ground was so dry that our dogs and cariole raised a thick dust, blackening our faces, so that when we arrived at Portage la Prairie we looked as if we had been working in a coal pit. Riding is out of question in the burned plains. This made it disagreeable business for my friend Harrison, who, after sweating, puffing, blowing, and lamenting, was heartily glad to find himself at his house. *9th.* Two men from Fisher river<sup>17</sup> came for high wine. *11th.* Set off, almost distracted with toothache. Not a mouthful of provisions at this place. *12th.* A terrible snowstorm, and a gale in our teeth ; however, we got to the Forks. All hands starving here also. On the 15th I set off with my two men and Mr. Dorion ; found Indians at entrance of Rivière la Sale [St. Norbert]. We camped at the Rivière aux Gratias ; a snowstorm prevented our marching. *17th.* At dusk we arrived at Panbian river ; Mr. Cotton was awaiting my arrival. *19th.* Mr. Cotton and two men started for the upper part of Rat river to make gum. Mr. Desjarlaix also off.

*Feb. 22d.* I started Mr. Hesse and his wife for Red lake to bring down sugar and bark ; with him go two men. Grande Gueule stabbed Perdrix Blanche with a knife in six places ; the latter, in fighting with his wife, fell in the fire and was

<sup>17</sup> Present name of the stream which falls into the head of Fisher bay, at the S. end of the N. division of Lake Winnipeg, nearly or exactly on the boundary of Rs. i and ii E. of the princ. merid., Tp. 28 ; Indian res. there now.

almost roasted, but had strength enough left, notwithstanding his wounds, to bite her nose off. He is very ill, but I don't suppose he will die. *26th.* Heavy snow; Indians daily going and coming, and tormenting us for liquor. Payet off to Lake Winipic in search of canoe bark.

*Mar. 1st.* I take from 15 to 20 small fish in my net daily. *6th.* Men finished burning 200 cords of oak since our arrival here; four chimneys only. *12th.* Filled my ice-house; 50 sleigh-loads of ice and 400 kegs of water. *13th.* I went to the Hair hills. The Assiniboines requested me to leave a person to summer with them, as they did not like to go to the Saulteur fort [Pembina]. They made me fine promises if I would consent to their proposal; I told them I would consider on it. *14th.* We returned home, traveling in the night; at this season we prefer always to do so, to prevent sore eyes, and to take advantage of the frost; the dogs travel much better than in the daytime, when the snow is soft and they are soon fatigued. *18th.* Indians setting off for their spring hunt above. We saw some corneilles [crows, *Corvus americanus*], and hawks. *19th.* I set off at dark for Rivière aux Marais—a tedious trip; no frost, but much water on the plains, and dogs of no use. Put my cariole *en cache*, and got there at sunrise on foot. *21st.* Came home on horseback; snow entirely melted. Men arrived with 18 kegs of gum.

*Mar. 22d.* Winter express from the North arrived, via Portage la Prairie; two men brought it. Grosse Gueule and myself had a serious dispute; he wanted to give his furs to the X. Y., which I prevented, at the risk of my life; he was advised by them to kill me. *23d.* Winter express on horseback off for Red river. I sent men for meat with carts; saw some ducks and geese. *24th.* Plains on fire toward the W. *26th.* Ice breaking up; sturgeon jumping. Women came in with some new sugar.

*April 1st.* I went to the upper part of Tongue river to meet a band of Indians returning from hunting beaver, and fought several battles with the women to get their furs

from them. It was the most disagreeable derouine I ever made; however, I got all they had, about a pack of good furs; but I was vexed at having been obliged to fight with the women. It is true it was all my neighbor's debts.

*April 2d.* I returned with the furs I had so well purchased. The grass begins to point out of the ground in the burned prairies. Fire in the S. W. Of my men, some are making wheels, others carts, others sawing boards and squaring timber; the smith is making nails, others sturgeon nets; some are smoking tongues; the most active and capable are gone with the Indians to hunt beaver and take care of the furs.

*April 4th.* An Indian from Red lake informs us that one of our men, La Rose,<sup>19</sup> has been killed by a Saulteur of Fond du Lac; the Indian has since died himself. Red river now clear of ice. *7th.* Indian families daily camping at our houses, awaiting the return of the men who are hunting beaver. *10th.* My people arrived from Rivière aux Marais—miserable returns. An Indian tent of eight families caught fire, by the carelessness of the children, and was burned to the ground, and everything consumed; the four families that were burned out early in the winter having their little property again destroyed. *11th.* I sent two men in a small canoe with goods to supply the Forks and Rivière aux Morts. I went to the Hair hills on horseback; settled

<sup>18</sup> A shady transaction, of which Mr. Henry should have been rather ashamed than "vexed." Those skins which he secured were due to the X. Y. Co., for debts the Indians had contracted; he knew this, and so did the squaws with whom he "fought," lest they should prevail upon their husbands to deliver the skins where they were due. Mr. Henry doubtless thought that all things are fair in trade, as they are said to be in love and war.

<sup>19</sup> François Larose or La Rose appears as interpreter N. W. Co., Red Lake Dept., 1804. The same name appears as that of a voyageur N. W. Co. Chipewewa r., 1804.—Baptiste or Jean Baptiste Larose, of the N. W. Co., was at Lower Fort des Prairies on the Saskatchewan in 1799, and at the Rocky Mountain house on the Upper Saskatch. with Thompson in 1800.—Aimable de Gère, dit Larose, b. Montreal, went young to Michilimackinac, entered fur-trade, took part in the war, was for some years at Baie Verte, d. at Montreal, very old, unmarried.

with Mr. Langlois and three men to summer there and build a new fort. I pitched upon a delightful situation on rising ground in the entrance of the plains; the view from the house will be charming. I found here 15 Assiniboine tents,—Old Frog, Chef des Enfants, etc.,—but I thought proper to select a chief of my own. I chose a young man who was a famous hunter, much respected among his own people, and who, having committed some recent crime in his own lands, I was fully persuaded would neither breed disturbance with the Saulteurs nor wish to leave me. He had command of ten tents, all excellent beaver hunters and provision makers—in a word, the best little band of Indians I ever met; honest, industrious, and easy to please. Nau-bonostouog, or Man with One Ear, is his name; I gave him a chief's dress, a flag, and a large keg of liquor.

*April 13th.* I came off alone; chased several herds of buffalo, and killed three cows and several calves; but I was near leaving my bones in the plains, a prey for the wolves. This was occasioned by my horse stumbling while at full speed. I was just drawing my gun from the belt to fire, holding it by the barrel near the muzzle, when the sudden shock caused the priming to fire the gun; the ball passed near my hip and struck in the ground and the gun flew some distance. I was in the midst of the herd; a fine large calf passing near me, I dismounted, caught him by the tail, and held him fast; he began to bleat, when instantly the mother turned and rushed at me; I was glad to let go and run to my horse. As I reflected on my narrow escape, it brought to mind a similar affair which happened to me some years ago at Michipicotton, when shooting wild fowl in the spring, in a small canoe. In attempting to shift my gun from my left to my right side, passing the muzzle behind my back, the cock got fast to one of the bars, and, on my pulling the gun forward from behind me, she went off; the load grazed my right side, taking a piece of my belt and capot away.

*April 16th.* My men began to inclose our potato field.



We take from 10 to 20 sturgeon per day; one weighed 145 pounds. Indians all feasting and making their wabbano; drums and kettles beating day and night, keeping up a terrible noise. *18th*. Indians drinking, and very troublesome. My people are all unwell; as usual every spring, on the sudden change of diet from flesh to fat sturgeon, they are troubled with a dysentery that reduces them very much; they are extraordinary gormandizers, and sturgeon oil is too much for them. We take large fat picaneau in our sturgeon nets; they are excellent eating, but too oily, and tend to increase the disease. Indians preparing for their grand medicine, having received their spring presents of clothing, liquor, etc. *22d*. Caught 15 sturgeons and a loup-cervier; how the latter came into the sturgeon net I cannot say. We saw his track on the beach until he came opposite the net, which completely crossed the river; he appeared to have then taken to the water, for what reason I cannot tell. However, he was found drowned, entangled in the net, about 10 feet from shore. *24th*. I bought a beautiful white buffalo skin from Le Cèdre, who had killed the young bull last January at Grandes Fourches; the hair was long, soft, and perfectly white, resembling a sheep's fleece. The Saulteurs set no value on these skins. We began to make up our pemmican and packs. *25th*. I took a mare from an X. Y. Indian in payment of a debt. This affair came near being attended with serious consequences, as the fellow was a known villain and a chief of the X. Y. making. I some time ago gave him a cruel beating, and bunged up his eyes, so that he could not see for several days. He has ever since been bent on revenge, although he richly deserved the ill usage I gave him, having attempted to stab me with my own knife. *26th*. I began to sow potatoes, 21 bags; corn, one pint; and some cabbage seed.

*April 28th*. Working at our garden. Some of our horses could not be found. I suspected the fellow from whom we had taken the mare. I went to his tent with a couple of men, determined to bring him prisoner to my house, and

found him playing at the platter with 20 men, all his relations. I inquired if he had left his tent since such a day, and if it was not he who had hid my horses. The Indians were astonished, and could not account for my violent proceedings. However, I was convinced that he was innocent. On returning to the fort I found the men alarmed; all the women and children had fled to the woods. They had been informed by an old woman that the Indians were preparing to attack the fort; but, after a great bustle, everything quieted down.

*Apr. 30th.* We found our strayed horses. Indians having asked for liquor, and promised to decamp and hunt well all summer, I gave them some. Grande Gueule stabbed Capot Rouge, Le Bœuf stabbed his young wife in the arm, Little Shell almost beat his old mother's brains out with a club, and there was terrible fighting among them. I sowed garden seeds.

*May 4th.* Indian women preparing ground, sowing potatoes, corn, and squash, burning brush, etc. Extraordinary number of wild pigeons; I never before saw so many.

*5th.* Tremendous gale of wind from the N. W., which kindled afresh the brushwood of yesterday; the fire spread in every direction, and was blown full upon the fort. Some sparks flew over the stockades and set fire to a heap of dry dung, which in an instant communicated to the stockades, and all was in a blaze. The flames were driven with great violence upon our range of houses, and we were in imminent danger of losing all the property. But the Indians rendered great assistance in keeping the fire under, carrying water, etc., and after having suffered much by flame, smoke, and dust, we extinguished it.

*May 6th.* Engaged my men, settled their accounts, and gave them a treat of high wine; they were soon merry, then quarreled and fought. I saw five battles at the same moment, and soon after they all had bloody noses, bruised faces, black eyes, and torn clothes. *7th.* Repairing canoes. Indians decamping for the Hair hills. *8th.* I went to see

Mr. Langlois, and overtook the Indians on their march. They formed a string in the plains over a mile long—65 men and women, 10 horses, and 60 dogs. At the hills I found the building almost finished, and 50 tents of Assiniboines and Crees. *10th.* I returned home; chased buffalo, and killed three cows and several calves; Lambert's horse knocked up. We performed an extraordinary day's march, after running the buffalo. Cabbages and radishes are out of the ground; peas and turnips also appear. *12th.* Plum trees and pear bushes begin to blossom; appearance of much fruit this season. The blossoms of various kinds emit a most agreeable smell on the border of the plains, where they grow sumptuously. *16th.* The men cut down the huge liards [*Populus balsamifera*] that stood on the banks and intercepted our view. *18th.* Mr. Hesse arrived from Red lake in 13 days, bringing 12 kegs of sugar and a few beaver skins. One of my men, Descarreau,<sup>20</sup> was shot in the thigh by an Indian, Naubunaejonibe; the shot was intended for Mr. Cotton. I heard of the death of Gabriel Atina Laviolette<sup>21</sup> at Fort Fond du Lac this winter.

*May 19th.* Sent off my canoes and boats, Charles Hesse, master, Cadotte, and two men. *20th.* I embarked in my own canoe, a new one made by Lambert—his first essay. *21st.* Arrived at the Forks. Clothed five Indians, and gave liquor in proportion. *22d.* Went to Portage la Prairie to get Mr. Harrison off and settle that place for the summer; all were very merry—rather too much so. *23d.* Sent off the last canoe with the remainder of Lake Manitou [Manitoba] returns, and Mr. Harrison's baggage, etc. *24th.* Returned to the Forks. *25th.* Sent Mr. Dorion to summer at Portage la Prairie with Joseph St. Germain and two men. Sent Antoine Desjarlaix to Lake Winipic to raise bark

<sup>20</sup> So copy; elsewhere Descarrie in Henry MS. I have no other record of him. The shot was not fatal, as he brought Henry, on Mar. 13th, 1806, news of Pike's visit to Leech l.

<sup>21</sup> One Laviolette was associated with Beaubien in opposition to the N. W. Co., 1794.—Jacques Laviolette is listed as voyageur contre-maître, N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804.

during the summer. Settled Portage la Prairie accounts, engaged the men, etc. *26th*. Sent my brigade off. *27th*. The N. W. Upper Red River brigade passed down, and soon afterward the X. Y. from U. R. R. At twelve o'clock I embarked. *28th*. Stopped by the wind at the entrance of Red river; the different brigades joined us. *29th*. Mr. Chaboillez arrived.

## RETURNS OF LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1803-04.

EIGHT CANOES.	E. Harrison, Alex. Wilkie, Portage la Prairie.	A. Desjarlais, Lake Manitoba.	St. Germain, La Noix, Prairie en Longue.	T. Vaudry, Dead River.	L. Dorion, The Forks.	M. Langlois, LeSieur, Hair Hills.	J. Cameron, Ducharme, Park River.	A. Henry, Charbonneau, Pambian River.
1866 Beavers, 2868 lbs.....	219	131	100	520	356	182	147	211
166 Black Bears.....	32	5	2	22	18	43	23	21
34 Brown Bears.....	12	..	..	5	1	6	2	8
1 Grizzly Bear.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
360 Wolves.....	72	6	1	6	76	148	14	37
81 Foxes.....	12	7	3	5	8	38	4	12
20 Kitts.....	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	3
77 Raccoons.....	20	..	..	5	25	9	3	15
176 Fishers.....	24	15	7	27	36	30	16	21
130 Otters.....	35	10	9	24	26	2	13	9
440 Martens.....	69	114	18	209	21	3	1	5
72 Minks.....	13	..	7	35	13	2	..	2
8 Wolverenes.....	..	..	..	1	3	..	1	2
167 Lynxes.....	47	24	10	23	15	24	8	6
85 Moose and Biches.....	30	5	11	7	6	..	1	25
288 Shaved and Parchment.....	74	24	15	17	21	70	8	51
18 Buffalo Robes.....	..	..	..	..	1	10	..	7
4 Badgers.....	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..
105 Packs of 90 lbs. each.....	23	6	5	16	14	17	4	20
53 Kegs Pemican, 90 lbs. each.....	..	..	..	..	..	27	..	26
15 " Gum.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
30 " Beef.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
6 " Grease.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
2 " Salt.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
12 " Sugar.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12

*May 30th*. The wind fell at daybreak. We embarked and stood out in the lake in a body—U. R. R., N. W. Co., 7 canoes and 2 boats; L. R. R., N. W. Co., 7 canoes and 2 boats; Swan River Co., 7 canoes and 1 boat; Red River, X. Y. Co., 8 canoes and 1 boat; Indian women, 4 canoes. Wind stopped us at Grand Marais. I sent in search of bark to repair our canoes.



*May 31st.* We searched for better bark along the lake, but to no purpose; nothing but trash was to be found. In the evening reached Bas de la Rivière.

*Friday, June 1st.* Early our two brigades arrived, the 18 crafts abreast, all singing and keeping time with their paddles and oars; the canoes being heavy loaded, and having only three men apiece, made it easy to keep in chorus with the boats.

*June 3d.* Sent back Messrs. Harrison, Delorme, and V. St. Germain for Portage la Prairie on board a boat.

*June 4th.* Sent off the Lower Red River brigade for Kamanistiquia.

*June 6th.* Embarked Mr. William McKay on board my canoe, and eight men; marched moderately.

*June 12th.* Arrived at Lac la Pluie; remained some days, to see the brigade pass.

*June 25th.* Arrived at Kamanistiquia.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE PEMBINA RIVER POST, CONTINUED: 1804-05.

**K**AMANISTIQUEIA, July 1st, 1804. Men not so difficult to hire this year as last, when boaters for Lower Red river refused 700 G. P. Cy., and milieux [middlemen] 500, with extra equipments.

*July 7th.* I sent off the brigade—10 canoes, with 28 packs and 4 men each.

*July 17th.* Took passage<sup>1</sup> on Mr. Cameron's canoe; then on board Mr. Joseph St. Germain's. *19th.* Pears ripe at Portage des Chiens [Dog portage]. *23d.* Mr. Hamilton got astray in the woods on Rivière des Chiens [Dog river]. Water exceedingly low. We made continual décharges and half-loads.

*July 25th.* At the little lake in Portage la Prairie [Meadow or Savanna portage], our pots and kettles were covered with ice in the morning; this is the Height of Land.

*July 28th.* Overtook my brigade on Portage des Français [French portage]; the men mostly sick and emaciated. Canoes very small, of the worst materials, wretchedly put together; require daily repairing. Water very low, and canoes heavy loaded. This has nearly knocked the men up; nothing but a certain pride and ambition, natural to the Northmen, keeps them pushing forward, with every exertion in their power; and it is very disagreeable for the master when he joins his brigade in a difficult and tedious part of the route. Little or nothing is said during the day, when they have a certain shame or bashfulness about complaining openly; but no sooner is my tent pitched,

<sup>1</sup> Henry starts back to his Pembina post by the Kaministiquia route. The places he names will be recognized by reference to note <sup>19</sup>, p. 217.

than I am attacked by everyone in turn. Some complain of having a bad canoe ; others, a heavy one—his assistant cannot carry her ; others have a sick or lame man in the canoe, yet must keep up to the brigade ; some want bark, others gum, others wappap, others grease, etc.; unforeseen accidents having deprived them of those very necessary articles. Having listened to all the complaints, and redressed them as far as practicable, I must attend to the sick and lame, and administer accordingly.

*Aug. 1st.* Left my brigade ; exchanged my own canoe with the Pork Eaters<sup>2</sup> from Lac la Pluie. The two Fort des Prairies canoes, Messrs. McDonnell and Harrison, have 13 packs and eight men each ; Athabasca river, Mr. G., eight packs and seven men.

*Aug. 4th.* At Little Lake portage. Athabasca canoes still here, preparing to embark ; water very low. We have terrible weather—wind, rain, thunder and lightning almost every day. Made a very long, ugly portage in Lac des Bois, in mud and mire up to the knees ; loading and unloading is miserable work here in such a season.

<sup>2</sup> *Mangeurs de Lard* or “ Pork Eaters,” also called “ Goers and Comers ” in the N. W. Co., were men employed from May 1st to the end of September, to go and come between Montreal and Grand Portage (in some cases as far as Rainy l.). In 1798 the company had of these, 5 clerks, 18 guides, 350 canoemen. The guides were paid 800 to 1,000 livres and suitable equipment ; bowsmen and steersmen, 400 to 600 livres ; middlemen, 250 to 350 livres, with a blanket, a shirt, and pair of trousers. All were victualed at the expense of the company. Similar arrangements naturally continued when headquarters were removed to Kaministiquia. In the matter of rations, McKenzie, p. xlvii., gives an interesting account of things as they were at Grand Portage before the removal : “ The proprietors, clerks, guides, and interpreters, mess together, to the number of sometimes an hundred, at several tables, in one large hall, the provision consisting of bread, salt pork, beef, hams, fish, and venison, butter, peas, Indian corn, potatoes, tea, spirits, wine, &c. and plenty of milk.” Mechanics had the same ration ; but canoemen were given no subsistence, here or on the voyage, but corn and grease. The corn was prepared before leaving Détroit by boiling it in lye to take off the husk, when it was washed and dried. It was cooked by boiling it into a sagamity, or hominy, and eaten with salt. A quart of such corn was a ration for 24 hours, costing about 10 pence ; the corn was worth about 20 shillings a bushel at Grand Portage.

*Aug. 16th.* Reached Bas de la Rivière: our provisions all expended. *17th.* Off. *18th.* Terrible weather on the lake—wind, thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain; not a mouthful for the men.

*Aug. 19th.* Arrived at Forks. Heard of the death of Venant St. Germain at Panbian river, where he was shot by one of our men, Joseph Rainville, in July last, entirely by accident. The deceased summered at Portage la Prairie; he visited Panbian river, and while arranging his saddle climbed up into a sort of half garret over the men's bedrooms in the Indian hall, in search of some necessary material. Just as he was descending Rainville came in; they had been much given to play and joke with each other. Rainville said, in a jocular manner: "What would you say if I were to bring your carcass down like a bear?" The other retorted in a like manner, knowing R. was a miserable marksman. The latter took down his old gun, then hanging in the room, where it had been since last winter, and taking aim, pulled the trigger. To his astonishment the gun went off; and the ball entered St. Germain's left side below the ribs and came out on the right side under the arm. He came down very composedly, saying: "You have killed me"—which was actually the case, as he expired in about four hours. This young man was an apprentice clerk and son of Joseph St. Germain of Isle Jésus near Montréal.

Our Indians have been at war all summer toward the Sioux country, but always unsuccessful. A party is now arriving from Panbian river in canoes, returning homeward to Lake Winipic; 20 men arrived to-day, and plagued me for liquor.

*Aug. 20th.* Lambert and England<sup>3</sup> off for Panbian river. *23d.* Payet arrived in a light canoe to inform me that the brigade was at Sault à la Biche [present St. Andrew's rapids in Red river] awaiting my orders, having been desired to

<sup>3</sup> James England is listed as voyageur N. W. Co. after the fusion of 1804, English r.



stop there ; they have been destitute of corn, etc., since they left Slave falls [Winnipeg river] and are starving and sick. *24th.* I went down in a light canoe to meet them ; heavy complaints of their misery, but now that is all over. Made out the assortments for Dead river, Rivière Terre Blanche, and Lake Winipic, S. side. Men fishing ; but as usual, when a scarcity of provisions prevails, they caught nothing. *26th.* Settled with the men and divided baggages ; sent canoes to the Forks ; went down with two outfits to Dead river, to settle with the Indians myself. *27th.* The canoes with grease arrived from Panbian river. Indians all there, preparing for war. *28th.* Returned to the Forks ; arrived at midnight. *29th.* Made out assortment for Portage la Prairie. *30th.* Sent all the canoes off ; Payet and Ducharme to remain with the Sault Indians. *31st.* Set off on horseback, chased buffalo with Mr. C., and camped with his brigade at the Passage.

*Sept. 6th.* Arrived at Panbian river ; found 10 long Saulteur tents of women ; men all off to war since the 4th. This is the second excursion ; the Assiniboines have joined them, forming a party of about 300 men, of whom 150 are mounted. *7th.* Mr. Langlois arrived from his post at Hair hills ; very good summer returns there. The Crees stole three of our horses last July ; these scoundrels having commenced horse-thieving, I am afraid they will trouble us often on that score. Bear, an Assiniboine, was the principal man, and there were two Crees ; they stole the horses from Cadotte, at the Grand Passage. *13th.* We are much plagued in watching our potatoes day and night, to prevent the Indian women and children from stealing them. *17th.* I sent Mr. Hesse with eight men in one boat up river. *18th.* Fire appears southward ; we suppose the war party is returning. *19th.* I gathered my cucumbers and made a nine-gallon keg of pickles, having plenty of excellent vinegar from maple sap, little inferior to that imported.

*Sept. 21st.* The war party arrived ; they had been no further than Schian river and seen no Sioux. *23d.* Indians

daily coming in by small parties; nearly 100 men here. I gave them 15 kegs of mixed liquor, and X. Y. gave in proportion; all drinking. I quarreled with Little Shell, and dragged him out of the fort by the hair. Indians very troublesome, threatening to level my fort to the ground, and Tabashaw breeding mischief. I had two narrow escapes from being stabbed by him; once in the hall, and soon afterward in the shop. I perceived they were bent on murdering some of us and then pillaging. I therefore desired all hands to keep on their guard, and knock down the first Indian who should be insolent. The fellows soon saw we were ready for them, and dropped away. I would not give out one drop more rum, and all was soon quiet.

*Sept. 26th.* Grand medicine performing; 30 Indians decamping for above and for Panbian mountain.

*Oct. 1st.* Having determined to go above myself to settle the Indians in that quarter, and the ground being clear here, I sent off a canoe with my baggage and followed on horseback. Settled Mr. Hesse at Turtle river with a band of Indians, and Augustin Cadotte at Salt river, to oppose the X. Y.

*Oct. 21st.* Returned to Panbian river after much trouble in settling the Indians above; they are worse than ever, and it is impossible to satisfy their unreasonable demands. I came home by way of Hair hills and Tongue river, and had excellent diversion in chasing buffalo; my famous gray horse was never fatigued. One day, when it blew very hard, I chased a three-year-old hart five miles before I killed him. An hour afterward I started a large meadow hare, and killed it only after a long chase, as they are very swift. Toward evening I ran a herd of buffalo and killed a fat cow for supper. My horse was not in the least fatigued, although I had ridden about 12 leagues, besides these three long races. The day's journey some of those horses perform is surprising. This horse of mine is the most spirited, hardy beast I ever saw. Next day I made an extraordinary ride chasing buffalo, wolves, etc., yet he kept on the alert and came in fresh.

*Oct. 22d.* Sault Indians arrived for men to go for their furs—three packs of beaver. Had I been one day later, I should have lost this. My canoe arrived from above. *23d.* Six men off, en derouine to Rat river. Gathered my turnips, carrots, etc. *27th.* Fire in the plains in every direction. Went to see how Mr. Langlois was coming on at the hills, and returned next day. The men had gathered the following crops: 1,000 bushels potatoes (produce of 21 bushels); 40 bushels turnips; 25 bushels carrots; 20 bushels beets; 20 bushels parsnips; 10 bushels cucumbers; 2 bushels melons; 5 bushels squashes; 10 bushels Indian corn; 200 large heads of cabbage; 300 small and Savoy cabbages. All these vegetables are exclusive of what have been eaten and destroyed since my arrival.

One of my men having beaten his woman, she went in the woods with a piece of rope and attempted to hang herself, which she would actually have done, had she not been discovered just as she was climbing the tree to throw herself off. Instances of this sort are not uncommon among the Saulteur women. An old woman belonging to Chamard,<sup>4</sup> one of my men at Portage la Prairie, last winter in a fit of despair hung herself in the woods and was found next day dead and stiff. This old woman had lost two grown daughters within a short time; she lamented them sadly, and one day, having quarreled with her old man and been beaten, she put an end to her troubles. I have known on this river several women who hanged themselves, having lost their husbands and been ill-used by their relations.

*Nov. 1st.* Fire running all over the country. X. Y. ladies busy stealing the gleanings of my potato field. Tabashaw attempted to fire on my men on Rat river. *8th.* Hard frost. Men arrived from below. Mr. D. was obliged to build opposite Rivière qui Déboule, on the W. side [thus at present Dynevor]. He and his men were fired upon by Indians, but no accident happened.

*Nov. 13th.* Red river frozen over. My tame bear making

<sup>4</sup> Michel Chamard appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804.

a hole, apparently desirous of taking up his winter quarters. I got a place made for him, but he did not like it; although snug and warm, he preferred making a place for himself. He is so tame as to require no care or confinement, but associates with the dogs, and even follows them and the men into the plains and woods.

*Nov. 18th.* Laid up our canoes for the winter.

*Nov. 19th.* William Henry<sup>6</sup> arrived on horseback from Fort Alexandria; continual derouines. Fire raging all over the plains. *22d.* Went to Hair hills; chased a drove of bulls, fell from my horse, and narrowly escaped being killed by the bull that turned upon my horse. *23d.* Sent a man to Rivière la Souris.

*Nov. 25th.* I found it necessary to visit a band of Mr. Langlois' Indians, who were hunting beaver and bear in the mountain about the sources of Salt river. I set off with one man on horseback at midnight—light rain and very dark—most favorable weather to escape the X. Y., who were on the watch. At daybreak we met a band of Assiniboines going to Mr. Langlois with bear's meat, grease, etc. Plains burned in every direction and blind buffalo seen every moment wandering about. The poor beasts have all

<sup>6</sup> Two persons of the identical name are to be distinguished.—William Henry above said was cousin to our Henry, and at this time a clerk in the N. W. Co. He was at the lower fort on Swan r., near Lake Winnipegosis, Oct. 29th, 1801, and no doubt wintered there or thereabouts; summered at Bird Mountain fort 1802; wintered 1802-03-04 at Fort Alexandria, and summered there 1804; wintered on Red r., at Sandy Hill r., 1806-07; and his post on Red r. was attacked by Sioux in the summer of 1808. He left for further W. in a year or two, and was found by Thompson in charge of the N. W. Co. post at Cumberland House, July 4th, 1810. He was in charge of a camp or outpost on Athabasca r. in the winter of 1810-11. While on Canoe r., Sept. 22d, 1811, Thompson learned that Wm. Henry had crossed the mts. by the Athabasca portage, and found him with men and goods at Flat Heart r. next day. Thompson makes Wm. Henry's camp of Oct. 4th, 1811, on Athabaskan headwaters, to be lat. 52° 53' 24" N.; and Wm. Henry's house of May 12th, 1812, to be lat. 52° 55' 16" N. We shall find Wm. Henry in chge. of a post on Willamette r., in Oregon, winter of 1813-14.—William Henry, a hunter in the service of the N. W. Co., with W. F. Wentzel, at a fort on Mackenzie r., starved to death there, winter of 1810-11.



the hair singed off; even the skin in many places is shriveled up and terribly burned, and their eyes are swollen and closed fast. It was really pitiful to see them staggering about, sometimes running afoul of a large stone, at other times tumbling down hill and falling into creeks not yet frozen over. In one spot we found a whole herd lying dead. The fire having passed only yesterday these animals were still good and fresh, and many of them exceedingly fat. Our road was on the summit of the Hair hills, where the open ground is uneven and intercepted by many small creeks running eastward. The country is stony and barren. At sunset we arrived at the Indian camp, having made an extraordinary day's ride, and seen an incredible number of dead and dying, blind, lame, singed, and roasted buffalo. The fire raged all night toward the S. W.

*Nov. 26th.* I settled with the Indians and got two good packs of furs, but our horses were not to be found. *27th.* I sent Indians out to search for them, but the blustering weather had entirely hidden their tracks and they could not be found. *28th.* I set out on foot with my man, determined to go to Salt river, if I could find it from this distant part of the mountain. At one o'clock, as we began to descend the hills, a heavy snowstorm commenced, with a strong N. W. wind, which drove the snow with great violence on our left side. Camped below the hills on a branch of Salt river; a terrible storm all night. We had nothing but our capots, and sleep was a stranger; the night was passed in shaking off snow. *29th.* At daybreak we were on our journey; the storm continued and the wind increased. Saw a large flock of outardes; red deer numerous. At five o'clock we arrived at Salt river; found Indians camped at the house, all drinking.

*Dec. 1st.* I refused to give debt to Grande Gueule for a blanket, as I knew he already owed me more than he could pay; he is a notorious scoundrel. On leaving the house this morning, while I was standing at our door, the fellow slipped the cover off his gun and fired at me; the ball

struck one of the door-posts. He then loaded and fired a second shot, and made off with himself. It would have been folly to go after him, as the fellow was fully bent on mischief.

*Dec. 2d.* Long before day I was on my journey and at 10 p. m. reached Panbian river alone, having left my man at the Bois Percé, his horse being knocked up. Men continually en derouine.

*Jan. 1st, 1805.* An express arrived with a packet from Montreal, containing sundry circular letters informing us of the coalition which had taken place.<sup>6</sup> It certainly was high

<sup>6</sup> Between the N. W. and X. Y. companies, as per Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, putting an end to the existence of the X. Y. as a separate organization. The death of Simon McTavish in July, 1804, rendered this consummation possible, as the principal object of Sir Alexander McKenzie's jealousy and rivalry was thus removed from the scene of action. McTavish was the head of the firm of McTavish, Frobisher & Co., agents of the N. W.; he was nicknamed *Le Premier* and *Le Marquis* for his haughtiness; amassed a fortune, bought the Seigneurie of Terrebonne, built a residence in Montreal at the foot of the mountain, known for 50 years after his death as the haunted château, demolished in 1860, when the residence of Sir Hugh Allan was erected on its site. The signers of the convention on the part of the N. W. Co. were: John Gregory; William Macgillivray; Duncan Macgillivray; William Hallowell; and Roderic McKenzie—these being bourgeois and also agents of McTavish, Frobisher & Co., Montreal; and the following wintering bourgeois: Angus Shaw; Daniel McKenzie; William McKay; John McDonald [of Garth]; Donald McTavish; John McDonnell; Archibald Norman McLeod; Alexander McDougall; Charles [Jean Baptiste] Chaboillez; John Sayer; Peter Grant; Alexander Fraser; Æneas Cameron; John Finlay; Duncan Cameron; James Hughes; Alexander McKay; Hugh McGillis; Alexander Henry, Junior; John Macgillivray; James McKenzie; Simon Fraser; John Duncan Campbell; David Thompson; and John Thomson. On the part of the X. Y. the signers were: (Sir) Alexander McKenzie; Thomas Forsyth; John Richardson; John Forsyth; John Ogilvie; James Forsyth; John Inglis; John Mure; Alexander Ellice—bourgeois agents of certain firms; and, as bourgeois winterers: Pierre de Rocheblave; Alexander McKenzie; John McDonald; James Leith; John Willis; and John Haldane. The convention being made in November, when the winterers (hivernants) were away, nearly all their signatures were by their attorneys. This important convention continued in force until 1821, when the famous N. W. Co. finished its career as a separate organization by absorption into the still more celebrated H. B. Co.—one of the longest-lived and most powerful commercial monopolies in the world's history. The

time for a change on this river. The country being almost destitute of beaver<sup>7</sup> and other furs, and the Indians increasing in number daily from the Red Lake and Fond du Lac country, the X. Y. had been lavish of their property, selling very cheap; and we, to keep the trade in our own hands, had been obliged to follow their example. Thus, by our obstinate proceedings, we had spoiled the Indians. Every man who killed a few skins was considered a chief and treated accordingly; there was scarcely a common buck to be seen; all wore scarlet coats, had large kegs and flasks, and nothing was purchased by them but silver works, strouds, and blankets. Every other article was either let go on debt and never paid for, or given gratis on request. This kind of commerce had ruined and corrupted the natives to such a degree that there was no bearing with their insolence; if they misbehaved at our houses and were checked for it, our neighbors were ready to approve their scoundrelly behavior and encourage them to mischief, even offering them protection, if they were in want of it. By this means the most notorious villains were sure of refuge and resources. Our servants of every grade were getting extravagant in their demands, indolent, disaffected

list of N. W. and X. Y. signers is found in Masson, I. p. 89, with several misprints; it may be checked *ibid.*, II. p. 482 *seq.*, where the important document appears nearly in full, in English. Those who were present in Montreal and actual signers appear to have been: Alexander McKenzie; John Richardson; John Forsyth; John Ogilvie; John Gregory; William Macgillivray; William Hallowell; Roderic McKenzie; the rest being represented by their attorneys.

<sup>7</sup> Among the causes of extermination of the beaver must be reckoned a certain epidemic disease; thus Tanner, p. 104: "Some kind of distemper was prevailing among these animals, which destroyed them in vast numbers. I found them dead and dying in the water, on the ice and on the land; sometimes I found one that, having cut a tree half down, had died at its roots; sometimes one who had drawn a stick of timber half way to his lodge, was lying dead by his burthen. Many of them, which I opened, were red and bloody about the heart. Those in large rivers and running water suffered less; almost all of those that lived in ponds and stagnant water, died. Since that year the beaver have never been so plentiful in the country of Red River and Hudson's Bay, as they used formerly to be."

toward their employers, and lavish with the property committed to their charge. I am confident that another year could not have passed without bloodshed between ourselves and the Saulteurs. This would certainly have caused a critical situation, as those fellows are all so connected that to injure one is to injure the whole. Of this I was well aware, and always avoided pushing matters to extremities, at the same time not allowing myself to be imposed upon.

In the month of May all the Indians were camped at our fort, drinking and making the grand wabbano; they were as troublesome and extravagant as usual, the principal cause of which was my neighbor. Crébassa persisted in telling them that the report concerning the coalition was false, and that next year the X. Y. would be stronger than ever, with double the number of canoes, etc. In this manner he played the cheat to the last moment, when he was obliged to send all the remainder of his property, utensils, horses, and summer men over to my fort, on the embarkation. The consequence of this mean dissimulation was that he got himself despised by the natives, and in the end had a narrow escape for his life from Pegouisse,<sup>8</sup> who certainly would have murdered him had I not interfered.

Fifteen tents of Assiniboines followed Mr. Langlois from the hills this spring and encamped at my fort with the Saulteurs. In the first drinking match a murder was committed in an Assiniboine tent, but fortunately it was done by a Saulteur. L'Hiver stabbed Mishewashence to the heart

<sup>8</sup> No. 11 of the list, p. 53, no doubt the identical Indian Tanner calls Be-gwa-is. Thus, p. 161: "I joined some Red River Ojibbeways, under a chief called Be-gwa-is, (he that cuts up the beaver lodge.)" Again, "our friend Be-gwa-is," "a kind, good man," had his nose bitten off—inadvertently, it would seem, from Tanner's account, p. 165—by Tanner's brother, Wa-me-gon-a-biew, whose own nose had just been bitten off by old Ta-bush-shish. Pegouisse or Be-gwa-is must have been a stoical as well as a genial philosopher; for he "never for a moment betrayed anything like anger or resentment. . . 'I am an old man,' said he, 'and it is but a short time that they will laugh at me for the loss of my nose.'"



three times, and killed him instantly. The wife and children cried out, and some of my people ran to the tent just as L'Hiver came out with the bloody knife in his hand, expecting we would lay hold of him. The first person he met was William Henry, whom he attempted to stab in the breast; but Henry avoided the stroke, and returned the compliment with a blow of his cudgel on the fellow's head. This staggered him; but instantly recovering, he made another attempt to stab Henry. Foiled in this design, and observing several coming out of the fort, he took to his heels and ran into the woods like a deer. I chased him with some of my people, but he was too fleet for us. We buried the murdered man, who left a widow and five helpless orphans, having no relations on this river. The behavior of two of the youngest was really piteous while we were burying the body; they called upon their deceased father not to leave them, but to return to the tent, and tried to prevent the men from covering the corpse with earth, screaming in a terrible manner; the mother was obliged to take them away.<sup>9</sup>

*May 25th.* Embarked for the Forks. *22d.* Sent the brigade off, and Mr. Harrison. Went on horseback to Rivière la Souris. Made three trips to Portage la Prairie. Delayed embarking until June 9th, when I left the Forks in a light canoe, with six men, and on the 20th arrived at Kamanistiquia, after a passage of only 12 days. This was extraordinarily expeditious, and I shall always suppose that a single well-mounted canoe can make the voyage in a shorter time than several canoes together. Notwithstanding all their hurry and bustle, I overtook my brigade below the last rapids, at the storehouse; had I been an hour later, they would have got in before me.

<sup>9</sup> The seamy side of the fur-trade which Henry shows us with such a steady hand that we can scarcely follow him with unshaken nerves is simply hell on earth—hell peopled with no souls above a beaver-skin, fired by King Alcohol for the worship of Mammon. And worse than anything that has preceded is to come in the very next chapter—not mere murder by retail, but wholesale slaughter.

RETURNS OF LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1804-05.<sup>10</sup>

TEN CANOES.	E. Harrison, Brisebois, Portage la Prairie.	A. Desjarlais, A. Wilkie, Dog Lake.	Delorme, Prairie en Longue.	L. Dorion, Geo. Nelson, Dead River.	T. Vaudry, A. Bethune, White Mud River.	M. Langlois, Jas. Caldwell, Hair Hills.	C. Hesse, J. Duford, Salt River.	A. Henry, J. Crébassa, Panbian River.
2,736 Beavers, 4,000 lbs. ....	294	648	184	350	150	121	160	829
187 Black bears .....	59	13	6	24	12	25	18	30
65 Brown do .....	22	2	3	16	8	8	2	4
10 Grizzly do .....	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	2
690 Wolves .....	63	14	5	8	1	251	246	102
188 Foxes, red, silver, and crossed. .	6	1	2	1	..	56	91	31
57 Kitts .....	..	..	..	..	..	26	31	..
95 Raccoons .....	14	..	..	18	..	12	15	36
267 Fishers .....	84	44	20	52	4	24	14	25
293 Otters .....	45	72	26	35	31	8	12	64
804 Martens .....	136	188	4	200	267	6	..	3
376 Minks .....	19	92	21	146	34	14	5	44
17 Wolverenes .....	6	3	..	1	..	1	..	5
38 Lynxes .....	8	11	4	3	3	4	4	11
118 Dressed moose and biche .....	79	68	8	9	1	25	2	1
336 Shaved parchment do .....	36	65	25	22	40	70	3	95
6,712 Muskrats .....	3,800	1,583	100	700	138	14	200	177
40 Buffalo robes .....	3	..	..	..	..	17	2	18
10 Badgers .....	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..
144 Packs of 90 lbs each .....	23	26	8	16	10	21	14	26
125 Bags of pemmican, 90 lbs. each..	..	..	..	..	..	57	24	44
14 Kegs of beef .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
10 " tongue .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
10 " sugar .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
7 " grease .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
3 " gum .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3

<sup>10</sup> The names in this table have all been accounted for, except : Geo. Nelson is listed as a voyageur N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804, but seems to have been promoted that year, as we find him in the capacity of clerk this season of 1804-05. The same was in charge of the N. W. Co. house on Moose l., near Cumberland House, in Sept., 1819, when he went to the relief of poor Benjamin Frobisher, whose tragic end was one of the most shocking in all the annals of the fur-trade : see the account of his sufferings elsewhere in my notes.—The only Bethune of whom I have a mem. is Angus, of the N. W. Co., who reached Astoria with J. G. McTavish and others in Sept., 1813.—James Caldwell, clerk N. W. Co., went to the Mandans with Charles McKenzie from the Assiniboine, starting June 4th, 1806, and we shall find him there in due course, when Henry meets him at Le Borgne's village, July 21st, 1806.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE PEMBINA RIVER POST, CONTINUED : 1805-06.

**K**AMANISTIQUEIA, July 13th, 1805. Sent off the Lower Red River brigade. *14th.* Embarked ; my canoe was loaded with 14 pieces, exclusive of my baggage and six men. At Little Lake la Pluie I took on board two pieces more. *31st.* Reached the Forks. Sent a man up the Assiniboine by land.

*Aug. 1st.* Embarked with a fair wind, which blew a gale from the N., but kept under sail—about three feet hoisted. *2d.* In the afternoon, arrived at Panbian river, having had an extraordinary breeze all the way. This may be called a passage of 22 days from Kamanistiquia, and I believe that, with such lading, it is impossible to perform the voyage in less time.

Here I received the unwelcome news that the Sioux had fallen upon a small camp of my Indians on Tongue river, not many miles from the fort, on the 3d of July, and killed and taken prisoners 14 persons—men, women, and children. My beau-père was the first man that fell, about eight o'clock in the morning. He had climbed a tree, to see if the buffalo were at hand, as they were tented there to make dried provisions. He had not sooner reached the top than two Sioux discoverers fired at the same moment, and both balls passed through his body. He had only time to call out to his family, who were in the tent about 100 paces from him, "Save yourselves! the Sioux are killing us!" and fell dead to the ground, his body breaking several branches of the tree as it dropped. The noise brought the Indians out of the tent ; when, perceiving their danger, the women and children instantly ran through the plains toward an

island of wood on Tongue river, about a mile distant, and on a direct line toward the fort. The men took their arms and made off also, keeping in the rear of their women and children, whom they urged on. The four surviving men had not gone more than a quarter of a mile when they saw the main body of the war party on horseback rushing down upon them. Crossing Tongue river, and in a few moments coming up with them, the Sioux began to fire. The four men by expert manœuvres and incessant fire prevented the enemy from closing in on them, while the women and children continued to fly, and the men followed. They were within about 200 paces of the wood, and some of the most active had actually entered it, when the enemy surrounded and fell upon them. Three of the Saulteurs fled in different directions; Grande Gueule escaped before they were completely surrounded, but the other two were killed. The one who remained to protect the women and children was a brave fellow—Aceguemanche, or Little Chief; he waited deliberately until the enemy came very near, when he fired at one who appeared to be the chief, and knocked the Sioux from his horse. Three young girls and a boy were taken prisoners; the remainder were all murdered, and mutilated in a horrible manner. Several women and children had escaped in the woods, where the enemy chased them on horseback; but the willows and brush were so intricate that every one of these escaped. A boy about 12 years old, whom a Sioux pursued, crawled into a hollow under a bunch of willows, which the horseman leaped over without perceiving him. One of the little girls who escaped tells a pitiful story of her mother, who was killed. This woman, having two young children that could not walk fast enough, had taken one of them on her back and prevailed upon her sister-in-law to carry the other. But when they got near the woods and the enemy rushed upon them with hideous yells and war whoops, the young woman was so frightened that she threw down the child, and soon overtook the mother; who, observing that the child was missing,



and hearing its screams, kissed her little daughter—the one who relates the story—saying, with tears streaming from her eyes: “Take courage, my daughter! try to reach the woods—and if you do, go to your eldest sister, who will be kind to you; I must turn back and recover your younger sister, or die in the attempt—take courage—run fast, my daughter!” Poor woman! she actually did recover her child, and was running off with both children, when she was felled to the ground by a blow on the head with a war club. She recovered instantly, drew her knife, and plunged it into the neck of her murderer; but others coming up, she was dispatched. Thus my belle-mère ended her days.

