

THE
NORTH
WEST
COMPANY



DAVIDSON

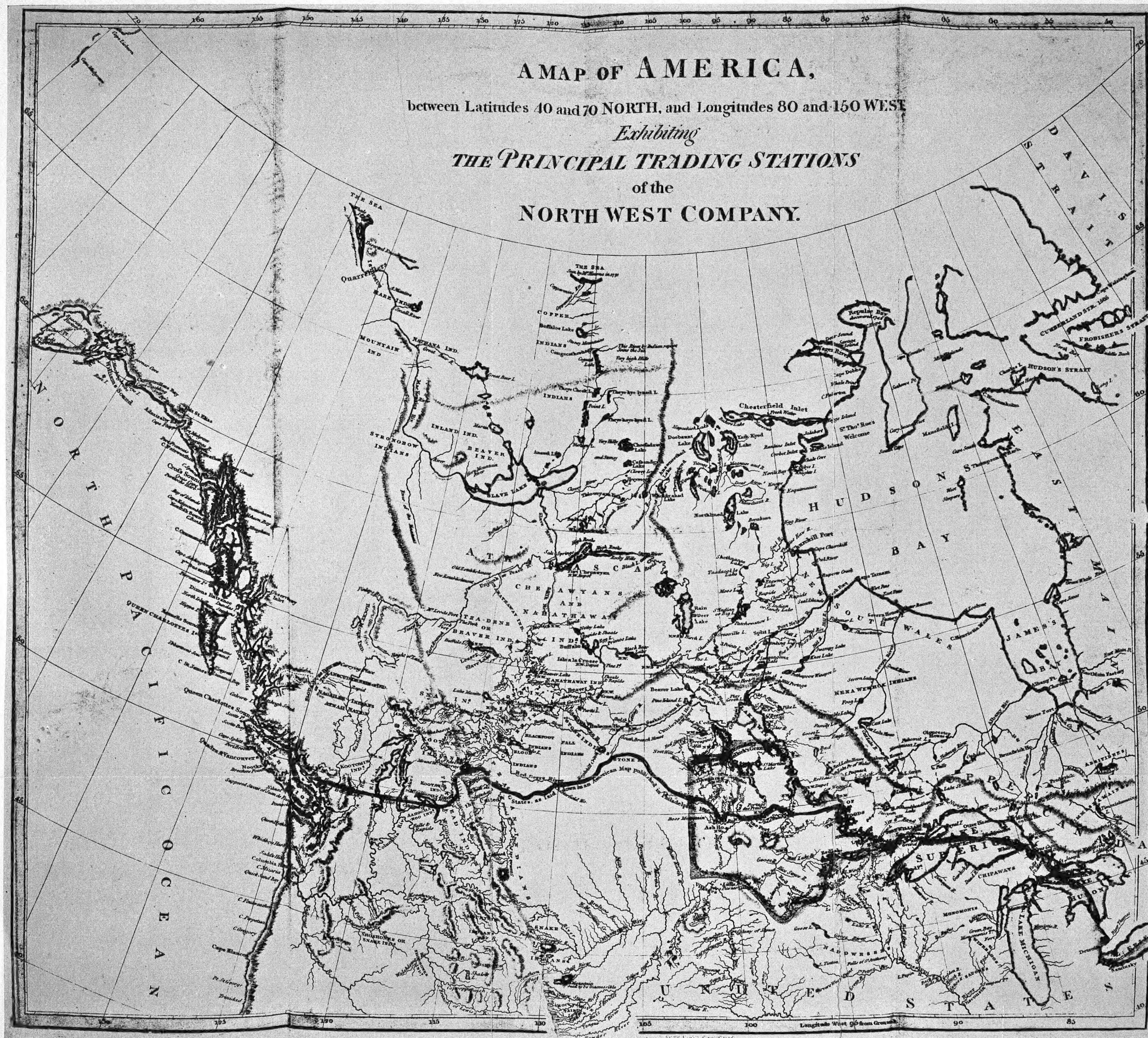
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THE
NORTH WEST COMPANY

GORDON CHARLES DAVIDSON

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THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