The surviving man having reached the fort, my people went out the next day to the field of battle, where a horrible spectacle was presented. My beau-père’s head was severed from his body even with the shoulders, his right arm and left foot were cut off, his right leg from the knee stripped of the skin, and all carried off. In the plain lay the bodies of the women and children, within a few yards of one another, and the remains of Aceguemanche, he who had fought so bravely, lay near his wife and children. The enemy had raised his scalp, cut the flesh from the bone, and taken away the skull for a water-dish; his limbs were severed from his body, and only the trunk remained, with the belly and breast ripped up and thrown over the face; his private parts had been cut off and crammed into his dead wife’s mouth. She was also butchered in a shocking manner and her children were dismembered and thrown in different directions. All the bodies were stuck full of arrows, and there were found also many old knives, two or three broken guns, some war clubs, broken bones, etc. The bodies of the other men were found at the entrance of the woods, butchered in the same shocking manner. There was a spot of ground in the long grass near the remains of Aceguemanche, where it was plain to be seen that a person had fallen from his

horse and lay bleeding for some time, but the body of this Sioux could not be found.<sup>1</sup>

On my return all was grief and lamentation ; and at sight of me it broke out afresh with such sobs and cries that I almost wished I had not been so expeditious on my voyage. The Saulteurs were assembled, preparing for war and only waiting for the Assiniboines and Crees to join them ; a number of Saulteurs are also awaiting them above this place ; they will form a party of about 300 men, mostly mounted. I gave them a nine-gallon keg of gunpowder

<sup>1</sup> Tanner tells the identical story unmistakably, p. 137 *seq.* We thus get an exact date to check his narrative, and can even identify some of the Sioux who fell upon Henry's Indians. Tanner begins with : " After we had killed and dried large quantities of meat, we erected a sunjegwun, or a scaffold, where we deposited as much as we thought would supply the wants of our women in our absence. Before we had entirely finished the preparations for our journey, we were fallen upon by a war-party of about 200 Sioux, and some of our people killed." Tanner then speaks of a certain " chief of the Ojibbeways," saying that " he went up into an oak tree that stood near his lodge, to look out over the prairie for buffaloe, and in descending he was shot from below by two young men of the Sioux." " Now," continues Tanner, " the trampling of horses was heard, and the men who were with the chief had scarce time to run out of the lodge, when the 200 Sioux, on their horses, were at the door. One of the two runners who had come forward, and had been concealed in the hazle bushes, was an uncle of Wah-ne-taw, at present [*i. e.*, when Tanner was telling the story to Dr. James, many years afterward] a well-known chief of the Yanktongs, and the party was led by his father. Wah-ne-taw himself was of the party, but was then less distinguished than he has since become." This is the Wanotan of whom we hear so much in Long, and whose portrait forms the frontispiece of Keating's Vol. I. 1824. Tanner goes on to say : " The fight continued during the day ; all the Ojibbeways, about 20 in number, were killed, except Ais-ainse (the little clam,) a brother of the chief, two women, and one child. *Mr. H., the trader at Pembinah, gave the Ojibbeways a ten gallon keg of powder, and 100 pounds of balls, to pursue after the party that had killed the chief, his father-in-law.*" This establishes the identification of the two stories, and we see that Henry and Tanner corroborate each other in every essential particular. As to the war party raised to avenge the massacre, *Tanner was a member of it*, and tells about it more particularly than Henry does (Sept. 4th and 27th, p. 265). He says it started 400 strong, but that 100 Ojibbeways deserted the first day out from Pembinah ; and that by the time they reached Lake Traverse, the number was diminished to about 120—three half-breed Assinneboins, about 20 Crees, as many Ottawwaws (Tanner's own band, under Peshauga), and the rest Ojibbeways. His story continues, pp. 140-43, *q. v.*

and 100 pounds of balls, to encourage them to revenge the death of my beau-père and his family. At this they said among themselves that I had "almost as much sense as an Indian"; and if I had added a few kegs of rum I should have been considered fully as wise as themselves. This manner of comparing a white man to an Indian is the highest compliment they can pay. Let no white man be so vain as to believe that an Indian really esteems him or supposes him to be his equal. No—they despise us in their hearts, and all their outward professions of respect and friendship proceed merely from the necessity under which they labor of having intercourse with us to procure their necessities.

On the day after my arrival, I went out with Mr. Langlois to view the field of battle, and collected the bones in a heap. My beau-père was the only one buried; his body, having laid in the shade, was not in such a state of corruption as those in the plain, exposed to the hot sun. When my people first came here they could not approach the bodies to inter them. The wolves and crows, therefore, answered that purpose. I gathered up the remaining bones of my belle-mère in a handkerchief. We followed the Sioux road until we came to the place where they had stopped to divide the spoils, put on new shoes, and prepare for flight. We found the camp very extensive, and by the number of small painted sticks, such as they generally leave behind after a fight, we judged the party to have consisted of about 300 men, with a great many horses. Many old, worn-out shoes were lying about.

I remained at Panbian river until Aug. 10th, when I embarked and returned to Bas de la Rivière with a cargo of grease for Lake Winipic. Happening to meet my brigade just as I neared Pointe au Sable, at the entrance of Winipic river, I unloaded my cargo and returned with them. Camped at Isle à la Biche; men raised wattap. Next day we made the entrance of Red river, and went thence to the Forks, where we were ten days amusing ourselves, and wait-

ing for the H. B. people ; for I did not choose to reach my new quarters before the war party returned and dispersed, and everyone was settled in winter quarters. This, I knew, would save me great expenses. We caught great abundance of sturgeon and all other kinds of fish peculiar to this river—much more than my people could consume. Wild fowl were plenty about the entrance of Red river and on Dead river. Plums were ripe, and the men daily gathered loads of that delicious fruit.

*Aug. 27th.* We arrived at the Forks, having seen the H. B. boat in Sault à la Biche.

*Aug. 29th.* J. McKenzie of the H. B. Co. passed up the Assiniboine with three boats, and Thomas Miller with two boats up Red river, bound for Panbian river. *30th.* The Upper Red River brigade arrived, and passed on directly. We amused ourselves fishing ; and, having ordered a number of horses down from my place, I kept some of my people hunting buffalo toward the upper part of Rivière Sale. I, however, started on the canoes with the outfit for Portage la Prairie.

*Sept. 4th.* I received information that the war party had left Panbian river, all in one body, on the 27th ult. During our stay here we took a number of excellent whitefish in our small nets. The women gathered great quantities of hazelnuts, but the mice made it almost impossible to preserve them. Chokecherries, wild red cherries, Panbian plums, grapes, etc., all abound. *21st.* Fire set to the grass in the plains toward the S., we suspect by the war party. *27th.* An express arrived on horseback to inform me they had returned ; but, as I expected, with empty hands. They had been to Chief mountain and found a camp of Sioux of 30 tents ; but while preparing to attack them, the enemy escaped. [Story in full in Tanner, p. 140.]

*Sept. 28th.* I sent off the canoes. *29th.* Reached Portage la Prairie on horseback.

*Oct. 2d.* Set off for Panbian river with Le Sueur,<sup>2</sup> Hu-

<sup>2</sup> So copy—no doubt the Toussaint Lesieur already noted, p. 35.



neau,<sup>3</sup> and wife. Fire in the plains in every direction; burned our horses' feet passing through the smoldering turf. Slept at Beaulieu's<sup>4</sup> tent on Sale river. *3d.* Set off; camped at the foot of the traverse on this river. Awoke about 4 a. m. next morning and found six inches of snow on our blankets. We lay in the open plain, exposed to the storm, which continued with great violence from the N. E. At daybreak we took shelter in the woods along the river, and made a cabin with elm bark; not a mouthful to eat. On the 5th the storm had abated, but left nearly a foot of snow on the ground, with a strong crust, and made it tedious traveling for our horses. However, I set out. Killed two buffaloes, and at sunset overtook my brigade at Rivière aux Marais; they were starving with cold and hunger.

*Oct. 6th.* We all arrived at Panbian river, where we found that the H. B. people were building, and about 80 Indians anxiously awaiting my arrival, in expectation of getting as much rum as usual; but they were mistaken. I immediately drew up an agreement with Mr. Miller; we divided our Indians, I taking good care to keep the best hunters for myself, and settled matters so as to keep them from cheating us. I turned Tabashaw over to my neighbor, and positively refused to have anything more to do with him. On the 7th Indians began to decamp, finding it was

<sup>3</sup> So copy—no further record found.

<sup>4</sup> Beaulieu is a very old name in these annals. A half-breed family of that name was found on Slave r. when the N. W. Co. first reached it, in or about 1778, showing prior presence of the French so far as this. François Beaulieu, one of that family, born in the region, was one of the six voyageurs who started with (Sir) A. McKenzie for the Pacific May 9th, 1793, from the place where the party had wintered on Peace r.; he was baptized by Mgr. Taché in 1848, then supposed to be over 70 years old, and died Nov., 1872, almost a centenarian.—The Beaulieu of the text is Joseph, listed as voyageur contre-maître N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804.—Basile Beaulieu, from Montreal, was a voyageur N. W. Co. in 1804-05, at Lac de Flambeau (Torch l.), Minn.—One Beaulieu, given also as Bolieu, and never with Christian name, was one of three men under Mr. Quesnel at the Rocky Mountain house on the Saskatch. r. when Thompson arrived there, Oct. 11th, 1806; he went with Thompson into the Rocky mts., where we hear of him at various points, 1807-11.

in vain to plague me for liquor. They had done their utmost; some had flattered and even caressed<sup>5</sup> me, some had threatened mischief, and others said they would not hunt; but all to no purpose, as I was determined they should not taste a drop while they lay idle at the fort, though I gave them their debts and other necessities, as usual. On the 8th I sent off the boats for Grandes Fourches with eight men, including Messrs. Crébassa, Cadotte, and Le Sueur. This is the only outpost I shall make on Red river this year. At Portage la Prairie are two. Mr. Wilkie and St. Germain go to Prairie en Longue; Antoine Desjarlaix, to Lac des Chiens [Dog lake]; and Mr. L. Dorion and T. Vaudry, to Portage la Prairie. Men finished gathering potatoes, but the crop has failed owing to the excessive heat, which scorched everything early in the season. I had only 400 bushels. On the 10th we were plagued with Grandes Oreilles, Le Premier, as great a scoundrel as ever walked, who is here with his band, and very troublesome. He makes menaces, but to no purpose, having lost ground with us and been obliged to come to our measures. *11th.* The ground was clear of Indians.

*Oct. 13th.* Some of my people, who were hunting buffalo, came upon the remains of the Sioux killed in last summer's fight, and left by his people in the plains, not far from the Big island on Tongue river. He had been arranged with all the ceremonies due to a great war chief, but the wolves, crows, and vultures had despoiled him of all the habiliments, feathers, and other decorations. However,

<sup>5</sup> The hamlet of Deer River, Minn., consists largely of two rival saloons and some less reputable houses, where the lumberjacks live or resort when not engaged in their arduous occupations. Liquor is sold openly to Indians in defiance of law, and it is the express boast of the place that no U. S. marshal dare show himself there. I remember seeing exactly what Henry describes: a drunken Indian who had been swaggering and staggering about town till he had spent his last cent for whisky, groveling in a heap on the ground, hugging the knees of a man and begging piteously for "just one more drink," with the maudlin tears streaming down his cheeks. We do not seem to have improved the Ojibways much between Henry's time and ours.

they brought me two handsome redstone pipes, two garished stems, and a small hair-trunk, containing medicines.

Our Indians in the beginning attempted their old tricks, coming into the houses every two or three days to beg for free rum, but they were soon convinced there was no longer an X. Y. Co. to spoil and support them in idleness. They saw the need of hunting to procure their necessities, and accordingly dispersed in places where a few skins were still to be had, whilst others labored hard to make dried provisions; thus all went well, and we were little troubled with them. We obliged them to pay their debts, and not a drop of rum was given to drink at the fort.

*Oct. 16th, 17th.* Great snowstorms, with a gale from the N. E.; an extraordinarily early winter. *18th.* Bottineau's son, a boy about seven years of age, died of a swelling of the belly and costiveness. An hour before he expired the swelling disappeared entirely, and we were in hopes he would recover; clysters and purges had no effect whatever. *21st.* Joseph Plante<sup>6</sup> arrived from Montagne à la Bosse. *26th.* Pelletier,<sup>7</sup> Desjardins,<sup>8</sup> Bos Pang-

<sup>6</sup>Several of this name, but not quite so many as appear in the lists, because some are duplicated as La Plante.—Alexis Plante, voyageur N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1804.—Antoine Plante, voyageur N. W. Co., Red Lake Dept., 1804.—Charles Plante was on Willamette r., in Oregon, in 1835.—Joseph La Plante appears as voyageur N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804; the same, as voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804; the Joseph Plante of above text is found with Henry at Pembina in 1807-08, besides being accounted for this present 1805-06; but Joseph Plante, voyageur N. W. Co., wintered in 1805-06 in the Rat River country, under orders of David Thompson, who sent him to the old N. W. Co. house on Reed l. These four Josephs are apparently two persons, the first and third being one, the second and fourth another.—Louis Plante, voyageur N. W. Co., Rat River country, 1804.—Louis Auguste Plante, voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies on the Saskatchewan, 1804. One La Plante, who was on Peace r. with Thompson in the winter of 1803, is very likely Louis Auguste.—Pierre Plante, voyageur N. W. Co., English r., 1804.

<sup>7</sup>The name of this freeman reappears as Antoine Peltier, witness in the Semple case at Toronto, Oct., 1818; very likely the same person as one Peltier of the N. W. Co., at Pine fort, on the Assiniboine, Oct., 1793.—Jean Baptiste Pelletier and Louis Pelletier were voyageurs N. W. Co., Nepigon, 1804.

<sup>8</sup>This freeman was still at Pembina May 12th, 1806. He is probably the

man,<sup>9</sup> and others, arrived from the Assiniboine—X. Y. freemen, the first of the kind who ever came to Panbian river, and as great a nuisance, according to their capacities, as their former employers. This quarter has hitherto been free from men of that description, as I made it a rule never to give a man his freedom in this country on any conditions whatever, and I have always found the benefit of such procedure.

*Oct. 30th.* My Assiniboine chief arrived with a young Saulteur, Nawicquaicoubeau, who, having been long married to an Assiniboine woman, was perfectly well acquainted with their language. They wanted me to send people to the hills to trade, which I would not do, giving them many plausible reasons; they were soon satisfied and promised to bring in their hunt themselves. After the gates were closed, I gave them a quart of rum; they drank

same as one Dejadon, given as wintering at Portage la Prairie 1794-95, in opposition to William McKay of the N. W. Co., and very likely also same as one De Jardin of the X. Y. Co., mentioned by Thompson in the Reed Lake country, fall of 1804. No full name appears in any of these instances; the surname should also be found as Dujardin.

<sup>9</sup> *Bostonnais* Pangman, clerk N. W. Co. in charge of Pembina post when captured by H. B. Co., Mar. 20th, 1816. The surname is the same as that of Peter Pangman, one of the most noted characters in the beginnings of the N. W. Co., whose restless energies were a large factor in shaping events. He went to Grand Portage in the spring of 1784, as a member of the company who had a claim to partnership. But no provision for this having been made in the organization of the company, he went to Montreal with Peter Pond, who was also dissatisfied, to persuade Gregory, McLeod & Co. to form with them an opposition company. Pangman prevailed upon the firm to support him in this enterprise, but Pond almost immediately withdrew from it, accepted terms of the N. W. Co., and thus rejoined his former associates. Pangman and John Ross proceeded to establish a post for G., McL. & Co., at Grand Portage, in the spring of 1785. He somewhat later went to Fort des Prairies, on the Saskatchewan, and while in that far West had the honor of being the first white man known to have reached the Rocky mts., or in sight of them; for, in 1790, he carved his name on a tree, and "Pangman's tree" became a historical landmark. Both Thompson and Henry speak of examining it, many years later. It was a pine which stood on the Saskatchewan, about 3 m. above the Rocky Mountain house. Pangman left the company in 1793, bought the seigneurie of Mascouche, and settled there; he was the father of Hon. John Pangman.



very quietly. I sat up with them in the hall until ten, when, desiring Langlois to take care of them, I went to bed. About two I awoke at the report of a gun in the hall, and William Henry rushed in to tell me that Nawic. had shot Duford. I sent him to detain the Indian, and desired Langlois to come to me. I wished to be informed of the particulars before going to see the Indian, as I determined he should pay for it with his life. But Langlois related the following story: He sat up with them until midnight, when he went to bed, leaving them quietly enjoying their liquor. He did not go to sleep, wishing to overhear their private conversation, and thus learn their real intentions, as we still doubted whether they would bring their hunt here or to Rivière la Souris. They conversed first about hunting and then in what manner they would bring in their provisions, etc.; then on their war excursion of last fall, and Nawic. accused the party in general of cowardice, whilst he boasted of his own bravery and former exploits, saying the Sioux were only brave in great numbers, and that man to man they were cowards and old women, who never dared face a Saulteur. During this discourse they sang their war songs, recounted their exploits, and performed the manoeuvres usual in battle. These repeated exertions so agitated their minds, and the fumes of liquor had taken such effect, that they were transported to a degree of frenzy. They could not remain seated on their epishemaunts on the floor, but attempted to rise up, and, as they supposed, to fight their battles over again in pantomime. The chief reeled about for a few moments and then fell dead drunk, but the other fellow staggered about the hall for some time. His gun and bow and arrows were lying near him, but he performed all his antics with his pipe-stem instead of his weapons. The candle having burned down, and the fire nearly gone out, the room became dark. Langlois went outdoors while the Indian was still tumbling about, scarcely able to stand.

Langlois soon returned, and on entering the room heard

the Indian uttering hideous yells and bawling out: "The bad dogs! I see them—there they are—come on, friends—don't flinch—take courage—revenge the death of our relations; come on, I say—have at them—fire!" Langlois was passing him, when suddenly the gun went off so near his face as to singe his hair; he heard the Indian fall, but the darkness prevented his seeing anything. At the same moment he heard Duford fall in his cabin, calling out, "Oh! Mr. Michel, I am killed." The Indian as soon exclaimed, "What have I done? What is the matter?" When the candle was lighted, Duford was found lying in his room, by his bedside, weltering in blood; the Indian was seated with his head between his legs; and one of our own guns was lying upon the floor. It was a fine gun, with extremely weak springs, and had been known repeatedly to go off in handling it carelessly. One of my people had been out shooting pheasants the day before, and returned late in the evening, after the Indians had begun to drink; he had placed this gun inside Duford's cabin, close to the door. The Indian, although very drunk, on seeing the mischief he had done fell a-crying and lamenting, assuring the bystanders that he did not do it intentionally, and that, if they were of a different opinion, they were welcome to kill him—he was ready to die—they might strike, as he knew he deserved death. I then went to Duford and inquired the particulars; he related nearly the same story, with this addition, that the Indian, in tumbling about the hall, had fallen near his room and pulled down a blanket which Duford had hung up to serve instead of a door. It was supposed his hand closed upon the gun by accident, as Duford said the Indian fell backward into the room. When the latter had recovered himself and was staggering about in the dark, Duford got up to fasten the blanket, not a word having passed between them; he secured one corner with an awl, spread out the blanket, and was fastening the other corner with an awl also, when suddenly the shot was fired through the blanket. On mature deliberation, I felt

that I could not punish the fellow with death, as it appeared to me that it was plainly an accident; for had he been maliciously inclined, he naturally would have used his own gun, that stood near, primed and loaded with ball. Duford, who understands the language very well and had not slept a moment on account of the noise, had overheard the same conversation which Langlois related. On examining the wound, I found the shot had entered the groin, making a hole that appeared to descend along the thigh-bone, so as not to fracture it; the whole charge seemed to be lodged in one mass, about 10 inches deep. From the direction of the shot it was plain that the gun must have gone off in an awkward position and not with any premeditated design. The Indian remained seated upon the earth, entirely naked, with his head between his legs, every moment expecting to have his brains knocked out; but I could not suppose him guilty of premeditated murder.

Next morning he was perfectly sober, but afraid to see me; he sent word, before he went away, that he should always remember me, and be thankful for the charity I had done him in giving him his life. He sincerely lamented the unfortunate affair, and assured me it was not done designedly. It is true he is a bad Indian who has killed three of his own relations; but he never before had hurt a white man. All that he can recollect is that, when the gun went off, he imagined himself in pursuit of a Sioux, with his weapons in his hands. At nine o'clock on the 31st, they set off, to all appearances sad and sorrowful.

This morning the wounded man was very weak from loss of blood, which could not be stanchd till late in the evening. He sent for me to ask pardon for all his past offenses, perceiving he was approaching his end, poor fellow! I felt very much for him, and freely forgave him the few tricks he had played on me.

*Nov. 1st.* This morning the men supposed him much better and in a fair way of recovering, but from the symp-

toms I observed I concluded death was drawing near, and so hinted to him ; his behavior was truly penitent. At ten o'clock his senses left him ; he lay in a torpor until 2 p. m., when he expired without a groan. *2d.* We buried the corpse. *6th.* Chased buffalo on horseback with William Henry ; killed two cows. *8th.* Assiniboines arrived to trade, with great ceremonies, flags flying and guns firing. *15th.* A terrible snowstorm ; buffalo passing northward in as great numbers as ever I saw them, and within 100 yards of the fort. *18th.* The Crees stole four horses.

At daybreak I was awakened by the firing of guns in the fort. I ran to the window, and pulling the curtains aside, perceived my people dispatching a cow at the foot of my gallery. Some of the women, on going out very early, had neglected to shut the gate when they returned ; and this cow, in coming from the plains, had fallen upon our meat road, and followed it until she entered the gate, when the dogs instantly flew at her and prevented her escape.

*Dec. 1st.* My men go daily for buffalo meat to the hunter's tent, three miles distant, with 15 to 20 horse travailles, and return with 30 cows ; in this manner our winter stock is being rapidly completed. *18th.* My library caught fire, but it was soon extinguished, with the loss only of a few pamphlets and newspapers.

*Jan. 4th, 1806.* We observed an eclipse of the moon at half-past four p. m., which continued until nine o'clock. My cooper began to make quarter-casks for salt beef, and my wheelwright to make wheels. *5th.* Old Wabasha died of cancer in the neck. We take from 40 to 50 fish daily.

*Feb. 9th.* Men and women have been drinking a match for three days and nights, during which it has been drink, fight—drink, fight—drink, and fight again—guns, axes, and knives their weapons—very disagreeable.

*Feb. 13th.* Cautoquince arrived from above, and informed us that the Americans had landed a party of soldiers at Leech lake, but he does not know the



particulars.<sup>10</sup> Pishawbey<sup>11</sup> passed on his way to Otter Tail lake. *17th*. Messrs. Chaboillez and A. McGillis arrived from Fort Dauphin, and Messrs. Wilkie and Dorfon from Portage la Prairie. *26th*. The gentlemen off for their posts. *22d* [*sic*]. Allard<sup>12</sup> and Bottineau returned with their stolen horses, after a narrow escape from being killed by the Crees.

*Mar. 3d*. My blacksmith's woman ran away with Charlo.<sup>13</sup> *8th*. Her ladyship very ill, etc. *12th*. White Loon, a Cree boy, died of consumption, aged about 15 years.

*Mar. 13th*. Roille<sup>14</sup> and Descarrie [Descarreau of May 18, 1804] arrived from Leech lake, with letters from Mr. Hugh McGillis, informing us that a party of American soldiers had arrived at his place in February last, commanded by Lieut. [Zebulon Montgomery] Pike; their headquarters were [not] at L'Aile du Corbeau [Crow Wing river], and their errand was to oblige us to pay the usual duties at Mackinac for trading in American territories. *17th*. All my people laid up snow-blind, with sore eyes, occasioned by the continual storms and drifts. *25th*. Astonishing numbers of chicken-hawks flying from S. to N., very high in the air. *31st*. The Indians saw three fallow deer [*Cariacus virginianus*], and killed one—the first of the kind ever seen in this quarter.

<sup>10</sup> For all these particulars, see Pike, ed. 1895, p. 152 and following. Lieut. Pike and Private Miller reached Hugh McGillis' N. W. Co. house on Leech l. at 10 p. m., Saturday, Feb. 1st, 1806, and the rest of the party about 4 p. m., Feb. 6th.

<sup>11</sup> Again an identification to be made with Tanner, who has much to say of "Pe-shau-ba, who was chief of the band of Ottowwaws, to which I belonged," p. 139. This Peshau-ba was one of the war party which left Pembina Aug. 27th, 1805, to avenge the stroke the Sioux had made.

<sup>12</sup> Probably Ambrose Allard, listed as a voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., after the fusion of 1804; but at the same time there was a Pierre Allard on Lake Winnipeg.

<sup>13</sup> So copy: but the only Charlo to whom we have hitherto been introduced was dying on p. 161, dead on p. 167, and duly lamented on p. 168.

<sup>14</sup> This is the man Pike names "Reale" at date of Feb. 21st, 1806, in his itinerary, p. 174 of the ed. of 1895: see also there, p. 928.

*Apr. 5th.* My man finished two new carts and made a wheelbarrow. *11th.* The North West Annual Winter Express arrived from Athabasca. L'Hiver hamstrung his young wife to prevent her gossiping about ; the rascal cut the tendons of both heels, and made several gashes across the wrist, while she attempted to defend herself. *12th.* Express off for Leech lake, with William Henry and four men. Men making blockhouses. *13th.* Dreadful snow-storm. *23d.* Ice broke up in Red river.

*May 1st.* Great banks of snow still lying on the edge of the woods. This certainly has been the most extraordinarily cold and stormy weather I have ever experienced on Red river. *4th.* A deluge of rain ; our stores flooded, and the property damaged. *5th.* M. Langlois and Lambert came with a cart for the remains of the deceased *Boruf* to bury at the fort, being a particular of his relations [*sic*]. *9th.* Buffalo grazing in abundance westward. *11th.* Boats arrived from Grandes Fourches—Mr. Crébassa. *13th.* Sowed potatoes. *14th.* One of the H. B. boats off, taking 40 pieces for me to the Forks ; sent one of my boats also, with the first trip of 122 bags of pemmican. I sowed three quarts of oats. *18th.* Mr. Miller off with all his H. B. people. Mosquitoes very numerous. *23d.* William Henry arrived from Leech lake, with a cargo of sugar. Indians all camped. Pishaubey arrived with Washegamoishcam in two wooden canoes from Pelican river [branch of Red river], with 300 beavers and 40 prime otters. They had seen Sioux repeatedly, but always avoided them. *26th.* Assiniboines arrived and camped. *28th.* Red Lake Indians arrived—Grand Noir and his son-in-law, the scoundrel who killed one of our men last spring, at Red lake—an American named Hughes. The Indian came on purpose to kill George Simpson, who was in charge. Hughes, who was standing by the door, saw that the Indian was inclined to do mischief. He therefore caught up a tent-pole and gave the fellow a blow on the head, which staggered him ; but the Indian, on recovering himself, shot Hughes dead.

This was the second affair of the kind at this place, two years in succession ; in each, an Indian intended to kill the master, but the blow fell upon another man. Grand Noir brought a paqueton [bundle] of beavers, to induce me to show charity to his son-in-law. All the principal men in camp came with him, but the murderer was not to be found. I kicked the skins out of the house and would listen to none of their speeches, telling them that if I could see the murderer he would be a dead man, and that no number of skins could pay for the blood of one of our murdered servants.

This day I sent off my boats and canoes for the Forks, so heavily loaded they could scarcely swim. *29th.* I embarked, leaving William Henry, Mr. Langlois, and four men at the fort. Dreadful numbers of mosquitoes. Arrived at the Forks. Upper Red River brigade passed.

*June 1st.* Went to Portage la Prairie to settle that place ; left there Mr. D. [L. Dorion] and T. [Toussaint Vaudry] and two men. *3d.* Returned to the Forks. *4th.* Played with J. McKenzie of the H. B. Co., with drum, fife, etc., and drank out a ten-gallon keg of brandy. *5th.* H. B. Co. off in three boats ; in the afternoon we embarked also. *8th.* Arrived at Bas de la Rivière and camped at the Gallois above.

*June 9th.* The Upper Red River canoes passed ; H. B. Co. boats also.

*June 10th.* Sent off my canoes for Kamanistiquia ; 5 men and 22 sacks per canoe ; passengers : Messrs. Alexander Wilkie, John Crébassa, Antoine Desjarlaix, Joseph St. Germain, Augustin Cadotte, Toussaint Le Sueur, and Pierre Bonza ; Jean Baptiste Lambert, guide ; four taureaux<sup>15</sup> per canoe, and one for the passengers.

<sup>15</sup> Raw-hide bags to hold about 80 pounds of pemmican ; also, such a quantity of pemmican. The taureau or " bull " may have been so called, as made of buffalo hide, or perhaps for the same reason that a certain mass of iron, or a certain kind of steamboat, is called a " pig." " I cut off 20 sacks or taureaux to put pemican in, and gave them to Minie to sew," says McDonnell, Jan. 14th, 1794, in Masson, I. p. 287. Compare note <sup>38</sup>, p. 173.

*June 11th.* Lake Winipic brigade passed—seven men per canoe. I returned to Bas de la Rivière in a small boat, with Plante and Hamel.

*June 13th.* Messrs. Ferguson<sup>16</sup> and Campbell off in a boat in the lake.

*June 17th.* Messrs. McLeod<sup>17</sup> and J. McKenzie<sup>18</sup> arrived in two canoes from Athabasca.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Ferguson or Farguson appears as an employee of the N. W. Co., in 1799; probably not the Mr. Ferguson above said.—“Mr.” Ferguson of the N. W. Co. arr. at Fort Alexandria, Sept. 1st, 1804, from Fort Dauphin.

<sup>17</sup> Archibald Norman McLeod, who became a personage in the N. W. Co. Thompson names “Archibald McCloud” as clk. N. W. Co., “for Montreal,” at Grand Portage, July 22d, 1797; he also notes that “Mr. McCloud” arrived at Sault Ste. Marie with Alex. McKenzie, May 26th, 1798, left June 1st, and arrived at Grand Portage June 7th. He was a proprietor, Fort Dauphin Dept. in 1799, and in charge of Swan River Dept. in 1800. He left Encampment isl. in Lake Winnipegosis, Sept. 1st, 1800, to go to Lac Bourbon (present Cedar l., on the Sasatchewan), returned Sept. 6th, and started next day for Swan r. He wintered 1800–01 at Fort Alexandria on the Assiniboine, and was at the N. W. house on Swan r., May 20th, 1801, en route to Grand Portage. He returned to Fort Alexandria, Sept. 27th, 1801. (See these dates in Harmon, who says that Alexander McLeod, half-breed son of A. N. McLeod, by a Rapid Indian woman, was in his fifth year in July, 1801). He wintered there or thereabouts, and on May 17th, 1802, passed Bird Mountain fort, en route to Grand Portage, and expected to go to the Athabasca Dept. next. Doubtless he did so, as Harmon speaks of addressing a letter to him there, Jan. 27th, 1803. On July 12th, 1805, he was en route from Kaministiquia to Athabasca; in July, 1807, he was en route from Athabasca to Kaministiquia. He passed Fort Dunvegan on Peace r. Oct. 7th, 1809, en route across the Rocky mts. to New Caledonia (British Columbia).

From the foregoing is to be distinguished Alexander McLeod, who was also in the Athabasca region for some years. His activities appear to be of earlier date than those of A. N. McLeod. “Mr.” McLeod wintered at Fort Chipe-wyan, 1789–90, continuing the building. Alex. McLeod was found by Thompson on the Missinipi June 13th, 1797, en route for Grand Portage, and July 20th, 1797, on the Height of Land near that place. “Mr.” McLeod arrived at Grand Portage July 2d, 1798, from Athabasca or English r., left for Athabasca, July 10th, left Rainy Lake house July 23d, left Winnipeg house July 31st, and was on the Missinipi Aug. 25th, 1798. “A.” McLeod was at the fort near the forks of Peace r. Jan., 1803, and went below with Mr. Stuart, May 6th, 1803.

<sup>18</sup> James McKenzie of the N. W. Co.—distinguish from J. McKenzie of the H. B. Co., with whom Henry had such a good time, June 4th. See note <sup>18</sup>, p. 216.



*June 20th.* Blondin<sup>19</sup> came with six canoes from Peace river. On the same day, also, Mr. John McDonald<sup>20</sup> and

<sup>19</sup> Of the N. W. Co.; his first name appears on none of my memoranda. One Blondin is mentioned by Thompson on the Saskatchewan, 1800. Blondin's house is given by Thompson as on the W. end of Lesser Slave l., winter of 1803-04 (not to be confused with Blondish's or Blondishe's house on the Assiniboine below Portage la Prairie, 1794).

<sup>20</sup> There were at least two of this name (besides two persons named John McDonnell). Each signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attys., one on the part of the N. W. Co., the other on the part of the X. Y. Co. Both thus became of the N. W. Co., both were in the far Northwest at the same time, and it is not easy to separate their blended records for a few years. John McDonald of Garth, as he came to be known, stands out conspicuously through his Autobiographical Notes, 1791-1816, in Masson, II. 1890, pp. 1-59. These are of extreme interest and historical value; unfortunately they are the reminiscences of a very old man (dated Mar. 26th, 1859), and, besides being diffuse, are so confused in dates that they can hardly be relied upon within a year or two, particularly during the very years that they are most blended with the record of the other John McDonald—say 1805-11, during which period they require to be checked by other records. But it does not appear that John McDonald of Garth was ever on Athabasca r.; and therefore Henry's mention is undoubtedly of the other John McDonald, late of the X. Y. Co.—unless we assume that the name is in error for John McDonnell.

The following memoranda from the Thompson MS. may serve to check some dates: John McDonald, clerk N. W. Co., went with James Hughes to Fort George on the Saskatchewan in 1797; was there Sept. 18th, 1798. John McDonald arrived with Thompson at Fort George at 8 a. m., Sept. 5th, 1799, and started for Fort Augustus next day. John McDonald was at Cumberland House Sept. 6th-9th, 1804. John McDonald was on Rivière Maligne June 25th, 1805, en route from Slave l. John McDonald wintered at the Rocky Mountain house and in that vicinity on the Saskatchewan, 1806-07; started for Fort Augustus Feb. 19th, 1807. "J." McDonald was at Lower Terre Blanche or White Mud house on the Saskatchewan, in Sept., 1811, and "Jo" McDonald was at Thompson's Kootenay house on the Columbia in Nov., 1811.

John McDonald of Garth, nicknamed "Bras Croche," from a deformity of the arm from an accident in childhood, was a small maimed person of great courage and immensely effective energies. He was a Scotch Highlander, b. 1774, came to Canada 1791, Quebec June 1st, left Lachine about June 15th, and wintered 1791-92 under Angus Shaw at the house built by the latter in 1789 on Lac d'Original, Beaver River waters; came in to Grand Portage 1792, and wintered 1792-93 at that Fort George which Shaw had built on the Saskatchewan in 1792. He was back and forth, 1793-99, wintering at Fort George for the most part, but also at that Fort Augustus on the Saskatchewan which Shaw built in 1798. He became a partner in the N. W. Co. in 1799 or 1800; left Grand Portage July 15th, 1800 (see Harmon, p. 43), win-

Mr. Decoigne<sup>21</sup> arrived with a brigade consisting of six Athabasca river canoes.

tered 1800-01 on the upper Saskatchewan, and summered 1801 with Ducoigne at Fort Augustus. In 1802 he built the Rocky Mountain house on the Saskatchewan, near the mouth of the Clearwater. In 1803 he came in to Fort William (Kaministiquia), Daniel McKenzie was sent in his place, and he went to Montreal "after an absence of 12 or 15 years," he says, and also to Boston, Mass. In 1804 he was ordered to take the English River Dept. in place of Donald McTavish, and wintered at Isle à la Crosse, 1804-05 (at this point in his Notes he mentions the *other* John McDonald as taking Daniel McKenzie's place with James Hughes on the upper Saskatchewan). In 1805 he returned to the Saskatchewan, went up the south fork to the mouth of Red Deer r., built New Chesterfield house there, and wintered 1805-06. In 1806 we find him at Montreal, sick. In 1807 he took charge of the Red River Dept. in place of "Big" McDonnell; had as assistant Alex. McDonnell; built Fort Gibraltar at the site of present Winnipeg; wintered 1807-08 on the Qu'Appelle, at the house where "Big" McDonnell had been for some years, and came in to Fort William, 1808. Hearing that Thompson was in trouble in the Rocky mts., he organized an expedition for his relief, which included George J. McTavish, a Mr. McMillen, and the bold guide, Joseph Paul, "an old bully." He got into the mountains, and certainly wintered; but whether this was 1808-09, or 1809-10, or both, is obscure; he says at this point that he has "been blending two seasons in one," and also that he got out of that country in the spring of 1810; but he nowhere accounts for 1811: compare Thompson's mention of "J." and "Jo" McDonald, fall of 1811. He was at Fort William in 1812; left in the schooner Beaver; went to Quebec; left in the Isaac Todd, for England; left London in her for the Columbia r. Feb., 1813; off Rio Janeiro changed to the ship Essex, and later to the ship Raccoon, Capt. Black, which reached Astoria Nov. 30th, 1813. Astoria thereupon became Fort George, which he left Apr. 4th, 1814, with the overland party which included Gabriel Franchère, John Stuart, Donald McKenzie, etc. He made the Rocky Mt. house on the Athabasca r. May 17th; was at mouth of Pembina r., a branch of the Athabasca, June 1st; went up the Pembina and over to Fort Augustus on the Saskatchewan, which he descended and was at Fort William in July, 1814. He went to Montreal, left the N. W. Co. in 1816, and settled at Garth, Gray's cr., Glengary Co., where he died, aged 86: see p. 762.

Some other McDonalds may be conveniently noted here: Alexander McDonald is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Lake Winnipeg.—Allen McDonald was a clerk N. W. Co., 1804, Fort Dauphin.—Angus McDonald, brother of John of Garth, has been before mentioned; he is also noticed by Henry at Pembina, 1807-08.—Peter McDonald appears as voyageur contre-maitre N. W. Co., 1804, Red Lake Dept.—Finan or Finnan McDonald, clerk N. W. Co., was with Thompson at various places on the upper Saskatchewan, in the Rocky mts., and on headwaters of the Columbia, 1806-12.

<sup>21</sup> François Decoigne or Ducoigne, of whom we have record as clerk N. W.

*June 21st.* Messrs. A. McGillis, Halcro,<sup>22</sup> and others arrived from Fort Dauphin with 5 canoes. At twelve o'clock I embarked, and camped at Catfish river.<sup>23</sup>

*June 26th.* Entered Red river with 26 small canoes—men, women, and children repairing here for the summer to live on fish. Indians sowing corn and potatoes at Dead

## ABSTRACT OF PIECES FOR NORTHWEST OUTFIT, KAMANISTQUIA, 1805.

	Canoes.	Pieces.	Provisions.	Total.
Athabasca.....	40	864	461	1,325
Athabasca River.....	5	70	46	116
English River.....	8	149	91	240
Rat River.....	4	72	52	124
Upper Fort des Prairies.....	8	193	185½	278½
Lower Fort des Prairies.....	5	95	59	154
Upper Red River.....	9	217	73	290
Lower Red River.....	8	205	65	270
Fort Dauphin.....	5	119	48½	167½
Lake Winipic.....	13	272	166	388
Lac la Pluie.....	7	200	70	270
Nepigon.....	16	290	188	487
Fond du Lac.....	14	268	134	402
Michel Cadotte, La Pointe.....	4	81	42	123
Montreal River.....	3	70½	32	102½
Le Pic.....	5	78	82	160
Lac des Chiens and Lac Mille Lacs.....	2	38	26	64
	156	3,290½	1,771	5,061½

NOTE.—The corn is included in the provisions.

Co., 1798–1808 at least; John McDonald of Garth has much to say of him. Thompson notes him at Fort George, with John McDonald and Mr. Jerome, Sept. 18th, 1798. In 1799 he was in the Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mt. Dept.; in 1804, in the Athabasca Dept.; in 1808, we shall hear more of him in Henry.—On May 1st, 1799, on the Athabasca, at mouth of Red Deer, Thompson directed “Mr.” Ducoigne to build at mouth of Lesser Slave r. In May, 1814, “Mr.” Decoigne was in charge of the Rocky Mountain house on the Athabasca, and went with the Franchère party to Canada; he is said to have been that way 19 years before. In 1818 one Decoigne was an old N. W. Co. man who had joined the H. B. Co., and was acting agent of the latter in the Athabasca Dept. These records all seem those of one person. The name also appears as De Quoine, and by misprint De Quoie.

<sup>22</sup> The correct name, whose oddity marks it. Mr. Halcro had been of the X. Y. Co. before the fusion of 1804. Thompson speaks of him as such, and mentions that he left Cumberland House June 22d, 1805, as passenger in a N. W. Co. canoe for Kaministiquia. Henry has more to say of him beyond.

<sup>23</sup> Present Brokenhead r., falling into the S. E. end of Lake Winnipeg: see note <sup>44</sup>, p. 40. So Henry is not going in to Kaministiquia this year. He has turned about, en route back to his post at Pembina.

river. Water extraordinarily high and continued storms, which breed an incredible number of mosquitoes; obliged to have large kettles constantly smoking in our boat to keep them away.

## RETURNS OF LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1805-06.

EIGHT CANOES.	L. Dorion, Portage la Prairie.	A. Desjarlais, Dog Lake.	A. Wilkie, Ft. Wasp Mount. <sup>24</sup>	J. Crébassa, Grandes Fourches.	A. Henry, Pambian River.
1,621 Beavers, weighing 2625 lbs.....	116	103	284	342	776
125 Black bears.....	42	6	12	24	51
49 Brown bears.....	25	2	2	..	20
4 Grizzly bears.....	1	..	..	..	3
862 Wolves.....	81	5	13	310	533
509 Foxes, black, silver, red, and cross.....	75	4	2	171	256
152 Raccoons.....	14	..	..	75	63
322 Fishers.....	66	13	44	59	140
214 Otters.....	36	26	23	27	102
1,456 Martens.....	532	400	249	4	271
507 Minks.....	93	130	108	35	141
45 Wolverenes.....	20	1	13	1	10
460 Dressed moose and biche.....	222	13	48	7	179
78 Parchment and shaved do.....	..	..	17	7	54
12,470 Muskrats.....	10,865	1,428	39	9	100
74 Buffalo robes.....	..	..	..	6	68
1 Beaver robe, 7 skins.....	..	..	..	..	1
126 Packs <sup>25</sup> .....	36	6	11	18	53
6 Packs.....	..	..	..	1	5
132 Packs.....	..	..	..	19	58
235 Bags of Pemmican.....	12	..	..	35	188
3,000 lbs. Beat meat.....	3,000	..	..	..	..
14 Kegs grease.....	..	..	..	4	10
5 Kegs sugar.....	..	..	..	2	3
24 Kegs beef packed in casks.....	..	..	..	..	24
6 Kegs tongues.....	..	..	..	..	6
5 Kegs gum.....	..	..	..	..	5
1 Keg salt.....	..	..	..	..	1
2 Kegs small bosses [?].....	..	..	..	..	2

£3,462 1s. 5d. H. Cy.

<sup>24</sup> "Ft. Wasp Mount." appears to be an error of the copy, correction of which escapes me. On Oct. 8th, 1806, we are told in text that Mr. Wilkie and J. St. Germain were to go to Prairie en Longue.

<sup>25</sup> An interpolation which I cannot adjust for the printer, and therefore strike out, states that 200 wolves, 120 kitts, 40 badgers, and 20 skunks, were bartered with Thos. Miller of the H. B. Co. for pemmican. These appear to have made the 5 packs Henry reports from Pembina (where Miller was); which, with the one in the same line Crébassa brought from Grand Forks, make the 6 of the left-hand column; other packs, 126; total packs, 132.



*July 3d.* At midnight we arrived at Panbian river.

REPORT OF NORTHWEST POPULATION, 1805.

DEPARTMENTS.	WHITES.			INDIANS.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
Athabasca .....	208	48	84	[Not	given.]	
Athabasca River .....	37	12	15	55	38	66
English River .....	78	40	63	211	380	1,100
Rat River .....	25	7	10	70	90	150
Fort des Prairies .....	136	59	103	4,823	13,632	45,906
Fort Dauphin .....	45	22	18	19	17	31
Upper Red River .....	56	52	82	1,170	1,200	2,500
Lower Red River .....	75	40	60	160	190	250
Lake Winipic .....	88	11	15	90	111	194
Lac la Pluie .....	46	10	10	103	141	195
Fond du Lac .....	128	29	50	449	784	1,944
Nepigon .....	90	20	20	238	283	299
Kamanistiquia .....	62	16	36	70	84	178
Mille Lacs and Lac des						
Chiens .....						
Le Pic .....	16	2	3	44	45	58
AMK Co. Men & Co. <sup>26</sup> ...	1,090	368	569	7,502	16,995	52,871
	520	37	31			
	1,610	405	600	7,502	16,995	52,871

NORTHWEST RETURNS OF OUTFIT OF 1805, RECEIPTED AT KAMANISTQUIA, 1806.

<i>Northwest Country :</i>	<i>Packs.</i>
Athabasca and Salt [ <i>sic</i> —qu: Slave?] Lake, . . . . .	297
Athabasca River, . . . . .	96
English River, . . . . .	116
Rat River, . . . . .	41
Fort des Prairies, . . . . .	303
Fort Dauphin, . . . . .	80
Upper Red River, . . . . .	156
Lower Red River, . . . . .	126
Lake Winipic, . . . . .	127
Lac la Pluie, . . . . .	102
Lac Mille Lacs, . . . . .	19
Lac des Chiens, . . . . .	9
Kamanistiquia, . . . . .	18

<sup>26</sup> In this census the Indian wives and half-breed children appear to be enumerated as "whites"; there were no white women in the country. The large figures for "Fort des Prairies" would appear to include the whole upper Saskatchewan region; there was more than one establishment so called. "AMK Co. Men & Co." is puzzling; but the monogram makes the letters A. M. K., initials of Alexander McKenzie; and the X. Y. Co. was sometimes known as "Alexander McKenzie and Co." Furthermore, Henry often alludes to a man and his family as such a one "and Co." I imagine, therefore, that the phrase means simply the X. Y. Co. men and their wives and children. The table is interesting as indicating the percentage of men who took Indian wives.

*Northwest Lake Superior :*

	Packs.
Lake Nepigon, . . . . .	44
Lac des Isles, . . . . .	58
Monontagua, . . . . .	50
Le Pic, . . . . .	86
Michipicotton and Batchewoinan Bay, . . . . .	64

*South Lake Superior :*

Fond du Lac, . . . . .	182
Folle Avoine, . . . . .	44
La Pointe, . . . . .	71
Montreal River, . . . . .	64

2,253

McKenzie River Outfit of 1804 (Returns received at Kamanistiquia in 1806), . . . . .	79
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Total Returns (packs of 90 pounds each), . . . . . 2,332

*Contents of the above 2,253 packs (returns from McKenzie River not being included, as they belong to 1804), viz.:*

	Large Skins.	Small Skins.	Pounds.
Fine Beavers, . . . . .	23,438	11,402	41,830
Common Beavers, . . . . .	25,319	13,438	49,432
	48,757	24,840	91,262

Beaver Coating, . . . . . 3,565

73,597 Beaver Skins, . . . . .	94,827
3,903 " " . . . . .	5,204

77,500 " " . . . . . 100,031

51,033 Muskrats.

40,440 Martens.

4,011 Fine Otters.

2,132 Common Otters.

4,328 Minks.

2,268 Fishers.

1,131 Loup-cerviers.

1,591 Large Black Bears.

529 Cubs, " "

272 Large Brown and Grizzly Bears.

53 Cubs, " " " "

290 Large Bears, damaged and staged.

65 Cubs, " " "

4,065 Deer Skins.

3,497 Dressed Orignal Skins.

2,508 Kitts.

4,502 Wolves.

- 582 Wolves, bad.
- 745 Raccoons.
- 798 Carcajoux.
- 1,746 Red and Cross Foxes.
- 26 Silver Foxes.
- 173 Dressed Cariboux Skins.
- 906 Deer Skins, damaged, and Biche Skins, staged.
- 323 Parchment and Shaved Orignal.
- 1,135 Buffalo Robes.

*Trade by Mailloux [Milieux ?] at Kamanistiquia, 1806 :*

- 130 Beavers.
- 2 Black Bears.
- 2 Black Bear Cubs.
- 1 Brown Bear.
- 166 Martens.
- 6 Loup-cerviers.
- 8 Fishers.
- 4 Foxes.
- 9 Minks.
- 3 Wolves.
- 10 Raccoons.
- 66 Muskrats.
- 6 Parchments.
- 2 Doe Parchments.
- 38 Does and Cariboux, dressed.
- 218 Orignals, dressed.
- 248 Buffalo Robes.
- 4 Leather Capots.
- 68 Feathers (pounds of).

*Michipicotton Trade, 1806 :*

- 2,766 Beaver Skins, weighing 3,288 pounds.
- 3,893 Muskrats.
- 4,058 Martens.
- 36 Otters.
- 8 Minks.
- 369 Loup-cerviers.
- 75 Large Black Bears.
- 2 Cubs, " "
- 2 Large Brown Bears.
- 2 Cubs, " "
- 67 Bears, damaged or staged [?].
- 1 Wolf.
- 114 Raccoons.
- 48 Foxes, Red, Cross, and Silver.

KAMANISTIQUEIA, Aug. 19th, 1806.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE MANDAN TOUR: 1806.

**M**ONDAY, July 7th, 1806. During the three days since my arrival from Bas de la Rivière, I made the necessary preparations for my intended journey, and this morning left Panbian river with two men, Joseph Ducharme and Michel Forcier. Mr. William Henry goes with us to Portage la Prairie for a supply of tobacco. We were all well mounted, and had an extra horse for my baggage. At the Grand Marais we met Vieux Collier [Old Necklace] going to the fort with a load of dried provisions. At ten o'clock we crossed Rivière aux Marais, unloaded, and allowed the horses an hour to eat and refresh themselves, after which we remounted and proceeded. We were plagued with clouds of mosquitoes. I had made a kind of mask of thin dressed caribou<sup>1</sup> skin, to cover the head and face, and thus was more at ease than my companions, who could scarcely defend themselves from these troublesome insects. The traveling was tedious from the heavy rains, which made ugly and laborious walking for our horses. The soil is a stiff black mold, through which the rain does not soon penetrate; but when it is once thoroughly soaked, the water cannot drain off as it does in more elevated plains. In many places we found several feet of water; every little hollow formed a pond, and every rivulet appeared like a river. Our horses often sunk up to their knees in mud, and at times had water up to their bellies. The rivulets we swam over on horseback, carrying on our heads such articles as we wished to keep dry. At two o'clock we came to Plumb river, and were obliged to make a long circuit in the plains, before we could find a convenient place to swim

<sup>1</sup> The American woodland reindeer, *Rangifer caribou* or *R. tarandus*.



it. Soon after three o'clock we came to Rivière aux Grattias, up which we went to the forks, where we sighted the Saulteur camp, consisting of nine large cabins, on the N. side of the river, in the plains. The water was very high, but the Indians had canoes, in which we got over. They were in great expectation that I had brought them some liquor; but they were disappointed, as I had nothing but tobacco to offer them. They have been tented here since June the 11th, living on buffalo. Cows there are none, and even bulls are scarce. The last time I saw these people they promised me to summer on the E. side of Red river, where the moose and red deer are numerous, and some beaver also. They attempted to go there, but found the country almost entirely overflowed, which obliged them to return to the plains in search of buffalo. They had planned to go to the Missouri, to purchase horses. I endeavored to persuade them to the contrary, and advised them to make as much provisions as possible, for which they would receive liquor, ammunition, and tobacco, at my fort. This advice they did not much relish, but wished me to alter my course, and go with them. They proposed to go by way of Lac du Diable [Devil's lake, N. Dak.], across the Hair hills, having got some Assiniboines to guide them. They would start in five days, if I would remain and go with them. Their party consisted of over 40 men. They did all in their power to discourage me from going by way of Portage la Prairie and Rivière la Souris, saying the route to the Assiniboine was impracticable, as some of them had lately been hunting in that direction, and found it impossible to get through with their horses. However, when I persisted in my plan, several expressed a wish to accompany me, even by that route; and I had much trouble to dissuade them.

Our course from Panbian river to this place was about N.; the distance about 10 leagues. We passed a very uncomfortable night; the weather was sultry, with thunder, lightning, and rain, and the mosquitoes were intoler-

able. The women closed the openings of the cabins, and made a smudge inside, but to no purpose; it only made matters worse by choking us with the bitter smoke. If we covered our heads, we were suffocated with heat; if we remained uncovered, we were choked with smoke and mosquitoes. I, therefore, thought best to get out of doors, but was then in danger of being trampled to death by the horses, which surrounded the cabins to enjoy the smudge. When, to our great joy, daylight appeared, we instantly collected our horses, and proceeded on our journey.

*July 8th.* I believe some of the Indians would have followed us, had it not rained. I was not desirous of their company. They would have been more plague than service to me, and had any accident happened to them, the blame would have fallen on me. The mosquitoes continued so troublesome that it was only with difficulty that we could keep our horses from throwing themselves down and rolling in the water, to get rid of those cursed insects. Soon after leaving camp we came to the traverse, an open level meadow, about six leagues across to Rivière Sale. On this plain the traveling was very bad; our horses always had mud over their hoofs, and often water up to their bellies. At nine o'clock the weather cleared up, and a strong breeze gave us relief from the mosquitoes.

At eleven o'clock we came to the Sale, where we were obliged to swim our horses. We allowed them two hours to eat and rest, when we saddled and proceeded through a country overgrown with small poplars and willows, with small meadows at intervals; we passed through three abominably ugly mashquegies,<sup>2</sup> in which our horses were nearly knocked up. The heat was intolerable—I sincerely believe it was the hottest day I ever experienced in the North West.

At four o'clock we happily reached the Assiniboine, at the Grand Passage [in present St. Charles parish], three leagues

<sup>2</sup> Spelled in uncounted ways, but now usually *muskeg*. It means a bog or morass.

or more above the Forks [Winnipeg]. The uncommonly high water obliged us to make a raft to transport our baggage and equipments to the N. side. One of our party, who could not swim, we placed upon the raft, and set adrift. William Henry and I, and the other man, took to the water upon our horses. William, supposing himself an expert swimmer, let go his horse, and nearly paid dear for his imprudence; a severe cramp took him in the feet, and it was with much difficulty he reached the shore. Having all three got over, we left our horses to feed, whilst we went down river in search of the raft, which the strong current had carried much further than we supposed it would have done, and it was some time before we could reach it. This was very disagreeable. We were entirely naked, so that the mosquitoes had their pleasure with us, and having no shoes, it was only with great pain that we could walk in the sharp-pointed grass. We found the man on the raft waiting for us, and lost no time in dressing.

Having saddled, we proceeded up the Assiniboine, our course being about W. until eight o'clock, when we camped at White Horse plains.<sup>3</sup> Our horses were much fatigued by the heat and bad roads. We passed a very uncomfortable night, hot and sultry, with clouds of mosquitoes which so annoyed us that we took no supper. It was impossible to sit

<sup>3</sup> "There is a tradition amongst the French half-breeds that the White Horse Plain, about 15 miles up the Assiniboine from Winnipeg, receives its name from a white horse which roamed around in that district many years ago, and which could not be apprehended, though many persons had endeavored to capture him. I received this tradition from a French trader some years ago when traveling in the Saskatchewan country, but cannot vouch for its authenticity," Bell, *l. c.* No doubt a white horse could run wild on these plains as well as any others; but one who could vouch for the tradition might do the same for Death on the pale horse, the headless horseman, the enchanted white fawn that could only be killed with the magic bullet, and similar myths. The story probably started in some aboriginal superstition or "medicine." The place is in the vicinity of Headingly, a town on the N. bank of the Assiniboine, near where the S. W. branch of the C. P. Ry. now crosses. The name is perpetuated in White Plains, a station on the N. P. and Manitoba R. R. next above Headingly sta., S. of the river.

anywhere out of the smudge, although nearly suffocated by it, and while lying down we were in continual danger of our horses treading on us, as the night was dark, the poor beasts could not eat, and were continually crowding in the smoke.

*July 9th.* Fine weather, but excessively warm. We mounted and left, directing our course N. W., to avoid some large marais and low meadows which lie along the river near Prairie à Faurner,<sup>4</sup> and which we supposed were overflowed—the mosquitoes tormenting us as usual. Our horses, which had little rest last night, were almost ungovernable, tearing up the grass, throwing their fore feet over their heads to drive away the insects, and biting their sides till our legs were in danger of their teeth. In a word the poor tortured and enraged beasts often attempted to throw themselves down and roll in the water. We also suffered intolerably, being almost prevented from taking breath.

At ten o'clock we fell upon the great cart road which goes to Lac Plat,<sup>5</sup> about two leagues N. of us, where a num-

<sup>4</sup> So copy, but read Fournier (baker), in this instance a personal name. Thus McDonnell, May 19th, 1794, in Masson, I. p. 290, has: "Met two canotées of South-Men, ascending, headed by a Mons. Fournier. Took Morelle, a deserter of ours from Pembina River, from him. The first prairie below Fort de la Reine has been called Prairie à Fournier after this South Trader." There were several persons in the N. W. Co. of this name.—One Fournier brought an express from Slave l. to Fort Chipewyan, Apr. 17th, 1800.—Ignace Fournier is listed as voyageur, Fort des Prairies, 1804.—Joseph Fournier is listed as voyageur contre-maitre, Upper Red r., 1804; perhaps this is the one McDonnell speaks of.—Jacques Fournier, a Canadian voyageur, date and place of birth unknown, died in Kansas in July, 1871, at an alleged age of 124 or 125 years, probably about 100; he claimed to remember the battle of Abraham Plains, 1759, perhaps meaning siege of Quebec in 1775; was traced through Pittsburg, Pa., to New Orleans, where he was in the war of 1812, and is said to have been with Lewis and Clark. There is no mention of such a person, but he might have been one of the unnamed boatmen, who went as far as the Mandans and returned.—Louis Fournier was on the Willamette r. in Oregon in 1835.—Henry is traveling in St. François Xavier parish, past the town of that name on the N. bank of the river, toward Baie St. Paul. A town on the same bank, between the two said, is now known as Pigeon Lake.

<sup>5</sup> Now Shoal l., a considerable body of water lying between Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg. The cart road to this lake went north of the river in the vicinity of the present town of Marquette, on the main C. P. Ry.



ber of freemen are passing the summer. Two of our horses were knocked up, and could not move even upon a slow trot; I therefore left them to come on slowly, and pursued the cart road. Soon afterward I overtook a cart which proved to be Mr. Dorion's, with a load of buffalo meat from Lac Plat, where he has a hunter employed. We proceeded on to Raft lake,<sup>6</sup> where we unsaddled and allowed the horses two hours to rest. Here we found Madame Dorion, who had made a good fire to drive away the mosquitoes. She was sent on ahead for that purpose, and had also prepared some excellent appalats of buffalo meat, and gathered some nearly ripe pears. Having refreshed ourselves, and our fatigued party joining us, we saddled and mounted, but their pace was so slow that I left them to come on with the cart, and went ahead with Ducharme, directing our course S. S. W. until five o'clock, when we arrived at Portage la Prairie.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Present Long l., of narrow curved form, lying partly in the parish of Baie St. Paul, but mostly in the adjoining township on the N. (Tp. 13, R. iv, W. princ. merid). Henry is at or near Redburn sta. of the main C. P. Ry., between Marquette and Poplar Point sta., a little below a place on the N. bank of the river called Belcourt.

<sup>7</sup> Observe the change in Henry's course from N. W. to S. S. W. since leaving Long or Raft l., opp. which the Assiniboine is at its northernmost bend. Soon after passing Poplar Point sta. he crossed the boundary between Selkirk and Macdonald districts of Manitoba, entering the latter; he then passed Assiniboine, a place on the N. bank of the river, and next High Bluff sta. on the main C. P. Ry. In High Bluff parish, at or near the place on the river where the N. P. and Manitoba R. R. now crosses, named Bridge Spur, was Adhémar's fort, said by McDonnell, *l. c.*, p. 270, to be 6 m. by land, and a day by water (going up stream) below Portage la Prairie; he camped there May 17th, 1794. He gives Blondishe's fort as below Adhémar's—the lowest on the river at the time of which he writes. Jacques Adhémar of the N. W. Co. was in the Nepigon district in 1799. Portage la Prairie, as a locality, as a carrying-place from the Assiniboine over to Lake Manitoba, and as a station of the N. W. Co. in Henry's time, has been repeatedly mentioned in this work already, and reference has been made to Verendrye's Fort la Reine, on the S. or right bank of the river, founded Oct. 3d, 1738, when Verendrye was on his way to the Mandans, as Henry is now. This fort was burned by the Crees about 1752. The place was also called Prairie portage, Meadow portage (as Thompson, 1798) and Plain portage (Harmon, 1805); but the full form of the F. phrase persists, for

Here I found an Indian, sent by Mr. Chaboillez from Rivière la Souris to inform me of his arrival at that place from Fort Dauphin. I hear of nothing but famine throughout the country. The Indians of this establishment have been away since June 1st, and have made no dried provisions whatever. They can scarcely find food sufficient for their families. Their principal resource has been along the shores of Lake Maninthonobanc [*sic*—Manitoba], where wild fowl breed in prodigious numbers. Round the S. end of this lake, and as far N. as the Straits, a low, broken, marshy country extends from one to three miles before we come to *terra firma*—these extensive morasses being the great resort for wild fowl of all kinds. At the season when swans and other birds shed their feathers, the Indians destroy great numbers by pursuing them in canoes and killing them with sticks. Eggs of all sorts they also collect in abundance—even canoe-loads [*canotées*]. Muskrats are likewise very plentiful in these marais.

At Portage la Prairie we have an excellent garden, well stocked with potatoes, carrots, corn, onions, parsnips, beets, turnips, etc., all in forwardness and good order. Cabbages and melons do not turn out so well as at Panbian river—the soil here is too dry and sandy. It was late before our

the present parish, and for the town, somewhat off the river, where the N. P. and Manitoba R. R. crosses the main C. P. Ry. Portage cr. runs from this vicinity toward Lake Manitoba. McDonnell says, *l. c.*, that Wm. McKay of the N. W. Co. wintered here, 1794–95, with Mr. Reaume, in opposition to Mr. Linkwater of the H. B. Co., and one Dejadon, acting for one Laviolette. Thompson, who passed down Mar. 2d, 1798, notes “several old houses” in the vicinity. Harmon, who was here June 13th, 1805, says: “Here the North West Company have a miserable fort, the local situation of which is beautiful, beyond anything that I have seen in this part of the world. Opposite the fort there is a plain, which is about 60 miles long, and from one to ten broad, in the whole extent of which not the least rise of ground is visible,” Journal, 1820, p. 140.

A place on the river, which may be worth noting here, for future identification, is indicated as follows: “In the Assiniboine river, at one or two days above the Prairie Portage, is a place called Kenewkauneshewayboant, (where they throw down the gray eagle,)” James’ Tanner’s Narr. 1830, p. 60.

knocked-up party arrived; they came on foot, leading their horses, that could scarcely walk.

*July 10th.* We have not so many mosquitoes here as at Panbian river. The country is more elevated, and the soil, being dry and sandy, may account for the difference. I found myself unwell all day with a fever; however, I made preparations for our journey, but had some difficulty in procuring a good horse. My own, which I had sent here last spring for that purpose, was sick, and another one that I depended upon was lame; but as I was determined to proceed, even should it be on foot, I was offered one. I knew him to be a cruel beast for carrying rough, and no runner at all; but had to take him or none.

*July 11th.* I sent off Mr. William Henry and Forcier<sup>8</sup> for Panbian river, and soon set out for Rivière la Souris, accompanied by Toussaint Veandrie [Vaudry], interpreter, and Joseph Ducharme. I was still weak and scarcely able to sit upon my horse. Our road led through patches of meadows and low poplars; the latter generally in low, boggy spots, where our horses had mud and water up to their knees; but we had a beautiful road for a few miles before we came to these bad places.

At nine o'clock we passed old Fort de Tremble,<sup>9</sup> where

<sup>8</sup> The Forciers of the N. W. Co. were several, appearing also as Forcin, Fercier, and Frecier. Henry's was very likely Pierre Forcier, listed as voyageur, Fort Dauphin, 1804.—Another was Michel Forcier, of equal date.—A third was Jean Luc. Forcier, on the Chippewa r. about the same time.—Étienne Forcier, listed as of Fort des Prairies, 1804, was at the Rocky Mt. house, Oct. 26th, 1806, and with Thompson in the Rocky mts., 1809–11; he came out of the mts. with Thompson down the Saskatchewan in June, 1810, and went with him from Boggy Hall into the mts.; at the sources of the Athabasca, Oct., 1810; at Thompson's historical camp at the mouth of Canoe r. in Jan., 1811.

<sup>9</sup> Otherwise Poplar fort, also called Fort du Tremble, Fort des Trembles, Fort aux Trembles, with variants to Tremblier, Trembliers, and Tremblaie. As elsewhere stated, the word refers to the aspen or quaking-ash, *Populus tremuloides*, whose leaves tremble or shiver in the breeze. This fort stood on the right or S. bank of the Assiniboine, about 5 m. above Portage la Prairie, in the middle of a 3-mile reach of the river; above it was a wood known as la Grande Tremblière or Tremblaie. Accounts of the affair which Henry nar-

formerly there was an establishment which was attacked by the Crees in 1781. This unfortunate affair appeared to be the opening of a plan for the destruction of the whites throughout the North West. Mr. Bruce was master of this place. The Indians concerned were Crees, Assiniboines, and Bas de la Rivière Indians; 90 tents were at the house. The affair took place soon after the arrival of the canoes in the fall of 1781, while the people were still building. Out of 21 men present, 11 hid themselves; the remaining 10 defended themselves bravely, drove the Indians out of the houses and fort, and shut the gates. They lost three men—Belleau, Fecteau, and La France. They killed 15 Indians on the spot, and 15 more died of their wounds. The place was instantly abandoned, canoes were loaded, and all hands embarked and drifted down to the Forks. At the moment of their departure two Indian lads arrived from toward

rates differ irreconcilably. McDonnell, *l. c.*, says that two Frenchmen and seven Indians were killed "in the scuffle."—Of Mr. Bruce I have no further information. Associated with him was Mr. Boyer, first name unknown, who was a few years later sent to found a post on Peace r.; afterward, in 1787, he was on Beaver r., and he went with Mr. McLeod and 12 men to Lake Athabasca, Nov. 9th, 1788.—One Bruce of the N. W. Co. was at Grand Portage in 1799, wages 300 livres.—Pierre Bruce was interpreter N. W. Co., on English r. in 1804.—The Belleau who is said to have been killed was a *coursur des bois*; no more known of him. He must not be confounded with that Mr. Belleau who had two different houses in this region, and was alive in 1800. Belleau's house between Swan r. and the Assiniboine was "old" in 1797; his house of 1797 and later was in pines on a brook about 8 m. N. N. E. of the elbow of the Assiniboine (on the point of which was Sutherland's H. B. Co. house at that time), lat. made  $51^{\circ} 51' 09''$  N. by Thompson.—In 1789 Pierre Belleau engaged for 3 years in the N. W. Co., with Mr. Bergeron, and he was on the N. Saskatchewan in 1779–1800; left Fort George May 13th, 1800, for the upper house.—Antoine Belleau and Jean Baptiste Belleau were two Astorians on the ship *Tonquin* from N. Y., Sept. 6th, 1810, to the mouth of the Columbia, Mar. 22d, 1811; both deserted from Astoria, Nov. 10th, retaken Nov. 22d, 1811.—The killed man whom Henry calls Fecteau appears elsewhere as Facteau and Tecteau; *coursur des bois*; no further record.—For persons named Lafrance, see a previous note, and one of the Mandan tour, beyond.—Regarding the smallpox, there seems to be a lacuna in the Henry copy, as if he were going on to tell about it, but nothing appears. We know, however, that an epidemic raged for two or three years after 1781, destroying thousands of Indians.



Fort Dauphin; being strangers, they requested permission to embark, which was granted. At this time there was no mention of the smallpox, but the first day they embarked one of the lads complained of being unwell. The people gave him the loan of a blanket to cover himself with. . .

Having passed through several ugly tremblers, we came to what is called the Grande Tremblière [Tremblaie], supposed to be about three leagues in length. Through this wood the road was horrid—mud and mire up to our horses' knees, and sometimes to their bellies; in some places they stuck fast, and obliged us to dismount. What added to our misery was the great number of trees which had been blown down, and lay across the track in every direction. We found ourselves clear when we came to a dry, sandy soil, where we unsaddled and allowed our horses two hours to rest.

At four o'clock we crossed *Rivière du Milieu*.<sup>10</sup> Two very steep hills confine this small river, which comes in from the N. In going down the first hill, our horses stuck fast several times, and, in climbing up the other, they could scarcely support themselves. The path leads up a narrow ridge, which is continually crumbling into the valley below on both sides; one false step would dash us into the trees at the bottom. From the top we had a delightful view of the country and of the river which runs near the foot of those hills, and whose winding course is seen for many miles E. and W.

The Hair hills here come within about two miles of the river at their most northern extremity. The valley between the river and the hills is delightfully intercepted by patches of meadow, poplar, and stunted oak; and to enliven the prospect, we had the pleasure of seeing several herds of red deer. On the N. the view is confined by rising ground, and the country is very rough.

<sup>10</sup> Middle r. or cr., called Middle brook by Thompson, who remarks upon the difficulty he had here on Thursday, March 1st, 1798, when it took him an hour to get his dog-train up the steep banks.

At this place we have, for several years past, kept up a winter establishment; but the country is now destitute of beaver and other good furs, and the returns would not pay expenses.

We proceeded, and soon overtook the Indian who had left Portage la Prairie this morning. He pretended he could not walk, and complained of having hurt his legs, which, however, were not in the least swelled. We, therefore, were passing on before him, when he began such a pitiful lamentation, that I prevailed upon V[audry] to give up his horse for the rest of the day, for I could not leave the poor fellow on the road, as he said he would certainly perish were we to leave him behind. So we proceeded, our old Indian on horseback and V. afoot, till we came to the first small lakes, nothing more than ponds of stagnated water, where we stopped for the night. The country from the Grande Tremblière was very hilly, and the road mostly heavy, over barren hills, where, in some places, our horses sank up to the fetlocks. Our course was very serpentine, but in a direct line, about W., 12 leagues. We passed through several places so overgrown with willows and brushwood, as to render traveling tedious, and, at the same time, dangerous to the eyes, as we could scarcely defend our faces from the twigs and branches which choked up the road in every valley.

This evening I found myself very weak and unwell. We fettered our horses, and tied them near the fire for the night, lest any straggling horse-stealers, who might have perceived us, should wait until we fell asleep, to make off with every horse and leave us to shift for ourselves. This is a very great inconvenience—you are sure of your horse only when you are on his back, so many Cree and Sonnant thieves are there, wandering about the Assiniboine. The Saulteurs and the Red River Indians are not so thievishly disposed; we may pass near any of their camps, and put up for the night with them, without danger of losing horses, or any other property, excepting rum—that

they go any length to obtain, either by theft, pillage, or murder.

*July 12th.* At daybreak we saddled, and were going off, when the old Indian began such a tale of woe as to induce us once more to take him up on horseback. My two men walked by turns until we came to Rivière aux Épinettes, when, finding the day far advanced, and being anxious to reach Rivière la Souris before night, we determined to leave the old gentleman behind, notwithstanding his bitter complaints. We gave him provisions and tobacco for five days, and I promised to send somebody to meet him with a horse to-morrow. He pretended to be so ill that he could only move on his hands and knees, and even then not without much grunting and moaning; he wished us to make him a pair of crutches to enable him, as he said, to crawl to the water to drink. But time would not permit us to do more for him than leave him some water in a bark dish, and the brook was not more than 100 yards off, where he could get plenty. At one o'clock we crossed Wattap<sup>11</sup> river, and came to old Fort des Épinettes, where we stopped to refresh ourselves and rest our horses. Here we had an establishment for several years, but from the scarcity of wood, provisions, and other circumstances, it was abandoned, and built higher up river, where the settlement is now, at Rivière la Souris. The country hereabouts is very hilly and rough, with deep valleys, in which grow

<sup>11</sup> Henry's R. aux Épinettes and Wattap r. are the same stream, now Pine r. or cr.; in Bell's paper printed Wa-wap. *Épinette* is Canadian French for certain coniferous trees, whose sharp leaves we call "needles." The small stream falls into the Assiniboine from the N. or right hand going up, 15 m. or more by the road below the mouth of Mouse r. The Assiniboine here makes a large loop S., and the road leaves it for a more direct course. The mouth of Pine cr. is in the N. W. section of Tp. 8, R. xiii, W. of the princ. merid.; there is no named place in the immediate vicinity, but it is nearly on a direct line, 12 m. S. of sta. Melbourne of the main C. P. Ry., and 12 m. N. of sta. Glenboro of the S. W. branch of that railway. Here, on the Assiniboine, N. bank, W. of Pine cr., stood Fort des Épinettes, or Fort des Pins, oftener called Pine fort, built 1785, abandoned 1794. Harmon viewed the remains Saturday, June 1st, 1805: Journal, p. 139.

some épinettes and stunted birches and poplars. The soil is poor, dry, and sandy.

At two o'clock we proceeded, and soon came to Montagne du Diable,<sup>12</sup> the tops of which we had seen at Wattap river. This mountain, or rather ridge of barren, sandy hills, is a body of sand several miles in length; the principal hill is on the E., several miles in circumference, and level on the top, where no kind of vegetation grows. Our path led along the foot of this hill, which appears to be shifting its position eastward. Evidence of this may be seen in the state of the trees on the E. side, where they are so deeply buried in the sands that the very tops of some tall pines just peep through. Westward lies a sandy waste for three or four miles, where nothing grows but a few stunted épinettes, that tumble down when the sands are blown from about their roots. The principal reason why this body of sand may be said to move eastward is the strong westerly winds which prevail. Many extraordinary stories are related of this mountain, both by Indians and Canadians—of the strange noises heard in its bowels, and the nightly apparitions seen at one particular place; but as I cannot vouch for any of them, I shall relate none. In crossing those hills our horses sank up to their knees in many places.

Having passed them, we traversed a level plain for about 15 miles, when we arrived opposite our establishment of Rivière la Souris,<sup>13</sup> which is situated on the S. side of the

<sup>12</sup> Devil's mt., now known as the Sand hills, from the features Henry describes; the name originated in some Indian superstition concerning the shiftiness of the sands under the supervision of some manitou, who was god or devil, as the case might be—"diabolus deus inversus." Thompson calls them Manito hills, 1798.

<sup>13</sup> Henry has come up the N. or left bank of the Assiniboine, which he has therefore on his left, and must be ferried over to the S. side where Mouse r. falls in and the N. W. Co. and X. Y. Co. houses both stood in 1806—Brandon House of the H. B. Co. being on the N. side, opp. the other two. Henry is clear and precise on these points, concerning which there has been much misunderstanding. Lewis' map of 1806 (first pub., reduced, in Science of Nov. 4th, 1887, and first retraced of full size from a photograph of the original, for L. and C., ed. of 1893), locates all three correctly. Clark's map of 1814, in the



Assiniboine. I was therefore under the necessity of applying to the H. B. Co. people to ferry us over, which they very willingly did. Their fort stands on the N. side, where also ours formerly stood. The gentlemen of the N. W. Co. are so fond of shifting their buildings that a place is scarcely settled before it is thrown up and planted else-

orig. ed. of L. and C., in facsimile in mine of 1893, does the same. And Harmon says, June 27th, 1805, Journal, p. 138: "Rivière à la Souris, or Mouse River. . . Here are three establishments, formed severally by the North West, X. Y., and Hudson's Bay Companies." H. B. Brandon house was built in 1794, nearly or about opp. the mouth of Mouse r.; X. Y. Fort Souris was opp. it, next to Mouse r., on the W. of the latter; N. W. Assiniboine house was a little further up the S. side of the main river. Observe that Henry speaks of the H. B. house as being "on the N. side, where also ours formerly stood." This *former* N. W. Co. Assiniboine house is the one which was in full operation in 1797-98, when Thompson was there, leaving it for his Mandan tour 9.30 a. m. Tuesday, Nov. 28th, 1797, and returning 10.30 a. m. Saturday, Feb. 3d, 1798; he says that, on starting, he *crossed* the Assiniboine,—conclusive evidence that the house was then on the N. side. John McDonnell was in charge. Thompson generally calls it McDonnell's house, sometimes Stone Indian River house; states that it was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. above Mouse r.; and gives for position lat.  $49^{\circ} 41' 06''$  N., long.  $99^{\circ} 59' 15''$  W. In McDonnell's time and to 1805 or later, the N. W. Co. had an important post higher up the Assiniboine, called Fort Montagne à la Bosse, supposed to be two days or 50 m. by land, six days by water, from Mouse r.; he says it was then the next post above him, and states that it turned out for the N. W. Co. about 60 packs a year, mostly wolves and buffalo. C. N. Bell misspells Basse as the name, but gives Boss hill and Boss cr. correctly; the F. word *bosse* means boss, bust, bump, hump, knob, stud, and the like, and designated the hill. This fort stood on a high bank, commanding an extensive prospect. In Oct., 1804, C. J. B. Chaboillez was in charge, with Chas. McKenzie; Harmon and Franc. Ant. Larocque were there, Oct. 11th-19th, when Harmon left "that enchanting abode," as he calls it, p. 131, and was next day at Qu'Appelle r. His Journal of Nov. 24th, 1804, has an interesting passage concerning Lewis and Clark, who were then at the Mandans: "Some people have just arrived from Montagne à la Basse, with a letter from Mr. Chaboillez, who informs me that two Captains, Clarke and Lewis, with 180 soldiers [!] have arrived at the Mandan Village on the Missouri River, which place is situated about three days' march distant from the residence of Mr. Chaboillez. They have invited Mr. Chaboillez to visit them. It is said, that on their arrival they hoisted the American flag, and informed the Natives that their object was not to trade, but merely to explore the country; and that as soon as the navigation shall open, they design to continue their route across the Rocky Mountain, and thence descend to the Pacific Ocean. They made the Natives a few small presents, and repaired their guns, axes, &c., gratis. Mr.

where. The H. B. Co. people were busily employed making hair lines with which they fetter their horses; they perform this work with great expedition, and very neatly, in the same way that rope is made. The hair they commonly use is that which buffaloes have between the horns, and which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also use horsehair, which is much stronger than buffalo's. Indians are also expert and ingenious in making these hair lines, but their work is slow and tedious in comparison to the English make.

Having been ferried over to our fort, I found Mr. Chaboillez [Charles, *junior*] and Allan McDonald,<sup>14</sup> from Fort Dauphin, on their way to Swan river<sup>15</sup> and Rivière Qu'Ap-

Chaboillez writes, that they behaved honourably toward his people, who are there to trade with the Natives." (For the Chaboillez matter see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 187.) Harmon was wintering at Fort Alexandria when he wrote this. While at Montagne à la Bosse in Apr., 1805, he had made up his mind to go to the Pacific via the Missouri river at the Mandans; had he done so, he might have given Lewis and Clark a close race for their laurels! But ill health caused him to give up this project. He adds, p. 137, "A Mr. [F. A.] La Rocque attempted to make this tour; but went no further than the Mandan Village." His appearance on that scene is familiar to readers of L. and C.

<sup>14</sup> Plainly so in copy: elsewhere in Henry MS. Allen McDonell: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 1184. Allen McDonald appears as clerk N. W. Co., 1804, Fort Dauphin. He goes with Henry to the Mandans.

<sup>15</sup> Swan r. is the principal feeder of that Swan l. which discharges by Swan or Shoal r. into Lake Winnipegosis. It is a considerable stream, which arises in the S. E. corner of Saskatchewan, enters the N. E. corner of Assiniboia, and thence flows N. E. in Manitoba to the lake said, thus curving around the elevated country known as Porcupine mt., and draining between Red Deer r. and the uppermost Assiniboine; some of its tributaries are Swan cr., Snake cr., Bear's Head cr., Thunder Hill cr., Tamarac cr., Rolling r., and Sinclair r. It has been the scene of various important posts, and for some years gave name to a department or district of the N. W. Co. It was easily accessible from below through the chain of great lakes; and also from above, by land N. for a few miles from the elbow of the Assiniboine, where Fort Pelly now stands, to the mouth of Snake cr. and vicinity. Thompson came to the N. W. Co. house on Swan r. at 9 a. m. Sept. 21st, 1797, about 12 m. by water up river from Swan l. He found in charge "a Mons. Frankure," who, I suppose, was Gabriel Franchère, and one "Perrinnu" (the MS. blind at the name, but no doubt meant for Perigné). Thos. Swain and four men were at the H. B. Co. house. Sept. 23d, Thompson set off with Cuthbert Grant up river, en route to the Assiniboine—

pelle.<sup>16</sup> They had been four days in coming here on horse-

Porcupine hill to the right, Dauphin hill to the left, Thunder hill bearing S. W.; 24th, he notes an old house at the crossing of Swan r.; and keeping the river to his left he went between it and Thunder hill, recrossed the river, and went up with the river on his left to Belleau's house, near mouth of Snake cr., whence it was only about 8 m. S. to the Elbow, present Fort Pelly, where was the H. B. Co. house in charge of Mr. Sutherland. When Harmon came to the Swan River house of the N. W. Co., Oct. 10th, 1800, he found Perigné in chge. (This was Louis Perigné or Perigny, clerk N. W. Co., who left the place two days later to build the Bird Mountain house, 50 m. higher up. In 1808 he had left the N. W. Co., been to Canada, and turned up a freeman at Grand rapids at the mouth of the Saskatchewan.) Harmon observes that the H. B. Co. house had then been abandoned "several years."

<sup>16</sup> "In olden times, the shores of this river were haunted by a spirit, whose voice, resembling that of a human being, was often heard wailing during the night. So said the Natives, and the Voyageurs called it *Rivière qui Appelle*," Masson, I. p. 274. "*Catabuysepu*, or the River that calls . . . is so named by the superstitious Natives, who imagine that a spirit is constantly going up or down it; and they say that they often hear its voice distinctly, which resembles the cry of a human being," Harmon, p. 117. The Cree name Harmon uses, otherwise rendered Katapawi-sipi, and translated Who Calls r., has been generally Englished as Calling r. Corruptions of the French Qu'Appelle yield Capelle, Kapel, and other forms. This queerly called river is the main fork of the Assiniboine, if not actually the principal stream; it traverses a great part of Assiniboia, about E., draining a very large region from the main Saskatchewan, and overruns a little into Manitoba, where it joins the Assiniboine, about 2 m. above present Fort Ellice, in Tp. 17, R. xxviii, W. of the princ. merid. In this course the river dilates into several lakes, is fed by others, and receives many other tributaries. Its origin is so close to the Elbow of the Saskatchewan that it reminds us of the way Lake Traverse of Red r. is related to Big Stone l. of the Minnesota, or the Upper Columbia l. to the Kootenay; for Calling r. arises in that feeder of Eyebrow l. which almost or actually connects with Aik-tow cr. or coulée, or River that Turns, which latter is a stream about 12 m. long, running about W. N. W. into the Elbow of the Saskatchewan. So slight is the elevation that a cut of 40 feet at the Aiktow source and a corresponding dam in the Saskatchewan would turn all the water of the latter into Qu'Appelle r. Fort Espérance was founded by Robert Grant, some years before 1790, probably about 1785, at or near a place called Prairie la Paille; it was called two short days' journey up river by boat from its mouth; this was in operation many years. Thompson was at Wm. Thoburn's house on the Qu'Appelle, Nov. 12th, 1797; he located it in lat. 50° 28' 57" N., long. 101° 45' 45" W. The name stands variously Thoburn, Thorburn, Thornburn, Thobourn, Thorbourne, etc. He reached Grand Portage in 1798 on June 23d. Higher up the Qu'Appelle, at the Fishing lakes, an adjoining pair in the course of the river, where there is now a notable crossing place, etc., both the N. W. Co. and the

back. Mr. F. A. La Rocque<sup>17</sup> has this post in charge for

X. Y. Co. had posts, which were abandoned in 1804. In that year they both also had posts at the mouth of the river; the N. W. Co. being in charge of André Poitras, clerk N. W. Co., winter 1804-05; probably the same as one Poitra or Poitras who wintered at Fort Espérance, 1793-94. Present Fort Ellice, on the W. side of the Assiniboine near the confluence of the Qu'Appelle, at the mouth of Beaver cr., was once called Beaver Creek fort. Bell renders the name Ellis, and says that it "likely takes its name from the Hon. Edward Ellis, who was chiefly instrumental in bringing the H. B. Co. and the N. W. Co. into one corporate body."\* (Alexander Ellice of the X. Y. Co. signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804.)

<sup>17</sup>François Antoine Larocque, clerk N. W. Co., who led the Mandan expedition of 1804, and wintered there with Lewis and Clark. He is the "Mr. Le Rock" and "Mr. Laroche" of L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 203, 213, 226, 228, 229, 240, 248, and has left us an interesting and valuable journal of 1804-05, published in Masson, I. 1889, pp. 297-313. He had been with Harmon at Forts Alexandria and Montagne à la Bosse in Oct., 1804, and left Fort Assiniboine for the Mandans 2 p. m., Nov. 11th, 1804, with Chas. McKenzie, clerk N. W. Co.; J. Bte. Lafrance, clerk; Wm. Morrison, Jos. Azure, J. Bte. Turrenne, Alexis McKay, voyageurs, and nine horses; arrived at the Mandans 3 p. m., Nov. 25th. Returning, he reached Fort Assiniboine 8 p. m., Feb. 12th, 1805. Again he left there, June 3d, 1805, with Chas. McKenzie, J. Bte. Lafrance, and two voyageurs, under instructions to reach the Rocky mts., if possible; but did not succeed in this attempt, and returned to his post Nov. 18th, 1805. Mr. Larocque was a brother of Joseph Larocque; he married Miss Côte, dau. of an independent trader and sister of Jules Maurice; he left only a son Alfred Larocque, who was father of M. le Chevalier Larocque, a papal zouave; of Armand Larocque; and of Mrs. Aldéric Ouimet, wife of a Speaker of the House of Commons. Mr. F. A. Larocque left the N. W. Co. early, entered upon business in Montreal, was unfortunate, and died at an advanced age in the Gray Nunnery of St. Hyacinthe.

Larocque was preceded in going to the Mandans by David Thompson, whose never published journal is before me: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 197, and Pike, ed. 1895, p. 167—upon which latter notice I can now enlarge. This tour is in Book No. 9 of Vol. V. of the arrangement of his MS. in the Crown Lands Dept. of Ontario, at Toronto. A list of his men on inside of cover is: René Jussomme; Joseph Boisseau; Hugh McCracken; Alexis Vivier; Pierre Gilbert; François Perreault; Toussaint Vaudril; Louis Joseph Hool; Jean Baptiste Minie. D. T. left McDonnell's Assiniboine house 9.30 a. m. Tuesday, Nov. 28th, 1797; reached Ash house on Mouse r. Dec. 7th, and made its position 49° 27' 32" N.; crossed R. au Saule or Willow r. Dec. 16th; notes thermometer minus 41° Dec. 20th, and had a terrible storm. "McCraghen" sick Dec. 21st, and could not go on; reached usual crossing place of Mouse r. and struck across country to Dog Tent hill; froze his fingers on Christmas; reached Mississourie r. Dec. 29th; one Murray, not in foregoing list, is named Dec. 30th. At the



the summer. There are here three laboring men, an Assiniboiné interpreter, and 40 women and children, almost starving. There are no buffalo in these parts at present,

Mandans he was as usual busier with geography and ethnography than with trade, and made various observations. He fixed the principal Mandan village at lat.  $47^{\circ} 17' 22''$ , long.  $101^{\circ} 14' 24''$ ; and there he estimated the source of the Missouri to be lat.  $45^{\circ} 30' 37''$ , long.  $110^{\circ} 49' 08''$ ; of Shell (Musselshell) r., lat.  $44^{\circ} 41' 39''$ , long.  $110^{\circ} 18' 45''$ ; of Large Corn (Bighorn) r., lat.  $42^{\circ} 44' 19''$ , long.  $109^{\circ} 11' 55''$ ; and of the Yellowstone, lat.  $43^{\circ} 39' 45''$ , long.  $109^{\circ} 43' 17''$ . He notes 5 villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz.: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, "Mahnon of Mandans and a few Fall Indians," 52 houses, 37 Mandan, and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, "across the river," 40 houses; fifth or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses. He made a Mandan vocabulary, which is extant. Left at 8.30 a. m. Wednesday, Jan. 10th, 1798; trouble with refractory men and bad weather; "Minie" becomes Minier; notes Dog Tent or Dog hill, Long l., Elbow of Mouse r., Old Ash house, Plumb r., Boss hill, Moose Head hill, etc., and arr. McDonnell's 10.30 a. m. Saturday, Feb. 3d, having practically retraced his steps. He took a more direct route than Henry is about to follow, but nearly the same for the most part, and his itinerary will help us much in trailing our author. He notes that McCraghen, Minier, and Murray started back to the Mandans next day, Feb. 4th.

But Thompson had been anticipated in the Missouri trip by earlier parties of the N. W. Co., of which little is known accurately. Thus McDonnell's Journal of May 21st, 1795, Masson, I. 1889, p. 294, has: "Jussome and the Mandan men arrived here with their returns, 15 days ago, all but Jos. Dubé, who deserted from the rest and staid with the Indians of the Missouri." Again McDonnell's Journal of Dec. 10th, 1793, *ibid.* p. 286, indicates a still earlier visit to the Mandans, as follows: "The nine men equipt (on their own account) for the Missouri, started, viz: Raphaël Faignan, Antoine Bourier dit Lavigne, Joseph Dubé, J. B. Lafrance, Joseph Tranquille, J. B. Bertrand, Chrysostome Joncquard, Louis Houle et François La Grave."

The H. B. Co. also sent people from the Assiniboiné to the Missouri in those years, but I have no memoranda of names and exact dates.

The original visit of the whites to the Mandans was made in 1738 by Pierre Gaultier de Verennes, Le Sieur de Verendrye, whose own account of it, in quaint French and in English, on alternate pages, may be read in the Report on Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, 1889, pp. 3-29; in default of which, see Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 254-56, or Neill's article there cited.

Agreeably with my desire to account for as many personal names as I can, in the order in which they come up in the present work, I will offer the following memoranda of individuals here in mention and not previously noted: René Jussome is our old acquaintance in Lewis and Clark: ed. 1893, pp. 180, 181, 189, 232, 1178, 1184. Besides the many aliases there, Gissom is found in Chas.

and they have finished what pemmican was left here last spring. No trade of any kind is going forward; the Indians have been away since June 1st, and they are not expected back before the arrival of the canoes. This evening their hunter came in from the Moose Head<sup>18</sup> hills; he brought two red deer, which certainly was a seasonable supply for us. Everything here bore the aspect of distress and desolation.

*Sunday, July 13th.* I found myself still very unwell; however, I hired a guide and prepared for my journey, not-

McKenzie's Journal, as noted beyond. In 1806 Jussome is said to have been over 15 years an independent trader on the Missouri. Henry has much to say of him beyond, and nothing in his favor.—Of Joseph Boisseau nothing further appears, except that he continued with Thompson to the Red r., etc., in 1798.—Hugh McCracken, McCrachen, or McCraghan, is found with Henry beyond.—Of Pierre Gilbert no further information; Charles Gilbert was a voyageur N. W. Co., Fort des Prairies, 1804, and Étienne Gilbert the same, Fort Dauphin, 1804.—Perreault or Perrault is an old name in the fur-trade. Jean Baptiste Perreault left Quebec in 1783 to engage in trade on the Illinois in service under Marchesseau, and reached Cahokia Aug. 11th, 1794; was clerk to Alex. Kay; died at S. S. Marie, Nov. 12th, 1844, aged 84 or 85 years: see Tassé, I. pp. 337-340. For writings of his, see Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, III. pp. 353-359.—J. B. Perreault (whether the same?) is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Le Pic, 1799; wages 900 livres.—Another J. B. Perreault was on the Willamette in Oregon in 1838.—Of François Perreault, nothing further.—Gabriel Perreault of the N. W. Co. wintered 1804-05 on or near Cranberry l., under Joseph Cartier.—Guillaume Perreault was a Canadian boy on Astor's ship Tonquin from New York, Sept. 6th, 1810.—Toussaint Vaudril is the Vaudry who now goes with Henry.—For Louis Joseph Hool or Houle, see a note beyond.—Jean Baptiste Mini, Minie, Menie, or Minier of Thompson is listed as voyageur N. W. Co. Upper Red r., 1804; McDonnell's Journal mentions a Minie. There is a question if the full name be not Dumesnil.—Joseph Dubé was of the N. W. Co.; nothing further appears than as above.—One Dubé was with Umfreville, *ca.* 1782.—Joseph Tranquille and Paul Tranquille were both engagés of the N. W. Co.—Jean Baptiste Bertrand reappears as voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804.—Of Chrysostome Joncquard, nothing further appears.—Louis Houle is noted beyond.—François La Grave is twice listed as voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, English r. and Rainy l.; one La Grave as the same, same date, Rat r.