BY

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PREFACE

A complete history of the North West Company is lacking. Chapters concerning its activities have appeared in books dealing with the Hudson's Bay Company and in similar publications. Interest has been evinced chiefly in connection with the work of a few explorers like Alexander Mackenzie, with the Astoria incident, and, above all, with the events arising from the settlement commenced by Lord Selkirk on the Red River in territory which now forms part of the province of Manitoba. Publications which appeared during the existence of the North West Company, such as those bearing the names of Mackenzie and Selkirk and the anonymous *On the Origin and Progress of the North-West Company of Canada*, while valuable, do not treat the later years of the company. On the whole, the most notable work on the subject has been the prefatory "Esquisse" by Masson in the first volume of his work, *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*.

It is the author's hope that the following pages, while by no means a complete history, may yet prove to be of some utility as a study of the origin, activities, and end of this famous partnership of fur traders. Some of the material treated has not been utilized in previous works. But the final word will not be said until the business papers of the company come to light, providing they are still in existence. Search for them in Canada and England has been unavailing. Valuable papers on this subject may be contained in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, but the present writer was unable to obtain permission to enter those preserves. The governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Sir Thomas Skinner, stated that to the best of his knowl-

Preface

edge, the business papers of the North West Company never came into the possession of the organization of which he is the head. But the existence in the Public Record Office of a copy of the bill of sale of Astoria, sent by a previous governor of the Hudson's Bay Company to the British government, encourages the hope that some day other individual documents of interest may be made accessible to students.

"North West Company" is the form of the name that regularly appears in contemporary manuscripts. It has therefore been adopted in this study.

Thanks are due to A. G. Doughty, Canadian Archivist; to E. O. S. Scholefield, librarian of the Legislative Library of British Columbia; and to C. H. Gould, librarian of McGill University, for many courtesies extended. Acknowledgments for courteous assistance and timely suggestions are due to members of the official staffs of the Canadian Archives; of the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa; of the legislative libraries of British Columbia, Manitoba, and Ontario; of the Public Reference Library, Toronto; of the University of Toronto Library; of the British Museum; of the Public Record Office, London; and of the Colonial Office and Privy Council Office. Mention should also be made of Mr. H. P. Biggar, agent in Great Britain for the Canadian Archives, whose knowledge of sources was freely placed at the writer's disposal. Copies of documents furnished by Mr. Bell, of Winnipeg, were unfortunately lost by shipwreck when the *Empress of Ireland* went down.

The writer's acknowledgments are also due to several members of the staffs of the Library of the University of California and of the Bancroft Library. He owes much to the various members of the Department of History of the University of Califor-

Preface

nia, particularly to Professor H. Morse Stephens, head of the department; to Professor Herbert E. Bolton and Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett, who have edited this monograph; and to Professor F. J. Teggart. And especially the writer desires to express his gratitude to the Order of the Native Sons of the Golden West, whose generosity made possible his year of study in England.

GORDON CHARLES DAVIDSON.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA,
June 6, 1916.

EDITOR'S NOTE

While this book has been in press the author, Dr. Davidson, now a lieutenant in the First Canadian Mounted Rifles, has been at the front in France, and has therefore been unable to give it his personal attention. This absolves him from responsibility for any shortcomings of editorial supervision which the book may show.

CONTENTS

	PAGES
PREFACE	v-vii
CHAPTER I	
THE EARLY FUR TRADE AND THE FORMATION OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY	1-31
CHAPTER II	
EARLY EXPEDITIONS TO THE WEST	32-50
CHAPTER III	
MACKENZIE'S EXPLORATIONS	51-68
CHAPTER IV	
THE X Y COMPANY	69-91
CHAPTER V	
FURTHER ADVANCE WESTWARD	92-117
CHAPTER VI	
THE STRUGGLE WITH THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY	118-155
CHAPTER VII	
LAST DAYS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY	156-193
CHAPTER VIII	
THE TRADE AND TRADING METHODS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY . .	194-248
LIST OF AUTHORITIES CITED	249-255
APPENDICES	256-329
GENERAL INDEX	330-340
INDEX OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES	341-349