<sup>18</sup> The marked elevations on Henry's route and northward, in the bight of land between Mouse r. and the Assiniboine, were known as Brandon hills, or the Blue hills of Brandon, so named for the same person that Brandon house was; and the Moose Head was a conspicuous landmark in these hills.

withstanding many obstacles that were laid in my way to deter me. I was determined to push on; even should I be obliged to go with only my two men, and a sketch of the route I had with me, I should be able to find the way. I could not get a horse to carry my baggage for love or money; neither had my guide a horse for himself nor could I procure him one for a long time. I had almost given up hope of his accompanying me, and was preparing to set off with my two men only, when suddenly Mr. Chaboillez agreed to go with me. This evening, everything being in readiness, my mind was more at rest than it had been since I left Panbian river, as I had been uncertain of procuring a guide and a person to introduce us to the Mandans.

At this place we are not so much tormented by mosquitoes as to the eastward, but the common house fly supplies their place. The buildings are full of them, and they make as much buzzing as mosquitoes.

*July 14th.* Early all hands were alert, preparing for our departure. Our party consisted of seven persons and eight horses: Mr. Chaboillez; Mr. A. McDonald; T. Viandrie; Joseph Ducharme; Hugh MacEacan [Thompson's McCracken or McCraghen], our guide, an old Irishman formerly belonging to the artillery; a Saulteur lad, Pautchaunce [Chaboillez' brother-in-law]; and myself. We had provided ourselves with a few articles for the Missouri Indians, such as ammunition, tobacco, knives, beads, etc.; half a bag of pemmican and three pieces of dried meat formed all our stock of provisions. We had each 50 pounds' weight, which, with ourselves, our arms, blankets, and a little ammunition for present use, formed a heavy burden for our horses. The eighth horse carried my tent and some other baggage, including a compass and spyglass. At eight o'clock we mounted and kept on a slow trot. Our course was W. S. W. for the Moose Head, where we arrived at eleven o'clock, and stopped at a small lake to refresh our horses. Here we shot a few ducks, and at one o'clock saddled and proceeded in the same direction through a

very hilly country destitute of wood. From the summits of these high, barren hills we had delightful views. In some low spots were clusters of poplars; to the N. we could see the Assiniboine, N. of which we could trace the course of Rapid river,<sup>19</sup> which comes from Fort Dauphin mountain. Herds of cabbrie or jumping deer [antelope, *Antilocapra americana*] were always in sight. At four o'clock we came to Rivière la Souris, at the junction of Plumb<sup>20</sup> river, which comes in from the W. N. W. We crossed it and kept along the N. side of Rivière la Souris until sunset, when we put up for the night near Fort de la Frenier.<sup>21</sup> Here we found many vestiges and encampments in concealed spots, where horse thieves had remained for some time, and, on looking about the sandy hills in search of fruit, we saw several fresh tracks. This put us upon our guard, and we fettered our horses around our fire—or rather smoke, for we could get no wood. We therefore gathered a quantity of dry buffalo dung [bois de vache or “bodewash”] with

<sup>19</sup> Rapid r. is that tributary of the Assiniboine which is now known as Little Saskatchewan r.—an ineligible name, as this stream has nothing to do with the Saskatchewan watershed. It heads in the Riding (or Dauphin) mts., runs about S. past Elphinstone, S. E. to Minnedosa, S. W. past Rapid City and Pendennis, and finally S. E. into the Assiniboine, a few miles above Brandon. The entrance is in the N. part of Tp. 10, R. xx, W. of the princ. merid., opposite that station of the C. P. Ry. whence a branch runs to Souris. This stream was originally R. St. Peter of Verendrye, 1739, later R. aux Rapides; and Tanner calls it Saskawjewun r., as in the following passage, which may possibly also indicate the origin of the name of the Riding mts.: “Naowawgunwudju, the hill of the buffaloe chase, near the Saskawjewun,” p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> Plum r. or cr. is a small stream which falls in at the town of Souris, now reached by a branch of the C. P. Ry. It comes from a little lake of the same name, near another lake called Oak, which latter is the sink of a certain Pipestone cr. Henry's route thus far is practically coincident with the railroad, past stations Methuen and Carroll to Souris, a considerable distance N. of Mouse r., which makes a sharp bend S. W. and then turns W. N. W. to Souris. Mouse r. is crossed by the N. P. and Man. R. R., at a place called Wawanesa or Wawonoisa. Henry crosses Plum r. at its mouth. (Also called Snake cr.)

<sup>21</sup> So called from F. *frêne*, the ash-tree, and better known as Ash house, the name which Thompson uses: see note <sup>17</sup>. It was built in 1795, and abandoned in the spring of 1796. The position was in the vicinity of present Menteith Junction.



which we made shift to keep the mosquitoes away; our provisions required no cooking. A strong breeze from the E. kept the mosquitoes down in the grass, our fuel sometimes emitted a gentle flame, and all was mirth until eleven o'clock, when suddenly the wind came about from the N. W., bringing a terrible thunderstorm. The rain soon fell in torrents, the weather became excessively sultry, and the mosquitoes were upon us in clouds. Our situation was truly miserable, having no other shelter than a small tent, into which was crowded all our baggage besides the seven persons, nearly suffocated by the heat and mosquitoes. Our horses could not remain a moment quiet, the flies kept them so enraged. Some of their fetters gave way, and off they went. We pursued them in the dark, and found them by means of the flashes of lightning. Our day's journey was about 14 leagues W. S. W. by the compass.

*July 15th.* When daylight appeared the storm ceased, but the weather was still hot and sultry, and with wet buffalo dung we could make no smoke. We therefore had much trouble to saddle our horses, that were dancing mad with the mosquitoes. Every moment we were in danger of being crushed by them. After much vexation we mounted, wet to the skin, and proceeded along the banks of the river, here very high; the current is gentle and appears navigable for large canoes, except where reefs of rocks cross the river. The soil on both sides appears sandy, at some places intermixed with stones. Cabbrie were in sight almost every moment, but so shy that we could not get a shot. At nine o'clock we came to Butte de Sable.<sup>22</sup> Here we stopped to refresh our horses, they having got little rest last night. From the top of one of those sandy hills we could see Turtle

<sup>22</sup> Butte de Sable is a sandhill I do not recognize. It is a few miles north of my route of 1873 along the 49th parallel, and I cannot find it marked on any map examined. But it seems to be that Snake hill which Hind's map of 1859 sets on the W. bank of Mouse r., 14 m. S. of Boss hill, or Montagne à la Bosse, the Assiniboine trail from which Henry here strikes, and which has already been mentioned in note <sup>13</sup>, p. 298. Boss hill is between Plum cr. and Boss or Boss Hill cr., which latter seems to be the one now called Gopher cr.

mountain bearing S. E., distant about seven leagues. At ten o'clock we proceeded, and having cleared the hills, fell upon the Assiniboine route from Montagne à la Bosse, which is only one short day's journey N. of us. The heat was intolerable, without a breath of air, and the mosquitoes tormented us.

At one o'clock we stopped at a small lake, as the excessive heat had nearly knocked the horses up. The water was cool and pleasant; we all bathed, which refreshed us very much. It is fortunate for us that water is plentiful. It sometimes happens in this country, in very dry seasons, that water is only to be found in some particular creek or lake. When this is the case we provide ourselves with small kegs or bladders. But this often proves insufficient; some people have lost their lives on this account, and others have had very narrow escapes, being two days without a drop of water. This must be still worse than the mosquitoes; our thirst is perpetual, and at every pool some of us stretch out upon our bellies to drink. But this year we are under no apprehensions, heavy rains having filled up every creek, lake, pond, and indeed every hollow spot in the plains.

At three o'clock we saddled. We passed several Assiniboine camps of this summer on the banks of the river; they consisted of from 30 to 70 tents. These people are remarkable for choosing the most delightful spots to pitch their tents, commonly on elevated places, where there is no wood to interrupt the view. They would be a happy people, were it not for their continual wars and the frequent quarrels among themselves, which generally end in bloodshed. The common causes of these quarrels are women and horses.

We attempted to cross the river, but found the water too high, and continued on the N. side. This lengthened our route some miles, as the river here makes a considerable bend to the N. W.; however, to make up for this, we pushed on faster than usual. The cool of the evening was

in our favor, and at six o'clock we came to the little river of Tête à la Biche.<sup>23</sup> We had much trouble to cross it, in mud up to our horses' bellies.

Here we stopped for the night on a beautiful high hill, at the foot of which flowed the little river. From Rivière la Souris we got some dry wood, and kindled a good fire. A cool breeze sprang up from the N. W., and kept down the mosquitoes. We had seen buffalo in great numbers westward of us, and as they were just entering the rutting season, they made a terrible bellowing during the night. We found great plenty of pears along the little river, almost ripe, and very good eating.

Our course this day has been about W. S. W., the same as yesterday, mostly along the banks of the river, excepting at some of the great windings, which we did not follow. Rivière la Souris, thus far up, is but thinly wooded; at some places, there is none at all for several miles. The land on each side is high, and stretches out into the level prairie; as far as the eye can reach no wood is to be seen in any direction. The little river we have just crossed arises in a range of hills called Tête à la Biche, about 10 leagues W. N. W. from this; the banks are very high and free from

<sup>23</sup> Tête à la Biche was the name of a considerable elevation N. W. of Henry's present position, now called Moose mt., and also of three streams which seek Mouse r. from that quarter. The largest one of these is present Moose Mountain cr., which comes S. E. from Moose Mountain l., near Hurricane hills, past Moose mt., and then turns S. to enter Mouse r., near Oxbow sta. of the Souris branch of the C. P. Ry., in Tp. 3, R. ii, W. of the 2d initial merid. This creek is nowhere near Henry's route. The first and second Tête à la Biche crs. he crosses at their mouths are those now known respectively as N. Antler and S. Antler cr. They come from Moose mt. and vicinity, on approx. parallel courses, run S., then loop E. from Assiniboia into Manitoba, and finally nearly N., to fall into Mouse r. close together, at and near Sourisford, in Tp. 2, R. xxvii, W. of the princ. merid., almost exactly at long. 101° W. N. Antler cr. lies wholly in British America; S. Antler cr. loops slightly over lat. 49° N., and thus enters the U. S., meandering the international boundary for a few miles. Several lesser streams run parallel with these Antler crs., N. of them, to fall into Mouse r. lower down, or lose themselves in sinks before reaching it. Two, which effect a confluence, are called Graham cr. and Jackson cr.; Henry has passed them both, and camps at the mouth of N. Antler cr.

wood. From our camp we have a good view of Turtle mountain,<sup>24</sup> about eight leagues E. of us. Our most direct route would have been along the W. extremity of that mountain; but we had been informed that a number of Crees and Assiniboines were tented there, who would certainly steal our horses if they could—even pillage, and, perhaps, murder us, as they disapprove of our taking arms and ammunition to the Missourie to supply the natives there, with whom they are often at war. We, therefore, thought it prudent to make this circuit to avoid them. It is called 30 leagues from the establishment on the Assiniboine to our present camp.

We kept watch all night, each in turn. Some herds of buffalo passed near us; the noise they made startled our horses and made them uneasy for the night; they appeared in one body from E. to W., on a quick pace, as if lately chased by horsemen.

*July 16th.* At daybreak we saddled, but, on mounting, I found my seat very uncomfortable, having a blister the size of a hen's egg under each thigh, occasioned by the excessive heat of yesterday and the continual friction between my saddle and leather trousers. The horse I rode was a cruel beast, with the worst trot I ever saw; both blisters burst soon, and I was in great pain.

<sup>24</sup> The distance of Turtle mt. from Mouse r., on the parallel of 49° N., is 20 m. Henry's camp is further N., and consequently at a little greater distance. Though Turtle mt. is by far the most conspicuous object in this region, its actual elevation at the highest point is only 500 feet above the general level of the country. It lies diagonally across the parallel of 49°, with about one-third of its extent in the British Possessions; the width of the mountain from E. to W., along the line of the boundary, is 34 m.; its greatest length, from N. W. to S. E., is considerably more. The ascent on the E. is very gradual, but on the W. the acclivity is quite abrupt, and one descends quickly into the valley of Mouse r. Two special points near the S. W. border of the mountain are known as Bear Butte and Butte St. Paul. The mountain is simply a mass of drift, heavily wooded; the surface is dotted with many little lakes, one of the largest of which, on the line of the boundary, and more than a mile wide, is Lake Farquhar, so-called for the late Major F. U. Farquhar, U. S. A., chief astronomer of the U. S. Northern Boundary Survey, before that position was held by the late Major William J. Twining, U. S. A.



At eight o'clock we crossed another little river [South Antler creek], which takes its rise out of the same Tête à la Biche. This branch is much broader and deeper than the other [North Antler creek]. The banks appeared tolerably well wooded, as far as we could see. At its junction with Rivière la Souris the latter ceases to have any wood. The banks here diminish, so that only a few miles higher up the water appears upon a level with the plains, and looks more like a chain of lakes surrounded by rushes and long, coarse grass. Here it also changes its course, coming from the S. E.; this direction it keeps for about 20 leagues, as far up as Rivière aux Saules [Willow creek], when it again assumes the appearance of a river, is well wooded upon both sides, and the banks are much higher. On this little river [South Antler creek] we found plenty of pears, nearly ripe; we gathered a good stock, as our guide informed us that we had an extensive plain to cross, and should see no more wood until to-morrow, and even water would be scarce.

At nine o'clock we left [Mouse] river and directed our course S. S. W. on a level plain.<sup>25</sup> We soon fell in with buffalo, all in motion, from E. to W., bellowing and tearing up the ground as they went on. We killed a bull, the flesh of which is more palatable at this season than the cow. We took each a few slices and continued on our journey. We saw numbers of cabbrie<sup>26</sup> of two different

<sup>25</sup> Henry has by this time crossed the boundary of the United States, and entered North Dakota, in the N. W. corner of Bottineau Co. He leaves Mouse r. on his left as he proceeds S. S. W. over the prairie. It will be difficult to follow him exactly, as his itinerary is not very precise; his courses and distances are mere estimates, and there are few good landmarks in the great loop of Mouse r. upon which he has entered. Regarding his compass-points, it may be observed that the magnetic variation is here about 17° E., so that his assumed "S. S. W." is considerably out of the way, and his actual course is more westerly. The first stream he strikes is his Rivière Plé, now Cut Bank cr. R. aux Saules or Willow cr. is higher up, and on the other side of Mouse r.

<sup>26</sup> It is scarcely necessary to remark here that there is but one species of "cabbrie" in North America; and that the differences noted by Henry, so far as actually existent, are due to the age and sex of the common antelope,

kinds, some almost as large as fallow deer, and others much smaller, red and white spotted; the latter had young, and did not appear so shy as those we had seen before. The young ones, sighting us, would run up to us within a few yards, while the dams would come on behind them with more caution, until their curiosity was satisfied.

At noon we stopped to refresh our horses; in an hour we were again on our march, and at four o'clock crossed Rivière Plé,<sup>27</sup> which takes its rise in Moose mountain about 15 leagues W. from this, and, after a course of about 20 leagues through an open plain, empties into Rivière la Souris, a few leagues below Rivière aux Saules. Along this river no wood grows except a few stunted willows. At this place old Ménard<sup>28</sup> was pillaged and murdered by three

*Antilocapra americana* (which Umfreville calls apistochikoshish, p. 165, 1790). Fallow deer is Henry's name of the common deer, *Cariacus virginianus*.

<sup>27</sup> Cut Bank cr., the largest and only considerable tributary of Mouse r. from the W. within the loop this river makes in N. Dakota. On the parallel of 49° N., the point where Mouse r. enters N. Dakota is 50 m. W. of the point where, having made its bold sweep southward and looped back upon itself, it recrosses the boundary of the U. S. at 49° N. again, 20 m. W. of Turtle mt. Cut Bank cr. traverses this loop southeastwardly, to fall into Mouse r. near Wood End; it thus lies directly across Henry's southwesterly trail. We can hardly say how high up he struck it, but the place was in Renville Co., not far from the N. W. corner of McHenry Co. The G. L. O. map of 1892 letters the stream "Cub Bank Cr."

<sup>28</sup> In L. and C., p. 178, note <sup>58</sup>, I cite a passage from Clark, Codex C 59, which relates that "a french man has latterly been killed by the Indians on the Track to the tradeing establishment on the Ossineboine R." I had at the time no clew to the identity of the murdered Frenchman, but have now no doubt that Clark referred to the "old Ménard" here mentioned by Henry, as it is not likely that any other murder would fit the requirements of Clark's relations so closely as this one does. There were various other Ménards in the fur-trade.—Joseph Ménard of the N. W. Co. was a foreman in the Athabasca Dept. in 1804.—Pierre Ménard of Quebec, b. 1767, was at Vincennes as agt. of Col. Vigo, 1786, and in 1808 associated himself with Manuel de Lisa: see L. and C. ed. 1893; he died at Kaskaskia, 1814: biogr. in Tassé, II. pp. 55-72. He had two brothers, François and Hippolyte, both of whom left Quebec for Kaskaskia, 1795: biogr. of François in Tassé, II. pp. 73-81. He had a son, Pierre Ménard, jun.—Michel Branamour Ménard, nephew of Col. Pierre Ménard of Kaskaskia, b. La Prairie, Canada, Dec. 5th, 1805; traded at Kas-

Assiniboines in 1803, on his way to the Missourie. Having crossed this river, we pushed on as fast as possible, sometimes on a gallop, and never slower than a trot, until sunset, when we stopped for the night on the open plains.

We found much water on this low and level plain, and, of course, mosquitoes in abundance. We fell to work collecting buffalo dung, of which there was no scarcity; it was damp from the late heavy rains, and would emit no flame; but, having set fire to a great pile, it made a good smudge. Having no kettle to cook with, we broiled our bull's flesh upon the dung and ate a hearty supper, though none of the most palatable or best flavored, as the meat tasted of dung. The weather was sultry and overcast, which increased the clouds of mosquitoes intolerably. Soon after dark it began to rain, and, not being provided with tent poles or any substitute for them, we were soon wet to the skin, and our fire, or rather smoke, was as soon extinguished. The night was so dark we could not see one another, and our horses, enraged by the swarms of mosquitoes which attacked them, were very unruly; we dreaded lest their fetters should give way, when they might trample some of us, or run off. About midnight the long line of one of them broke, but his fore feet were still tied together above the hoof, as we generally hobble horses in the North West. In jumping and prancing about his hoof came down upon the shin-bone of our guide, who was stretched upon his back. The horse was a heavy beast, and the poor old Indian complained bitterly of the pain. We were apprehensive the bone had been broken, but could give him no assistance, as it was impossible to strike a light. We passed the night defending ourselves from the horses and the mosquitoes; the poor fellow had a miserable time, moaning pitifully. When day appeared we examined his leg and found the flesh bruised shockingly, very much swelled, and of all

kaskia for some years; went to Nacogdoches, Tex., about 1833 or 1834; took part in the convention which proclaimed Texas independent, 1836; represented Galveston Co. in Congress, 1838, and d. at Galveston, 1856.

colors of the rainbow. However, we got him on horse-back; he was really an object of pity, and no such a sly scoundrel as that old Indian we picked up on the road between Portage la Prairie and Rivière la Souris, who, notwithstanding his groans and lamentations on our leaving him at Rivière aux Épinettes, arrived at Rivière la Souris about two hours after us. That old vagabond, perceiving that I had an extra horse, schemed to ride, that he might reach the fort the sooner, in expectation of getting rum for payment of his trip to Portage la Prairie.

*July 17th.* Having thus mounted our guide, we left this disagreeable camp as fast as possible, directing our course by the compass the same as yesterday, S. S. W. We once more came to Rivière la Souris, at what is called the upper end of the wood.<sup>29</sup> The river runs here from W. to E.; it is broad and deep, with a gentle current, entirely free from rapids. Westward, no wood of any kind is to be seen. We had some trouble to find a proper ford, and were obliged to go down river some miles. At the beginning of the wood we killed a fat bull and took some choice pieces. Having crossed the river with some difficulty, we determined to stop here and wait for fair weather, as we

<sup>29</sup> It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine within five or ten miles the point at which Henry strikes Mouse r. again. He has come across country, on no road, by uncorrected compass-points, at only estimated distances, diagonally toward the river. If we hold him to a continuation of the course of the 16th, which in fact is nearly that of the 15th also, we may bring him to Mouse r. a little below the boundary between Renville and Wood cos., say 18 m. above Burlington and 26 above Minot. Then he goes down the river "some miles" to find a ford. In 1873 I came along in his tracks as he goes down this piece, but my memory does not serve me now about the point "called the upper end of the wood." Burlington, Ward Co., is at the junction of Rivière des Lacs, a stream which arises about the Hill of the Murdered Scout, at 49°, and skirts Mouse r. on the W. for the whole of its course, till it falls into the latter at Burlington. Minot is the county town, and notable as being where the Grt. N. Ry. crosses Mouse r. Logan is another place on Mouse r., about 10 m. below Minot; Echo is a third, 6 m. further down. Minot is nearly due N. of Fort Stevenson, on the Missouri, distant 46 m., and also due N. of the point (mouth of Miry or Snake cr.) where Henry is going to strike the Missouri.



were heartily tired of being drenched in the rain, which still continued, and our guide told us that we should see no more wood until we reached the Missourie. Here we had plenty of good dry wood, and, having no notion of making a second supper upon buffalo dung steaks, we made a rousing good fire.

From the little river of Tête à la Biche [North Antler creek] to this place is about 25 leagues S. S. W. over a low, level plain, until we approach the banks of this river, when the country begins to be hilly and rough, with deep valleys. The hills are generally covered with large round stones, some of great size, and at a distance appearing like pitched tents. From the summits of those barren hills we could discern others as far as the eye could reach, on which the bulls grazing appeared like so many black spots. We often mistook red deer and other animals at a distance for people on horseback, until we examined them through our spyglass. In the afternoon the weather cleared up, with a strong S. E. wind; we had no mosquitoes, and passed an agreeable night, though we were anxious about our horses, as the Assiniboines follow people for days unperceived, watch a favorable moment, and, when least suspected, make off with all the horses, leaving our people with their property to shift for themselves. And now that we are near the border of the Missourie plains,<sup>30</sup> we must be on our guard against the Sioux, the natural enemies of all the tribes in these parts. They perpetually wander about in search of straggling Mandanes or Big Bellies, and sometimes even cross Rivière la Souris in hopes of falling in with Assiniboines and Crees, who frequently hunt along this river, particularly in winter, as summer would be too dangerous for them to advance so far S. E. We kept watch, as usual, during the night.

*July 18th.* At four o'clock we left camp and ascended

<sup>30</sup> That is, are soon to be upon the Coteau du Missouri, which separates the waters of the Missouri basin from those of Mouse r. and so of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan.

the high banks of the river, directing our course S. My horse had made so many blisters under my thighs that I was obliged to exchange with one of my people for one that would carry me more easily. Soon after getting up the high banks we fell into a rougher country than we had seen before, up steep hills and down low valleys in continual succession. We crossed three small rivers<sup>31</sup> that came from the S. W. and emptied into Rivière la Souris; along those rivers we saw fresh vestiges of beaver; and I suppose they are numerous. The hills are covered with huge stones; there is no wood of any kind. We passed several lakes among the hills, from one to five miles in circumference, with gravelly and sandy shores.

At one of these delightful lakes we stopped a couple of hours, but found the water very bad, of a sulphurous taste and smell. Here we killed a very fat bull; the back-fat or *dépouille* was two inches thick. The cows often have *dépouille* of this thickness, and some even three inches; but this is rare, the common condition being from one to two inches. Bulls seldom have much *dépouille*; their fat is principally inside the animal. The one we killed would have produced nearly a hundredweight of tallow from his inside alone.

At one o'clock we saddled and proceeded. Soon coming to the top of a high hill, we perceived a long lake to the S. W., running N. and S., with a cluster of wood at the N. extremity; this surprised our guide, who said he never

<sup>31</sup> The largest of these being Rivière des Lacs, already noted, and the others being two of the numerous *coulées* or washes which make down from the Coteau du Missouri to Des Lacs and Mouse rs., from the W. and S. W. These may be perfectly dry, but in such a wet season as Henry's was would run water. In striking southward for the Coteau Henry crosses the line of the Grt. Nor. Ry. in the vicinity of Des Lacs sta., or rather a little W. of this, nearer Lone Tree and Berthold sta. He at once gets into rough, hilly country, the beginning of the higher ground which forms the ridge of the Coteau and bluffs back of Mouse r. from its southerly course, causing this stream to loop E. and then N., and thus forming that bight which is so remarkable a feature of the stream. Henry continues in Ward Co. until he is fairly over the Coteau, and then enters Stevens Co.

knew of any wooded lake in this plain, and that we must be far from the direct route. One of my people who had been at the Missourie said it resembled the lake where Morgan and Mooney were murdered a few years ago by the Sioux, near the Mission du Chien;<sup>32</sup> but our guide was of a contrary opinion, and said we must be too far westward. However, went to a narrow strait in the lake about 30 yards wide, where we crossed, having the water up to our saddles, but a good sandy bottom. We attempted to drink, but found the water to be nauseous and sulphurous, though perfectly clear. After the horses had got dry they were perfectly incrustated with the white saline particles for the rest of the day. I have observed that such small lakes in the plains generally have the same nauseous waters. The beach is often covered with a salt which has the same taste as Glauber's<sup>33</sup> and produces the same effect. Even the water causes a looseness in a very short time. Fresh water is now plenty in rain pools, but when the season is dry is to be found only in the rivers and large lakes.

We continued on our S. course until five o'clock, when, ascending a range of very high hills running E. and W., we could discern through the spyglass the high red banks of the Missourie, about six leagues distant. Here we had a long consultation. Some of the party assured me it was the

<sup>32</sup> *Sic*: read Maison du Chien and translate Dog's House or Dog's Den. This is a conspicuous elevation on the edge of the Coteau du Missouri, now called Dog Den butte; place there whose name I find mapped as "Dogden," in the S. W. portion of Church Co. There is a considerable lake about 5 m. from the butte, very likely the one at which the text says Morgan and Mooney were murdered. But the guide was right in maintaining that the lake they saw now was not this one, for they are evidently many miles W. of it, holding a S. course from Mouse r. On the return trip, Henry keeps much further E., and then passes near the Dog's Den, which he notices by name. It is a conspicuous landmark for shaping one's direct course between Mouse r. and the Missourie. Thompson's MS. notes it particularly, with bearings and distances.

<sup>33</sup> The principal ingredient of the alkali with which the water of these small lakes is saturated is in fact Glauber's salt—sulphate of soda. I have myself seen in this region many pools whose banks were as white as if drifted with snow, and whose water would be undrinkable, even to the traveler who should be perishing with thirst.

very spot where the Pawnee village is situated, 60 leagues below the Mandanes; whilst others, including our guide, insisted that we were too high up river. Our situation was perplexing, and it remained with me to determine what course we should pursue. I was at a loss. If we were below the Mandanes, and persisted in following the river downward, we should fall in with the Pawnees or the Titons, both of which nations we supposed to be at war with the Mandanes and would have no mercy upon us. On the other hand, if we were above the villages and kept on westward, as some of our party were inclined to do, we might travel to the south branch of the Saskatchewan without finding anybody except some war party, who would soon end our troubles by knocking us in the head. Supposing we should go directly to the Missourie and follow it either up or down, none of us, not even the guide, knew of any particular object along the river to show us where we were.

While smoking and talking the matter over we saw two bulls coming round a hill, grazing as they went slowly on. This alarmed some of our people, who insisted it was two horsemen coming toward us; Veaudrie and Ducharme even persuaded themselves that they could see the riders whipping and kicking their horses, as is the Indian custom when they ride at full speed. But I could plainly see that the two animals were walking slowly, feeding as they went, and that what was supposed to be the riders' arms lashing away was the bulls' tails, which were kept in continual motion to drive away the flies. Veaudrie was all consternation, and imagined himself near his last moments; he openly regretted having accompanied me, and declared that no consideration whatever would induce him to undertake another such journey, could he but escape the present danger. Meanwhile the bulls disappeared behind a rising ground; but this only increased the anxiety of V. and D., who supposed the enemy were surrounding us. We rode off toward a high hill, on the top of which was a person who had gone there with the spying-glass before the suspi-



cious objects appeared. Having joined him, he informed us they were bulls. Bravery instantly appeared on the countenances of those who, a few moments before, had given themselves up for lost.

Being still undetermined what course to take, we thought best to remain on the hill for the night.<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, we collected a quantity of buffalo dung, which we found tolerably dry on this elevated spot, made a good fire, and formed a kind of entrenchment around it with our baggage, saddles, and some large stones. From our camp we had a delightful prospect. Southward were the steep red banks of the Missourie, about five leagues distant, beyond which the land appeared still to rise in a range of very high blue hills running E. and W. On the S. W. about three [?] leagues distant, appeared a range of barren hills, the highest we had yet seen; we afterward were informed it was the banks of the Little Missourie. To the N. W. and N. the country stretched into a smooth, level plain, with a number of small lakes, whose white shores beautifully contrasted with the adjoining verdure. At some distance beyond these lakes the land appeared to rise into high hills, covered with large round stones. Eastward there appeared a level country as far as the eye could reach. No wood was to be seen in any direction, for what there is of it upon the Missourie stands upon the borders of the river, below the high banks, and cannot be seen until these are reached. We determined to keep watch during the night. Our horses were tied where they had plenty of good grass, and each of us in our turn went the rounds.

<sup>34</sup> This camp may be approximately located on the border of Stevens Co. next to Garfield—possibly further W. still, in Garfield Co., about the boundary of the present Berthold Indian reservation. Neither of these counties has been surveyed, and in fact we know little more of the topographical details of Henry's present position than we gather from his manuscript. This blank occurs on the best maps, both civil and military, that we possess. The approximate location that I venture is inferred partly from the general "south" course since leaving Mouse r. and the supposed length of a full day's journey, but more from the statement we have for next day, when, after an hour's travel, the guide recognized the Snake's Den, then bearing about 12 m. E. S. E.

*July 19th.* At daybreak it was very cold, and our fingers were benumbed in saddling. Sullen silence reigned. I must confess my mind was not at ease, my people being so far from agreeing as to our situation. Three of them had already been to the Mandanes, one of them no later than last year. It was those very fellows who insisted that we were too low down. The western <sup>35</sup> course we had kept since leaving Rivière la Souris establishment persuaded me that our guide was right, and that we must be above the villages; but having many voices against me, I did not wish to insist upon it. I, therefore, desired my guide to go which way he thought proper, either E. or W. He instantly mounted his horse and turned eastward, edging for the Missourie. Some murmured, others were silent; but all followed him. Soon after leaving camp we found the carcass of a cow, which had been lately killed, and the head opened to take out the brains. This revived the drooping spirits of some of our party; as no war party would take out the brains of an animal, it must have been done by some hunters, who we hoped were Mandanes.

At eight o'clock we crossed the miry, muddy rivulet,<sup>36</sup> which appears to come from the salt lake we passed yesterday, and empties into the Missourie. At nine o'clock, on ascending a high hill, our guide pointed out the Loge de Serpent,<sup>37</sup> distant about five leagues E. S. E. This dis-

<sup>35</sup> Henry does not mean that the course had been "west," but simply that from the beginning of the journey they had held considerably W. of S., in comparison with the more directly S. course usually traveled from the "Rivière la Souris establishment" at the confluence of Mouse r. with the Assiniboine.

<sup>36</sup> I do not venture upon any identification of this "miry, muddy rivulet," in the uncertainty attending Henry's route from Mouse r., and in our ignorance of the topography of most of Stevens and Garfield cos. When these are surveyed and mapped, it may not be difficult to lay down Henry's trail from the topographical details he gives. At present, I can only refer to L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 269, for what is said of that stream which the explorers called Onion cr. This, or one very near it, may turn out to be the "miry, muddy rivulet" which Henry mentions.

<sup>37</sup> Well known as the Snake's Den—an eminent landmark at the mouth of Miry or Snake cr., where Henry is about to strike the Missouri. The state-

covery had an immediate effect; like so many Quakers whom the spirit moved, all instantly recovered the power of speech, and our guide was pestered with idle questions. Was he sure he was not mistaken? Did he really remember the place? Might not some other place resemble it? What particular object did he see to convince him he was right? The poor fellow lost all patience, and would answer no such foolishness. We jogged on till noon as fast as our fatigued beasts would go, passing three rivulets,<sup>38</sup> near which stand several conical hills, from 50 to 100 feet high. They appear to be composed of soft red gravel, with streaks of white and blue, without any vegetation whatever, and at a distance look like brick buildings.

We soon sighted the waters of the Missourie, and descended the high banks at the entrance of Rivière Bourbeuse.<sup>39</sup> We had much difficulty in crossing this small river, as both sides were soft clay, into which our horses sunk deeply. Having washed and cleaned them and ourselves in the Missourie, we stopped to allow our horses to feed. We saw many tracks of the natives on the beach, going and coming, some quite fresh; also, an abundance of last year's corn-cobs. We surprised two fallow deer lying in the hollow, but they escaped, although we started them not 10 yards off.

ment that this place is "about 5 leagues E. S. E." serves to fix the position of the party for the first time since they left Mouse r. They have certainly been blundering too far westward.

<sup>38</sup> Two creeks which answer to these fall into the Missouri at Fort Stevenson (abandoned by the military in the summer of 1883, and used for Indian school purposes since December of that year). These two creeks are Douglass and Garrison, the latter the lower one. In fact they form but forks of one, as they now unite in the river-bottom before falling into the Missouri. The fort stands on the bank between these; the bottom is full of brush, diamond willow (*Salix cordata*), etc. Either of these creeks may branch S. of Henry's trail, and thus count as two, making the "three" he enumerates.

<sup>39</sup> Mirey cr. or r., of L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 261, 1176, translating the then current F. name Bourbeuse; also Mirey and Myry in the codices; now Snake cr., so-called from the name of the bold bluffs Henry mentions as the Loge de Serpent. This stream flows S. W. into the Missouri, in McLean Co., 6 m. by the road from Fort Stevenson, in Stevens Co.

At two o'clock we saddled and proceeded along the water-side, at the foot of the Loge de Serpent,<sup>40</sup> which is a stupendous bank on the N. side of the Missourie, about 300 feet perpendicular; the side fronting the river is steep and bare, composed of red gravel mixed with flat, crumbling stones of a bluish and iron color with streaks of white. From the face of this bank issue several rills of clear, cold water, in some places boiling up several inches, and having the same taste as mineral springs.

A short distance from the foot of this bank stands the Big Belly winter village.<sup>41</sup> The water was so high that the huts appeared almost overflowed. Near this place are great quantities of fruit, all perfectly ripe—pears, chokecherries, red cherries, raspberries, and gooseberries. Pomme de raquette<sup>42</sup> grows here in great plenty and very large, some the size of the hand; it is painful to horses, when they happen to tread upon it, for the points project on all sides, as strong and sharp as awls. The plants lie in clusters on the ground, and are generally flat and green. The river here is well wooded on every low point, where it does not approach too near the high banks.

Having passed this place we proceeded over a rough country for a few miles to a high, steep bank, which our horses could hardly climb. We were obliged to walk most of the way, as it was impossible for horses to ascend such heights with a rider, and were all quite harassed when we

<sup>40</sup> Snake hill, noted in L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 261, as "a hill called Snake den," thus translating F. Loge de Serpent. In connection with this hill, L. and C. note "a small run" on the right, which they make  $2\frac{1}{4}$  m. below the mouth of Miry cr. This is now known as Wolf cr., falling in at lat.  $47^{\circ} 80' N.$ , in McLean Co.

<sup>41</sup> "On the north a hunting-camp of Minnetarees, consisting of 30 lodges, built in the usual form of earth and timber," L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 261, where this camp or village is located  $2\frac{1}{4}$  m. below Miry cr., and, therefore, about the mouth of Wolf cr.

<sup>42</sup> The prickly-pear (*Opuntia*), so called from the racket-shaped, or rather oval, flat, and fleshy joints of the stem, beset with prickles, and bearing upon their edges a juicy fruit, the "pommes" of the Canadians, and the "tunas" of the Spanish-Americans.



reached the summit of this last hill. Here we had a delightful and extensive prospect of the river in both directions. Its borders are well lined with wood of various kinds. The valley through which the river courses is about two miles wide, confined on both sides by stupendous banks, on which nothing grows but a short grass. In many places, where the bends encroach on the banks, these are entirely naked, large fragments of soil having given way and fallen either into the river or plains. Our situation was so elevated as to make the large trees below us appear like mere bushes. This spot is one of the most elevated pieces of ground on the banks of the Missouri. The water overflows the lower bank in many places in the spring on the breaking up of the ice; the current, of course, must be then increased to an astonishing velocity.

We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

At four o'clock we descended a large sloping hill and arrived at the river-side opposite the upper Big Belly village,<sup>43</sup> which is situated on Knife river, about one mile from the Missouri. Here we stopped, called out, and waited

<sup>43</sup> This, the main or larger of the two Minnetaree, Grosventre, or Hidatsa villages, was situated on the *N.* side of Knife r., about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. above its mouth, and thus in the immediate vicinity of the present town of Causey, Mercer Co.: see L. and C., ch. v., *passim*, esp. pp. 184, 198, 1177. This is the *fifth* and last, or uppermost, of the villages of which L. and C. treat, and was the residence of Le Borgne.

some time for the natives to come and ferry us over, but they appeared to take little notice of us. We mounted, and went down river about five miles to that Mandane village<sup>44</sup> which is situated on the N. side of the river; having noticed, as we passed down, the little Big Belly village,<sup>45</sup> and the Saulteur [*sic*] village,<sup>46</sup> both situated on the S. side.

Before we reached the [Mandan] village, we passed through a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of. We passed through one of the old villages, abandoned a few years ago; the soil in

<sup>44</sup> The *second* of the two Mandan villages of L. and C., “which is called Roptahee,” p. 183. This was on the N. side of the Missouri, and was the only one of the five thus situated. It was about 4 m. by river above the site of Fort Mandan, and somewhat above the first Mandan village, on the S., “at the distance of three miles across,” p. 197. In Roptahee lived Poscopsahe, or Black Cat, “the first chief of the village and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation,” p. 183.

<sup>45</sup> The *fourth* of the five villages of L. and C.—“the fourth village, where the Minnetarees live, and which is called Metaharta,” p. 183; “on the south side of the same Knife river, half a mile above the Mahaha [village] and in the same open plain with it is a village of the Minnetarees surnamed Metaharta,” p. 198: see also p. 1178.

<sup>46</sup> The *third* of the five villages of L. and C.—“the third village, which is called Mahawha [or Mahaha or Maharhar] and where the Arwacahwas reside,” p. 183; “a village of Ahnahaways,” p. 180; “of the Wetersoon or Ahwahharways,” p. 180; “situated on a high plain at the mouth of Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways, . . . called by the French Soulier Noir or [Black] Shoe Indians; by the Mandans Wattasoons,” p. 197: see also p. 1178. These Indians, whom Henry or his copyist miscalls Saulteurs, were known to the French as Gens des Souliers, and so called by Lewis in his Statistical View, 1809, p. 20. They kept up a separate tribal organization for about 30 years after Henry found them, and then merged in the Hidatsas. Their proper name is Amahami. Their village was only about half a mile from Metaharta. The locality of both is the present site of Stanton, Mercer Co.

its environs not producing so well as formerly, they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village<sup>47</sup> we saw great numbers of their dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. Many of the coverings, which are generally of dressed leather and parchment, were still very good, whilst others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared; others, again, were decaying and falling to the ground as the stages went to pieces. This melancholy sight cast a damper on our spirits, which had been enlivened by reaching our destination.

We soon met a Mandane, well armed with his gun, etc.; he accompanied a party of women hoeing corn, and served as their guard. On perceiving us, he came up and shook hands in a friendly manner, and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw many children and women at work in the cornfield. Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Le Chat Noir,<sup>48</sup> and a number of the natives; everyone shook hands and bade us welcome as we rode on through their ranks. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, which was appropriated for the reception of strangers. He has another, in which most of his family reside. He keeps one of his wives in the house we entered, to wait upon his guests, cook, bring water, and even serve as a bed-fellow when required. In a moment the whole village flocked around us, curious to see what articles we had brought to trade; but they were neither troublesome nor impertinent. Having unsaddled and taken our baggage into the hut, the chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us we need not be uneasy, as good care

<sup>47</sup> One of the *two* that were on the N. side of the Missouri till after 1798: "the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri. . . In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796; since which the two villages have united into one," L. and C., p. 197. The two that were inhabited at the time of Henry's visit were the one on the N. and the other on the S. side of the river, respectively the *second* and the *first* of L. and C.

<sup>48</sup> The Black Cat, otherwise Poscopsahe, of L. and C., *passim*, esp. pp. 183, 231, 1178.

would be taken of them. On going into the hut we found buffalo hides spread on the ground before the fire for us to sit upon, and were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans. After that they gave us a large dish of boiled dried meat; but few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell. This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn, beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

Our young man brought the horses and put them into the hut with us, at the right hand on entering, we being on the left; a space was inclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. It is customary for these people to occupy one side of the hut and the horses the other; their habitations consequently have an offensive smell to the nose of a stranger. This is a precaution to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines and other enemies, who frequently lurk about the village.

Toward evening, having gone down to the river-side, I observed their custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule to go down to the river and wash every morning and evening. The men use clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it afresh every morning. Modesty in the female sex



appears to be a virtue unknown. The women wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs; this they slip off at some distance from the shore and walk deliberately into the water, entirely naked, in the presence of numbers of men, both old and young, who pay no attention to them. Some few are modest enough to conceal with one hand what should not be exposed to public view, but even this is done so carelessly as seldom to answer the purpose—a flea or a louse, of which they have a good store, will make them raise the hand to the parts attacked, leaving their nudities exposed. The river being very shallow for some distance from shore, they make no scruple of standing only knee deep, and thus wash themselves before going out further to swim; and in coming out they pass close by you as unconcernedly as if they had on a petticoat or shift. They sometimes bundle up their leather garment under the arm or in one hand and walk deliberately into the village to their own huts, where they sit by the fire to dry themselves in the presence of everyone; and then, having chatted for some time with their families, they go to bed entirely naked. The men wear no other covering in summer than buffalo robes, and even those are seldom worn within doors, being only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. Both sexes sleep naked; their beds are raised about two feet from the ground and hung around with dressed skins; in summer they seldom ever use any covering at night, but lie like so many brutes. This evening we were plagued for some time by young women, who came in and wanted to lie with us; but as we did not care to accept their kind offers, they retired very much displeased, and muttering something we could not understand.

About midnight we were awakened by some extraordinary noise in the village. On going to the outer porch door I saw about 25 persons of both sexes, entirely naked, going about the village singing and dancing. At times they withdrew in couples, but soon rejoined their companions in

the dance and song. During this short separation from the rest they appeared to be very closely engaged, and notwithstanding the night was dark I could perceive them occupied in enjoying each other with as little ceremony as if it had been only the common calls of nature. This affair continued about two hours, during which they made the tour of the village several times. What was the meaning of this ceremony I could not learn; but certainly there could be no performance more lascivious than the one I witnessed. The young men kept watch during the night, sitting on the tops of the huts or walking round the village, singing amorous songs to their particular favorites. This is done, I am told, to prevent a surprise in case an enemy may be at hand. Love is not made by entering the tent at night and lying down near the woman, as it is among other nations I have seen. The custom here is to barricade the doors of the huts during the night and not admit the young men. The latter therefore employ the night in addressing love songs to their mistresses, who either come out of the huts immediately, or wait till daybreak, when they repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men, who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback, and performing warlike manœuvres; they have also a favorite game which occupies much of their time.

*Sunday, July 20th.* At daybreak we were all up, and I took a walk down to the river, where I witnessed the ceremony of washing with as little reserve as before. Our host on my return presented us with dried meat, and then a dish of corn and beans; but, as the latter is not cooked with any kind of grease or fat, it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally bruised or pounded in a wooden mortar, which is fixed firmly into the ground in one corner of the hut;

and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed themselves in the Missouri. Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole. They use large earthen pots of their own manufacture of a black clay which is plentiful near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to one quart. In these vessels nothing of a greasy nature is cooked, every family being provided with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh. Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to say, but they assured us that any kind of flesh cooked in those earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the contents. The bottoms of these pots are of a convex shape; much care is therefore required to keep them from upsetting. For this purpose, when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to keep them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of coil made of bois blanc fibers. These coils or rings are of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots. Some pots have two ears or handles, and are more convenient than those with none.

Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed in the meadow, but never allowed them to be for a moment out of his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them. We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles, for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco. Having bought all we required, which was three horse-loads, we were plagued by the women and girls, who continued to bring bags and dishes full of different kinds of produce, and insisted upon trading. It was some time before we could persuade them that we had already purchased more than we had horses to carry. They then offered to sell us some common pack-horses, and also buffalo robes in

great numbers; but our trifling equipments would not admit of such purchases.

About this time Jean Baptiste La France<sup>49</sup> made his appearance. This man had left [Brandon House, on] Rivière la Souris in May last, equipped by the H. B. Co. with a small assortment for trading. He resides on the S. side, at the great Mandane village, and hearing of our arrival, came over to us. He informed Black Cat, our kind host, who his guests were, and told him that our visit was from mere curiosity. The chief instantly retired to his family hut, and brought out his flag, which was soon flying over the hut in which we were accommodated. This flag was given to him in 1804-05 [*i. e.*, Oct. 29th, 1804] by Captains Lewis and Clark, who also gave him a silver medal; the same articles were also given to the principal chiefs of the other villages, and several very useful utensils were left among them. I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill [L. and C., p. 182], which the foolish fellows had demolished to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it, which they could not break or work up into any weapon, was fixed to a wooden handle, and used to pound marrow-bones to make grease.

As we desired to cross the river, we sent La France to engage people of the opposite village<sup>50</sup> to come over for us. It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many European articles as they can,

<sup>49</sup> See L. and C., pp. 203, 213, and esp. 1179, where I cite this passage from the Henry MS. literally.