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A Map of America, Exhibiting the Principal Trading Stations of
the North West Company.....*Frontispiece*
2. Pond's Map in C. O. 42, Vol. 47, p. 665 (Public Record Office) facing p. 32
3. Pond's Map, Additional MS., 15332 D (British Museum)facing p. 36
4. Travels of Captain Peter Pond..... ..facing p. 42
5. Notes on back of Map 4..... ..facing p. 43
6. A Map of Part of the Indian Territories in North America, from
British Museum Maps 69917 (75)..... ..facing p. 144

APPENDICES

	PAGES
A—Report to General Haldimand on the North West Trade, 1780.....	256-259
B—Memoir Accompanying Pond's Maps in the British Museum.....	259-266
C—Extracts from the Evidence of Thomas Ainslie Given before the Board of Trade	266-270
D—Canadian Fur Trade, Circa 1789	270-272
E—State of the Fur Trade in 1790	272-274
F—Alexander Mackenzie's Report of His Voyages to Lord Dor- chester	274-276
G—A Portion of the Manuscript Journal of Alexander Mackenzie in the British Museum	276-277
H—Memoir in Regard to the Fur Trade, Circa 1794.....	277-279
I—Departments of the North West Company, Circa 1802.....	279-281
J—Canadian Fur Trade, 1793-1801	281-283
K—Petition of the North West Company for a Charter	283-285
L—Petition of the North West Company for a Charter	285-292
M—Bill of Sale of Astoria to the North West Company	293-296
N—Memorial of the Fur Traders in Regard to the American Boun- dary, 1814	296-301
O—Events in the Interior During the Winter of 1820-1821	301-305
P—Deed of Covenant Executed by the Hudson's Bay Company and the McGillivrays and Ellice, 1821	305-307
Q—Fur Trade of Great Britain in 1800	308-324
R—List of Ships Clearing from Quebec with Furs, 1786-1813.....	324-326
S—Official Values of the Trade of the Hudson's Bay Company with Great Britain, 1772-1837	326-329

100

101

102

103

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY FUR TRADE AND THE FORMATION OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

Since prehistoric times the skins of many of the animals of frigid regions, with their cold-defying layer of fine hair, have been worn by the inhabitants as a protection against the wintry cold. Throughout historic times the finer, rarer, and more beautiful of these furs have been articles of luxury or ostentation, and there is record of their early use in China, in the ancient empires of the West, and through the Middle Ages to the present time. The north of Europe and Asia long supplied the principal furs, the Baltic ports being the centers of distribution. But the discovery of America, with its numerous fur-bearing animals, changed the current of the fur trade, and very greatly added to the annual supply. Though the highly esteemed sables and ermines came only from Europe and Asia, yet America had the beaver, then held in high esteem, the marten, the mink, several choice varieties of fox, the raccoon, muskrat, and other small fur-bearing animals, with the valuable fur seal and several larger animals with skins of marketable value, and it thus offered a rich field for adventure in this lucrative trade.

At an early date the Dutch East India Company established an active fur trade, which centered at New Amsterdam and some other points. This trade at a later date fell into the hands of the English.¹ At the same time the trade in furs was a source of wealth to the dwellers of the St. Lawrence Valley. Around this traffic clustered much of the romance and adventure of New France. Not content with the policy of waiting for the Indians to bring the furs down to the French settlements,² young men,

¹ *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 1886, VIII, 169-170.

² Three Rivers for a time was much frequented by the Indians of the North and West. At a later date Montreal largely monopolized this trade.

tired of the humdrum life of the *habitant*, took to the woods and traded with the Indians. In time these men acquired a liking for this type of life, which induced them to spend the remainder of their days with their native friends. They adopted Indian customs, married Indian wives, and became on occasion as fierce and intractable as the Indians themselves. These men, the *coureurs du bois*, as they were called, were lost to the steady growth of the colony. On the other hand, they spread French influence and, by their adaptability to conditions and native customs, a liking for the French, up the St. Lawrence Valley and the Great Lakes, into the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and out over the prairie regions to the westward.