<sup>50</sup> The *first* of the two Mandan and of the whole five villages of L. and C., on the S. side of the Missouri; "the lower village of the Mandans, called Matootonha," p. 182. This was about 4 m. below the mouth of Knife r., and distant about 3 m. diagonally across the Missouri from the other Mandan village of Roothahee. It was the village of Shahaka, Gros Blanc, or Big White, a principal chief, and of Kagohami or Little Raven. In this locality is now a place called Deapolis.



particularly arms and ammunition. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great distance. The Pawnees also, with whom the Mandanes formerly lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies. Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and everyone has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection. Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article, it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. We were informed that eight canoes were waiting for us on the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses. We paid our landlord for board and lodging, as well as for the care of our horses, and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 2 worms [wormers for guns], and 1 dozen brass rings. On going down to the water-side, we found the chief of the great Mandane village, Le Gros Blanc.<sup>51</sup> It was this man

<sup>51</sup> For this chief, otherwise Shahaka and Big White, see L. and C., pp. xxxix, ciii, 182, 185, 192, 209, 236, 242, 247, 566, 1184-5-6, 1191, 1212; also, my paper in *Annals of Iowa*, 3d ser., I., No. 8, Jan., 1895, pp. 613-20.

who accompanied Lewis and Clark the ensuing autumn to Washington. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me, and very attentive and polite in conveying our baggage on board. We saw another American flag flying in the village on the S. side, whilst that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor informed us that the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodging.

The young men were very expert in getting our horses over. They fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them took in his teeth, and swam ahead, whilst others swam on each side and in the rear, driving the horse very expeditiously. Though the Missourie at this place is half a mile wide, and the current very strong, they drifted down but little before landing. Their canoes [*i. e.*, "bull-boats"] are of singular construction; a stranger would scarcely dare to cross such a deep and rapid stream in them. They are of circular form; the timbers are only a few bent willows, about three inches in circumference, over which is stretched a raw buffalo hide with the hair inside, sewed fast to the gunnel; this is generally of willow, about two inches in diameter. I was surprised to see the great weight these tender vessels carried. We embarked baggage, saddles, etc., weighing at least 200 pounds, with Mr. Chaboillez, myself, and our ferryman, who was a stout, lusty fellow, and our canoe or dish could have supported at least 100 pounds more. In lieu of a paddle they use a pole about five feet long, split at one end, to admit a piece of board about two feet long and half a foot broad, which is lashed to the pole and forms a kind of cross; there is but one for each canoe. He who paddles makes directly for the opposite shore; every stroke he gives turns his dish almost entirely round; to recover his position and go on his intended route, he must give a stroke on the other hand, which brings him up again, and so on until he gets

over, not without drifting down sometimes nearly a mile. Some, I observed, were more expert than others in managing their dishes, and did not drift more than a quarter of a mile. As their vessels are very light, they take the precaution to carry them on their heads, or slung on their backs, to a considerable distance higher up the river than where they intend to land. Whilst we were on the water our conductor repeatedly made signs to us to salute the flag by firing our guns; but we did not think proper to comply with his wishes, and pretended we did not comprehend him. We soon landed opposite the village, which is situated on the very edge of the S. bank. Here we were received by another chief, called Le Grand,<sup>52</sup> who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut. We accordingly entered it, but were soon visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to abide in their huts. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease than if we all remained in the same hut, and that in every respect we should fare better. Accordingly, Mr. Chaboillez and his people, who consisted of the Saulteur lad (Mr. C.'s brother-in-law), and Mr. Allen McDonnell [McDonald], took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn; while our guide, MacReacan,<sup>53</sup> Straight Horn, myself, and my people, V. and D., remained with Le Grand, who appeared to be a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been made, we were soon provided with beds, and buffalo hides to sit upon. My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several huts, where we

<sup>52</sup> "Ohheenaw or Big Man, a Chayenne taken prisoner by the Mandans, who adopted him; he now enjoys first consideration among the tribe," L. and C., p. 182; otherwise Oheenaw and Ohhaw: see also pp. 184, 185, 205, 236, 241.

<sup>53</sup> *Sic*—meaning Hugh McCracken, who has been already noted in this chapter, p. 301: see also L. and C., p. 1184, where the present passage is quoted verbatim, and pp. 178, 187, where Lewis and Clark speak of this man, whom they call Mr. M'Cracken and Hugh M'Crachen. "V. and D." are Vaudry and Ducharme; compare the party of seven named on p. 304.

were treated with a very palatable dish of pounded peas and parched corn ; but it is customary for invited guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful. We paid a visit to Gros Blanc, whom we had slighted in not taking up our residence in his hut, and who kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. However, we made him ample amends, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for assisting us over. He appeared highly pleased with the presents, but said he would have been very happy to have accommodated at least some of our party.

We found in this village a Canadian named [René] Jussaume,<sup>54</sup> who accompanied Captains Clark and Lewis the ensuing autumn to Washington on their return from their voyage to the Pacific Ocean, as interpreter for the Mandane chief, Gros Blanc. This man has resided among the Indians for upward of 15 years, speaks their language tolerably well, and has a wife and family who dress and live like the natives. He retains the outward appearance of a Christian, but his principles, as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane ; he is possessed of every superstition natural to those people, nor is he different in every mean, dirty trick they have acquired from intercourse with the set of scoundrels who visit these parts—some to trade and others to screen themselves from justice, as the laws of their own country would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses.

Soon after our arrival a great uproar was occasioned by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees from their own village, about 60 leagues below on the same river. They had been sent on an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring some of these people accompanied a war party of Sioux<sup>55</sup> who came here and killed five Mandanes ; the

<sup>54</sup> Of whom much is said in L. and C., as on pp. 180, 181, 189, 232, 1178, 1184, which see.

<sup>55</sup> Compare the Sioux raid noted by L. and C., Nov. 30th, 1805, at p. 204.



latter, in company with the Big Bellies, soon returned the visit; and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees. But as this did not satisfy them, they informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both Mandanes and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground. To avoid this storm, the latter had thought prudent to thus sue for peace before it was too late.

A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of the Pawnees' arrival. In the meantime the strangers were hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn, beans, and dried meat. All were then silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

Not many years ago the Pawnees<sup>56</sup> and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages, on the Missouri, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Rivière la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress, telling them that they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present. The latter were not much inclined to comply with those proposals; but, dreading the displeasure of the others, who were more numerous than they are at present,—composing then a village of 900 huts,—were obliged to accept the terms. Since that period the Pawnees and Mandanes have frequently been at war, and as often made peace again. The former are a stationary people, like the Mandanes, and cultivate the ground in

<sup>56</sup> In regard to this relation of the Pawnees, see L. and C., pp. 54, 55, 56, 57, 98, 144.

the same manner; they are represented as treacherous and deceitful, taking every advantage of their neighbors, favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently mixing with them to annoy the Mandanes and Big Bellies, as was the case last spring, when they were supposed to be at peace. Their language is entirely different from that of the natives of this place, and it is mainly by signs that they communicate with each other, though there are a few of each who understand the other's language. Sign-language serves as interpreter in every affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are in communicating their ideas by signs. They hold conferences for several hours, upon different subjects, during the whole of which time not a single word is pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication is natural to them; their gestures are made with the greatest ease, and they never seem to be at a loss for a sign to express their meaning.

About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain. After some private consultation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace he must come in person, and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with a private party of young men. They had been so repeatedly deceived by different messages that for the future they would be more upon their guard against such treacherous neighbors. They allowed the Pawnees two moons to consider the business and perform the journey; if then their chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather their corn, go in a body to find him out in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies—or, as they call themselves, Willow In-

dians—and Mandanes could do when exasperated by Pawnee treachery. The six emissaries promised to depart early next morning to inform their chief accordingly, who, they made no doubt, would soon wait upon the Big Bellies; for the messengers were convinced of his desire for peace.

Thus ended an affair which at first we had supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, judging by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned. But I was afterward informed that there was not the least danger of such proceedings; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enemies, the Sioux, have come into their villages unexpectedly upon embassies concerning peace, and been always hospitably entertained, though never permitted to stay more than one night.

Toward evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men, who were standing upon their huts. This was to announce a hunting party of Mandanes, who at that moment appeared on the high banks to the S., descending by a well-beaten road to the village. The party consisted of 100 mounted men, each loaded with about half a buffalo; but some had more than others, according to the strength of the horse, which the owner always rides, however heavily his beast be loaded. They went away yesterday, and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people always hunt in large parties, as the continual danger from their numerous enemies obliges them to be very cautious in leaving the villages. Another reason is, that they are anxious to prevent the buffalo from being driven away. For this purpose it is customary for them all in a body to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. Not one of the whole herd do they allow to escape; large and small, fat and lean, all must fall, to prevent alarming other herds. This manner of hunting answers another good purpose, which is that bad and dull horsemen get equal share with the best

racers. They never use firearms for buffalo ; the bow and arrow is the only weapon for that purpose. When a hunting excursion is agitated among the Mandanes, they inform their neighbors on the N. shore and the Saulteurs [Souliers]; but the Big Bellies have their own parties, and seldom interfere with the others; the one goes to the S. E. and the other to the S. W. Knife river seems to be their boundary line. On the day fixed for their departure, early in the morning, those who are inclined to join the party assemble on the rising ground in the rear of the village, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile S. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find buffalo, and seldom, if ever, return light. On their arrival the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat is taken into their huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon afterward the women whose husbands or sons have not been hunting enter the huts of those who have secured meat; the mistress gives them a share, and they walk away with it. It often happens that so many of her acquaintances and friends thus drop in that not a mouthful remains for her own family. When this is the case, she in turn goes to the huts of friends who have been hunting, and comes away with a load. It is customary for them to go into as many huts as they think proper, and bring away more or less, according to the degree of intimacy that exists between the families, particularly among the women; for they are not without their little jealousies, domestic broils, and tales of scandal, like those of civilized nations. It is also customary for the old men and old women who have no sons nor any particular friends to assist them, on the first news of the hunters' approach, to crawl a mile or more out of the villages and sit by the wayside, where almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual gets a share of what has been killed.

These villages at a distance appear like a cluster of mole-



hills or muskrat cabins. The nearly circular huts are placed very irregularly; some so close to each other as scarcely to leave a foot-passage, others again at a distance of 20 to 30 feet apart. But about the center of each village is an open space of about four acres, around which the huts are regularly built at equal distances, fronting the open space. This circle is of about 30 huts, which I have no doubt were the first erected on the spot. Friends, who joined them afterward for various causes, erected their huts in the rear, wherever they found it most convenient. This continues to be the case; huts are continually demolished in one village and others built to replace them in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings the people have either with the chiefs of the village, or with their own neighbors; when, finding the situation unpleasant and likely to lead to quarrels, they shift their quarters; but they always take up their new residence among their own tribe.

The Mandanes and Saulteurs [Souliers] are a stationary people, who never leave their villages except to go hunting or on a war excursion. They are much more agricultural than their neighbors, the Big Bellies, raising an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and sunflowers. A Mandane's circular hut is spacious. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it 90 feet from the door to the opposite side. The whole space is first dug out about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the square fireplace, about five feet on each side, dug out about two feet below the surface of the ground flat. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances from each other, according to the proposed size of the hut, as they are not all of the same dimensions. Upon these are laid logs as large as the posts, reaching from post to post to form the circle. On the outer side are placed pieces of split wood seven feet long, in a slanting direction, one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the cross-logs or beams. Upon these beams rest rafters about

the thickness of a man's leg, and 12 to 15 feet long, slanting enough to drain off the rain, and laid so close to each other as to touch. The upper ends of the rafters are supported upon stout pieces of squared timber, which last are supported by four thick posts about five feet in circumference, 15 feet out of the ground and 15 feet asunder, forming a square. Over these squared timbers others of equal size are laid, crossing them at right angles, leaving an opening about four feet square. This serves for chimney and windows, as there are no other openings to admit light, and when it rains even this hole is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from injuring their gamine [*sic*] and earthen pots. The whole roof is well thatched with the small willows in which the Missouri abounds, laid on to the thickness of six inches or more, fastened together in a very compact manner and well secured to the rafters. Over the whole is spread about one foot of earth, and around the wall, to the height of three or four feet, is commonly laid up earth to the thickness of three feet, for security in case of an attack and to keep out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, with a covered way or porch on the outside of the same height as the door, seven feet broad and ten in length. The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a frame and suspended by cords from one of the beams which form the circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts set in the ground in the inside of the hut, one on each side of the door.

On entering the hut, the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment, always on the left hand and fronting the fire, leaving an open space on the right; this is to hold firewood in winter. This partition is constructed of square planks about 12 feet high, well calked to keep off the air from the door. Between this partition and the fire is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day, seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together

by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick about a foot apart. These mats are about ten feet long and four broad; the two ends for about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet are raised slanting from the ground, supported by a kind of sofa. Over the mat is spread a kind of buffalo skin. Some of these couches are raised a foot off the ground.

Upon this a Mandane sits all day, receives his friends, smokes, and chats the time away with the greatest dignity; he sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lie with any of his wives. On the left side of the host begins their range of beds. The master and his favorite wife always occupy the first bed, and his other wives each a separate one in succession; next to them come the young people. All are constructed in the same manner, and adjoin each other lengthways. At the bottom of the hut, fronting the master's seat, stands his medicine-stage, which may be called his chief treasure, as it contains everything he values most. The article of most consequence is a pair of bull's heads, which seem to be a great Manitou and protection; they are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There are also laid, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps, and everything else he most values. Next this stage stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firmly in the ground. The rest of the hut, from this place to the door, is vacant during the day, but occupied at night by the horses. There still remains a large clear space in the center, round about the fire, for the use of the family; this is generally swept once a day. Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut. Fronting the porch stands a stage about eight feet high, 20 feet long and 10 feet broad, for the purpose of hanging up corn to dry in the fall, and to dry meat. These stages have a tolerably good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry; and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When the harvest is over this certainly must have a very pretty effect,

and give quite an appearance of agriculture; but at this season they are lumbered up with driftwood, for fuel, thus giving a very ugly appearance to the village.

This fuel they collect in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of wood drift down. The natives being expert swimmers and very active in managing the large trees, scarcely one escapes them until they have a sufficient stock for the year; although the drifting of the ice at the same time would make such attempts appear impracticable to most people. I observed opposite each village an immense pile of this wood, including some trees of amazing size. When they collect the drift-wood, great numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above when the ice was getting bad, float down; those animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer such flesh to that killed in any other way.

What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong coarse hair as other natives of North America; they have it much finer, rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair was almost fair. I saw one Big Belly with yellow hair; which I believe could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites from our quarter, as it is not more than 30 years since they first saw any of us, and this man was at least 40 years old.<sup>57</sup> Their eyes are not of that jet black which is common to other Indians, but, like their hair, inclined to a dark brown; some few are dark gray. They are in general tall, stout, well-built men. The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes,<sup>58</sup> hanging down to the rump; some of them

<sup>57</sup> Henry may be correct in thus stating the time when the Indians first knew British traders; but they had been acquainted with the French from the date of Verendrye's visit, in December, 1738, about 68 years before 1806.

<sup>58</sup> The meaning of queues, tresses, or strands is clear, but I am not sure of the word; perhaps it should be *quoifes* (for coifs or coiffures).



have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground ; they seldom tie it, but allow the numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs ; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head, except sometimes daubing it with red earth. They seem to be a very lascivious set of people. The men make no scruple in offering their wives to strangers without solicitation, and are offended if their favors are not accepted, unless convinced that there is some good reason for your refusal, and that it is not out of contempt. They expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy them—even one single coat button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and even bloodshed. The woman is generally sacrificed in an affair of this nature.

We paid the young men for taking our horses across the river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms, and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging, stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the payment be too little they still appear to accept it with gratitude ; but the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most trifling service from the natives without immediate payment ; not even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving something in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property. But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host

beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  pound blue beads.

They have a peculiar way of roasting meat. A placotte is suspended by a cord from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire; the cord being passed through, and fastened to the center of the piece, keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames; a person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro; when one side is done it is turned over and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than roasting flesh before the fire, and by far preferable, as it retains all the natural juice and flavor.

The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people.

*July 21st.* I set off early on horseback with part of my people for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulder-blade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur [Soulier] village, of about 40 huts.

These people are an entirely different tribe from the Big Bellies and Mandanes; their language resembles that of the latter more than that of the former, but is not the

same. Their long intercourse with those people has tended to this similarity of language, and from proximity they have acquired the manners and customs of the other nations, though they continue to live by themselves. They have the reputation of a brave and warlike people. They formerly sustained a three-years' war with the Big Bellies, notwithstanding the latter were then ten times their number. They held out with the greatest resolution and disdained to submit till the others, finding it impossible to reduce them, unless by extermination, proposed to make peace. Since then they have lived in amity. They are stationary, like their neighbors, the Mandanes, with whom they have always been at peace, and have acquired more of their customs and manners than those of the Big Bellies, who continue to view them with an envious eye.

We stopped here only a short time; and having been invited into several huts, and treated with what they had to offer, in return for which we gave them a pipe of tobacco, we proceeded on a delightful hard, dry road. The soil being a mixture of sand and clay, and rain being infrequent, the heat of the sun makes the road as hard as pavement. Upon each side were pleasant cultivated spots, some of which stretched up the rising ground on our left, whilst on our right they ran nearly to the Missouri. In those fields were many women and children at work, who all appeared industrious. Upon the road were passing and repassing every moment natives, afoot and on horseback, curious to examine and stare at us. Many horses were feeding in every direction beyond the plantation. The whole view was agreeable, and had more the appearance of a country inhabited by a civilized nation than by a set of savages.

We came to the little village of Big Bellies or Willow Indians, situated nearly at the mouth of Knife river, which comes from the S. and enters into the Missouri, about one mile from the Saulteur [Soulier] village. Here we found a sudden and great change in the manners of the

people; the children and even the youths collected and followed us in crowds, laughing and making sport of us, to the great entertainment of the men, who were seated upon their huts enjoying the cool morning air, and by their significant smiles seemed to applaud such proceedings. The dogs also assailed us from every quarter, and were very troublesome. We, therefore, made no stop at this village, which consists of about 60 huts, but pushed through the crowd to the west end, where the road leads along the bank of Knife river, here about 50 yards wide, with a gentle current. The water is thick and muddy, and of a reddish color, that of the Missourie being much lighter or paler. Here the road is again very pleasant, running through an open level country, with corn-fields in sight, in which were numbers of people at work; beyond them we saw several hundred horses, feeding upon the hills and along the banks of Knife river. We came about one mile from the last village, crossed Knife river, having the water up to our saddles, with a fine sandy bottom; and 300 yards further entered the great village of the Big Bellies, which consists of about 130 huts.

Here we found Messrs. Charles McKenzie<sup>59</sup> and James

<sup>59</sup> See L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 203, 226, 232, 1177. Charles McKenzie is readily distinguished from the many of that surname in the fur trade. He entered the N. W. Co. as apprenticed clerk in 1803, and became clerk in 1804 on Upper Red r., where he was traveling with Harmon in October of that year. His first visit to the Mandans was in 1804, when he made one of the party under F. A. Larocque (the others being William Morrison, J. B. Turenne, Alexis McKay, and Joseph Azure); he left there April 2d, 1805, and reached Fort Assiniboine May 22d. Again he made the same trip with Mr. Larocque, Mr. Lafrance, and two voyageurs, leaving Fort Assiniboine June 3d, and leaving the Mandans on his return with Lafrance Aug. 15th. He went a third time in February, 1806, and returned to Fort Assiniboine in 23 days. His fourth visit began June 4th, 1806, when he left Fort Assiniboine with Mr. Caldwell and a freeman. See his *The Missouri Indians. A Narrative of Four Trading Expeditions to the Missouri, 1804-1805-1806*, in Masson, I, 1889, pp. 315-93—a specially valuable article. The N. W. Co. abandoned the Missouri trade in 1807, and Mr. McKenzie was stationed for some years about Lac la Pluie, the Nepigon, etc. He joined the H. B. Co. on the fusion of 1821, and continued in that service till about 1846. Though he never liked it,



Caldwell, who had left Rivière la Souris with a small assortment of goods in May last [June 4th, 1806]; both young men in the service of the N. W. Co. The natives conducted us to the hut in which they resided, which was that of the great chief of the village, Le Borgne;<sup>60</sup> he

and found much amiss, he accepted the situation philosophically, and indulged his taste for study. On retirement he settled on Red r., and died in March, 1854, leaving three daughters, dead since 1889 or earlier, and a son, Hector, who was living near Winnipeg in 1889. His Mandan journal has much merit, and is more readable than such things generally are; it bears with special interest on Lewis and Clark, from the British point of view, and has a good deal to say of our present author, whom Mr. McKenzie accompanied on the trip to which our next chapter is devoted. He describes the present meeting with Henry in these terms: "I heard my name called at the door of the lodge by a voice which was familiar, and enquiring if I was within. I hastened to the door, dressed as I was in the Indian costume, and was much surprised at seeing Mr. Charles Chaboillez, [Jr.] Mr. Alexander Henry, and Mr. Allen Macdonel [*sic*], accompanied by three men. Their first salutation was a reproach at my dress. . . Messrs. Chaboillez and Henry were much disappointed; they had promised themselves a pleasant voyage, they had a long disagreeable one. . . Their appearance was not to their credit, nor to the interest of the company. It was most galling to me, who understood some of the Indian language, to hear them despised and the American captains, whom they [Indians] hated till then, praised. They had come to purchase horses, but found none to their taste. . . Mr. Henry avowed his disappointment and did not disguise his detestation of the Indians; he was displeased with himself, dissatisfied with his 'equal' [Chaboillez] and disgusted with his inferiors. . . Mr. Henry kept at a distance from the crowd and smoked his pipe alone." This snap-shot of the McKenzie kodak—so to speak—accounts for the vein of ill humor and bad taste running through the Henry narrative at present.

Mr. McKenzie's name of the Missouri was not an uncommon one in those days, and is perhaps defensible as being nearer the aboriginal term; Sir A. McKenzie, Thompson, and others use similar forms. The word seems to have been the name of certain Indians before it was applied to the river: for the meaning, see L. and C., p. 22, note <sup>49</sup>. Some other forms of the tribal term are Missouria, Missourite, and Oumissourite. This last is found on Marquette's autograph map of 1673 as *8emëss8rit*; but it is curious to note that exactly our present form Missouri, for the river, appears as early as 1687 in Joutel's Narrative: see Margry's *Découvertes*, III. p. 432, 1879. A modern Sioux name is given as *Minishoshay* or *Meneshosha*; a Sac name is *Pekitanoui*.

C. McKenzie's name for the Cheyennes is more unusual—Shawyens.

<sup>60</sup> For this celebrated character, see L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 242 and following, also 1177, 1179, 1183, 1186, 1192. "To give the devil his due"—as someone

was then on a visit to a camp of Schians, settling the preliminaries of peace with that nation, who are tented about two days' journey S. E. from here. We were not so well received at this village as at the Mandanes; no attention was shown us, after conducting us to the hut where the white people lodged. They do not appear to be of such sociable and affable disposition as their neighbors; they are proud and haughty, and think there is no race upon earth equal to themselves; they despise other nations. Were it not that they must have traders to bring them the arms and ammunition of which they stand in such great need, being surrounded by enemies, a white man would stand a poor chance for his life and property among this set of savages, whose sole glory is in bloodshed and devastation. But they are obliged to be civil, and this policy is inculcated in the daily harangues made by the old principals and chiefs. All have manly and warlike countenances, and are remarkably stout, well-proportioned men, with a similarity of physiognomy among themselves not to be found in the other tribes of these quarters. The commonest feature is a large aquiline nose. Their dress is nearly the same as the Mandanes', excepting that the men wear their hair somewhat differently. It is generally of great length, sometimes even trailing on the ground. They divide it, and plat from 10 to 25 tresses about one inch broad; on those quaittes they stick pieces of gum three or four inches square and an inch apart, which every morning, after washing and freshening, they carefully daub with red or white clay, always painting the patches of gum one color, and the intervening spaces another. This decoration at a distance has nearly the same effect as a Saulteur head covered with silver brooches. Their hair is of the same bright hue as that of their neighbors.

Upon the whole they appeared to me to be a fierce and savage set of scoundrels, still more loose and licentious than is reported to have said in characterizing John Calvin—Le Borgne was a great man.

the Mandanes ; the men appeared to take pride in displaying their nudities. I am also informed that they are much given to unnatural lusts and often prefer a young man to a woman. They have many berdashes amongst them, who make it their business to satisfy such beastly passions. The men are always ready to supply a stranger with a bed-fellow, if he has any property. They are very complaisant in giving him the choice of their women, and proud when they can accommodate him with one who is provided with a good swinging pair of contrevants, or well labiated. I am not competent to determine whether this extraordinary appendage be natural or otherwise. I am informed that it is produced by the filthy custom of the men pulling upon it daily while the girls are still young, and continuing to do so when they are grown to maturity, until it attains the length of several inches on each side of the orifice. Some say that such females suspend weights to the parts for that purpose, and others again say it is natural to some of the women. That some of the women have such ornaments, or whatever we may choose to call them, I can affirm from ocular demonstration. These people, like their neighbors, have the custom of washing morning and evening, and then wallowing in mud or clay, which answers the purpose of soap.

Formerly this village consisted of 900 huts, but the smallpox and other diseases have reduced them to their present number. They have been settled upon this spot time out of mind. They are not so fond of cultivating the ground as their neighbors ; although they raise an immense quantity of corn, etc., it falls far short of what is gathered by the Mandanes. They differ from the last in many points, and appear to be of a more roving and restless disposition. The Big Bellies' huts are constructed in the same manner as those of their neighbors, excepting that the ground is dug out about four feet below the surface, which makes them deeper than the others. They do not stable the horses in the hut with themselves, but put them

at night in small inclosures under the stages fronting their huts. Their canoes are of a different shape, having one end square and the other round; but of the same material and construction, and used in the same manner, the ferryman sitting in the round end; but they seldom have occasion to cross the river, which is about a mile distant from their village. They reside here only during the summer. Early in the fall, when cold weather begins, they decamp in a body for the Snake's Lodge, where they take up their residence for the winter in huts of the same construction as those already mentioned. There they do not remain inactive; all, excepting the old people, decamp in parties of 30 to 40 tents on long excursions to the W. and S. W., sometimes for two or three months, during which time they hunt wolves, foxes, kitts, and buffaloes. They are well provided for these excursions, every family having a leather tent, many horses, and a vast number of stout, strong dogs. Several families have from 20 to 30 horses. This custom of abandoning their summer habitation is less a matter of choice than of necessity; for this village has been so long settled that firewood is only to be got from a great distance, and their only resource for a summer's stock is the driftwood on the Missourie, which they collect in the same manner as the Mandanes do. But as they are more numerous the consumption is greater, and transportation from the river to the village is too tedious a piece of business for the winter. Knife river supplies them with water, which they carry into the villages in buffalo paunches. Their other utensils and implements are the same as those of their neighbors, and they are likewise provided with European kettles to cook meat, besides their own earthen pots to boil corn and vegetables. Early in the spring they return to sow their fields, while the men are employed getting driftwood and drowned buffalo.

In 1804-05, when Captains Lewis and Clark wintered near this place, they presented the people with silver medals and flags, the same as they gave to the Mandanes; but the Big



Bellies pretended to say that these ornaments conveyed bad medicine to them and their children. They are exceedingly superstitious, and, therefore, supposed they could not better dispose of those articles than by giving them to the natives with whom they frequently warred, in hope the ill-luck would be conveyed to them. They were disgusted at the high-sounding language the American captains bestowed upon themselves and their own nation, wishing to impress the Indians with an idea that they were great warriors, and a powerful people who, if exasperated, could crush all the nations of the earth, etc. This manner of proceeding did not agree with these haughty savages, who have too high an opinion of themselves to entertain the least idea of acknowledging any race to be their superiors. If the United States ever attempt to reduce the Big Bellies by force, they will meet with more resistance than they may be now aware of.<sup>61</sup> The Mandanes are more tractable, and appear well inclined toward the United States.

We found it dangerous whilst in this village to stir out of the hut without a good stout cudgel to keep off the dogs; they were so numerous and savage as sometimes to defy the brandishing of our clubs, so that we were actually obliged to engage with them. Another disagreeable circumstance is the crowd of children of both sexes, who follow us. They make very free, and are very impertinent, insist upon examining our clothes, buttons, watch, chain—indeed, everything that strikes their fancy; and if a good lookout is not kept, they pick our pockets. Therefore, it is necessary for a person to be constantly upon his guard against the equally troublesome children and dogs. Every young man of 20 years joins the crowd to pester us during our walk, and never gives over the pursuit until we enter a hut. At the Mandanes' we were not incommoded in this manner; they have no dogs to annoy strangers, and the children are not so impertinent. They have not the same occasion for dogs as the Big Bellies, being a stationary

<sup>61</sup> This paragraph I cite verbatim in L. and C., p. 1191.

people, whose longest excursions are only for a few days to hunt buffalo, for which purpose, and to convey home the meat, they always use horses.

Another dirty custom I observed in all their villages is that of easing the calls of nature near the door of the hut ; it requires the greatest precaution, both day and night, to avoid these numerous dung-hills. The inside of the hut is commonly kept clean. Day and night the young men watch and sleep upon the roofs, which are level and spacious, being about 50 feet in circumference, and so well supported by the four stout posts on which the squared timbers rest, as to sustain the weight of 50 men at once. Any trifling occurrence will assemble them, as when anybody arrives, or something else excites their curiosity.

The Big Bellies, as far as I could learn, have an extraordinary notion of creation. They say that at first the world was entirely water, inhabited by no living creature but a swan, which in some unaccountable way produced a crow, a wolf, and a water hen. One day the crow dressed herself out very fine, having daubed herself with red and white earth, particularly her face, which was painted in equal proportions of those two colors. Having thus made her person the more agreeable, she visited the wolf, and reminded him of their forlorn and pitiful situation, surrounded as they were by water ; adding how much happier they would be had they but a certain proportion of earth, to obtain which she proposed to send the water hen to the bottom to fetch some up. This was accordingly done, and after some time, the water hen returned with a small quantity in her bill. The crow then took the earth in her hands, and directed the wolf to take a chieheckquoi or rattle, and sing a certain song. While he was performing, with a melodious voice and graceful manner of beating time, the crow sprinkled the earth around them ; instantly the globe was formed, and it remains the same to this day. In this state they lived very happily for some time. But the crow was restless, and wished to better their condition. For this

purpose she one day dressed herself, as upon the former occasion, and went to visit the wolf, who, as usual, received her very kindly. In course of conversation the crow reminded the wolf of their still deplorable situation, there being no living creatures but themselves upon the earth; they were indeed as pitiful as when surrounded by the waters. So she proposed to make men, or, as they say, Indians; to which end she directed him to sing a particular song, whilst she beat time with the rattle. After many songs had been sung, the crow by degrees lost her natural form, and assumed that of an Indian, who then made all the beasts, birds, fishes, and insects, and from whom originated all the other Indians. However ridiculous this story may appear, argument has no weight with them. They say bluntly that if you don't believe it, you're a fool.

These people have no idea of a Supreme Being;<sup>62</sup> they deny the existence of any such thing. They also say that when an Indian dies, all is over with him; he falls to the ground and decays, and never is any more seen or heard of him. Thus they have no notion of a future state. They say that men were intended to enjoy themselves in this world, and he that acquires a good and great name during his lifetime is always remembered and lamented. This fame can be attained only by formal bravery in some great action at war, marked by total contempt of danger, and even of death itself. All these principles they appear to adhere to very closely, which renders them an enterprising and audacious people.

They are extravagantly fond of their horses; many of them have from 20 to 30; yet it is impossible to purchase a common pack-horse for less than a new gun, a fathom of H. B. Co. red strouds, and 200 balls and powder. Their

<sup>62</sup> Henry does not seem to be well posted on Hidatsan theology; probably Le Borgne guded him a good deal, and enjoyed mystifying him. Nothing is more difficult than to get at the facts of an Indian's belief in things he holds sacred. The statement that a Supreme Being was denied is proof that they had an idea of such a thing.

first-rate horses, such as are trained for war, or noted for running, can hardly be had for any quantity of goods. The only article that will induce them to part with a horse of this kind is a white buffalo hide. They have a superstition that many superior virtues are contained in a skin of this kind, and imagine it to be the most essential article an Indian can possess. Every individual who wishes to appear of any consequence must have at least one hide, and the more he has, the greater his importance.

The manner of offering a hide of this kind for sale is rather extraordinary. The person who has brought it to the Missourie gives out that on such a day he will expose it for sale in a certain hut. That morning he fixes two sticks in the ground with a crotch to support the ends of a pole, about four feet in length, over which he stretches the skin, raised about three feet from the ground, the tail hanging downward. When he takes his station nearby, the sale commences by a native bringing a horse, which he ties in the hut. But as this is not a sufficient price, the owner of the hide casts a look at it, and, without saying a word, takes hold of the tail of the hide, and gives it a gentle shake, which signifies "not enough." Soon another horse is brought, generally loaded with corn, beans, etc. The owner of the hide again gently shakes the tail, and continues to do so until they have brought in six or eight horses, loaded with corn, beans, robes, garnished leggings, shoes, smocks, etc. Not until he has secured an enormous payment does he cease to shake the tail at every article that the natives bring to add to the price. But when they imagine they have given enough for the hide, they then bring mere trifles, just to keep tally with the tail. The owner, who then perceives there is no prospect of getting anything more of consequence, rises from his seat, and shakes the tail no more, which is considered as the conclusion of the sale. The hide is then taken away, cut into strips, and distributed among those who gave anything toward the



purchase; everyone receiving according to the value of his contribution. Those strips of hide are kept as if very precious, and displayed only upon certain occasions. At this kind of sale you may get some good horses for hunting buffalo, but none of their first-rate war horses. If you wish to have one of these, a different method must be employed. Inquiry must first be made which of the natives has such a particular horse, and then the bargain is made in a more private manner, with him only; you point out the horse you want, and if you are not too exorbitant in your demand, he seldom, if ever, refuses. By this manner of disposing of the hide, you will always get two or three first-rate horses, and generally their loads of corn, etc., are given with them. They get a number of those skins from the Rocky Mountain Indians and Schians in exchange for guns, ammunition, etc., so that scarcely any man of any note in all the five villages is without one or more of them. They prefer a calf's skin to that of a full-grown animal. I observed one of the latter in the Mandane village, whose head was on one side of a lead color, inclining to black, and upon the other perfectly white; upon the body were many large spots of the same hue, on a white ground.

All the tribes I saw on the Missourie have a mean, dirty custom, but more particularly the Big Bellies. When you wish to purchase a horse, or, indeed, any trifle, they very often instantly accept the price offered, and go away apparently pleased with the bargain. But they soon come back, refund the price; and without ceremony take back what they have just sold. Should you offer to increase the price, they may accept it, but you may rest assured it will not be long before they bring back your property and ask for theirs in return. It is of no use to augment the price, as in the end they will insist on taking back their own property, being at the same time very particular not to embezzle the least article of yours. The best way is to take back your own property upon the first offer, and without murmuring. I was not philosopher enough to act in this

manner, and narrowly escaped getting into trouble, which might have been attended with serious consequences to myself. I had purchased a tolerably good horse, though not a first-rate one, and paid what I thought a good price for him, viz.: 400 balls and powder, 1 new gun, 1 chief's scarlet coat, 1 copper kettle, 1 hand ax, 1 iron lance three feet long, 1 broad bead belt, 2 wampum hair pipes, 2 wampum shell pipes,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pound blue beads, 1 dozen brass rings, 1 dozen hawk-bells, 1 fathom red H. B. Co. strouds,  $\frac{1}{2}$  dozen flints,  $\frac{1}{2}$  dozen worms,  $\frac{1}{2}$  dozen awls, 2 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 mass B. C. beads, 1 hornful of white powder. These articles, according to our standard price on Red river, would amount to 100 beaver skins, and according to the valuation of property on the Missourie, to upward of double that amount. He was not in my possession more than half an hour, before the owner sent me back my property, and demanded his horse, which I was obliged to return to him. The affair so vexed me that I used some very harsh expressions in the Assiniboine language to one of the Big Bellies, who understood a few words of that tongue. The fellow put on a very surly countenance, and began to approach me, when one of his companions, perceiving his design, interfered and took him away; the affair dropped, as I saw the fellow no more.

Another instance of their fickle manner of dealing I will relate, as it occurred to myself. One of the natives had a turkey-cock's tail, great numbers of which they get from the Schians, and which serve them as fans; this was a new and fresh one, of beautiful hue. I gave him five rounds of ammunition for it, with which he appeared well satisfied, and left me, but soon returned with the ammunition, and demanded the tail. Being loath to part with it, I added five more rounds to the price, which he accepted, and went away. However, he soon reappeared, and I added five more; but to no purpose, for he continued to go and come until the payment amounted to 30 rounds. Upon his next appearance I offered 40 rounds; but he would no

longer listen to any offer, threw down my ammunition, and insisted upon my returning him the tail, which I was obliged to do. This fickle manner of dealing is common even among themselves, and provided every article of the price is punctually returned, the buyer cannot object to return to the other his property, even should the bargain have been closed for several days. Though so changeable in dealing for horses and trifles, they are quite the reverse in trading for buffalo robes, wolves, foxes, etc. They put little value on any of those skins, and cannot imagine what use we make of such trash, as they call it. They kill some beavers and a few grizzly bears, all of which they dispose of, and call the whites fools for giving them valuable articles for such useless skins. Were it not for the H. B. Co.'s servants, who come here to trade every winter, and have spoiled the natives by giving good prices for summer wolves, and other rubbish, we might carry on a very advantageous trade with these people from our establishment on the Assiniboine, as the articles they require are of little real value to us.

This afternoon I was present at the return of a party of Big Bellies from a hunting excursion; they had been away eight days. It consisted of about 200 men, and as many women and children, who had accompanied them to attend to their horses and dogs and dry the flesh; all their numerous train of beasts were heavily loaded with the spoils, such as dried meat, hides, skins, and a quantity of dried pears and chokecherries. They had killed, as nearly as I could judge, about 500 animals—buffalo, red deer, and cabbrie. But I did not observe amongst them that sociable custom of sharing their hunt with their friends, as the Mandanes do. Everyone kept what he brought home, and appeared very careful of all he had. Some of them invited us to their huts to eat, in expectation of receiving a bit of tobacco, but we found it impossible to taste their dried meat; it was so nearly putrid that the pieces would scarcely hold together. This, however, is entirely to their liking;

they seldom use meat till it is rotten; they keep it in their huts, unexposed to the air, till it is almost impossible for a stranger to remain indoors on account of the stench arising from putrefaction. Fortunately for us, none of the people of our hut belonged to their hunting party; we, therefore, suffered only when invited into other huts.

I am told that in winter, when they kill a buffalo, they generally cover it with snow, without even opening it, and leave it for several days, until the flesh acquires a horrid smell; they then cut it up and use it. On the other hand, when obliged to eat fresh meat, they are mere brutes, allowing it but a few moments to get thoroughly warm, when they devour it like so many ravenous wolves, with the blood streaming down each side of their mouths. The gristle of the nose, the liver, kidneys, paunch, testicles, and fat they devour entirely raw, without even washing the dung from the paunch.

This evening we were again invited into several huts, but could taste of nothing but corn and berries; not a morsel of meat was eatable. These people are fond of pounding everything they eat; even their rotten meat is beaten in the mortar, with fat of the same kind, and often berries; this would make excellent pemmican, were the meat in proper condition. We took up our lodgings for the night in Le Borgne's hut, with several women whose husbands were absent, and who would have had no objections to our filling the vacancy, especially as they observed we had some articles they fancied. But I believe most of us were already too much disgusted with them and their long tubes to wish to become more intimately acquainted.

*July 22d.* I was awakened early by a young Big Belly, who made me signs to go with him to eat. I got up and followed him to his hut, where was spread a mat, covered with buffalo hide, on which he desired me to take my seat. I did so accordingly; he presented me with a dish of water, which, after my taking a draught, he removed, and handed me a dish containing several



balls, about the size of a hen's egg, made of pears, dried meat, and parched corn, beaten together in a mortar. When I had done eating he took the dish back, and gave me another of water. After this he brought me his pipe with some of their own tobacco, a very disagreeable substitute for the real article. We soon emptied his pipe by their custom of each drawing the smoke with great violence, and frequently returning it to the other. He then presented me with a buffalo robe, making signs that he desired ammunition for it. But as I wanted nothing of the kind, I gave him a few inches of tobacco, and returned to my hut. They often call in this ceremonious manner when their business is only to trade a wolfskin or some other trifle; and it is exactly in this manner that they wait upon a guest whom they invite into their huts to eat.

This morning we took a walk to the burying-ground, about a mile S. W. of the village, upon the declivity of a hill. Here we saw many melancholy spectacles of decayed and decaying human forms. Some were tumbling to the ground, while others obliged us to keep to windward, to avoid the horrid stench. We also observed a great pile of human bones, which we were given to understand were the remains of a large number of Sioux, killed on the spot by the Big Bellies about 16 years ago, when the Sioux formed a scheme to extirpate every Big Belly in the country, and take possession of their villages. The Yanktons and Titons were the principal tribes concerned in this enterprise, and formed a camp of 600 tents, who came with their families to undertake this great affair. They had previously made peace with the Mandanes and Saulteurs [Souliers], who remained idle spectators during the siege. The Sioux appeared openly, and pitched their 600 tents between Knife river and the village, almost within gunshot of the latter. In this situation they remained for 15 days, in full hopes of reducing the inhabitants for want of water, having completely intercepted communication with Knife river, and keeping a guard to prevent them from getting a

supply from the Missourie. But the Big Bellies, taking advantage of the night, would mount their best horses and run full speed to the Missourie, fill their buffalo paunches, and return in the same manner. Several were killed in the attempt; still, they found means to supply themselves, and even threw over the stockades several paunches full, to convince the enemy they were not in want of water. This so disheartened the Sioux that they gave up all hopes of reducing them; and after several skirmishes they raised the siege and returned home, leaving, as I was informed, near 300 men, who had fallen in the different engagements. The Sioux compelled the Mandanes to provide them with corn, beans, etc., for their sustenance.

We ascended to the top of this hill, from which we had a most delightful view of the villages and plantations below, all of which could be distinctly seen at once, excepting the Mandane village on the N. The brushwood and willows on that side of the river obstructed the view of the huts, but the smoke was seen rising from almost every one. The Missourie on the one hand, and Knife river on the other, wound their courses through a level plain, thinly bordered with wood, and bound in by high banks on both sides, always at an equal distance apart, following the various bends of the rivers. The morning was calm and serene; the natives were passing continually to and fro between the villages; others again were at work in their fields, and great numbers of horses, dispersed in every direction, served to enliven the scene.

On our return to the village we found that Le Borgne's brother had arrived, in company with a Schian. They left the Schian camp yesterday. The preliminaries of peace having been settled by both parties, these two messengers were sent to invite those here to be present at the definitive treaty, which is to conclude by Le Borgne's adopting a Schian son. This affair is generally attended with great ceremony, and is considered the most binding treaty that can be made; and the more to obligate them in the ties

of friendship, the women are invited to accompany the men, and to take with them plenty of corn and beans, to exchange with the Schians for dressed leather, robes, and dried provisions. They have a peculiar art of dressing leather, which the natives of these villages have not, and this is one reason why the latter prefer it to their own. Their robes are also trimmed and garnished quite in a different manner from those of the Missouri Indians, as they use porcupine-quills, dried straw and feathers, whilst the natives here use nothing of the kind in garnishing their robes, simply painting them black, red, and blue; so that the Schian manufacture is by far the most beautiful.

The village was soon in an uproar, the women meanwhile uncovering their hidden stores of corn, beans, etc. It is customary in the fall, after the harvest, when the grain is well dried in the sun, to take it off the cob, and deposit it in deep pits about the villages. These holes are about eight feet deep; the mouth is just wide enough for a person to descend, but the inside is hollowed out to any size, and then the bottom and sides are well lined with dry straw. Such caches contain from 20 to 30 bushels of corn and beans, which are thrown in loose and covered over with straw and earth. The ground is of such a dry, sandy nature, that grain stored in this way will keep for several years without injury. So numerous about the villages are these pits, which at this season of the year are mostly empty, that it is really dangerous for a stranger to stir out after dark, as the natives never take the precaution to cover them over when empty.

Having nothing further to do at this village, and being thoroughly disgusted with the inhabitants, we saddled and set off for the lower Mandane village. On our way we observed the women all busy, taking up their hidden treasures and making preparations for the approaching fair. I was surprised to see what quantities they had on hand; I am very confident they had enough to serve

them at least 12 months, without a supply of flesh or anything else. We every moment met women and children loaded with produce, as we supposed to exchange with their neighbors, so as to be provided with a variety of articles. At two o'clock we regained our old quarters and found the village in the same bustle as those above—women and children uncovering caches and filling bags, repairing saddles, making and mending shoes and smocks, cleaning and rubbing the leather with white earth. There were no dogs to harass nor children to tease us, and the natives were of mild, sociable, and affable disposition; so we found ourselves quite at home.

I walked out to see the remains of a great number of Sioux—some say near 300; but I will not vouch for the truth of this, as others say there were but 30 men killed. This Sioux party, like the other, consisted of Yanktons and Titons, whose object on this occasion was to destroy the Mandanes; but the Big Bellies came to the assistance of their neighbors, and a severe battle was fought on the level plain between the village and the high bank. Both parties were mounted, and victory was as often within the grasp of the one as of the other, until a considerable party of Big Bellies, who were making haste to assist their friends, reinforced by a party of Rocky Mountain, or Crow Indians, who happened just then to arrive, all in a body rushed toward the field of battle. Observing with what fury the front was engaged, they determined to surround the enemy by turning to the left without being observed, as the country permitted this movement. They rode up a deep valley, which brought them upon the hills so far away as not to be in sight of the enemy. Keeping on the S. side of those rising grounds, they went full speed into the valley which led down to the rear of the enemy. There they fell in with a great number of women, who had accompanied their husbands, in full expectation of destroying the Mandanes and plundering the village; numbers of them were instantly murdered, and others retained as prisoners. The



party then appeared on the rising ground in the rear of the Sioux, and fell upon them with fury, dealing death and destruction around. The enemy, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, were obliged to give way, but their retreat had been cut off, and they were so hard pressed that they were obliged to throw themselves into the Missouri, and attempt to swim across. Many more were killed, and but an inconsiderable number survived to return to their own country. Since that time they have been more cautious in coming to war in these parts, and have never dared to attack the village. These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, principally made of drift-wood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day between the Mandanes and Saulteurs [Souliers]. It is the exercise of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S. E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missouri, and plunge in headlong, all covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long, and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

During my absence yesterday my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in

great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival they performed their warlike manœuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battle-ax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

The Big Bellies amuse themselves by shooting at a mark, either with guns or bows and arrows. I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and Saulteurs [Souliers]—have lost a joint of several fingers,

particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the two fore-fingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance, on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not

attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend, with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

They have another custom of putting their courage and contempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within another; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.<sup>63</sup>

Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter of an inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband.