Failing in attempts to forbid this exodus, which was draining New France of the most daring spirits among the younger generation, and which was even introducing difficulties in the path of the laborers of the church, the authorities attempted regulation. The country was divided into trading districts, and, to prevent abuses, licenses were granted, which enabled the holders to carry on the trade.³ It is difficult to ascertain with accuracy⁴ the amount of the furs collected from the several districts thus es-

Later still, posts were established in various parts of the interior. Each had a commandant and a garrison and was of sufficient strength to repel native attacks (Cf. Douglass, *Summary*, pt. I, 13).

³ The prohibition of the sale of liquor to the natives did not apply to the King's Posts, so Carleton reported in 1768 (*Can. Arch. Report*, 1886, note D, p. clxx).

⁴ Anderson, in discussing Dobbs' Argument of 1742, quotes his statement that the Hudson's Bay Company's sales for 1743 were £33,296, including the March sale of 1743 (1744?), and estimates that, at the same rates, the peltry from New France in the same year as given by Dobbs should have been worth £120,000 sterling (Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, 2d ed., III, 236-240). Sir Robert Shore Milnes, lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, writing to Lord Hobart, October 30, 1802, referred to the monopoly of the French East India Company in the export of beaver. He gave their price to the Indian traders as four *livres* a pound for the green or winter beaver and 1 *livre* 10 *sols* for the parchment or summer beaver, and remarked that the entire value of furs exported never exceeded £140,000 sterling, and was often less, particularly in 1754, when it amounted to £64,000. In 1755 it was £52,000, when it was considered a declining trade (B. T. I, vol. 20, no. 2; also Q. 89, p. 144, *et seq.*, printed in *Can. Arch. Report*, 1892, note E, p. 136).

tablished by the French.⁵ The value of the furs from Canada under the French is stated to have been about 280,000 *livres*.⁶ The castor bills upon a French Canadian company trading in 1747 were paid at three months' sight.⁷

The British fur trade in Canada was recognized and regulated by the charter granted in 1670 by Charles II to Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, and others, giving them control of the trade, commerce, waters, and lands lying within the entrance of Hudson's Straits which were not actually possessed by the subjects of the English king or any other Christian prince or state. The company thus formed—it was usually called the Hudson's Bay Company—had considerable difficulty from French opposition during the first century of its existence.⁸

The capture of Canada by the British profoundly affected the fur trade, the control of which now passed from the French. Montreal was taken in the year 1760, and in the following spring a few English and French traders sent goods to the borders of Lake Superior.¹⁰ Some went as far west as Rainy Lake, where they continued till the year 1763, when the post at Michilimackinac was taken by the Indians. This event, and the Indian war by which it was occasioned, produced a temporary suspension of the trade; and it was not till the year 1771 that British traders could safely traffic as far as the Saskatchewan, on which river

⁵ *Origin and Progress*, 4.

⁶ For further information concerning the value of the fur trade see *Canadian Archives Report*, 1892, pp. 136 *et seq.*

⁷ Douglass, *Summary*, pt. 1, 94.

⁸ *Report of the Select Committee on the Boundaries between the Province of Ontario and . . . Ottawa*, 1880, p. 55.

⁹ Josiah Tucker, a pamphlet writer of the middle eighteenth century, stated that the French were able to undersell the English in all articles of fur in times of peace. He said English monopolies were the cause (J. R. McCulloch, *A Select Collection of Tracts on Commerce*, 328-329).

¹⁰ It is stated that the French had a schooner on this lake which they burned on the surrender of Canada (Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, 40).

the most remote of the French posts had been situated.¹¹ The subsequent progress of the fur traders in the interior corresponded with the wishes of the Indians to deal with them, and with the success of the first enterprises in new regions.