<sup>63</sup> Lest Henry's account of these self-inflicted tortures seem exaggerated, let me say, it falls short of the actual atrocity of such performances, which no fakirs or devotees of Juggernaut in India have surpassed. See for example Catlin's pl. 68, and accompanying text. Henry's Mandan matters as a whole should be collated not only with L. and C., but also with Catlin's Letters, Nos. 10-25, pp. 66-207, pll. 37-84, and with the luxurious folios of Prince Maximilian.



When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoos her face as a punishment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE CHEYENNE TREATY: 1806.

**W**EDNESDAY, July 23d. Early in the morning the natives began to file off in small parties; all were to assemble on the top of a high hill at some distance from the village. At ten o'clock Le Borgne's brother and the Schian arrived, informed us that all were off, and requested us to accompany them to the Schian camp, as he was certain that his brother would be happy to see us, and we should be under his particular charge in case of accident. Having previously determined to follow this party, we were happy to have him propose what exactly suited our own inclinations. But my landlord was so obliging as to insist on my accepting the services of his young wife on my journey, for which purpose he had provided her with a horse and other necessaries. I did not in the least relish this proposal, and signified as much to him; but he was determined to send her, and I could only hope to give her the slip among the crowd. As she was not ready to start at the same time we did, I had a favorable opportunity of avoiding her.

We mounted our horses and put ourselves under the directions of Le Borgne's brother, a very stout, well-built fellow. Our course on leaving the village was S., directly up the high bank, through a very rough, hilly country, without wood of any kind. At one o'clock we came to the hill, where a multitude of people awaited our conductor. The top of the hill was entirely covered with men, women, children, and horses. On our arrival old Choke-cherry,<sup>1</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> "The old chief we have mentioned, whose name is Caltahcota or Cherry on a Bush," L. and C., p. 184, is doubtless the same person who is here called "old Choke-cherry."

Big Belly, made a long harangue, after which all moved southward, the men taking the van and the women bringing up the rear; the latter had their horses loaded with corn, beans, etc., themselves and children astraddle over all, like farmers going to the mill. The men's horses were light, and all the young men wore their finest habiliments and war-dresses. Many had scalps suspended from the bits of their Spanish bridles, or dangling at their horses' breasts, or attached to the handles of their spears and battle-axes; all were armed with guns, spears, battle-axes, and bows and arrows. The party mustered about 500 men and 300 women, all mounted.

Soon after getting in motion the young men formed themselves into parties of 10 to 30 abreast and proceeded at a slow, regular pace. They began to sing their war-songs, accompanied with a number of rattles; this, with the continual neighing and snorting of their horses, which in a manner kept time to their songs, and their regular pace and motion, made really an imposing, warlike spectacle. At intervals they ceased singing and ran races, then formed again and proceeded as before. Thus we jogged along very pleasantly over the barren, hilly country until four o'clock, when old Choke-cherry, who acted as generalissimo, passed and repassed amongst us at full gallop, haranguing and attended by three of his sons, who repeated what the old man said, which was an order to halt to allow the horses to feed and themselves to smoke. These three are principal men among the tribe, having performed some extraordinary feats of bravery at war. The eldest is named Chief of the Wolves;<sup>2</sup> the second Lake, and the third Rattlesnake.

A general halt accordingly took place near a small brook<sup>3</sup> which runs through the plains from W. to E., where the horses were unloaded. A young man came full speed in

<sup>2</sup> "Ahrattanamokshe or Wolf Man Chief, who is now at war, and is the son of the old chief we have mentioned," L. and C., p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the stream on the S. of the Missouri upon which is now a place called Deapolis; but its name I have never learned.

search of us, and desired us to ride on to Le Borgne's brother, who was waiting for us. We found him near the foot of the party, seated upon the grass, surrounded by the principal men of the village. He offered us a seat near him and we partook of the pipe which was then going round, but filled only with disagreeable tobacco. We rested about an hour, when the old man got up again and made the harangue to load, which was expeditiously done. When all appeared to be ready, he gave orders in another harangue for all to proceed. Two Crows, a Big Belly, who carried Le Borgne's grand pipe of ceremony, took the lead, the others filing after him; a speech was made by our old general, ordering the women to place themselves with their loaded horses in the center; a large party of men led the van, with equal numbers on each flank and as many more in the rear. This precaution was taken lest an enemy, having discovered us, might cut off some of the women, who were always straggling behind. This part of the country is very dangerous, being so hilly that it gives an enemy an opportunity of approaching almost within gunshot without being perceived. When any small party are lurking about the villages, which is frequently the case, they conceal themselves among these hills until an opportunity offers of getting a scalp.

At sunset we found ourselves near a large pond of stagnant water, and our old spokesman gave orders to halt and camp for the night. Our conductor again sent a young man on horseback in search of us, to desire us to take up our quarters near him; we accordingly did so, and found him, as usual, smoking with all the great men. He instantly made a place for us near himself, presented the pipe, some meadow turnips, and a few ears of very hard, dry corn, which the women had parched upon the usual fuel—dried buffalo dung. This was far from being a palatable supper, as my teeth could not manage the corn, and the turnips are insipid. This man has seven wives, three of whom accompany him upon the present jaunt. He is a



remarkably stout, well-proportioned fellow, upward of six feet tall, and not more than 30 years of age ; his arms and breasts are much disfigured by the custom of raising stripes of skin and flesh ; his countenance is mild, for a Big Belly's, and his behavior toward us was always more affable, generous, and kind than that of any other of his tribe.

Soon after we were settled for the night, with upward of 300 buffalo-dung fires smoking in every direction around us, Chief of the Wolves mounted a famous horse of his own, and at full speed passed through the camp, leaping over fires and baggage, and making a long harangue, the substance of which was to order the young men to be upon the watch during the night to prevent a surprise by the enemy. Accordingly, several parties of young men on foot left camp in different directions, to take their stations at certain distances, and keep strict watch until daybreak. Our conductor informed us that this was the point where André Gouzeon, who had deserted the service of the N. W. Co. the year before, was murdered by the Sioux, in company with five Mandanes, in 1801, while hunting buffalo.

This evening the weather was sultry and cloudy, with the appearance of rain ; but, to our great comfort and surprise, not one mosquito was to be seen. It is extraordinary that on the N. side of the Missourie those troublesome insects should be so very numerous, while here, only a few leagues to the S., not one is to be found. I cannot account for this, as the soil appears to be nearly the same. The country, however, is more uneven and rugged, with very few spots of level plain ; the hills, some of which are of amazing height, are in general covered with large stones of different kinds, including granite ; some are of an enormous size, and at a distance may be mistaken for pitched tents. Another kind is a flat, soft, reddish stone, which lies in piles on the summits of some of the hills. I measured some of these great slabs, which I found to be 20 paces in circumference. Upon these barren hills even grass is scarce. Some of the lesser hills are also covered with this

reddish stone in a different state, being broken and crumbled into a sort of coarse gravel, the sharp points of which endanger our horses; in passing over them, we have to proceed with great caution. We suffered much from want of good water; that in the pond was a mere poison to the taste and smell, though the Indians drank it with pleasure. These savage brutes can drink stinking, stagnant water with as good a stomach as if it were spruce beer.

*July 24th.* At daybreak all were on the alert; our old general soon mounted his steed, accompanied by his eldest son, who appears to be second in command, and passed through the camp, making his usual harangue to muster the horses and load. This being done, another speech ordered us to form and march, the same as yesterday; Two Crows taking the lead with the stem of ceremony, which he continually held out before him, never allowing it to touch either his own or any other horse. Once, when he was obliged to adjust his saddle, and I was riding near him, he gave me the stem to hold. Without any ceremony, I laid it across my saddle-bow; but the old gentleman rode up in great haste and directed me to hold it before me in such a manner that it touched nothing but my hand. My situation was awkward, and I cannot suppose I held it with a good grace; I was much relieved when he got ready to take it, and determined to keep at a distance from the old gentleman, lest he might take it into his head to honor me again in this manner.

At seven o'clock, just as the vanguard had gained the summit of one of those high rocky hills, it began to rain hard. Our old general ordered a halt, and his eldest son went the rounds repeating the order. All covered themselves as well as they could, some with their robes, others with their saddle equipments; but many of the young men, who had neither robes nor saddles, and were dressed in their fineries, which would have been spoiled if wet, preferred to undress entirely, and gave their friends their things to keep from the rain. We had not been

seated many minutes before word was brought to our second in command that a party of Mandanes had disobeyed orders, made a circuit among the hills, and proceeded on their journey; we saw them at some distance ahead, pushing forward. This disobedience appeared to vex him much; his countenance changed, and he jumped up, declaring vengeance against them if they did not return instantly. He caught up his spear, threw his robe upon his horse, and without either saddle or bridle, rode off after them. His horse, as it were, flew over the stones and down the hill. He soon overtook and ordered them back, which they as soon obeyed. He returned in the same manner, at full speed, up the hill, among rocks and stones, where every moment we expected to see him come to grief. But, to my surprise, the horse never once stumbled, nor appeared to strain himself. The look of this beast was certainly not in his favor; he was a bright sorrel gelding with a yellowish mane, seven years old, and 14 hands high, slim and long-bodied, with remarkably stout bones, which gave him an ugly, awkward appearance. During the absence of the war chief his father, our old general, made a long speech, pointing out the imprudence of those who wished to push on ahead of the party, with such vehemence and evident displeasure that he could scarcely get through with his oration.

Here again I observed the great superiority the Big Bellies wish to maintain over the Mandanes; their numbers indeed give them this privilege, and they appear to make good use of it to keep their neighbors in awe; but this causes continual jealousy, and may one day break out in war. Open rupture has, in fact, frequently been imminent, though by the interference of persons of consideration it has thus far been prevented, but seldom without some bloodshed, and perhaps a death or two on each side. The Mandanes have the reputation of defending themselves to the last moment when attacked by an enemy; let the number be ever so great against them, they scorn to

fly, and fight to the last man. But they are not so enterprising as the Big Bellies; they seldom form great war parties, whilst the others are perpetually at war, and seldom is the village found with no party absent on an excursion of this nature. In this they hold themselves above their neighbors, and boast of warlike actions.

We earnestly begged the Indians to allow us to proceed alone, representing to them that we were in haste to return home, and that it was of very little consequence to us whether we got wet riding, or sitting on the ground. Gros Blanc was anxious to proceed with us, and seconded our proposal; but a few words from our old general silenced him, and he appeared entirely out of countenance. The objection to our proceeding alone was that the road was dangerous, and as we were under their particular charge, should any accident happen to us, Le Borgne would censure them; therefore, we must make ourselves easy, and not think of leaving them. This magnanimity we took in good part, and determined to abide by their directions; but we afterward learned that it was mere policy, to prevent our reaching the place before them. They knew of several famous horses there, which our old general and his sons wanted to get for themselves, and as we had some property, they supposed we would purchase those horses. We had put some hopes in the interference of Gros Blanc; but he was soon brow-beaten, although he was the only one decorated with a silver medal of the United States.

At eight o'clock the rain ceased, and orders were given to march. At nine we passed the Wolf's Tent, a stupendous hill, which we had seen since yesterday afternoon, in the form of a sugar-loaf. The base is more extended, and scantily covered with the grass that grows upon red gravel and clay soils; the top is nearly level, and covered with huge flat stones forming several shallow caves, in which wolves bring forth their young. Several of us ascended this hill on horseback, the natives making it a point of horsemanship to stick on as long as possible, while to



display the vigorous nerves of their beasts they pushed on as fast as possible. At last the poor animals could scarcely keep their legs, the hill grew so steep; we were all obliged to dismount and walk up to the summit. From this spot we had a delightful prospect, and saw the main body passing the foot of the hill on the N. side, all at a slow trot, in compact order, the same as yesterday. Many hundred yards below us, buffalo and cabbrie were feeding in abundance, but they were not molested. We soon descended the hill and joined the party.

At eleven o'clock orders were given to halt for the purpose of dressing, painting, and preparing for our arrival at the Schian camp, which was at no great distance. This ceremony and preparation required some time, during which the old man and the principal war chiefs made several rounds on horseback, haranguing their people, and telling the young men to dress themselves in their best, so as to look like such warriors as Willow Indians are known to be. For the first time some of the Mandane chiefs also made the rounds on horseback, haranguing their own people; urging the young men to decorate themselves and appear to the best advantage, to show other nations that the stationary village was as brave a set of warriors as any in the world. It was plain to see the partiality of these people for their own tribe. During the journey, common safety kept them all in a compact body, but whenever a halt was made, the inhabitants of the several villages formed in different groups, everyone with his own people, and there was always a space between the Big Bellies and the Mandanes.

At one o'clock, all were decked to the best advantage, to make them look more savage and ferocious than they naturally were; this was certainly bad enough, and little art was required to render them truly hideous. Even their horses were daubed over with red and white earth, some in large patches, others with prints of the hand, and others again with various stripes to match the fierce looks of the

riders. A few hundred such frightful beings, rushing upon an enemy, with horrid yells and shouts, would strike terror into people not accustomed to such devils. Orders then given to mount and proceed were instantly obeyed, everyone admiring his own ferocious appearance, and careful to keep in the nicest order, without disarranging his dress or daubing. No more races were run; nothing but singing was heard; the young fellows appeared as stiff and proud of their persons as courtiers going to make formal appearance at a grand levee, and scarcely deigned to look at one of us otherwise than with contempt.

We crossed a small rivulet, on which grew a few stunted willows—the first wood or brush we had seen since leaving the Missourie. There must have been an astonishing number of buffalo in these parts during the summer, and, indeed, at all seasons. The grass is entirely destroyed, and the numerous deep ruts, both old and fresh, almost touch each other, and run in every direction. At three o'clock orders were given to halt on the summit of a high hill, at whose foot, on the S. side, a small river ran from W. to E.; half a mile ahead, on the banks, appeared some small wood, mostly willow. We had expected to meet the Schians at this river, they having promised to advance one encampment further N., as wood and water were very scarce where Le Borgne's brother had left them. Our party appeared suspicious of treachery, as they said perhaps a re-enforcement at the Schians' camp or the arrival of Sioux might have determined them to alter their plans; they might have sacrificed Le Borgne and some other great men who were there with them; and as they knew women were to accompany our party, they might have laid an ambuscade to fall upon us. It was, therefore, determined to take possession of this hill, and send some young men ahead upon the best horses, *en découverte*—keeping the Schian with us. This poor fellow appeared very uneasy, and, to tell the truth, most of us were in the same situation. We remained in suspense for some time, till, upon a distant hill to the S., the young men

were observed to make some signs which our party understood, and orders were instantly given to proceed.

We passed down the hill to the little river, which appeared muddy and dangerous to cross. The perpetual crossing of buffalo here, and the ravages they have made in fording, rendered it doubtful whether we could get through. But no time was to be lost ; we dashed in pell-mell, and got over as best we could, in mud and mire up to the horses' bellies. Many stuck fast until their friends helped them out ; and those who got over waited until the last had crossed. Here we met our young men, who informed us they had discovered the Schian camp at no great distance beyond a hill to the S. This information put everything in order again. These people are superstitious in many things, and so suspicious that the least sign of failure to keep a promise made by a stranger is instantly attributed to treachery, and puts them on their guard accordingly. All having safely crossed the river and adjusted themselves afresh, orders were given to form and proceed in the following manner : In the front was Le Borgne's brother, attended by Two Crows on his left, holding out the stem, and a war chief on his right, supporting an American flag on a long pole. These three great men advanced ten paces ; 40 Big Bellies immediately followed and formed abreast, singing and shaking their rattles. To the right and left of these, and somewhat in the rear, two parties, of 30 men each, filed off, singing in the same manner. In the rear of those, again, but in the middle line, was formed another party of 40 young men, also singing. The center of these four squads was a vacant space, into which we were desired to form abreast, in company with some of the most respectable old men. The four squads kept in perfect order, closing and extending their ranks as the very rugged ground required. Behind them and us came small parties of tens, twenties, and thirties, singing and shouting at intervals. The women brought up the rear.

Matters being thus adjusted according to the plans and

ideas of our old general and his eldest son, the principal war chief, we moved at a quick step, whilst those two commanders were continually passing through the ranks at full speed, haranguing and directing the young men. We did not advance far before we met a small party of Schians on horseback. They were young men sent to meet us. They all gave us a friendly shake of the hand, uttering some words in their own language which no one present understood. Their horses were mostly beautiful, spirited beasts; some were masked in a very singular manner, to imitate the head of a buffalo, red deer, or cabbrie, with horns, the mouth and nostrils—even the eyes—trimmed with red cloth. This ornamentation gave them a very fierce appearance. They were by far the best built and most active horses I had seen in this country—superior, in every respect, to those we see to the northward. We came on about a mile, when, from an eminence, we perceived a large party of horsemen advancing abreast, in perfect order. We were ordered to stop, without dismounting; the several squads keeping their respective places, singing, shaking their rattles, and, at intervals, shouting. The Schians and Sioux—for the camp was composed of both of these nations, and a few Buffalo Indians—having advanced within about 50 paces of us, made a general halt, facing us; they were about 100 men. The neighing, snorting, and prancing of such a large company of strange horses, meeting each other suddenly and being restrained by their riders, had really a very spectacular effect.

We had not remained many minutes in this manner, when suddenly the first great war chief of the Schians, who was posted in their center, mounted on a handsome black stallion, gave him the reins, and at full speed rode directly up to the flag, the staff of which he folded in his arms; then he embraced the war chief who held it, next Le Borgne's brother, and then Two Crows. This ceremony being performed on horseback, with the greatest dispatch and dexterity imaginable, he passed on to the main body;



selecting particular persons, whom he embraced very cordially; finally he came to us and gave us a hearty handshake, but did not take any of us in his arms. He was dressed in a sort of a blue coat or shirt, which he had procured from the Spaniards, and a coarse striped blanket, such as we use to cover ourselves in Canada, also got from the same people. He was very active, and remarkably adroit in the management of his horse; his countenance was open and pleasant, his manner affable and agreeable. As soon as this great man had performed the ceremony of embracing the flag, his whole party came on full speed amongst us; at the same moment orders were given for us to proceed, and every one of them selected one of our party, whom he adopted as his comrade, which is done by riding up to and embracing him. The ground over which we moved being rough and covered with loose, round stones, and all these ceremonies and manœuvres being performed on horseback at a gallop, it was surprising no accident happened. They each in turn shook us very warmly by the hand, saying something we did not comprehend, but supposed it was a welcome. The bustle and noise of so many horses galloping and prancing through the ranks, while the war chiefs of all parties, now being intermixed, passed from right to left at full speed, each making his own arrangements in his own language, had quite a martial appearance. The substance of those speeches was to welcome each other, give mutual thanks for the present happy and auspicious occasion, and express their wishes that they might henceforth live like brothers, and bury in oblivion all former animosities. These harangues did not cease until we came in sight of the camp, which we first saw from the brow of a high hill, situated upon a level spot below us about half a mile distant. Between the camp and us lay a rivulet, whose borders were thinly lined with stunted willows, and 300 paces beyond the camp appeared another rivulet of the same kind. Here we were all ordered to form in line abreast, with the women

in the rear. Our position was between two heights, much more elevated than the eminence on which we stood, and as our line was of great length, it extended on both wings to the very tops of those heights, which overlooked the camp.

Immediately upon our halting, the Schians and Sioux left us, and rode full speed down the hill to the camp. I wished to accompany them, but was prevented by the Big Bellies, who would allow no one to leave the ranks. Our stay here, however, was but short; during that time a terrible singing and shouting was kept up by our party, and the horses appeared to join in chorus, making as much noise as their riders. As Le Borgne's brother and Two Crows rode off toward the camp, we attempted to leave the ranks and follow them, but were called back by the Chief of the Wolves, who desired us to keep our station in the center of the line. But in a few moments orders were issued for us to file off in small parties toward the camp; and having almost reached it, we were met by a young man on horseback coming at full speed into our ranks in search of us. Desiring us to follow him, he wheeled about and rode off. We were not slow to follow him, being heartily tired of such ceremonious proceedings. We entered the camp, and rode on to the further end after our conductor, who stopped at a large tent, before the door of which the flag was flying.

Here we were met by Le Borgne himself, who came out to receive us, and having shaken us very kindly by the hand, desired us to enter, whilst his women unsaddled our horses and took in our baggage. He appeared highly pleased to see us, and instantly ordered his women to prepare something for us to eat, which was soon done, there being plenty of fresh meat. This man is upward of six feet high, and stout in proportion, but not in the least inclined to corpulency; he has lost the sight of his right eye, a thick white coat entirely covering the sight; but the penetrating look from his left eye, the great size of his aquiline nose,

and the width of his mouth, make ample amends for that single deficiency, and give him the aspect of a fierce, savage brute. His countenance fully denotes his character, which is that of a brave, enterprising warrior. This man is the great chief of the Big Bellies, and, indeed, the principal man in the five villages; whatever he says is law. On many occasions he has displayed his personal bravery in civil quarrels, and in disturbances between his own tribe and the Mandanes, in every one of which he has gained the advantage and succeeded in his own plans, not always without the death of his adversary, which no individual dared avenge. He is the oldest of five brothers, and appears to be about 45 years of age.

On our arrival the principal men among the Schians were busy riding around at full speed, both within and without the camp, haranguing with great vehemence, ordering the people to receive their friends well, take them into their tents, give them plenty to eat, secure their property from theft, exchange their own commodities upon equal terms, and cheat or wrong nobody. By this time our main body had entered the camp and were formed in the center; the young men, as usual, singing, whilst the old men and war chiefs continually galloped around, haranguing their own people to deal fairly with the rest, and be guilty of no foolish pranks, but make a firm and lasting peace with a people whom they should now consider their best friends. This formal business continued for some time, until all the women had been invited into different tents; then the men ceased haranguing and singing, dismounted, and sent their horses to feed and rest—which many of them greatly needed after the violent exercise they had taken since morning.

During all these performances Le Borgne never once looked out of his tent, but sat unconcernedly smoking and talking with us. His manners appeared pleasant; in conversation a perpetual smile played upon his countenance; when matters did not please him he still smiled, but it was then a ghastly grin. To his women he is a mere brute; he

uses them more like slaves than wives. They appeared to be in continual dread of him, and not without cause, as he has butchered some of them with his own hands and with the greatest composure imaginable. Although he is not of a jealous disposition, still he does not approve of his women disposing of their persons without his knowledge. A striking instance of this happened not very long ago at his own residence whilst he was absent on a hunting-party. One of his wives had formed an attachment with a young man of the same village. About the time her husband was expected to return, she, dreading his anger, left her hut and took up her abode with her paramour. Soon after this Le Borgne arrived, and presently inquired where she was. Being informed of the affair, without saying one word he took his battle-ax and went directly to the hut where he supposed she was. He raised up the door and saw her sitting upon the young man's bed. He desired her to come forth, but she hesitated and dared not stir; he rushed in and dragged her by the hair through the door to the porch, where he dispatched her with his ax, without speaking to the young man, who was sitting by the fire.\* It is extraordinary that he could with impunity resent an affront of this kind in such a harsh manner, as he has often been guilty of debauching young women, both maidens and wives. Some he has kept for his own use, and others he has returned to their friends or husbands when tired of their company; and still none have dared to avenge the affront. When any female strikes his fancy he makes no ceremony, but uses her as if she was his own.

The Schian camp is situated in a delightful spot, on a level, elevated plain; in the rear, on the S. runs a rivulet, beyond which the river is bounded by high, barren hills, partly covered with large round stones. On the front or N. side runs the rivulet we crossed, and there the view extends no further than the hill we passed over. On the W., within about one-quarter of a mile, a range of high

\* This relation is also given by L. and C., p. 244.



hills runs N. and S. On the E. the plain is more level for about five miles, when the view is terminated by high hills, mostly covered with large round stones; and indeed the level plains are nearly covered in the same manner. It is dangerous to chase buffalo, unless both horse and rider are accustomed to such rough, stony ground.

The camp consisted of about 120 leather tents (exclusive of small ones, or, as we call them, kitchens), nearly all new and as white as linen, and pitched with great regularity at certain distances apart, in the shape of a horseshoe—the opening or entrance facing N.; the large open space within the circle was unencumbered. Beside each large tent was a small one, which appeared to be the remains of an old one cut down—that is, the lower parts, having become rotten and damaged by the weather, had been cut off, reducing the former size about one-half. Such tents appear to be for the women's necessary occupations, such as cooking, preparing meat, dressing leather, etc. The spaces between the tents were occupied by stages for drying meat, all covered with buffalo flesh, the people having killed upwards of 200 of those animals two days ago. The extensive double-row circle of tents thus joined one another by a barricade of thinly sliced flesh drying in the sun. The frames for drying dressed skins and the horse and dog *travaillés* were erected outside the camp. All the women appeared to be hard at work, stretching buffalo hides, dressing skins, slicing meat to dry, and working robes with straw and porcupine quills.

The language of these people, unlike that disagreeably harsh jargon of the Mandanes, has a pleasant sound. Some people pretend to say it has some affinity to the Kinistinaux tongue, particularly in the manner of counting from one to ten, which are nearly the same words; and it is supposed they originated from the same stock.<sup>5</sup> But of this I am not a competent judge. My stay among them was too short and precious to make any inquiries; all I can

<sup>5</sup> This is correct; the Cheyennes are of Algonquian stock, and thus of the same linguistic family as the Crees: see L. and C., ed. 1893, p. 147.

pretend to say is, that the Schians formerly resided N. of the Missouri, on the river that still bears their name, and empties into Red river below Otter Tail lake. But from which direction they came to settle on Schian river I cannot say. They were formerly at peace with the Crees and Saulteurs, being considered their greatest friends. In general the men are tall, stout, and well-proportioned; their manners and customs appear to me to be nearly the same as those of the Sioux of the Plains. We found them much more cautious than the Big Bellies, or even the Mandanes. They keep their tents, dishes, and spoons very clean; the latter are made out of the horns of the Rocky Mountain ram. They are much more decent and modest than their neighbors; all the men, and even boys, wear breech-clouts. They are very hard people to trade with. What few beaver skins they had were purchased without much trouble; but grizzly bear skins they value highly, and will take and return payment ten times before you can get one. It is a very hard task to deal with them; all must go by signs, unless one understands the Assiniboine language, and then he must get a Sioux to interpret. But some of them understand the Pawnee tongue, and as some of our party spoke that language, their conversation between one another was principally by means of an interpreter. The natives themselves can very well dispense with that, and communicate by signs; both parties being so accustomed to this manner of conversation that they comprehend each other with the greatest ease. I saw Le Borgne hold a conference with some of the Schians for more than an hour, during which not a word was spoken by either party, and all appeared to comprehend perfectly well every question and answer. The dress of these people, like that of all other natives of the plains, consists of leather. Many of the European dresses I saw were of Spanish manufacture. They generally pass the winter S. of the Black hills, about 20 encampments hence, which I suppose may be 80 or 100 leagues. Here, they say, is the source of two large rivers; one runs to the N. E.

and the other to the S.; the former falls into the Missourie, below the Pawnee village, I believe, under the name of Rivière Platte; the other, of course, into the Gulf of Mexico. Near the sources of these two rivers they make their annual hunts of bear and beaver, in company with the Buffalo Indians, or, as some call them, the Cavenavish<sup>6</sup> tribe, a very numerous nation inhabiting that part of the country. They consist of about 500 tents. I saw a few of them in this camp. The Schians, having made their winter's hunt, move northward. They sometimes dispose of their skins to the Pawnees and Sioux; or, if they find any traders from the Islenois [Illinois river], they deal with them. They are of a roving disposition, and seldom remain long in any one spot.

They informed us that last fall two Spaniards came up the river which runs to the S., in a wooden canoe or a boat loaded with goods, who passed the winter among them, disposed of all their property, and sold very cheap, giving a large double handful of gunpowder and 50 balls for one beaver. They told us that by spring the two men had collected such a quantity of skins that they were obliged to make another canoe; and even two could scarcely contain the packs, with just room for a man to sit behind to steer.

Affairs went on smoothly, and peace seemed to be settled; nothing was heard but singing throughout the camp; the young men were on horseback, as is a very common custom among the Missourie tribes. Almost every day, and particularly toward evening, the young men mount their horses and parade around the village singing; sometimes two or three will get upon the same horse to make their rounds. The women were also busy exchanging their corn for leather, robes, smocks, and dried provisions, as if at a country fair. Each one was anxious to dispose of her property to advantage, and to this end carried a load from

<sup>6</sup> Kaninaviesch of Lewis and Clark, p. 57; Gens des Vaches of the French, whence the name Buffalo Indians. They are the Arapahoes.

tent to tent. But the numerous women of our party had overstocked the market, and many were obliged to keep half what they had brought, for want of buyers.

Just as the sun was going down, a number of Schians, Big Bellies, Mandanes, and others suddenly mounted on horseback, armed cap à pie, and rushed toward the rivulet N. of the encampment. There a large group soon collected, some on foot, others on horseback, and showed by their actions there was some misunderstanding which threatened hostilities. Everything was now in commotion and confusion—the men arming and saddling their horses; the women of our party collecting their horses and preparing for immediate departure, without any of the howling and bawling which is so common amongst them when danger threatens. Everyone exerted herself in sullen silence, though dismay was painted on every face; and in a few moments all were ready to start, should matters appear more alarming. Le Borgne's wives advised us to saddle also, and keep ourselves ready to move, in case of necessity. We accordingly did so, and stood awaiting the event of an affair which we suspected would end in a fight.

After remaining thus in suspense for some time, we were informed that the uproar proceeded from the presence of 12 Assiniboinés, who, having arrived at the village just after we had left, and learned that the Big Bellies and Mandanes were more numerous than the Schians and Sioux, had followed our tracks to this camp. The Schians were fully determined to kill them, as these people are inveterate enemies. But as they came upon our road, and in a manner under the protection of our party, the latter were resolved to defend them, let the consequences be what they would. Le Borgne was one of the first to be informed of their approach; and, suspecting what might happen, he instantly ran out to meet them with his battle-ax in his hand. He took the chief, old Crane, by the hand, telling him that he might advance into the camp without fear of danger. The Schians soon surrounded them, and wished to strike



some of the Assiniboines; but Le Borgne, who was by this time joined by many of his own people, kept them at bay by flourishing his battle-ax. He desired them to desist; saying that if any of them were imprudent enough to hurt an Assiniboine whilst under his protection, he might advance and make the attempt, but the event would show who would be the most pitiful. Many of our party having assembled and surrounded the Assiniboines, the Schians were prevented from approaching within reach. Le Borgne then ordered his people to clear the way for them to enter the camp, which was accordingly done, notwithstanding the Schians were so anxious to oppose it that they offered Le Borgne five horses, not to interfere in the business. But he instantly presented these to the Assiniboines, as a convincing proof of his determination to defend them, conducted them to our tent, and placed a guard of young men over them. As our tent was not sufficiently large for us all, he separated some in other tents, and put a strong guard over each of them for the night. The Schians appeared enraged, and their chiefs made continual rounds on horseback, haranguing in their own language, whilst the principal men of our party did the same. The uproar did not cease until dark, when matters appeared to be somewhat more settled; some of those who had before appeared most vexed came into our tent and smoked with our great men for some time; but the countenances of both parties betrayed the inward working of their minds, and it was evident that they were not pleased or even satisfied with each other. They often attempted to force a smile, but the expression was sinister.

Soon after the uproar had abated, Le Borgne sent orders for the women to unload and turn out their horses to feed. He had also desired us to unload and make ourselves easy, for as long as he could hold his battle-ax we had nothing to dread from the Schians; but he told us to tie our horses near the tent, and to be ready at a moment's warning in case of a surprise, as he was uncertain how

matters might turn out. He then mounted and rode round camp at full speed, haranguing his people to the same purpose; he also forbade anyone to depart, as many of the women desired to take advantage of the darkness to escape from a place where they feared death.

About ten o'clock a young man came into our tent to inform Le Borgne that the Schians had stolen some of the Mandanes' horses, and that the latter had declared that, if the horses were not returned immediately, they would retaliate. This alleged insult added fuel to the flames; our great man got up in a rage and went out to inquire into the affair, declaring that if this report proved to be true, he would instantly spread death and destruction through the camp. He desired us to be in readiness to depart; but the night was so dark we could scarcely distinguish our own horses from others; and to adjust our saddles and baggages was almost impossible. While we were collecting our things, he returned and informed us that all was again quiet; that it was some of our own party who had taken the horses to go after others that had strayed, and that all had been found. Thus our minds were once more at ease, after a very disagreeable suspense. Still, we apprehended further disturbances, as we overheard Rattlesnake and some other resolute fellows declare vengeance on those dogs, as they termed the Schians, and they were only prevented from committing some rash action by Le Borgne. He is certainly a man of great prudence and circumspection; he never allows himself to be transported into such a passion as might commit him to any rash action; he does everything in a composed, deliberate, and cool manner. A fight on this occasion would not have been on fair terms, as the Schians, Sioux, and Buffalo Indians had only about 200 men, ill provided with fire-arms and ammunition, whereas our party mustered about 500 men, all well armed. Many of them had two guns and plenty of ammunition, as they had declined to part with those articles until we should be ready to depart, when they proposed to exchange them for

horses. We passed an uncomfortable night; the Assini-boines were crowded in the same tent with us, and we were convinced that, should any disturbance take place, our tent would be the first attacked.

*July 25th.* At daybreak all were on the alert. I made several turns about camp, to observe what was going on, and entered some tents where I had been kindly received and well entertained, but found a great change in the physiognomy of these people; all were silent and sullen. None invited us into their tents as we passed; all turned their heads, and pretended not to see us.

At eight o'clock the preparations commenced for Le Borgne to adopt a son among the Schians. This ceremony is generally considered conclusive of peace among the different nations in these parts. The affair went on very slowly, and it was not without many speeches, smoking-matches, and persuasive arguments, that the medicine-tent was prepared. The Schians appeared very backward, indeed, and at first would neither bring tents enough to form the circle, nor lend a hand to erect them, while our party appeared very anxious to forward the business. After many obstacles had been surmounted the circle was formed with six leather tents, opening to the N. At nine o'clock the ceremony began by three of Le Borgne's principal *mishinaways*,<sup>7</sup> or secretaries, taking their seats in the center of the tent which faced the open space. One of them, Two Crows, with great ceremony and many grimaces, untied the pipe-stem, adjusted the feathers, hairs, etc., and displayed it on a fathom of red strouds, whilst the other two secretaries were busy singing, one beating a drum, and the other keeping time with a rattle made of cabbrie hoofs. The stem being thus displayed, old General Chokecherry, who was sure to make himself busy upon every

<sup>7</sup> Or *machinaway*—one who attends another in any capacity. "The Machinaway du Chien Fou and associate came in," McDonnell in Masson, I. p. 286, where the editor notes "aide-de-camp, companion, attendant, sometimes brother."

occasion, posted himself in front of the hut and uttered a long oration, inviting everybody to the ceremony. Many of our party accordingly took their seats on each side of the stem, but not a Schian or Sioux came near us. The singing recommenced, and continued for some time, after which the secretaries rose up from their seats; one of them, taking up the stem, marched off with it, dancing as he went to the drum and rattle, which the others sounded close behind him. One of them carried on his back a bull's head, whose nostrils and eyes were stuffed with hay. Next came a young man leading three horses, and after him a great crowd of our party, merely as spectators. They directed their course to the tent of the Schian whom Le Borgne intended to adopt, where the bearer of the stem danced for a few moments. Then one of the elder Big Bellies widened the door by pulling out the pegs from above and below; the three secretaries entered; and, after dancing before the intended son, who held down his head in a very sullen manner, presented him with the stem and rattle. At first he declined it, nor would he accept it for some time, but after a long conversation with his own people, he at last took it in a careless manner, and apparently much against his inclination. Le Borgne, who sat in the tent during all this part of the ceremony, wrapped up in an American flag, said not a word, but cast many a sardonic grin at his adopted son. At its conclusion he arose, and wrapped the flag around the adopted son, giving into his hand the three cords which tied the three horses at the door, which the Schian instantly handed to his wife. Le Borgne then took him by one arm, and Chief of the Wolves held him by the other; they thus raised him gently from the ground, and conducted him to the medicine tent, attended by the three secretaries with their music. On their arrival he was placed in the center, opposite the fathom of red strouds, holding the stem in his right hand; Le Borgne was seated on his right hand, and Chief of the Wolves on his left; near them were the three secretaries,



who continued to sing and shake the rattle ; the bull's head was placed opposite the cloth and son. The Big Bellies brought in some ammunition, and laid it upon the strouds ; the son was directed to lay the stem over these articles, which he did accordingly. Our old general was again posted opposite the entrance of the shelter, where he was fully employed in his usual vocation of haranguing, inviting everyone to bring something to put under the stem. But all his eloquence was in vain ; not a Schian came forward until some of their old men had gone the rounds making long speeches, when a few of the Schians appeared with some garnished robes and dressed leather, which were spread on the ground near the bull's head, which was then laid upon the heap. The Big Bellies next brought two guns, which they placed under the stem. The Schians put another robe or two under the bull's head. Our party were each time more ready to come forward with their property than the others were with theirs. The latter next brought some old, scabby, sore-backed horses for the bull's head. This compliment was returned by our party with corn, beans, ammunition, and a gun. General Chokecherry grew impatient, and reproached the Schians in a very severe and harsh manner for their mean and avaricious manner of dealing, in bringing forward their trash and rotten horses, saying that the Big Bellies were ready to give good guns and ammunition, but expected to receive good horses in return. In answer to this they were given to understand by the Schians that they must first put all their guns and ammunition under the stem, immediately after which the Schians, in their turn, would bring in good horses. As it was never customary in an affair of this kind for either party to particularize the articles to be brought to the stem or bull's head, but for everyone to contribute what he pleased of the best he had, this proposal induced our party to suspect the Schians had planned to get our firearms and ammunition into their own possession, that they might be a match for us, and commence hostilities. To prevent this,

no more guns or ammunition were brought forward, and the Schians were told they must first produce some of their best horses; but to this they would not listen. After a few more trifles had been given in on both sides, the business came to a stand-still on the part of the Schians, who retired to their tents.

It was about 3 p. m. when affairs thus assumed a gloomy aspect; harangues were made through the camp by both parties, evidently not of a very amiable nature; frequent menaces were made by our party, and the other as often retorted. The ceremony was totally neglected and everybody left the spot. The adopted son went sullenly to his own tent; horses were collected on both sides; everyone was surly and gloomy; silence reigned throughout the camp, only broken by the neighing of horses and some few orations; the weather was hot and sultry. Water was only to be got at some distance, and was very filthy, both rivulets being dry except in stagnant puddles full of dung and urine, where hundreds of horses had been drinking and rolling. The impracticability of procuring any other had obliged us to use this water; but at this critical moment we could get none, as we did not think it prudent to separate from our main body to such a distance. I entered several tents, but in vain. I saw water in bladders and paunches, but it was refused me. At one time I caught hold of a bladder and a ram's horn to satisfy my thirst, but both were snatched away by one of the women, who were as sulky and sullen as the men. I was exasperated and choking with thirst, when I met a woman with a bladder full of this filthy beverage. Without any ceremony or asking her permission, as I was certain she would refuse me, I jerked the bladder out of her hands, cut a hole in it, and took a copious draught of the contents, which consisted of equal parts of horse dung, urine, and stagnant water. The woman made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the bladder, but I kept hold until my companions were fully satisfied also.

During this affray Le Borgne had been to the center of

the camp and made a long speech, at the end of which he ordered all hands, men and women, to saddle and load instantly; but most of them were already prepared to depart, and only awaited his orders to march. The sun was about an hour high, when, in the greatest hurry, bustle, and confusion, the women saddled and loaded their horses as fast as possible, and began to file off by the route we came. By this time the men had become still more excited; everyone was armed and on horseback, with a ball in his mouth; haranguing went on throughout the camp; the horses were neighing and prancing impatiently, and instant battle threatened.

The women being all at some distance, Le Borgne ordered the men off and desired us to keep close by him. We all moved in a body, without any regular form of marching, and our horses at a slow walk. We were accompanied by the main body of the Schians, who mixed with our party and did not appear in the least afraid of our superior numbers, but with fierce countenances rode up to the most tumultuous of our party and vociferated to them with many significant signs and gestures. We really expected every moment to see some of them strike a fatal blow, and thus precipitate the conflict, as they certainly pushed our party to the last extremity. I could not help admiring the conduct of our commander-in-chief, Le Borgne; in all this tumult he said very little, and appeared quite unconcerned; but I observed he was always upon his guard, and that no Schian personally insulted him.

I was anxious to purchase one of their horses which had struck my fancy; he was a beautiful pied stallion four years old, the most spirited and swiftest beast I ever saw in the North West. The owner had promised him to me at the high price I offered, but as several Big Bellies also wanted him, and the owner wished to prevent jealousy, he desired me to keep up the payment until the moment I left, when he would deliver the horse. During the commotion in camp I went to him with my goods and demanded the

horse, but he would not listen to me. One of the Big Belly war chiefs had offered him one of his wives, two horses, and the value of 50 skins in goods, but in vain. I met the fellow on this horse, and proposed once more to bargain, offering him the value of 100 skins in prime goods and my own horse ; but he would not even return me an answer.

Having reached the eminence whence we had first seen the Schian camp we stopped, and formed into line abreast. Here both parties again disputed and argued with each other until many worked themselves up into such a frenzy as to foam at the mouth, especially the Schians, who appeared quite undaunted, and, I believe, would have fought like heroes. It was surprising to see what expert horsemen these people are ; the agility of the beasts and the dexterity of the riders were astonishing. We proceeded, and soon overtook the women ; when, observing the enemy still on the hill, in a menacing position, orders were given to halt. The women with the pack horses were placed in the center, and a large body of men were stationed around them as a guard. Le Borgne, accompanied by a large party, well armed, with their guns loaded and fresh primed, and balls in their mouths, returned to the Schians, who awaited their approach. We remained in suspense for some time, observing the motions of Le Borgne and his party, whom we every moment expected to see engaged in battle ; but, after a short conference with the enemy, they returned, having, as they said, frightened the Schians back to camp.

Orders were given to push on with all speed possible, and instantly obeyed. Old men dispersed throughout the party, haranguing and encouraging the women to drive on fast, whilst young men were dispatched in every direction upon the hills to see that we were not surrounded. Thus we continued on our march until dark, when orders were given to halt and camp for the night. We found plenty of excellent water, which both men and beasts greatly needed, and I found it the pleasantest cordial I ever tasted.



Le Borgne told us<sup>8</sup> the reason why he did not wish to push the affair to extremities was the great number of women and children who accompanied us, most of whom would have been destroyed; but he declared he would be revenged upon the Schians for the manner in which they had slighted his medicine stem. He directed his women to form a kind of intrenchment with his baggage and saddles, inside of which we slept with him and them. He desired us to fresh prime our guns, examine the flints, and be ready to fire at a moment's warning. He also ordered a number of young men to surround and watch the camp during the night. Everyone slept with his arms beside him. As our horses were tied at our feet, we were every moment in danger of being trampled; but as we were entirely free from mosquitoes, or any kind of troublesome flies, the horses were quiet. The poor beasts had eaten little for some days; they devoured the grass, which was of an excellent kind for them, upon this spot. Le Borgne had four mules, which were vicious brutes; when any other animal came near, they brayed and kicked enough to alarm the whole camp. The noise those animals kept up all night was hideous.

I could not but reflect upon the great fuss and uproar I had witnessed, and was surprised that it ceased without bloodshed. These people are certainly clamorous and noisy upon the most trifling occasion, and one unaccustomed to them would imagine every moment they were

<sup>8</sup> As bearing on this statement I may cite C. McKenzie in Masson, *l. c.*, p. 391: "The Gros Ventres and Mandans having collected on an eminence or rising ground above the camp, we all made a halt, and while we were preparing for the worse, the Borgne, who was on foot, came to Mr. Chaboillez saying: 'My equal, lend me your horse that I may go and speak to those dogs and know whether they prefer peace to war.' Mr. Chaboillez did not relish the idea of parting with a famous runner at this time, but the Borgne pressed him in a commanding voice to obey. While Mr. Chaboillez was taking the saddle off the horse, I asked the Borgne if they were to fight. 'My son,' said he, 'we have too many children and women here to commence hostilities ourselves, but, if we are attacked, we must not flinch.'"

going to be at loggerheads. But many such affairs end in vociferation. Certainly some other nations, such, for instance, as the Saulteurs, would not have made half so much noise before beginning a battle.

*July 26th.* During the night we had a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain, which ceased at sunrise, but not until every one of us was wet to the skin; the men's robes and leggings, and the women's shifts, were in a sad state. Soon after the rain ceased a tremendous pelting and beating commenced, which at a distance might have been taken for several hundred men threshing wheat. This operation over, all the leather articles were well rubbed with white clay, which, I am told, prevents them from getting stiff or hard in drying; for this purpose they always carry some of this clay with them.

This morning early Le Borgne employed one of his principal secretaries to make a long speech, advising the people of his intention of sacrificing to the waters a white buffalo hide—an article of the highest value and estimation among them. The speech being concluded, five of his principal war chiefs and great men took up the hide with great ceremony, and carried it to the rivulet near which we had camped. Having searched out the deepest spot, they put the hide in the water, and sunk it to the bottom with large stones. During this ceremony our old general stood on the bank, making a long harangue. I could not learn the particular reason for this sacrifice, or the substance of the oration, as our interpreter was absent in search of his horse, that had broken loose during the night.

This affair being over, and the weather clear, Le Borgne directed our old general to make a speech, in which marching orders were given. Everyone was soon ready, and we started pell-mell. Our progress was much more expeditious than before; no further ceremony was made, either to halt, smoke, or anything else. We pushed on with all haste until eight o'clock, when the rain began again to pour down hard; orders to halt were given, and instantly obeyed.