At the close of the Seven Years' War, Great Britain was confronted with the problem of arranging for the government of a large area of conquered territory in North America. The Proclamation of October 7, 1763, established the four governments, or provinces, of Quebec, West and East Florida, and Grenada. The first of these comprised the valley of the St. Lawrence from the western end of Anticosti to the forty-fifth parallel and Lake Nipissing. Labrador, Anticosti, and the Magdalen Islands were attached to Newfoundland. All lands not in the foregoing jurisdictions, or within chartered grant of the Hudson's Bay Company, and all lands west or north of the streams flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, were reserved as crown lands for the use of the Indians. No colony might grant lands herein, and all settlers were required to move out. Moreover, private citizens were forbidden to purchase lands from the Indians within the settled parts of the colonies. Trade with the Indians was permitted to any person receiving a license from the governor or commander in chief of the colony in which he resided. The licenses were to be issued free of charge and were to contain a clause rendering them void and forfeiting the security, which was required, in case any regulations which might be imposed were not observed. The French settlements in the Indian reserve were ignored. Neither the military nor the Indian department was given control over them. Theoretically the old French law remained in force. The government established by the military authorities was therefore *de facto* and not *de jure*. The lack of civil government was recognized in the preamble to the Quebec Act.¹²

¹¹ *Origin and Progress*, 5.

¹² The Proclamation is printed in Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, X, 39-45.

The foregoing arrangement was part of an attempt to develop a more satisfactory policy in regard to Indian affairs, which had its inception in 1755. Until that year the British government had managed its Indian affairs through the different colonies with little or no attempt at unification, and the results had been far from satisfactory. In 1755, through the influence of Lord Halifax, president of the Board of Trade, the government assumed political control over the Indians, creating a Southern and a Northern Department and appointing a superintendent over each. The Ohio River formed the dividing line.¹³

In 1764 Lord Hillsborough drew up a general plan for the management of the Indians and the fur trade. The scheme safeguarded the chartered rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. It provided for the continuation of the two superintendents, with three deputies for the Northern and two for the Southern Department. All trade was to be conducted at regularly established posts in the north and at the Indian towns in the south. Every trader was obliged to have a license, the fee for which should not exceed two shillings, with an additional registration fee of not more than sixpence. He might have no dealings with the Indians at other than these prescribed places. All trade was to be conducted at fixed schedules of prices. At each post in the north and with each tribe in the south were to reside a commissary, an interpreter, and a smith. The superintendents and commissaries were empowered to act as justices of the peace to determine causes affecting Indians and traders. The latter were not to supply liquor, swan shot, or rifles to the Indians, and efforts were to be made to secure four missionaries for each district. To defray the estimated cost of £20,000 a year for maintaining the plan, it was proposed to place a tax on the fur trade. This last item would have required the sanction of Parliament, which was not granted, but practically all of the provisions were adopted by the

¹³ Carter, *The Illinois Country*, 78-79.

superintendents. By 1768 the plan had proved too expensive, however, and in that year the management of the fur trade was restored to individual colonies.¹⁴

The application of these principles of handling the fur trade in the province of Quebec may be traced, nevertheless, in the instructions issued to the governors. On December 7, 1763, Murray was instructed to see that the terms of the Proclamations of October 7, 1763, which related to trade, were carried out. Carleton received similar orders on the same date.¹⁵ The Quebec Act of 1774 extended the boundaries of that province on the east to include the lands which had been made part of Newfoundland since February 10, 1763, and on the west along the bank of the Ohio River to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁶ On January 3, 1775, Carleton was instructed in regard to the extension of the limits of the province, the establishment of inferior judicatures, and the appointment of a superintendent at each of the posts. The limits of each post were to be fixed and settlement beyond them was not to be allowed, because it would excite the Indians and destroy the peltry trade. The traffic, as under the Proclamation of 1763, was to be free to any subject of any colony who might obtain from the governor of the same a license, which would bind the applicant to obey regulations made by the legislature of Quebec. A copy of the Plan of 1764 was annexed as a guide for making legal provisions, fixing stated times and places for carrying on the fur trade, prescribing modes for settling tariffs of the prices of goods and furs, restraining the sale of liquor to the Indians, and formulating other regulations for the fur trade.¹⁷ Further instructions of the same

¹⁴ Carter, *The Illinois Country*, 80-81, 102.

¹⁵ *Can. Arch. Report, 1904*, Appendix E, 206, 224.

¹⁶ 14 George III, C. 83. The act is printed in Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, 544-552.

¹⁷ *Can. Arch. Report, 1904*, Appendix E, 237-238; 242-247.

date reminded the trader that all furs should be exported directly to the mother country.¹⁸ On May 26, 1785, Haldimand was instructed to propose to the Legislative Council of Quebec an ordinance preventing the exportation of peltry to the United States and was to see that the Order-in-Council of April 8, 1785, prohibiting the importation by sea of any "Goods, the Growth or manufacture of the Countries belonging to the United States of America," was enforced.¹⁹

The Constitutional Act having divided Quebec into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Dorchester, in his capacity as governor of Lower Canada, was instructed on September 16, 1791, in the same terms regarding the Indian trade as in Article 32 of his instructions of January 3, 1775, with the exception that regulations for the "Peltry Trade of the Interior Country" were to be imposed by the legislature of Lower Canada and no reference was made to the Plan of 1764.²⁰ The same orders were issued to succeeding governors of Lower Canada, including Dalhousie, whose instructions were dated April 13, 1820.²¹ The Proclamation of 1763 is cited throughout in regard to licenses.

On September 16, 1791, identical orders in regard to the fur trade were issued to Dorchester, in his capacity as governor of Upper Canada, as were given to him for Lower Canada, with the exception that the legislature of Upper Canada should make the needful regulations for that branch of commerce.²² On December 15, 1796, it was directed that the governor of Upper Canada should manage the Indian affairs of that province.²³ Instruc-

¹⁸*Can. Arch. Report, 1904*, Appendix E, 249-250. Acts of 3 Anne, 4 Anne, 8 Geo. I, 4 Geo. III, and 6 Geo. III are cited.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 266.

²⁰*Can. Arch. Report, 1905*, I, 15.

²¹*Ibid.*, I, 39, 46-49.

²²*Ibid.*, I, 66.

²³*Ibid.*, I, 70.

tions similar to those of 1791, including those to Dalhousie of April 13, 1820,²⁴ were issued to succeeding governors of Upper Canada.

A few years after the conquest of Canada, the French system of traffic was laid aside as inconsistent with the principles of freedom of trade; and, except to one district,²⁵ no more exclusive privileges were granted.²⁶ This plan obviated a certain amount of favoritism on the part of those in authority, but it gave opportunity for violent and lawless conduct on the part of the traders. Much trading was now done in regions where missionaries and other churchmen had no control. This situation facilitated the use of liquor. Licenses were still granted, of course, and meant a certain amount of supervision, but they were in the nature of permits rather than monopolies.

At the beginning of the English trade, it was conducted entirely by the unsupported efforts of individuals. The trader who passed one winter with a newly discovered nation or band of Indians, or in some spot favorable to his traffic, heard of Indians still more remote, among whom provisions might be obtained and trade pursued, with little danger of competition. He therefore moved to their neighborhood and, while he was suffered to remain alone, generally preserved good order and obtained furs at a reasonable rate.²⁷ But, as every person had an equal right to sell goods at the same place, the first discoverer of an eligible situation soon saw himself followed by other traders who were ready to undersell him. Thus circumstanced, he, in his turn, resorted to every means for securing to himself the preference of the Indians and for injuring his competitors. Such conduct provoked retaliation. The Indians were bribed with liquor, and the goods were bartered away for a consideration below their value.

²⁴ *Can. Arch. Report*, 1905, I, 82, 84-86.

²⁵ Probably Selkirk refers to the King's Posts.

²⁶ Selkirk, *Sketch*, 4.

²⁷ *Origin and Progress*, 6.

The consequence was that the traders ruined one another, the Indians were corrupted, and the English character was brought into contempt. In the struggle,²⁸ innumerable disorders took place and blood was often spilt,²⁹ till at length, after a competition injurious to all parties, mutual interests suggested the necessity of establishing a common concern, subject to general rules.

Accordingly, in 1779, persons composing nine distinct interests³⁰ became parties to an agreement for one year, by virtue

²⁸ Until 1778, at least, it had been the custom that the last outfitter of a trader should be the first one paid, after which the other creditors, whether of two or twenty years' standing, should share alike (Add. 21759, f. 1).