But in about an hour the storm was over, and for the last time orders were given to load and proceed. As there was no further danger of the Schians pursuing us, everyone went as he pleased, and we were soon divided into more than 200 parties, dispersed over the plains and hills in every direction. Le Borgne desired us to keep near him and his party, which was the most numerous. At ten o'clock we came to the Wolf's Tent, which some of us ascended on horseback, whence we had a delightful view of the country, and of the different parties on their way homeward—the Mandanes keeping eastward, the Big Bellies westward, and the Saulteurs [Souliers] northward.

At some distance to the N. E., we observed a herd of buffalo, which being signaled to a party passing below us, in an instant upward of 50 horsemen were in pursuit. Here we dried our cloaks, robes, and blankets, and then pushed on to overtake the hunting party, who had killed a great many, and were well loaded with flesh. We soon after came to a brook that emptied into Knife river, where we found a few stunted willows, and saw that many of the Big Bellies had stopped to light a fire and turn their horses out to feed. We also halted, as ours stood in great need of refreshment, too, and we ourselves had eaten nothing but a few raw meadow-turnips since the first meal we made at the Schians' camp. We found some difficulty in procuring anything from those avaricious Big Bellies, who set more value upon a piece of fresh meat than they do on a beaver or bear skin. We wished to buy a few pounds to roast, but they would dispose of none, and had it not been that Le Borgne joined us, we would not have got one mouthful. When he came up and his women unloaded their horses and mules, he was presented with some meat, which they roasted, or rather warmed, for it was positively raw when he invited us to eat. In payment for this he made no scruple of accepting the contents of our powder-horns and shot-bags, and even begged some tobacco. This repast of raw flesh cost us each, according to the valuation of prop-

erty in those parts, two skins, or 12 livres North West currency, making 24 livres Quebec currency, or one pound Halifax currency. Here I observed the filthy manners of these people in feasting on the raw entrails of buffalo. The paunch, liver, kidneys, fat, testicles, gristle, marrow-bones, and several other pieces, they hand about and devour like famished wolves, whilst blood and dung stream down from their mouths ; it was disgusting to see them.

We remained here but a short time, when we saddled and proceeded alone, directing our course toward the Mandane village, heartily glad to get rid of those disagreeable, selfish, haughty Big Bellies, who from the place we left them went down Knife river to their own villages. We overtook a Big Belly with a horse-load of buffalo meat, and proposed to purchase some ; but the old man was loath to sell any ; however, our ammunition tempted him, and for the value of six skins he consented to let us have the two placottes. These we instantly threw on a horse and sent off, whilst I remained to make payment. Having received it, and held a consultation with his wife, the old man wanted to return the ammunition and take back the meat ; but it was gone too far. He grumbled so much that we gave him a few inches of tobacco, which seemed to please him, and then rode away.



## CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE MANDANS TO PEMBINA: 1806.

**A**T five o'clock we reached the great Mandane village safe, and found our people anxiously waiting for us; they had received intelligence of the misunderstanding among the Schians, and as we had not kept company with the Mandanes, they feared some accident had happened us. They now informed us that during our absence a party of 30 Rocky Mountain Indians of the Crow nation had arrived with their families at the Big Bellies' villages, with a great number of horses, and some skins, furs, and slaves, to barter for guns, ammunition, tobacco, axes, etc., as those people have no other means of procuring European articles. Some of them, indeed, go toward the Spanish settlements with the Flatheads; but what they get in that way is too trifling to answer their purposes. They brought word that the American party of Captains Lewis and Clark had ascended the Missourie, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and fallen upon a large river which they supposed would conduct them to the ocean. They also informed us that these gentlemen had had trouble with the Snake, Flathead, and Oreille [Nez] Percé nations, who inhabit the Rocky Mountains.<sup>1</sup> My kind landlord asked me where I had left his young wife, and, on my informing him that I had not seen her, excepting once in the Schian camp, he appeared displeased, and reproached me for neglecting her.

<sup>1</sup> A sample of the way rumor flew in those days, and lost all semblance of fact in its flight. Needless to say, L. and C. had no trouble with any of the Indians named; and Captain Lewis' brush with the Blackfeet on Maria's river did not take place till July 27th, the day after that whose incidents Henry is narrating. By "Oreille Percé" of the above passage I presume we are to understand Nez Percé, or Chopunnish, as L. and C. did not meet with the Pend d'Oreilles.

*Sunday, July 27th.* Early this morning we mounted and went to the other village to see the Crows. It was disgusting to see how those impious vagabonds, the Big Bellies, keep those poor inoffensive Crows in subjection, making their own price for horses and everything else; nor will they allow a stranger to give the Crows the real value of their commodities; the price once fixed by those scoundrels, they permit no one to give more. By this means they generally get whatever is brought into their villages, and then sell out to strangers for double what it cost them. To-day we were continually watched and attended by Rattlesnake, who frequently threatened that, if we purchased a horse from the Crows for more than the Big Bellies offered, he would take it from us and keep it himself. The Crows had a handsome slave girl, about 12 years of age, who was offered to us for a gun, 100 balls, and powder enough to fire them; but those rascally Big Bellies would not allow us to purchase her, saying they wanted her for themselves. The language of the Crows is nearly the same as the Big Bellies'; there is also a great similitude between those two nations in manners, customs, and dress. They have the character of a brave and warlike people; though obliged to put up with many insults from the people here, they have been repeatedly at war with the latter, and on many occasions have displayed dauntless spirit. I am informed they are much addicted to unnatural and beastly lusts, and have no scruple in satisfying their desires with their mares and wild animals fresh killed.

A few Flatheads accompanied the Crows. This nation also inhabits the Rocky Mountains, but more to the S. Their language is entirely different from any others we have heard. It is supposed by some who have long resided in this country that originally the Crows, Big Bellies, Mandanes, Sauleurs [Souliers], and Sioux were the same people, and that they came from Mexico. Of the difference between the languages of the two first named tribes there is no doubt; I am told that in the tongues of the two next there is some

resemblance, and the same is the case with the Sioux language; furthermore, there are in Mexico many original names of places and towns which are similar to several words in all the above languages. The Pawnees must be considered a distinct nation [middle group of Caddoan family], their language being totally different.

We remained with the Crows till nearly sunset, when we returned to our quarters, more disgusted with those rascally Big Bellies than ever. The weather was hot and sultry during our stay at those villages, which gave us a perpetual thirst. The quantity of water we drank was astonishing; at first we disliked the looks of it, and could scarcely taste it; but we were obliged to use it, and soon found it palatable. The water of the Missourie is so impregnated with earth, as the rapidity of the current washes away the shores and turns up the mud from the very bottom, that a stranger would scarcely venture to drink it; but the continual use the inhabitants make of it without any bad consequences proves it is not pernicious to the constitution. In the winter, and sometimes in the fall during a very dry season, when the water is not so terribly thick, it is not to the liking of the natives, and they frequently mix a certain quantity of clay with the water they drink. In the spring, when the ice drifts down, the water is very thick and muddy, and quite to their taste. When put into a vessel and allowed to settle during the night, in a two-gallon pot there is one inch of sediment, even at this season, when it is called clear.

*July 28th.* We settled accounts with our host, and paid some young men to ferry us over the river and attend our horses. We also paid some women for preparing provision for our homeward journey; this was principally parched corn pounded into flour, mixed with a small portion of fat, and made up into balls about the size of an egg. These may be eaten as they are, or boiled for a short time; the latter method we found most wholesome. At ten o'clock we were ready to bid adieu to the S. side of the Missourie, and glad to get away from such a set of hypocrites. At the

head of the gang is that old sneaking cheat Mons. Jussaume, whose character is more despicable than the worst among the natives. While saddling our horses we found them very troublesome, and they attempted to steal everything they could lay their hands on; even our stirrups tempted them. They pillaged us of a broad girth in a very daring manner, while we were actually standing near our own horses; it disappeared in a moment among the crowd and could not be found again. They appeared eager also to have the two European saddles and bridles which belonged to Mr. Cha-boillez and myself; and, had a favorable opportunity presented, would have stolen them. But our landlord, Le Grand, and his family were very attentive in watching our property to prevent it being stolen; nor did their kindness end there. He insisted on crossing me over the river himself, and with the assistance of his young wife and his sons he saw all my little baggage safely delivered on the N. side; he even took the trouble to give my horse into my own hands. The whole family shook my hand in a very friendly manner, made me understand that if ever I came this way again I must take up my lodgings in their hut, and then returned to their village.

At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missouri. We found what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without any expectation of payment. Being almost entirely destitute of tobacco for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms



at present. These are collected as required, dried before the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength nor virtue.

This afternoon the Assiniboinés, old Crane and his party, left on their return home to their camp at Moose mountain, all provided with horses, loaded with corn. Not long afterward a Mandané who was sitting on his hut looking out, as they usually do, hallooed that the Assiniboinés were stealing horses belonging to the white people—which, of course, were ours. In an instant the village was in an uproar; a number of armed men on horseback went in pursuit, with Black Cat at their head, declaring he would bring the scalp of the thief. They were absent about an hour, when they returned and informed us that they had overtaken the supposed thief; he proved to be a Big Belly who, a few days ago, had a quarrel with a Mandané, and the latter, on leaving the village of the former, had brought off one of their horses, the owner of which had sent a young man for him.

We had a heavy fall of rain during the night, and our worst enemies, the mosquitoes, were more numerous than ever. We had flattered ourselves that the season for those infernal insects was nearly over; but they annoyed us sorely this evening. We procured the use of an empty hut, into which our horses were put for the night; but long before day the flies so tormented them that they broke down the barrier at the door, and ran off to the woods. We searched for them in vain; the darkness, rain, and mosquitoes soon obliged us to give up the chase and return to the hut, where we passed the remainder of the night in great anxiety, fearing the Assiniboinés might return and steal the horses before they could be collected in the morning.

*July 29th.* Daybreak brought rain and swarms of mos-

quitos; however, with the kind assistance of our landlord, who sent out young men, we recovered all our horses. During this time some of our party were snoring as contentedly as if their horses had been tied in the hut. At ten o'clock the rain ceased and the weather cleared up; we lost no time in saddling, loading, and taking leave of our host, to whom we gave what ammunition we could spare, for which he was very thankful, although it was a trifle.

We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad. We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short distances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and got away with the scalp.

At twelve o'clock we came opposite the upper Big Belly village, where we found Messrs. McKenzie<sup>2</sup> and Caldwell waiting for us. They had just got over, accompanied by Le

<sup>2</sup> "I did not wish to leave the Missurie so soon," says C. McKenzie, *l. c.*, p. 393, "but Messrs. Chaboillez and Henry pressed me so that I left, after having disposed of the rest of my goods for some beavers brought me by some Rocky Mountain Indians during the night. Next morning, I crossed the Missurie with six horses well loaded and two light to carry myself and Mr. Caldwell. I was not a little proud when I considered that I was the first North trader who crossed the Missurie with four packs of beaver."

Borgne and two of his wives ; he was gone himself in pursuit of a bull on the adjacent hills. Here we unloaded and gave our horses some time to feed and rest. His Excellency soon arrived, attended by one of his young men with the flesh of the animal, which he immediately ordered his women to cook. When it was done according to their taste he presented it to us ; we found it too raw for our stomachs ; but tasted it out of complaisance, after which he and his young men dispatched the whole. His women were very troublesome ; they fancied everything of ours they cast their eyes on, and were not very nice in asking us to give to them our saddle-cloths, blankets, cloaks, and everything else they so ardently desired. This occasioned us to hasten our departure, and at two o'clock we bid a last adieu to his Excellency. Le Borgne gave us a cordial shake of the hand, and advised us to be upon our guard, as the time was nearly arrived when the Sioux frequented those parts, as they could subsist on berries, the corn would soon be fit to steal during the night, and by these means of maintaining themselves they might lie for many days in wait for any small party to leave the village. He told us by all means to make a long circuit westward, be continually upon the lookout, and not allow ourselves to be surprised by an enemy, as we must expect no quarter. We bade him farewell, and for my part I wished never to see this great man again, or any of his clan ; I was heartily tired of them all, and much relieved by the prospect of traveling at my own free will and pleasure, no longer subject to the caprice of those mercenary savages.

We proceeded on our journey by the same route we came, along the bank of the river. Our party consisted of 10 men and 25 horses, forming a cavalcade which at a distance looked quite respectable, and might deter an enemy from attacking us, unless they were very strong. Our real strength was slight, having only three guns and a pair of pistols among us all, and a scant supply of ammunition. We soon came to the heights of Snake Lodge, where we turned

our backs to the Missourie, and directed our course N., intending thus to shorten our journey, although this route was more dangerous than the way we came. At five o'clock we camped on the upper part of Rivière Bourbeuse [Miry, now Snake, creek], which at this place is nothing more than a rivulet, with a very good crossing on a fine sandy bottom. Here we found an immense quantity of poires; the branches were too heavily loaded to support their burdens, and many were lying upon the ground. We collected a good stock of buffalo dung to make a fire; it was very damp, and only emitted a hot smoke, but answered our purpose, as we had a kettle and thus cooked our victuals easily. We tied our horses close and kept watch during the night, as we dreaded the Assiniboines, who passed this morning and knew very well when we intended to set off. Early in the evening a pleasant cool breeze sprang up, which kept down the mosquitoes and gave us the most comfortable night since we left Rivière la Souris. The only cause for anxiety was that the Assiniboines might steal our horses.

*July 30th.* We had so many horses to load it took a long time before we could get ready to depart. We held the same N. course as yesterday. We found much water in the plains; in every low spot our horses were up to their bellies. We could go no faster than a walk; the heavy burdens of our horses prevented our pushing on as fast as we could have wished; each carried upward of two hundred weight, excepting those we rode, which had each about 50 pounds. The country is hilly, but not so stony as on the route we came; and toward the E. we saw no stones at all. The hills and their declivities appeared quite naked, with here and there a bull, grazing unmolested.

At five o'clock we came to a small lake on which grew brushwood and poiriers [pear trees literally, but here meaning the service-berry tree, *Amelanchier canadensis*, or its western form, *A. alnifolia*, whose fruit the voyageurs called *poires*, and] whose branches were loaded with fruit; the



shore was a beautiful white sand and gravel. Here we stopped for the night. I took a walk up to the top of a high hill on the N. W. side of the lake, whence I could discern with the naked eye the heights of Loge de Serpent, not less than 15 leagues distant.

*July 31st.* It rained hard last night, and continued this morning with a thick fog and a strong S. E. wind, which kept down the mosquitoes. I had been unwell all night, and found myself no better this morning. We sheltered ourselves as best we could from the rain, and passed the day. I continued unwell all day and night.

*Friday, Aug. 1st.* Rain and fog until ten o'clock, when the weather cleared up. I was scarcely able to keep my seat on horseback. At eleven o'clock we were under way, keeping our course still N. At three o'clock we came to the ridge of high land,<sup>3</sup> which runs from E. to W., and separates the waters between the Missourie and Rivière la Souris. This ridge adjoins the Dog's House, which we could plainly see about three leagues eastward—supposed to be the highest hill for many miles. It stands nearly due S. from the S. E. bend or elbow of Rivière la Souris, and may be seen at a considerable distance. We could also discern the banks of that river to the N. about five leagues distant; and had the weather been clear, doubtless we could have distinguished the Snake's Lodge, which bears S. about 20 leagues. By what idea I can form of the country,

<sup>3</sup> Henry has been holding about N. since he left the Missouri, and is considerably E. of the roundabout route by which he reached that river at the mouth of Rivière Bourbeuse, or Miry cr. The "ridge of high land" on which which he now stands is the Coteau du Missouri, separating the watershed of the latter from that of Mouse r., as he says. The Dog's House of which he speaks is that high hill on the Mouse river side of the Coteau, already noted on p. 316, *q. v.* I find it clearly displayed on Twining's reconnaissance map No. IV., lettered "Dog's Den." The trail from Fort Stevenson to Fort Totten (on Devil's l.) passes about 8 m. S. of the Den. Henry being, as he says, on the Coteau, 3 leagues E. of the Dog's House, and about 5 leagues S. of the bight of Mouse r., is in the immediate vicinity of Sabine Spring, from which Sabine cr. flows due E. into Mouse r. This direct route Henry is pursuing to the Assiniboine is dotted on Clark's map of 1814.

this lower route to the Missourie is by far more dangerous than that by which we went. Our track is now on the Sioux frontiers, and should they fall in with us, we could expect no mercy, as they have never been known to give any quarter to white people in this country. By the upper route there is nothing to dread but horses being stolen by the Assiniboinés, and we run the same risk by this lower road, as Indians are continually going to and from the Missourie, who steal horses wherever they can. Having rested, we pushed forward on a gradual descent; our road now lay through a delightful part of the country, level, but elevated, intercepted by small round hillocks in the shape of sugar loaves, some of which are of a considerable height, and covered with herds of buffalo. We also had in view in our front, and upon our right and left, several small rivulets, whose banks in some places were covered with stunted willows and poire bushes, the branches of which were loaded with fruit at full maturity.

At five o'clock, just as we were directing our course toward a clump of small trees which grew on one of those brooks, we were overtaken by a thunder shower, with a gale of wind from the E. Our baggage and clothing were soon soaked, and our horses turned tail to the wind, in spite of beating and driving. We could not make them face the storm; they would only drift with the wind. We, therefore, halted, but did not unload till the fury of the storm was over, when we directed our course to the wood, where we arrived about dark, everything drenched and uncomfortable. The buffalo, now at the height of the rutting season, kept bellowing all night. During this season they are in continual motion day and night, scarcely allowing themselves time to feed; several herds passed quite near our camp, bellowing and tearing up the ground. The bulls at this period are very fierce; they often turn upon a man and pursue him for some distance. The noise of those animals made our horses very uneasy. At every bellow they were startled, and ran toward us as

far as their lines would allow. We were anxious lest their fetters might give way, as, if any went astray, it would not be easy to find them amongst such numerous herds of buffalo. We had some hunters that did not mind the noise in the least, except to prick up their ears and appear eager for the chase.

*Aug. 2d.* The storm continued, inducing us to lie quiet for the day. We shot some buffalo and brought in plenty of good meat.

*Sunday, Aug. 3d.* The rain having ceased, we loaded, and began our march. At ten o'clock, after having ascended and descended many hills and dales, and crossed three small rivulets, we came to Rivière la Souris, which runs here from E. to W.;<sup>4</sup> the water was very high. We waded through up to the armpits, carrying our baggage on our heads, at the shallowest place we could find. Having got everything over by repeated trips, we untied and spread out our baggage to dry, which kept us here until late in the afternoon. The place where we forded the river is about 10 leagues lower down than where we crossed it in going to the Missouri; it is pleasantly lined with large wood of almost every kind this part of the country produces; and is well stocked with large game, which renders it a delightful situation for a savage nation. Beaver formerly were plenty also, but they are getting very scarce; a few vestiges only are to be seen. The proximity to the Sioux country will for many years keep this place stocked with animals, as the Assiniboines and Crees dare not camp here during the summer and remain but a short time in winter.

At four o'clock we had loaded our horses and were ascending the banks; and having got to the plains we directed our course N. E. We pushed on as fast as pos-

<sup>4</sup> A mistake, if Henry means anything more than an east-west course of the river, without regard to its flow. The water is here running from W. to E. (approximately), before turning gradually northward. Places in the vicinity are now called Mouse River, Echo, and Pendroy. Henry is nearest the first of these.

sible until dark, when we stopped for the night, and formed an entrenchment with our baggage to prevent the buffalo and horses from running over us. The buffalo dung being too damp to take fire, we remained in the dark, every moment in dread of being trampled. About midnight a large herd of buffalo passed so near some of our horses as to make them break their cords, and away they went; but fortunately their legs were tied. We pursued them, but to no purpose; the night was too dark.

*Aug. 4th.* At daybreak we were on the lookout for our horses, and found they had returned to their comrades that were tied near us. We lost no time in loading, during which several old bulls stood at a short distance to windward, staring at us with as much unconcern as if they were common cattle. We took our course north, and soon found an astonishing quantity of water, which overlaid the plains more extensively than we had before seen since the commencement of our journey. Buffalo continued to appear in every direction around us. At twelve o'clock we came to the Grosse Butte,<sup>5</sup> which seemed to be their termination northward, as we saw only a few straggling bulls ahead of us. From the summit of these hills we could discern Turtle mountain like a low, blue cloud due N. from us, distant about 20 leagues. The hills are partially covered with short grass; the greater part being a barren, white sand, particularly on the S. side, where there is no verdure whatever. Upon the N. side, at the foot of the hill, is a beautiful lake about three leagues in circumference, with a beach of white gravel and sand. At the S. end, adjoining the foot of the hill, is a delightful little wood, which runs

<sup>5</sup> After crossing Mouse r. from S. to N., Henry took first a N. E. and then a N. course, in McHenry Co. As this river is running northeastward and then northward, he is W. of it, and has it on his right hand, at no great distance. But as he has given no distances on these courses, identification of his Grosse Butte can only be conjectured. Two of the most conspicuous and isolated elevations in the region are now known as White Rock hill and Little Medicine Lodge. The latter is 10 or 12 m. N. E. of the former, which I am inclined to think may be his Grosse Butte.



about three acres up the hill, and for the same distance along the lake. This is a great resort for buffalo and other animals, to shade themselves from the heat of the sun, and may serve as a shelter from storms in winter. The state of the ground in this little wood shows there are always animals in it; for the grass does not grow, and the bark of the trees, to the height of an animal, is worn perfectly smooth by their continual rubbing. The prospect from the top of this hill is very pleasant; to the N. lies an extensive plain, bounded by a ridge that runs E. and W., over which Turtle mountain appears. On the left the country is one level plain, with many small lakes, about which numerous herds of buffalo feed. On the right, the plain is also level for about three leagues, where it rises into many high, sandy hills;<sup>6</sup> stunted willows and poplars grow in the valleys, but the barren summits display only white sand. In this direction saw no buffalo, but numerous herds of cabbrie supplied that deficiency. Southward stretched an extensive plain, with many small lakes, and buffalo moving in every direction; the view was only bounded by the small rising grounds we started from this morning. Upon the whole I found this the most delightful spot I recollect to have seen in any part of the meadow country. We determined to enjoy it for a short time; so we unloaded our horses, and having killed a good fat cow, our fire was soon smoking with as many fine appalats as we could crowd upon it.

At noon we loaded and began our march, but soon found the increasing depth of water upon the plains a great inconvenience; it was often up to our horses' bellies, and

<sup>6</sup> A long range of sand hills, interspersed with groves of poplars, bounds Mouse r. for many miles on the right or E., at the apparent distance given by Henry, whose position may now be fixed with some confidence, in the close vicinity of the village of Lane, or Carder. This is on the opposite bank of the river, 10 m. N. of the town of Towner. At the latter point the Great Northern Ry. crosses Mouse r. for the second time from the W., having crossed the other loop of the same river at Minot. Henry is thus about 10 m. N. of the railroad, and nearly up to lat. 48° 30' N., in McHenry Co.

commonly knee-deep, excepting on the rising grounds. This made our progress very slow and tedious. At six o'clock we stopped for the night upon a small rising ground, having the banks and wood of Rivière la Souris in sight, about two leagues ahead of us.<sup>7</sup> The buffalo dung was too damp to burn, the weather was sultry, with an appearance of rain, and mosquitoes so troublesome that our horses could not feed. We fettered and tied them with cords as usual; but eight of them broke their cords and ran off with their fore feet still fettered. We passed a very disagreeable night.

*Aug. 5th.* No sign of our eight horses. Some of us remained to take care of the property whilst others went to search for them; but all in vain. Night brought no news of our strayed horses.

*Aug. 6th.* At daybreak seven of our party started on horseback in different directions, whilst I remained with two men to convey our baggage to Rivière la Souris, by putting extra loads upon our remaining horses and making two trips. Having come to the river we found the water extraordinarily high; and, the land being low for some distance from the river, the water had soaked it to such a degree as to make miry places, which our horses could scarcely get through with their heavy loads. The banks, which here and for many leagues below are nearly on a level with the water at its usual height, were entirely overflowed, so that we could hardly get to the wood or find any convenient crossing. After wading through water, and getting our horses several times fast in the mire, we at last passed over the W. extremity of the sandy ridge, which borders the river and runs parallel with it almost to the S. E. bend opposite the Dog's House. We fell upon the river at the lower end of the wood, a few miles below Rivière aux Saules;<sup>8</sup> its course here is from E. to W. Here we em-

<sup>7</sup> Mouse r. having curved from N. to N. W., it is "ahead" of them as they go N., having before been on their right hand.

<sup>8</sup> Now known as Willow cr., translating the French name in the text. It

ployed the remainder of the day making a raft and crossing our baggage, which was done by means of two long lines—one tied to each end of the raft. With one end of a line in my mouth, I swam the river, hauling the loaded raft over, and unloaded it, when my companion on the opposite side would draw it back. In this manner everything was got over safe, and soon after six o'clock our party returned, having seen no sign of our strayed horses. This evening was gloomy and silent; several of our party peevishly lamented their loss; some were so much cast down as to lose their appetite, and went to sleep in a very surly mood. At nine o'clock it began to rain and continued all night. Mosquitoes as usual.

*Aug. 7th.* We were up early, preparing for departure in sullen silence. Those who had lost their horses had baggage to carry, and they did not relish the idea of wading through the water. Many were the “lâches” and “sacrés” uttered in vain. At seven o'clock we set off, having distributed the loads of the eight horses upon the remaining 17; five of our people were obliged to go afoot, much against their inclination. Soon after leaving camp three of them got into such a pet that they sheared off toward Turtle mountain. We soon lost sight of them, and saw them no more this day. We followed down the river, which is here destitute of wood, and so continues until it receives the two little rivers of Tête à la Biche [North and South Antler creeks]. The water being very high, the current flowed gently on a level with the plains. It soon divided into several branches, which in turn spread into several small lakes

falls into Mouse r. on the N. and from the E., in a locality some time known as Wood End, from the fact expressed in the name, and alluded to by Henry. A few miles up this creek is a place called Wines, and a short distance above its mouth, on the N. side of Mouse r., is the town of Oakland, 6 or 8 m. N. W. of Carder. A short distance below Willow cr., the comparatively large stream known as Cut Bank cr. falls into Mouse r. on the opp. side, from the W. Henry crosses the river between the mouths of these two creeks, from S. to N., and will proceed N. W. down the right bank. Compare note <sup>25</sup>, p. 310, and note <sup>27</sup>, p. 311.

surrounded with rushes, reeds, and tall grass; no wood, not even willows, was to be seen. At eleven o'clock we halted, after some difficulty in getting across small rivulets which fall into the river from the E.<sup>9</sup> At one o'clock we were again on our march, leaving the river to our left, and directing our course N. E. toward the head or W. end of Turtle mountain.<sup>10</sup> Night came on before we could reach it, which obliged us once more to stop in the open plain; but being on a rising ground the buffalo dung was tolerably dry, and we made shift to keep up a smudge to drive off the swarms of mosquitoes.

*Aug. 8th.* We were off early, and pushed on with speed. At eleven o'clock we came to the head of Turtle mountain, where we found the vestiges of several Assiniboine camps, one only a few days old; had we fallen in with them, our horses might have been all stolen. We halted on the brow of the mountain, which appeared to be a very eligible and convenient summer residence for the Assiniboines and Crees, judging from the number of old and new vestiges of camps we saw. It began to rain. I was determined to proceed, let the weather be ever so bad, but some of our party thought proper to shelter themselves from the wet and stop for the night. At one o'clock some of us loaded and pushed on, carrying our baggage. We soon came to

<sup>9</sup> That is, from the western slopes of Turtle mt. There are several (not including the two Henry calls *Tête à la Biche*). One of the largest is now known as Boundary cr., as it comes down in Bottineau Co. from the parallel of 49° N. I was near the head of this stream in the summer of 1873, in the western foothills of Turtle mt., whence the distance due W. to the point where Mouse r. crosses 49° for the fourth and last time is 20 m. In judging of courses by compass-points in this locality, allowance must be made for a magnetic variation of 17° E. The longitude of the station here alluded to is 100° 30' W.; and Mouse r. finally passes from the United States a little short of 101°.

<sup>10</sup> Turtle mt. is so called from its general shape, which is oval, like the carapace of a turtle, viewed from on top. Its westernmost end forms a considerable and well-marked projection from the general oval contour, which represents the head of the turtle; this is what Henry means by the phrase. To reach this point he crosses 49° N., past the station mentioned in the last note, and is thus in British America (Manitoba).



small rivulets that issue out of the mountain and empty into a lake,<sup>11</sup> that is situated in the plain about three leagues N. N. W. from the head of the mountain. This lake is five miles long, and half a mile wide; in the middle stand two islands. We directed our course along the lake, which runs about N. N. E., found a great quantity of water, and had some trouble in fording the rivulets. At sunset we stopped near one of those banks, which were well supplied with excellent red cherries or cerises, of the largest kind I ever saw in this country, and delicious flavor.

*Aug. 9th.* For the first time on this journey we were favored with a keen air from the N. W., which kept the mosquitoes down, and allowed us to saddle and load our horses quietly; indeed we were obliged to keep up a good fire to warm ourselves before mounting. Wrapping our cloaks and blankets round us, we set off before sunrise, shivering with cold. Soon after leaving our camp we mired our horses in attempting to pass too near the N. extremity of the lake; we had some trouble and difficulty in getting them out, which being done we made a long circuit eastward to clear this ugly marsh, by going to the rising grounds, where we crossed the last rivulet which runs from the mountain into the lake. It was deep and bad crossing, with a strong current. We then came to more hilly country with a dry soil, and took what is called the Grande Traverse of Turtle mountain, directing our course N. At three o'clock, having forced our horses very much, we came to Rivière la Souris, which here runs from W. to E., and is very rapid. We crossed at the Grand Passage;<sup>12</sup> a few miles below this place it forms

<sup>11</sup> Whitewater l., also called White l., mention of which fixes Henry's course and position with precision. Yesterday he left Mouse r. a short distance above Boundary cr., and proceeded N. E., approx. parallel with the course of this creek, and camped on rising ground toward the head of Turtle mt. This morning he skirted the mountain and reached the site of Deloraine, on the Pembina branch of the C. P. Ry. He continues along the line of the railroad, S. of the lake, having trouble with several rivulets or coulées that make down from the mountain, and camps near the N. E. end of the lake, beyond Whitewater sta.

<sup>12</sup> This *third* crossing of Mouse r. may puzzle some who do not understand

a considerable bend at which it receives the waters of one of the Placotte [Rib Bone] lakes, and then courses about E. [nearer N. E.] into the Assiniboine. Having got safely over, we unloaded and gave our horses some time to rest, while we cooked a kettle of pounded corn, and at five o'clock were again on the march. The Moose Head was in sight, and we soon saw the woods of the Assiniboine. Night came on while we were still at a distance from it; but having a beaten path, to which my horse was accustomed, I gave him the loose rein, being determined to get in. We drove on hard in the dark, and the first object that struck my attention was the block-house of the fort, close under which my horse was passing. The gate was instantly opened, and we entered at half-past eleven.

Here we found those peevish fellow-travelers, who had arrived before us, having walked day and night and fallen upon *Rivière la Souris* at Plumb river. One of them, however, was so completely knocked up that he remained at the Moose Head, and Mr. La Rocque was obliged to send a man with a horse to bring him in; he had arrived just before me, scarcely able to crawl. We also found here a troublesome set of Indians, all drinking. A wash, shave,

the remarkable course of the stream; but any good map will put them "onto its curves," as the saying goes in baseball. In coming on his general N. course, Henry passed it: (1) At its bight or elbow nearest the Missouri, where he went from its right to its left bank, as it was flowing E. (2) At Wood End, where he went from its left to its right bank, as it was flowing W. (3) In the present place, where he went from its right to its left bank, as it was flowing E. The river was thus first ahead of him; next on his right, then ahead of him again; next on his left; fifth, ahead of him; and after the third crossing, he finally leaves it behind and off to the right. The present road from White-water l. to Mouse r. runs N. E. through places called Nimitaw, Haviland, Alceste, and Margaret; this is not far from Henry's route, but he seems to have held more nearly N., in the line of Abigail, Dunallen, and Heaslip, as he says he struck the river "a few miles" above the point where it receives the discharge of some of the Placotte or Rib Bone lakes; for these, see note <sup>3</sup>, p. 81. Their drainage is mostly eastward, from Turtle and Pembina mts.; but W. of the largest one (Pelican l.) are some small ones which discharge the other way, into Mouse r., at the sharp elbow it makes in Tp. 6, R. xviii, W. of the princ. merid.; vicinity of Margaret and Langvale.

and change of linen was very acceptable, as I had worn the same shirt since leaving Panbian river, and it was not entirely free from vermin, notwithstanding daily efforts to destroy them. I went to sleep in clean blankets on a soft feather bed, and only those who have experienced like hardships can form any idea of my delightful repose.

*Sunday, Aug. 10th.* A curious circumstance occurred last night. One of the Indians had sold a horse, and when we arrived was about to return to his camp with the payment. During the bustle and confusion of unloading our horses and storing the property this fellow slipped into the yard with his comrades, whose horses were tied near ours, and in saddling theirs did the same with one of ours that had just arrived. The gates being locked one of them went to the Assiniboine interpreter Desmarais, and desired him to open the gate. This he did; the fellow rode away unnoticed with his comrades, whooping and hallooing, still half drunk, and the theft was not discovered till this morning.

This establishment is now in a miserable condition; they have neither flesh nor fish—nothing but some old musty beat meat, and no grease. They have had but 14 animals, including cabbrie, since the departure of the canoes in May last, and a few bags of pemmican—a mere trifle for so many mouths—say 3 clerks, 1 interpreter, 3 laboring men, and 47 women and children, or 54 people entitled to regular rations. The men are now employed in making hay for the winter for such horses as are stabled to do the necessary work at the fort, hauling firewood, etc. But the great quantity of water in the meadows renders their progress slow and tedious. They have to mow knee-deep in the water, whilst another man follows with a cart and carries the grass to the high grounds, where it is spread out to dry. There has been no trade whatever this summer. The Indians are starving all over the country, no buffalo being found within their limits. There are a few freemen about this place, who have actually disposed of their women and clothing to the H. B. Co.'s people in barter for beat meat. The remainder

of our party, whom I had left at Turtle mountain, arrived this afternoon.

*Aug. 11th.* At daybreak I was up preparing for my departure, having sent T. Veaudrie [Vaudry] to Portage la Prairie and kept Ducharme to attend me. I determined to return home by the route of the Hair hills, this being much shorter than by way of Portage la Prairie. Mr. Chaboillez and his party would not set off until the 14th or 15th, having no horses to carry the baggage to Fort Dauphin. At sunrise I bade him adieu and mounted, directing my course E. S. E. At seven o'clock we crossed Rivière la Souris for the last time, near the sturgeon barrier, upon a shoal of gravel and sand in water only knee deep—the best crossing-place I had seen in all my journey. We now passed on through sandy hills to the level plain, where we came in sight of the Hair hills. At eleven o'clock we stopped to refresh our horses, and at one o'clock we again set off. We took the traverse for the mountain, but on coming to Cypress river<sup>13</sup> found it had overflowed its banks about three acres on each side, and could find no fordable place. We were obliged to turn out of our way some miles in going to where we perceived a large dry poplar tree and a few stunted willows, but there we had the mortification to find that the wood stood on the opposite side of the river. There being no alternative, we unloaded our horses and stripped. I crossed over, collected what brush I could find, and with the poplar formed a raft so very slight as to carry scarcely more than 50 pounds' weight. The mosquitoes were intolerable, and as we were obliged to remain naked for about four hours, we suffered more than I can describe. The grass on each side was too high to haul our raft through to dry land; we could use it only on the river by means of two long cords, one fastened to each end. Ducharme hauled it over to his side, and after making it

<sup>13</sup> Present name; a small tributary of the Assiniboine which drains from the Pembina mts. northward. It is crossed by the C. P. Ry. at a station of the same name.



fast he went to dry land for a load in water up to his arm-pits, whilst I waited with my whole body immersed until he brought down a load and laid it upon the raft with great precautions, as it was in danger of upsetting from the strength of the current. I then hauled it over, made fast, and carried the load to dry land upon my head. Every time I landed the mosquitoes plagued me insufferably; and still worse, the horse I had crossed over upon was so tormented that he broke his fetters and ran away. I was under the cruel necessity of pursuing him on the plains entirely naked; fortunately I caught him and brought him back. I suffered a good deal from the sharp-pointed grass pricking my bare feet, and mosquito bites covered my body. The sun was set before we finished our transportation. The water in this river is always excessively cold, and by the time we got all over our bodies were as blue as indigo; we were shivering like aspen leaves, and our legs were cut and chafed by the coarse stiff grass. We shot an old swan and caught two young ones that could not fly; this made us a comfortable supper. We stopped here for the night, much fatigued and harassed.

*Aug. 12th.* At the break of day we were on our journey. At eight o'clock we came to the entrance of the Hair hills, and on ascending the first ridge fell upon an old Indian path, which we followed, almost due E. At ten o'clock we once more crossed Cypress river, and came to the old wintering houses of 1801-02, at the White Mud. At eleven o'clock we stopped to feed our horses for an hour. The mountain road was bad; every low spot was a mire, through which our horses could scarcely make their way. We crossed two small rivulets,<sup>14</sup> which fall into Panbian river,

<sup>14</sup> Traveling about S. E. to-day, Henry crosses Cypress r. higher up than before, somewhere between the places called St. Alphonse and Norquay; passes by the present Swan Lake Indian reserve, which the N. P. and Man. R. R. traverses, N. of Swan l.; crosses two rivulets running S. W. into Pembina r., one of them that on which is situated a place called Kingsley; and camps on a third rivulet in the vicinity of La Rivière sta. of the Pembina branch of the C. P. Ry., not far from where the railroad crosses Pembina r.

which runs about three miles upon our right hand. We crossed another small river, on the banks of which we put up for the night, near the grave of Summer Bird, an Indian who died here two years ago.

*Aug. 13th.* At daybreak we were on horseback; our road still worse than yesterday's, being marshy for several leagues, until we came to the Tête de Bœuf,<sup>15</sup> where we arrived at ten o'clock and unloaded. This appears to be the highest land of this mountain. From this elevated station the prospect is extensive in every direction excepting on the N., where the strong wood is near at hand. In other directions the land appears to fall on all sides for a considerable distance. There is a small lake, about half a mile in circumference, at the S. end of which stands a small hillock in the shape of a bee-hive. On the top of this the Assiniboines and Crees are very particular to make sacrifices of tobacco and other trifles, and to collect also a certain number of bull's heads, which they daub over with red earth, and deposit on the summit, the nose always pointing to the E. Our course was E., the same as yesterday. At noon we were off, directing our course S. E., through Prairie de la Tête de Bœuf. The road was tolerably firm and dry, as the plains are elevated, and the soil sandy, mixed with stones. We soon crossed Pinancewaywining river, having the water up to our saddles, and fell upon a well-beaten road, which, I suppose, had been made by the camp of *Saulteurs* I had seen at *Rivière aux Gratias*. Astonishing quantities of raspberries grow almost everywhere on the mountain, and in particular about this place; the bushes were bending with their delicious burden. *Poires* and cherries have also been plentiful, but the Indians have destroyed them all. At six o'clock we came upon the

<sup>15</sup> Already mentioned in this work as Buffalo Head or Bull's Head, now called Calf mt. The railroad last mentioned skirts its N. base: sta. *Darlingford*, between *Manitou* and *Thornhill*. This notable landmark is on the E. escarpment of the *Pembina mts.*, in the S. W. corner of Tp. 3, R. 7, W. of the princ. merid., in an air-line 7 m. N. of *Pembina r.*, and 14 m. N. of lat. 49°.

brow of the mountain and in full view of the plains of Red river, which appear to the eastward below us; here we stopped for the night, near a small brook of clear water.

We had a delightful prospect; the weather was clear; as far as the eye could reach, nothing offered to obstruct the view; it was one smooth, level plain, without the least hillock or rising ground. Upon our right lay the well-wooded Panbian river, about six leagues distant, whose banks are well lined with wood, coming through the mountains eastward from the Lacs des Placottes, and retaining the woods until it joins Red river, receiving in its course several small streams, and at last Tongue river, which is nearly as large as itself. At our feet issued out of the mountain two rivulets, whose banks retained their wood for about three leagues in the plains, where the water then spreads into a number of small streams, which run apart through the meadow till they re-unite to form Plumb river, whose tufts of wood we could scarcely discern. Upon our left hand lay first the Pinancewaywining, beyond which we could see the blue wood of Rivière aux Islets de Bois; they both issue out of the mountain, and retain their wood for a considerable distance in the plains, when their waters spread, and are lost in several large marshes and small streams, which course through the meadows, and then effect a junction by two forks, thus forming Rivière aux Gratiias, which, after running a few leagues, empties into Red river. I have many times beheld these plains covered with buffalo at all seasons of the year; now not one solitary old bull enlivens the prospect. This summer's extraordinary rain, having overflowed the low country, has caused the buffalo to resort to the high lands southward. About midnight I awoke in great pain, occasioned by a large black insect having got into my ear. With some difficulty I extricated it with the head of a pin, after which my ear bled considerably, but I felt no more pain.

*Aug. 14th.* At daybreak we were on horseback, directing our course E. S. E. down the mountain and across the

plains. We found a great quantity of water, and for a long distance our horses had it up to their bellies. However, at eleven o'clock we fell in with our old cart-road, and soon after reached the passage on Panbian river, where we stopped to refresh our horses. At one o'clock we reloaded, and were again on our journey. Our course was E., upon the old beaten cart-road, which has been traced for six years past by transporting our property to and from the mountain, where we have generally had an establishment since I first settled on this river. This road used to be firm and good, but the continued rain of the summer has altered the face of almost everything, and there is now mud and water knee deep. Our progress was tedious, and the mosquitoes appeared to attack us with greater fury than ever. I lost all patience in being so tormented, and drove ahead as fast as my horse would carry me, leaving Ducharme to come on with the loaded horses at his leisure. At five o'clock I arrived at Panbian river, where I found a number of Saulteurs camped at the fort. Ducharme soon arrived with the horses.

*Aug. 23d.* A mounted express from the Forks of the Assiniboine informed me of the arrival of the Lower Red River brigade at that place. I prepared to go down to meet them. *24th.* Embarked with four men. *25th.* In the evening we arrived at the Forks, having met a light canoe at Rivière Sale, coming up to meet me. *26th.* Made up the assortment for Portage la Prairie and Rivière du Milieu; also equipped a few Indians who were going to hunt on Seine and Rat rivers. *27th.* Sent off two canoes for Portage la Prairie and the remainder of the brigade for Panbian river, going myself on horseback to Portage la Prairie. Having settled that place I proceeded to my headquarters, where I found all hands had arrived, and the Indians camped at the fort anxiously awaiting me to have a drinking-match. Having starved all summer they had little to trade; I therefore obliged them to decamp without drinking.



*Sept. 15th.* I sent a boat above, with directions to build at Sandy Hill<sup>16</sup> river, where most of the Indians proposed to winter, but made no other outposts.

RETURNS OF LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1806-07.

SIX CANOES.	L. Dorion, Portage la Prairie.	T. Vaudry, Rivière du Milieu.	Wm. Henry and M. Langlois, Sandy Hill River.	A. Henry, Pambian River.
1,184 Beavers, weighing 1750 lbs.....	47	72	500	565
213 Black bears.....	31	23	37	122
51 Brown bears.....	8	11	4	28
1 Grizzly bear.....	..	..	1	..
1,207 Martens.....	908	209	15	75
126 Minks.....	54	18	33	21
544 Muskrats.....	471	9	22	42
119 Otters.....	24	7	24	64
238 Fishers.....	48	21	91	78
420 Wolves.....	31	12	250	127
216 Dressed biche skins.....	69	48	2	97
30 Dressed red deer skins.....	..	..	..	30
5 Parchment biche skins.....	2	18	12	21
32 Fallow deer skins.....	..	..	30	2
119 Red foxes.....	32	10	43	34
7 Cross foxes.....	4	..	..	3
4 Silver foxes.....	4	..	..	..
8 Wolverenes.....	5	..	3	..
4 [copy blank].....	2	1	..	1
1 Muskrat robe.....	1	..	..	..
21 Ermines.....	6	15	..	..
77 Packs of 85 lbs. each.....	13	7	20	37
116 Bags of pemmican of 85 lbs. each.....	18	5	10	60
24 Kegs of grease.....	..	..	6	18
11 Kegs of sugar.....	2	..	3	6
4 Kegs of gum.....	..	..	..	4
5 Kegs of beef.....	..	..	..	5
4 [?]......	..	..	..	4
2 Kegs of tongue.....	..	..	..	2

Gain, £198 4s. 10d., Halifax Cy.

Everything went on as usual during the winter. Buffalo abounded, and the Indians made tolerably good hunts, considering the exhausted state of this small department. Bears were uncommonly numerous in the Hair hills, owing perhaps to the quantity of water on the lowlands, which obliged them to resort to the rising grounds for winter quar-

<sup>16</sup> Or Sand Hill r.—Rivière aux Buttes de Sable of Nov. 10th, 1800: see p. 141, note <sup>21</sup>.

ters; they were excessively fat. One of my hunters killed 36 prime bears in the course of the season. Whatever number of bears an Indian may kill in the summer or fall is considered of no consequence, as they are valueless and easy to hunt; but after they have taken up their winter quarters the Indians glory in killing them.

Portage la Prairie was unsuccessful this year in its returns. The main cause of this was an unfortunate quarrel which took place last spring, when some were killed and others wounded, among them one of our principal men, whose skull was split open with an ax. He lived 15 days in the warm month of June, during which period the brains never ceased to ooze out. He retained his senses to the last moment, but the wound emitted a horrid stench before he died. The loss of this man may be said to have given the death-blow to Portage la Prairie. A party of our Indian hunters from Sandy Hill river were attacked in the spring, while working beaver in Folle Avoine river, by a war-party of 50 Sioux; Naubeenvishcung [No. 23, p. 54] and a Canadian named Charette<sup>17</sup> from Michilimackinac were killed. We left our quarters as usual [for Kamanistiquia].

<sup>17</sup> Or La Charette, as this surname was also rendered: compare the place-name La Charette on the Missouri, in L. and C., ed. 1893, pp. 2, 8, 1182, 1211, and in Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 361, 363, 364, 512.—One Simon or Simeon Charette was with the Cadottes in 1799.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE PEMBINA RIVER POST, CONCLUDED: 1807-08.

**A**UG. 31st, 1807. I arrived at Panbian river in 30 days from Fort William, alias Kamanistiquia, leaving an establishment at Rivière aux Morts, and gave up Portage la Prairie to the Upper Red River department. This season we were troubled by an augmentation of freemen from Canada, etc. Their total numbers on this river amounted to 45; more worthless fellows could not be found in the North West. On my arrival the Indians, as usual, were camped at the fort. My men were just finishing our hay—3,000 bundles, of about 15 pounds each. Buffalo were very numerous and near at hand.

*Sept. 12th.* Two H. B. Co. boats arrived from Albany Factory; Hugh Henry [Heney<sup>1</sup>], master. *14th.* I sent a boat above, William Henry, master, with T. Véandrie, interpreter, and seven men, to build at Grandes Fourches. *15th.* I quarreled with Tabashaw, and turned him out of the fort. *19th.* One H. B. Co. boat off for Grandes Fourches; six men and a skiff. Indians have been drinking for 15 days, and are decamping. I employed all my men to build a large stable, to contain 50 horses.

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Heney's name is a snare into which others have fallen besides myself. It is sometimes found as Haney, but usually becomes Henry in MS. and thence gets into print. Masson has Heney correctly, I. pp. 307, 308. "A Mr. Haney" first occurs in Lewis and Clark, Dec. 16th, 1804, p. 212 of my ed. of 1893. I there question the name, which is certainly not Haney in the Clark Codex C 132, where it stands in MS. twice Henny or Henry. In the Lewis Codex L 69, date of July 1st, 1806, it stands Henry, interlined Haney; but Biddle printed Henry, and on p. 1065 I bracketed "[Alexander] Henry," with cheerful promptitude, thus identifying Hugh Heney with our author, who I had just learned was at the Mandans in 1806. I had never seen Masson at that time, or I should not have made such a blunder. My error repeats itself on p. 1192,

*Oct. 1st.* We began our harvest, but the produce was not much, compared with other years. Fire all over the country. *10th.* Finished our harvest. Got a bridge made over the creek for the purpose of hauling firewood more conveniently. *19th.* One of the women untied a bag containing two quarts of gunpowder, and, imprudently holding a light over it, a spark fell into and exploded it on her lap; her face, neck, and hands were shockingly burned, but she recovered.

*Oct. 31st.* I left for Grandes Fourches, going by way of the Hair hills, on some particular business. I set out in my chaise and pair, with four men on horseback. We saw all the different gangs of freemen along the hills. Buffalo in abundance, although the plains were lately burned. At the foot of the mountain, near the upper part of Turtle river, as my men were pursuing a herd on horseback, I could not refrain from joining in the chase, having two famous buffalo hunters to my chaise. I gave them the reins, away they flew, and I soon dashed into the herd, neck or nothing. The buffalo suddenly changed their course, and my horses, being eager to keep along with them, as suddenly altered theirs; the shafts of the carriage broke short off, and down I came to the ground. Fortunately I kept hold of the reins, and with some difficulty stopped the horses. My people soon spliced the break, and put the carriage in condition to perform my journey.

*Nov. 5th.* At Grandes Fourches. We had a heavy fall where I quote Lewis and Clark's estimate of "Mr. Haney, who is a very sensible intelligent man," in rebuking Alexander Henry for some unkind and injudicious words he used of my heroes. My only consolation is that I have sinned in goodly and numerous company, and can now make my own amends, as no critic has found me out, thus far.

We hear of a person, no doubt the same Hugh Heney, in Tanner's Narr., ed. James, 1830, p. 167: "We had ascended Red River about 100 miles when we met Mr. Hanie, a trader;" and again, p. 182: "Mr. Hanie, a trader for the Hudson's Bay people, had arrived at Pembinah." There is much more said about him on following pages. The exact date is not easy to calculate; but it was after our author had left Red r., and had been succeeded by Mr. Wells of the N. W. Co.—before or about the time of the first Selkirk settlers.



of snow, but it did not prevent my returning home, where I arrived on the 12th. That night Red river was frozen over.

*Dec. 4th.* I shot a duck in a small open space in the river, of a species we call the winter duck; it was very fat.

*15th.* We have experienced a run of terribly cold, stormy weather, that drove the poor old bulls every night to take shelter along our stockades.

*Dec. 29th.* An extraordinary affair occurred this morning. One of Mr. Heney's Orkney lads, apparently indisposed, requested me to allow him to remain in my house for a short time. I was surprised at the fellow's demand; however, I told him to sit down and warm himself. I returned to my own room, where I had not been long before he sent one of my people, requesting the favor of speaking with me. Accordingly I stepped down to him, and was much surprised to find him extended on the hearth, uttering dreadful lamentations; he stretched out his hands toward me, and in piteous tones begged me to be kind to a poor, helpless, abandoned wretch, who was not of the sex I had supposed, but an unfortunate Orkney girl, pregnant, and actually in childbirth. In saying this she opened her jacket, and displayed a pair of beautiful, round, white breasts; she further informed me of the circumstances that had brought her into this state. The man who had debauched her in the Orkneys, two years ago, was wintering at Grandes Fourches. In about an hour she was safely delivered of a fine boy, and that same day she was conveyed home in my cariole, where she soon recovered.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> C. N. Bell has an interesting note concerning this case, *Trans. Hist. and Sci. Soc. Manitoba*, No. 37, 1889, p. 18: "The late Mr. Donald Murray informed me that the history of this girl was well known to him and others of the early Selkirk settlers. She was at James Bay for two years, and then at Brandon House on the Assiniboine, for some time, and was afterwards sent to the H. B. Co.'s post at Pembina. It has been claimed that the first white woman who arrived in the Red River country was a French Canadian, Madame Lajimoniere [*sic*], who came to the Northwest from Three Rivers, Quebec, in 1806, but from the evidence obtained from Henry's journal, and verbal state-

The same afternoon an express arrived from Grandes Fourches, informing us that a large war-party of Sioux had fallen upon our principal body of Saulteurs in camp at Grosse Isle, near Folle Avoine river, and killed our great chief Tabashaw, his eldest son, and an old woman.<sup>3</sup> The Saulteurs had fought like heroes against superior numbers, and obliged them to retreat, by which means the camp was saved; the enemy left one of their men dead on the field, and carried off several others severely wounded. We also heard of another battle, fought by the Saulteurs of Leech and Red lakes against 30 tents of Sioux, near Rivière de

ments of Mr. Donald Murray, there can be no doubt but that this Orkney girl had been here at least a year when Madame Lagimoniere [*sic*] arrived. Concealing her true sex for three or four years, it was only revealed to one man, John Scart, until after the birth of her child, in December, 1807. She was sent home to the Orkneys, and I am informed became, with her daughter, public characters, and were known as vagrants, under the name of the 'Norwesters.' Mr. Murray stated 'this was undoubtedly the first white woman who lived in the Red River country. I knew both Baptiste Lajimoniere and his wife, but never before heard that it was claimed that she was the first white woman in this country.'" On the same subject, compare Tanner, p. 200: "The Scots people, to the number of 100 or more, arrived to settle at Red River, under the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company, and among these I saw, for the first time in many years, since I had become a man, a white woman." The birth our author records is no doubt that of the first all-white child on Red r.

<sup>3</sup> Tanner, pp. 169-71, gives a circumstantial account of an affair which can be no other than the one Henry thus briefly mentions. Tanner is diffuse about it, and my calculated chronology fetches his story out of date a little; but I think the identification can be made. Tanner is talking of a party of Ojibbeways on Wild Rice (or Folle Avoine) river, which included Ais-ainse (Little Clam), his old wife, and her young son, who called out, "The Sioux are coming!" The old woman "was no more heard of." A Sioux killed "a favorite son of Ais-ainse." Furthermore, there was "another considerable man of the Ojibbeways, who was also named Ta-bush-shish." Tanner finally has it that "these were all that were killed at that time, the old woman, Ta-bush-shish, and the son of Ais-ainse." Such a Henry-Tanner concordance as this can hardly be fortuitous, though Henry kills Tabashaw's son, instead of Little Clam's. I also think that Tanner, p. 171, indicates the other fight of which Henry speaks in the same paragraph. For Tanner says "it was on the same day . . . that the war-party from Leech Lake, which Wa-ge-tone had joined, fell upon 40 Sioux lodges, at the long prairie, . . . fought for two days, and many were killed on each side."

L'Aile du Corbeau [Crow Wing river, Minn.], wherein 20 tents were destroyed; the Saulteurs lost but seven men, and brought away many of the enemy's horses. This party consisted of about 200 men.

*Friday, Jan. 1st, 1808.* Buffalo in great abundance. *13th.* I sent four men to Rivière Qu'Appelle for high wine; also two men to make salt at Turtle river. *23d.* Two men arrived from Bas de la Rivière with dispatches from Mr. McKay concerning the Mountain Indian plot. *26th.* Sent off the express for Leech lake. *28th.* Finished our winter stock of fresh meat, having sufficient to last until July.

*Feb. 13th.* Filled our ice house with ice and fresh meat. *24th.* Bad coughs and colds have attacked every man, woman, and child. *26th.* Men making wheels.

*Mar. 2d.* We have had a few days of mild weather. This morning we saw a vulture [turkey-buzzard] for the first time this season—the earliest I ever saw on this river. In 1800 we saw them on the 7th of March, on the Assiniboine. *3d.* Some Indians who came in to-day had seen emmerions [émerillons—small hawks] on the 1st inst. *4th.* Swans passing last night. Indians all camped at the fort, drinking and very troublesome. They are in such a state of consternation from the Sioux having fallen upon them that they have given over hunting this season, and are collecting about the houses to go northward out of danger. This affair has seriously injured my department; I shall lose two-thirds of the debts I gave out last fall. *22d.* Got a carriage made for my cohorn.<sup>4</sup> Saw a flock of swans. *24th.* Saw outardes. *29th.* I brought a cock and two hens last summer from Fort William; one of the hens died last fall, and the other began to lay to-day. *31st.* The winter express from the north arrived.

*Apr. 2d.* I sent off the express for Leech lake, and six men also for their canotées of sugar from that place; women

<sup>4</sup> The cohorn or coehorn, so called as the invention of a Dutch engineer of that name, b. 1641, d. 1704, was a small hand mortar for throwing grenades. Henry speaks beyond of loading his with a pound of powder and 30 bullets.

also employed making sugar here. *4th.* Wild fowl in abundance. *7th.* Snow entirely gone. My blacksmith made a plowshare weighing 30 pounds. *9th.* The river broke up. *11th.* River clear of ice. I got a very large wooden canoe made out of liard. *19th.* My hen, having laid 12 eggs, appeared inclined to hatch; so I put them under her. We take sturgeon in abundance in our nets. *27th.* Boats and rafts arrived from Grandes Fourches.

*May 8th.* Out of 12 eggs my hen hatched 11 chickens. *10th.* In the course of 24 hours we caught in one net 120 sturgeon, weighing 60 to 150 lbs. each. Made up pemmican. The Assiniboines, Crees, Sonnants, and Saulteurs, having camped at the fort for some time and emptied some kegs of high wine, must have a parting drop, as they propose to decamp soon. Wm. Henry gave out a 10-gallon keg of high wine gratis. During the boisson Porcupine Tail's son was murdered by a Courte Oreille, his beau-frère; he received 15 stabs in the belly and breast, and fell dead on the spot. A few days before this affair the same Courte Oreille had fired at him, but as the gun was only loaded with powder, only a few grains entered the skin and did no serious injury. About ten days ago another Saulteur was murdered by his wife, who put the muzzle of his gun in his mouth and blew the back part of his head away. They were a young couple, with a boy about a year old; she had the handsomest face of all the women on this river, and he was a good, honest young fellow, called La Biche. Murders among these people are so frequent that we pay little attention to them. Their only excuse for such outrages is that they are drunk.

*May 12th.* We began to build a large boat to carry pemmican down to Bas de la Rivière. *14th.* Jean Baptiste, my guide, whom I had sent to Leech lake for sugar, arrived on foot with one Indian, having found the water so very low that he was obliged to put his cargoes *en cache* above Rivière à l'Eau Claire [Clear Water river, Minn.], and could only send down two canoes with a small part of their origi-



nal lading. 16th. I sent off six carts drawn by two horses each, for the 40 kegs of sugar. Began to plow for sowing. 17th. Began to sow potatoes, corn, pease, oats, etc. 19th. One canoe arrived from Leech lake; the other two were entirely worn out and had been abandoned. 24th. I made a strong oak battery for mounting my cohorn. 25th. The boat was finished and launched. The men returned with the 40 kegs of sugar and other baggage, equal to nine pieces per cart; several of the kegs weighed 100 lbs. 26th. My people from Dead river arrived in a boat with their baggage, and made up the remainder of my packs. 28th. Finished all our work for this season. 29th. I settled the men's accounts, hired those whose engagements were expired, and gave them a treat of rum, sugar, and tobacco.

June 1st. Sent off the brigade,<sup>5</sup> and took an inventory of property on hand. 2d. Embarked in my own canoe, and overtook the brigade; met a Lake Winipic canoe at Rivière aux Gratias, and in the evening of the 3d arrived at the Forks. 10th. Sent off the brigade for Fort William. 24th. Mr. McDonell embarked for Fort William; and I, on my return to summer at Panbian river. 25th. Took horse at Rivière Sale, and set out for my fort. The weather was excessively hot; both myself and horse suffered intolerably from the burning rays of the sun. The thermometer must have been at least 104°. At dark I arrived at Panbian river, scarcely able to crawl. Swarms of grasshoppers [the Rocky Mountain locust, *Caloptenus spretus*] have destroyed the greater part of the vegetables in my kitchen garden—onions, cabbages, melons, cucumbers, carrots, parsnips, and beets. They had also attacked the potatoes and corn, but these were strong enough at the root to sprout again. The swarms appear about the 15th of June, generally in clouds from the S., and spread destruction; the very trees are stripped of their leaves. Grasshoppers pass northward until millions are drowned in

<sup>5</sup> See beyond, end of this chapter, for the manning and lading of the brigade now sent from Pembina.

Lake Winipic and cause a horrid stench, as I have already observed [Aug. 17th, 1800]. They do not make such a formidable appearance every year.

I found no Indians tented at the fort. My hen began to lay again, all her chicks being now well grown. Men hoeing potatoes and corn.

*June 27th.* Indians from Leech lake with tobacco, concerning a grand war-party to assemble next September at L'Eau Claire, where they propose to form a main body of the Saulteur tribes, being fully determined to seek the Sioux even upon their own lands and take revenge for the affair of last autumn, when Tabashaw and his son were killed. *30th.* We set night lines and take abundance of cat-fish [*Amiurus nebulosus*].

*July 1st.* Transplanted a few cabbages that had escaped the grasshoppers. *7th.* I went hunting on horseback, with Mr. Langlois. Slept at the Hair Hills fort. Saw only a few bulls. *8th.* Chased bulls; killed a very fat one and started homeward, but was overtaken by a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, the most terrible I ever saw in my life; even our horses were startled at the loud peals and vivid flashes, becoming at times unmanageable. *9th.* My hen having laid 12 eggs, and appearing inclined to set, I put them under her. *11th.* My men began to make 3,000 bundles of hay. Poirs now ripening; raspberries ripe, and in great abundance. The freemen are daily coming in with dried provisions, beat meat, and grease. *12th.* Indians arrived and camped; all drinking liquor traded for dried provisions and skins. *15th.* A few more Indians. *20th.* More Indians still, bringing a tolerably good hunt in provisions and skins. Drinking continues. I had sent four carts to bring the baggage of this band from the other side of Red river. This was the first essay ever made with carts in that direction; there was a thick wood to pass on leaving the river for about three miles before coming to the plains, and it had been always supposed impracticable; but I found it otherwise, and the carts arrived at the water's

edge with heavy loads. *21st.* Indians still drinking ; some fresh arrivals.

*July 22d.* This evening the drinking-match ceased, and they all fell asleep in their tents, pitched in a range on the first bank between the river and the fort. They were 22 men bearing arms, about 50 women, and many children. In the fort we were nine men in all. The night was dark and still. About midnight a discharge of firearms on the S. side of Panbian river was suddenly heard, accompanied by tremendous whooping and yelling in the same quarter. The Indians were first alarmed by some balls passing through their tents: they started up and called out to two families who were camped on the E. side of the river, asking if they had fired. They answered, No. At that moment another discharge from the S. side of the little river convinced the Indians of whom they had to deal with. Not one gun was in their tents, for I had taken every one from them before the drinking-match, to prevent mischief. They rushed up the hill to the fort ; the gates being shut, they climbed over the stockades, and in a moment entered the house, informing us of the danger. They caught up their guns and ran to the gates, which were by this time opened and thronged by the women and children pushing in with their baggage. They exchanged two or three shots with the enemy, when the firing ceased on both sides. At this moment I got up, and having slipped on my trousers, ran out to where the Indians were assembled, near the burying ground. We could distinctly hear the Sioux haranguing their own people. The Indians wished to fire again in the direction whence we heard the voices ; but I prevented them, got all hands into the fort, shut the gates, and placed sentinels in the blockhouses—to see was impossible, the night was so dark. I gave out ammunition and guns to those who had none, and placed my cohorn upon the battery, loaded with one pound of powder and 30 balls. Taking aim as nearly as possible at the spot whence we still heard the enemy haranguing, and having a man ready with a match, I

ordered him to fire. The balls clattered among the large trees across the little river, and the noise of the discharge must have appeared awful to people who had never heard anything of the kind before. My Saulteurs hoped to find a good round number of the enemy dead, as they said they heard the Sioux lamenting their fallen relations. Everything was quiet for some time, till we again heard the enemy haranguing; but they had withdrawn to a greater distance. I once more loaded my cohorn: and, pointing it as nearly as possible to the spot where we heard them, fired a second shot. This caused them apparently to withdraw still further, as we heard no more of them during the night. Sentinels were stationed at every part of the fort, whilst others accompanied the women to fetch as much water as we had vessels to contain; for we expected certainly to be attacked at daybreak.

*July 24th.* At the first dawn all eagerly looked for the enemy, anxious to have the first shot; and had the enemy attacked the fort in daylight, they would have been roughly handled; the Saulteurs appeared full of animation, and would have fought like heroes. Just before sunrise we observed a party of horsemen to the southward, riding backward and forward in the plains. They were prudent enough to keep out of reach of my gun, and dare not come within a mile of the fort. My Indians wished to go out to meet them, supposing their numbers to be not very great; but I prevented them, suspecting the enemy had laid an ambuscade to decoy us to such distance from the fort that they might intercept our retreat and destroy us. I therefore advised all to keep quiet, in expectation of the enemies' approach. But this was not their intention; for, the sun being half an hour high, they began to file off southward by the road along Red river and soon disappeared. My Indians now crossed Panbian river to examine the spot whence they had been fired on. They found a saddle complete, a whip, and several pairs of shoes, all of which appeared to have been thrown away in a sudden retreat. On the han-



dle of the whip was a stain of fresh blood, but we could find no further evidence that anyone had been hurt. About nine o'clock, while we were consulting what measures should be taken to prevent a surprise—for we supposed the enemy would lurk about for some days in expectation of falling upon some straggler—suddenly our sentinel called out that they were coming on the road directly toward the fort. Everyone ran to quarters; I went upon the top of my house, the most elevated situation in the fort, where I perceived a large body of horsemen coming on the road; but on examining them with my glass, I saw a cart among them and soon recognized them as a party of freemen coming with loads of grease. On arrival they were astonished to learn of their narrow escape from the Sioux, who would have shown them no mercy. The usual route of those freemen in summer, when they come in the fort, lies along Red river, and is exactly that by which the enemy came and returned. But on this occasion, the freemen had taken an unusual route on leaving their tents, and come by the upper road along the foot of the Hair hills and Tongue river. During the time we watched the Sioux this morning at sunrise, the freemen were marching down Tongue river; but fortunately for them, the land where the track runs close to the wood is low, and between that and where the enemy were is a ridge on which grow willows; this intercepted the view, and to this they owed their safety. But we now supposed the enemy had fallen in with two freemen who had left there yesterday about noon with a cart, on their return to their tents at the foot of the Hair hills; as those just arrived had not met them, but observed that the track of a cart had gone by the road along Red river, where the two men must unavoidably have met with the enemy yesterday afternoon. Of course we gave them over for dead.

*July 25th.* Before daylight I set off with five Indians on horseback to make discoveries on the Sioux tracks. We found the spot where they had adjusted themselves in the

night to attack us. This was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the fort, in full view of the blockhouse and stockades. They had purposely struck out of their direct route, to place themselves in view of their intended place of attack. Here we found upward of 100 pairs of old shoes, some scalps, remnants of leather and buffalo-skins, saddle-cloths made of buffalo robes, whips, pieces of old saddles, rolls of bark containing war caps, bark and willow dishes; also, paunches and bladders of water for a journey. Upward of 100 willows, about six feet long, with a fork about the middle, were stripped of their bark, and stuck in the ground. This, I am told, is for the purpose of hanging up their war-caps before attacking an enemy. We also observed some places where they had seated themselves in the long grass by twos, threes, and fours, to adjust their war-dresses. At every seat we found a quantity of swan's down, colored with red earth, under which we found from one to four small stones, about the size of an egg, also daubed over with red earth; and near by were stuck in the ground the same number of willows, about two feet long, stripped of their bark, and daubed with the same red earth. Such a place is called by the Indians "the spot of the last sacrifice," as it is here that they adjust themselves for the battle, and generally make a sacrifice of different articles they have brought with them for that purpose, to insure the protection of the Supreme Being, or, as they term him, the Master of Life.

Having collected several articles we proceeded on the road of the war-party, who, in coming down, had kept close to the woods, following every bend and turn of the river and frequently going down to the water's side. Their trail was like a well-beaten buffalo-track in the long grass, and we supposed the party had consisted of upward of 100 men, though they had but few horses. From the different construction of their shoes, we concluded they must have been of three different tribes—Yankton, Gens des Feuilles, and some other. We also picked up several pipe-stems and some of their arrows, the feathers of which were of the

turkey ; some of their whip-handles were made of hickory. We kept on till I observed, as I thought, a flock of crows jumping up and down in the edge of the wood on our left. I pointed them out to an Indian, who told me they were not crows, but Sioux. We also saw near the wood at the point a band of horses, among which was a white one. We had observed, on the morning when we saw the enemy from the fort, that they had a large white horse. This tended to confirm my suspicion that they were the enemy ; and my Indians were positive about it. A short consultation was held, and I advised, by all means, a retreat ; what else could six men do ? While we were still consulting one of the Indians said that he had seen horsemen passing through the wood, as if to cut off our retreat. No time was to be lost ; we turned about. Then suddenly appeared in the plains to the W. and N. W. of us a large party of horsemen, coming directly on. This caused a halt, as we were surrounded, and began to suspect that the enemy had planned to cut us off. The Indians put on their war-caps, uttering some few words, which I could not hear distinctly, and then began to whistle with a small bone instrument, which they hang round their neck for that purpose. The several parties in the plains to the N. W. and W. assembled on a rising ground, where two horsemen left the main body and rode toward us. We soon saw they had hats on, and thus knew them to be white men ; we rode up to them, and were agreeably surprised to find them to be the two freemen who we had supposed were murdered. They informed me that, on leaving the fort, they had actually taken the road along the river, but had not gone more than a mile when they changed their minds, and struck away directly for their tents across the plains, W. S. W., in hopes of seeing some buffalo. In this they were disappointed, and having no provisions, they decamped, and were then on their way to the point of Two Rivers, where they intended to live on fish ; and the party we saw at a distance were their families.

Having come within two miles of the fort, Little Shell

dispatched two of his younger brothers ahead, to return and meet us with his pipe and stem of ceremony, and to relate no news whatever, nor answer any questions. Having given them sufficient time, we sent Little Shell ahead, requesting him to relate no news until after the ceremony of smoking. We soon perceived all the Indians coming from the fort at full speed, with nothing on but their breech-clouts, shoes, and weapons. Little Shell, who acted as commander-in-chief, galloped on, myself next to him; we passed the Indians without saying a word, and on to the river-side, where we found everybody alarmed. No one knew what was the matter, but the mysterious proceedings of our two messengers had caused them to suppose the enemy was at our heels. We crossed Panbian river and dismounted; the pipe was lighted and passed around. Little Shell then related our adventure, paying me the compliment that my keen eyesight had saved them from the enemy.

This was about 2 p. m. During the remainder of the day the Indians were forming a plan to pursue the Sioux by night. About dark we perceived a party of men, women, and children coming down to the E. side of Red river. They proved to be a band of freemen, almost naked, who left their old camp at the foot of the Hair hills yesterday, and had come across the plains. About eleven o'clock this morning they arrived at the point of Two Rivers, where they fell upon a broad road and found several articles which they knew to be Sioux property. This gave them a great alarm; and while they were still looking about, picking up what they could find, they saw us coming. They instantly ran along the woods, down the bank, and thence along the shore, where they made a raft and crossed over, leaving their carts and horses standing on the edge of the plain. Those were the horses we had seen, one of which was white. Thus all the day's adventures proved to be mutual false alarms.

This evening another freeman arrived from the salt lake on Park river, bringing two cartloads of grease. This man fell upon the war road at the Grand Point, S. of the Bois



Percé, but never suspected it to be an enemy's track; supposing it had been made by a war-party of Saulteurs, he went down to the river to water his horse. There he found the Sioux camp, which they had not left more than three hours before. Still suspecting no enemy, he came on to Two Rivers about dusk, and perceived the freemen's carts and horses upon the bank; he supposed the men had gone down to the river to drink, and thought it a favorable opportunity to pass them; so he slipped by quietly, and remained ignorant of the danger he had escaped until we informed him.

It is really astonishing what a narrow escape these freemen had from this war-party. Furthermore, their track in coming and going along Red river passed within nine miles of a camp of freemen on Park river, where there were but three men, with upward of 20 women and children, and 100 excellent horses belonging to themselves and to those of my people who had gone to Fort William. This would have been a noble prize for them, well worth the trouble of coming for.

*July 26th.* There was due the Indians a keg of liquor, payable in the fall by a freeman; but the fellow imprudently gave it to them this afternoon, which made them more troublesome than I ever before knew them to be. The freemen went for their carts to Two Rivers. I sent T. Vaudrie and another man to Bas de la Rivière, with letters. *28th.* My hen hatched only 7 chickens out of 12 eggs. I now have a flock of 18, large and small. *29th.* The freemen and Indians decamped for the mountain, to hunt red deer and moose in the strong wood. This afternoon 13 men arrived, five days from Red lake, with skins and furs to trade for tobacco and ammunition. *31st.* Indians arrived from below, with skins for liquor.

*Monday, Aug. 1st.* Indians left and others arrived. Made up 30 bags of pemmican. Men hunting toward Park river. *2d.* Men all off with the Indians for their skins. Our H. B. Co. neighbors dare not stir from their fort, they are so much in dread of the Sioux. *3d.* Once more clear

of Indians and freemen, who are all gone toward the mountain, in the strong wood. My people returned from the Indian tents.

About sunset three young Indians arrived, ten days from Lac la Pluie, *via* Reed lake. They had been obliged to abandon their canoes soon after crossing Reed lake, and thence had come on foot. They brought me a packet from the mountain, Fort William, and Montreal. The principal news was the death of our worthy friend, Duncan McGillivray, Esq.,<sup>3</sup> which occurred last spring, in Montreal. But

<sup>3</sup> McGillivray or Macgillivray is a famous name in these annals, one of the foremost among the many "Mac's" which attest the sturdy Scotch stock of the N. W. Co. The name also appears as a rule in due form, and the several persons who bore it are identifiable with less difficulty than usual. Duncan McGillivray, above said, was a clerk N. W. Co., in 1797 or earlier; sent that year to upper Fort Augustus on the N. Saskatchewan. He was brought in to Grand Portage on a litter, with his leg badly hurt, June 26th, 1798. We find him at St. Joseph's isl., May 29th, 1800, from Mackinac, en route west; he went to the Rocky Mountain house on the N. Saskatchewan, made an exploration thence to the N. branch of that river and return, in 1800, and accompanied David Thompson on his Bow River tour, Nov. 17th-Dec. 3d, 1800. He left the N. W. country in 1802, became a partner of McTavish, Frobisher & Co., and was one of the signers of the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804. —Archibald McGillivray left the Rainy River house of the N. W. Co., with Harmon and others, July 26th, 1808.—John McGillivray was a clerk of the N. W. Co. in the Muskrat River country in 1797; was on Rainy r. in July of that year, and reached Grand Portage with Thompson July 22d. When met by Thompson on Rainy r., July 16th, 1798, he had 13 packs, three of which had been seized from Mr. William Linklater on account of matters connected with the desertion of François Loyola. In 1799 he was engaged on the lower English r. He wintered at the N. W. Co. house on the E. end of Lesser Slave l., 1803-04, and signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by his attorneys. He wintered 1808-09 at Fort Dunvegan on Peace r., which he left May 11th, 1809, for Fort William; and wintered again at Fort Dunvegan, 1812-13. Joseph McGillivray (look in Index) was at the Okanagan post on the Columbia, April 23d, 1814. John McGillivray retired in 1818.—Of Simon McGillivray my memoranda are lost or mislaid.—William McGillivray was in charge of the N. W. Co. house at Lac des Serpents, English River Dept., against Roderic McKenzie, in 1786-87. In 1790 he had become a partner, and is named as one of the agents by Thompson at Grand Portage July 22d, 1797. He is found there again June 23d, 1798, and en route from Montreal to the same place in May, 1800. He had wintered at least one year before 1804 at Reed l., Missinipi waters. As already stated, p. 220, he is the person

the main motive of the express was to forward a statement of the arrangement of the department by our council at Fort William, wherein I was appointed to Lower Fort des Prairies [meaning Fort Vermilion].

RETURNS FROM LOWER RED RIVER DEPARTMENT, 1807-08.

THREE CANOES.	L. Dorion, Dead River.	M. Langlois, Delorme, and Bellaire, Hair Hills.	Wm. Henry, J. Stit, Grandes Fourches.	A. Henry, Wm. Henry, Panbian River.
696 Beavers, weight 908 lbs.....	54	53	150	339
161 Black Bears.....	31	34	48	48
19 Brown Bears.....	5	5	2	7
1 Grizzly Bear.....	..	..	1	..
932 Martens.....	855	2	6	69
198 Minks.....	119	7	18	63
118 Otters.....	27	3	35	53
167 Shaved Parchments.....	17	71	5	74
55 Dressed Biches.....	15	..	..	40
46 Raccoons.....	4	8	15	19
118 Fishers.....	29	46	14	29
4 Loup-cerviers.....	2	1	..	1
3 Wolverenes.....	2	1	..	..
37 Foxes.....	1	2	6	28
68 Wolves.....	..	20	5	43
8 Buffalo Robes.....	..	4	..	4
60 Packs of 90 lbs. each.....	10	11	16	23
334 Bags of Pemmican, 90 lbs. each.....	..	60	103	171
46 Kegs of Grease of 70 " " ".....	..	..	..	46
2 " " " 90 " " ".....	..	..	..	2

42 Kegs of Sugar brought from L. Lake }	3,903 lbs. gross.
6 " " made at Panbian River }	744 lbs. tare.
48	3,159 lbs. net.

Gain £473 13s. 6d.

for whom Fort William was named in 1807. He returned to Scotland before the fusion of the N. W. Co. with the H. B. Co. in 1821, and died *ca.* 1825.—Thompson speaks of "Mr. McGillivray and the two young McGillivrays" as being all three at the Rainy River house, Aug. 2d, 1808. When Thompson was in the Rocky mts., 1807 and later, and had discovered the sources of the Columbia—though never yet sufficiently honored in that regard—he had of course his own names for the many important rivers, lakes, and mountains, which he saw first of white men. Among the streams was the Columbia itself, at and above Canoe r. This he called Kootanae r., not knowing that it was the Columbia; and the parallel river flowing in the opposite direction, present Kootenay r., he named McGillivray's r. *Item*, the place now called Canal Flat (Grohman), where Kootenay r. comes so very close to the head of Upper Columbia l., he named McGillivray's portage. He set the portage at lat. 50° 08' 15" N., and put the mouth of the river 2½ m. above lat. 49° 17' 12" N. But more of this beyond, when we traverse the mountains with Henry.

I forgot to mention the only accident that happened from the attack of the Sioux. This was the loss of an Indian dog, that received two balls through the head, on the E. side of the river, just as he was jumping on board the boat to cross the river with our Indians. One of the balls, which we found in his head, was of their own make, from lead procured on the Mississippi. On examining the tents we found that two of them had been pierced in several places, about two feet from the ground; but as the Indians were all lying asleep, they received no injury. I examined our blockhouse and stockade, but could not find the mark of a ball; therefore I believe the Sioux aimed at the tents, and not at the fort.

*Aug. 4th.* Men all out for meat. I made up 30 bags of pemmican. *5th.* Made up 12 packs of skins and furs. *6th.* A canoe arrived from the hills. Took inventories, and sent men to repair the boat. *7th.* Started Langlois and one man with a cart, along with the Cree, for their skins.<sup>4</sup>

#### LADINGS AT PANBIAN RIVER, JUNE 1ST, 1808.<sup>5</sup>

*A Long Boat.*—Angus McDonald; Charles Larocque; Pierre Martin; Jean Baptiste Lambert—282 bags of pemmican; 1 bag of potatoes; 42 kegs of grease; 2 kegs of

<sup>4</sup> There is no break in the MSS. at this point: but Henry now leaves Pembina forever, and a new departure in his adventures begins, as soon as we have done with the tabular matters which belong to his Red River operations of 1807-08. These tables are written in another place in my copy (folios 646-659), but I bring them into their proper connection. They include some meteorological statistics, which I omit.

<sup>5</sup> See back, p. 430, this date, when the brigade was dispatched from Pembina. The inventory is interesting, as showing the composition of the lading, its distribution in the several boats, etc. The "pieces" are not specified. The 50 "packs" are of skins and furs; "W. W. 2" is some mark upon them. The table is also valuable for its list of the men, mostly with full names. Some of these have been already noted as they came up successively in the course of the narrative; for the rest I have the following memoranda, including other persons of the same surnames:

Charles Larocque, no further record: for other Larocques, see note <sup>56</sup>, p. 52, note <sup>17</sup>, p. 301.



gum ; 224 pieces ; 2 pairs of cart-wheels ; 1 leather tent ; 1 oilcloth tent ; 1 cow ; bark and wattap [étoupe].

*A Boat.*—Joseph Lambert ; Pierre Vandle ; Antoine Lapointe—5 kegs of grease ; 2 kegs of gum ; 107 pieces ; 1 bag of potatoes ; 1 pair of cart-wheels ; 1 leather tent ; 1 oilcloth tent ; 1 cow.

*A Lake Winipic Canoe.*—Houle ; Charbonneau ; Fleury ; Surprennant—21 bags of pemmican ; 1 bag of potatoes ; 3 kegs of grease ; 24 pieces ; 1 buffalo.

*A Canoe.*—André Beauchemin ; Joseph Bourrée—20 packs, W. W. 2 ; 13 bags of pemmican ; 1 bag of potatoes ; 3 kegs of grease ; 36 pieces ; 1 buffalo.

Pierre Martin is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804.—One Martin was with Roderic McKenzie on the new Kaministiquia route in Aug., 1804.—One Martin of the N. W. Co. was with Thompson in the Rocky mts., winter of 1808-09. At date of May 30th, 1809, Thompson says, "Martin insolent ; dislocated my right thumb in thrashing him." The Martin who reappears in Thompson's journal of June 22d, 1811, at Ilthkoyape (Kettle) falls on the Columbia, and went S. from the falls Aug. 29th, 1811, was probably the same.—François Martin is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Rat r.—Frédéric Martin, ditto, Lake Winnipeg.—Jérémie Martin, ditto, Lower Red r.—Michel Martin appeared as a witness in the Semple case at Toronto, Oct., 1818.

For the Lamberts, see note <sup>10</sup>, p. 212.

"Vandle" I have not found elsewhere, and as it is no F. form, I suppose error.—Antoine Vandal is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Lake Winnipeg.—Antoine Vandal again is ditto, Athabasca Dept.—Joseph Vandalle appears as voyageur N. W. Co., 1804, Lake Winnipeg.—No Pierre of any such surname found elsewhere.

For Lapointes, see note <sup>4</sup>, p. 226.

One Houlé was an old man in 1793.—Louis Houlé or Houle of the N. W. Co. left Fort Espérance, on the Assiniboine, Dec. 10th, 1793, with a party that went to the Mandans and back ; found on Assiniboine and Red rivers in 1794.—Louis Joseph Hool of the N. W. Co., who went with Thompson to the Mandans, 1777-98, is probably the same.—François Capois Houle, *fils*, is listed as voyageur contre-maître N. W. Co., Fort Dauphin, 1804.

For the Charbonneaus, see note <sup>56</sup>, p. 50.

François Fleury and Louis Fleury are both listed as voyageurs N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804, and Henry's man is no doubt one of these two.

Surprennant : no other record noted.

For Beauchemin, see note <sup>56</sup>, p. 51.

Joseph Bourrée is listed as Joseph Bourret, voyageur N. W. Co., Lower Red r., 1804.—Antoine Bourier, *dit* Lavigne, of the N. W. Co., left Fort Espérance

*A Canoe.*—Angus Brisebois; Jean Baptiste Larocque; Jean Baptiste Desmarais—20 packs, W. W. 2; 9 taureaux; 3 kegs of grease; 2 bags of potatoes; 32 packages, and McD.'s baggage; 2 bales of meat; 1 buffalo.

*A Canoe.*—Louis Desmarais; Joseph Plante; Cyrile Paradis; Michel Damphousse—10 packs, W. W. 2; 2 kegs of grease; 2 bags of potatoes; 12 pieces, and my baggage; 2 buffalo; 4 bales of meat.

*L. L. Canoe.*—Charles Bottineau; Jervis [Gervais]; Assiniboines—22 kegs of grease; 1 bag of potatoes; 10 bags of potatoes, Bas de la Rivière; 32 pieces; 1 buffalo.

*S. Canoe.*—Antoine Larocque; Bonhomme Montour—10 kegs of grease; 1 bag of potatoes; 1 cow.

for the Mandans, Dec. 10th, 1793.—One Bourie or Bourré went with Thompson from Boggy Hall on the N. Saskatchewan into the Rocky mts. at Athabasca headwaters in 1810.

For Brisebois, see note <sup>5</sup>, p. 226.

For Desmarais, see note <sup>56</sup>, p. 51.

For Plante or Laplante, see note <sup>6</sup>, p. 268.

Cyrile Paradis not noted elsewhere.—Cuthbert Paradis and François Paradis are both listed as voyageurs N. W. Co., Lake Winnipeg, 1804.

Damphousse: nothing like this name noted elsewhere; and its peculiar form suggests error of the copy.

For Bottineau, see note <sup>2</sup>, p. 226.

Jervis, Jarvis, Jarves, etc., are frequent corruptions of the obvious Gervais, and various persons of this surname appear in the annals.—One Gervais of the N. W. Co. wintered at Pine fort on the Assiniboine, 1793-94.—Alexis Gervais is listed as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804.—Jean Baptiste Gervais is thrice listed in identical terms as voyageur N. W. Co., Upper Red r., 1804; this record may be of one or more persons.—One Gervais was on the Willamette r. in Oregon, about 1838.

Bonhomme Montour I have noted elsewhere, but the surname has a long record in the fur-trade.—Nicolas Montour was a member of the old N. W. Co. on the coalition of 1787; was at Finlay's old fort in 1789, and about 1792 retired to Pointe du Lac, Trois Rivières.—Another Nicolas Montour was an engagé of the N. W. Co. in 1799, Fort Dauphin Dept., wages 180 livres, G. P. currency.—Nicolas Montour, clerk N. W. Co., was at Fort des Prairies in 1804; he is the "Mr." Montour who reached the Rocky Mountain house with Bercier and a Kootenay Indian, Oct. 31st, 1806, went on another mountain trip, returned Feb. 3d, 1807, was placed in charge of a post by David Thompson in 1811, and fought a duel with F. B. Pillet in 1813: see note <sup>21</sup>, p. 671; note <sup>18</sup>, p. 757; note <sup>12</sup>, p. 788.

*Recapitulation :*

- 325 Bags of Pemmican, 90 lbs. each.  
 48 Kegs of Grease, 70 lbs. each.  
 42 Kegs of Sugar.  
 50 Packs, W. W. 2, Nos. 1 to 50.

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465 Pieces, exclusive of Baggage and Provisions.

*Recapitulation of provisions destroyed [consumed] at Panbian River, Sept. 1st, 1807, to June 1st, 1808, by 17 men, 10 women, 14 children, and 45 dogs :*

	Pounds.
112 Cows, killed Sept. 1st, 1807, to Feb. 1st, 1808, .	45,000
35 Bulls, killed, . . . . .	18,000
<hr/> 147	<hr/> 63,600
3 Red Deer, killed autumn of 1807, . . . . .	905
5 Large Black Bears, killed winter 1807-08, . . . . .	460
<hr/> 153	<hr/> 64,965
4 Beavers.	
3 Swans.	
1 White Crane.	
12 Outardes.	
36 Ducks.	
1,150 Fish of different kinds, <sup>6</sup> taken in two short nets under the ice, Nov. 15th, 1807, to Apr. 1st, 1808.	
775 Sturgeon, weighing from 50 to 150 lbs., caught Apr. 20th, to May 20th ; a great part of these were given to the Indians.	
410 lbs. Grease.	
140 lbs. Beat Meat.	
325 Bushels of Potatoes, and an assortment of Kitchen Vegetables.	

<sup>6</sup> Identification of Henry's Red R. fishes has not proved easy, and I think that the only two species I have thus far named technically are the sturgeon (*Acipenser rubicundus*), and catfish (*Amiurus nebulosus*). But by patient angling I have caught several others, with the assistance of my friend, the learned ichthyologist, Prof. Theodore Gill. 1. The pike may be the fish properly so called, *Esox lucius*, or *Lucius lucius*; if not that, then the common pike-perch, *Stizostedion canadense*; I know that in the adjoining Mississippian waters the pike is called pickerel, and the pike-perch is called pike. 2. The doré or dory is the wall-eyed pike-perch, *Stizostedion vitreum*. 3. The lacaishe is the moon-eyed toothed herring, *Hyodon tergisus*; the name is found in Henry in many spellings, which I have reduced to this one; it occurs elsewhere in the quasi-French form la quesche; but all these are corruptions of the Indian name *nacaysh*. 4. *Piccanan*, *picconou*, etc., are forms of the Cree name of a certain

Note <sup>7</sup> of the cost of the foregoing provisions:

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To royalty on 150 animals, @ 4s. 1¾d., . . . . .				31	1	0½
To 550 lbs. beat meat and grease, valued at, . . . . .				2	5	10
To 2 sturgeon nets, @ 28s. 10d., . . . . .	2	17	8			
To 2 nets, 3½-inch mesh, @ 15s. 0¼d., . . . . .	1	10	0½			
To 1 bunch mortars [?], @ 5s. 5½d., . . . . .	0	5	5½			
To 11 cod-lines, @ 4s. 5½d., . . . . .	2	9	0½			
To 6 lbs. sturgeon twine, @ 2s. 2¼d., . . . . .		13	1½			
	7	15	4			
Add 45 per cent., . . . . .	3	9	10½			
				11	6	2½
To 25 lbs. shot, @ 7d., . . . . .	0	14	7			
To 2 lbs. balls, @ 6d., . . . . .	0	1	0			
	0	15	7			
Add 260 per cent., . . . . .	2	0	6¼			
				2	16	1¼
To 10 lbs. gunpowder, . . . . .	1	1	8			
Add 90 per cent., . . . . .	0	15	2			
				1	16	10
To ½ keg high wine, . . . . .	1	12	3			
Add 210 per cent., . . . . .	3	7	8¾			
				4	19	11¾
[E. and O. E.]						
				54	6	0

sucker, *Catostomus lesueurii*. 5. The "male achegan" of p. 41, where the phrase seems to denote sex, should be read as one word, *maleachegan* being the Cree *malasheganeh*, a sciænoïd fish, *Haplodinotus grunniens*, called in English fresh-water drum or sheephead, and thunder-pumper. *Malasheganeh* seems to be a compounded word; for the small-mouthed black-bass, *Micropterus dolmieu*, was technically named *Bodianus achigan* by C. S. Rafinesque in 1817. 6. Henry's "brim" is obviously one way of spelling *bream*, and the common bream of his waters is *Lepomis pallidus*.

<sup>7</sup> It will be observed that hunters received a royalty on buffalo and deer killed, not on bears and smaller animals. The percentage which appears to be added in certain cases was the difference between the orig. cost of the articles to the N. W. Co. and the price at which they were expected to be sold, and, therefore, their value as estimated on the spot. It is enormous in the case of shot and balls, doubtless having regard to the weightiness of lead in transportation; next highest for alcohol; then for gunpowder; and lowest for netting materials. The high wine item is for treating the hunters on certain occasions.



A fat cow, killed in the autumn, weighs from 600 to 700 pounds. A lean cow seldom exceeds 300 pounds. I have weighed 150 cows, killed from Sept. 1st to Feb. 1st, and found they averaged 400 pounds each. Bulls in the same space of time average 550 pounds. Two-year-old heifers, in autumn, average 200 pounds. One-year-old calves, in autumn, average 110 pounds. These weights are exclusive of the offals. But the total eatable meat of one full-grown bull, as received in the store-house, weighed 800 pounds. One thigh alone weighed 85 pounds. This bull was in full flesh, but had neither inside tallow nor back fat; which gives me reason to suppose that a full-grown bull, killed fat, about July 1st, would weigh about 1,800 pounds, offals included.

Buffalo are cut up into the following 20 pieces by the hunter: 1 grosse bosse [hump]; 1 petite bosse; 2 dépouilles; 2 shoulders; 2 lourdes épaulettes [shoulder pieces]; 2 fillets; 2 thighs; 2 sides; 1 belly; 1 heart; 1 rump; 1 brisket; 1 backbone; 1 neck. The tongue generally belongs to the hunter.

END OF PART I.



