²⁹ *Origin and Progress*, 6.

³⁰ Under date of Quebec, April 24, 1780, Charles Grant wrote a memorandum on the North West trade to Haldimand. At the end is the note: "The North West is divided into sixteen shares, all which form but one Company at this time. Todd & McGill, 2 shares; Ben. & Jos. Frobisher, 2 do; McGill & Paterson, 2 do; McTavish & Co., 2 do; Holmes & Grant, 2 do; Wadden & Co., 2 do; McBeath & Co., 2 do; Ross & Co., 1 do; Oakes & Co., 1 do" (Add. 21759, f. 82). The memorandum has been printed in full in *Can. Arch. Report*, 1888, pp. 59-61. The above are apparently the nine interests mentioned by the author of the *Origin and Progress*.

A petition to Haldimand, dated Montreal, May 11, 1780, stated that the trade beyond Grand Portage had been for several years of the annual value of £50,000 sterling. Nearly three hundred men were engaged in it, who usually reached Grand Portage from the interior between June 10 and July 10. The petition was signed by J. Porteous, Holmes & Grant, Simon McTavish, Charles Grant, Todd & McGill, Benjamin & Joseph Frobisher, McGill & Paterson, Forrest Oakes, George McBeath, and Adam Lymburner (*Can. Arch. Report*, 1886, pp. 61-62). John Porteous died June 13, 1789 (*Can. Arch. Report*, 1889, p. xvi).

In a petition to Haldimand dated Montreal, May 1, 1779, requesting passes for canoes to Lake Superior and beyond, it was stated that there were upwards of eight hundred men employed in that trade. The petitioners represented that the canoes took six weeks to go from Lachine to Grand Portage (Add. 21877, ff. 60-61). Haldimand granted passes for twenty canoes, although Grant and Patterson tried to have the number raised to twenty-six, alleging that the extra canoes were needed for provisions. The list they submitted enumerated 26 canoes, manned by 208 men and carrying 3640 gallons of rum, 260 gallons of wine, 260 firearms, 64 cwt. of powder, and 100 cwt. of ball and shot, which apparently were the quantities authorized. Of this list 18 canoes manned by 144 men, and carrying 2520 gallons of rum, 180 gallons of wine, 180 firearms, 44 cwt. of powder, and 68 cwt. of ball and shot, were destined for Grand Portage under the proprietorship of Todd, Frobisher, Paterson & Co.; McBeath, McTavish, Bennerman & Co.; Wm. & John Kay; John Ross & Co.; Venance St. Germain & Co.; Porteous & Sutherland; and Forrest Oakes (Add. 21877, ff. 62-63).

of which the whole trade was rendered common property.³¹ The success³² which attended this measure led, in the succeeding year,³³ to a second and nearly similar contract, to which a further duration of three years was given.³⁴ As the parties to this agreement were less anxious, however, to fulfill it while it lasted than to prepare themselves for the event of its termination and for the consequent return of things to the original state of competition, all the benefit expected from it was not obtained, and at the end of two years it was renounced.³⁵ The separate traders renewed for a time their feeble and unprofitable efforts;³⁶ but the value of the principles upon which the two agreements had been founded was

³¹ It was stated in print at a later date that this organization bore the name of the North West Company of Canada (*A Narrative of Occurrences . . .*, London, 1817, p. 57).

³² The Northwest merchants seem to have gotten into distinctly bad odor with the authorities about this time. Sinclair, writing from Michilimackinac to Captain Brehm on May 29, 1780, said: "The N. West society are not better than they ought to be. Their conduct in sending an Embassy to Congress in '76 may be traced now to matters more detrimental, I believe, to every One of the King's Provision Stores, on the Communication. I have all their Craft in from Lake Superior, St. Mary's &c., but one which will be brought in or destroyed the ensuing Week. I hope the Genl. will grant them no passes without insisting on their bringing in the King's Stores from the Portage. Lt. Bennet of the 8th can inform the Genl. of the disposition of the Indians in that Quarter. They obtained indulgence from Genl. Carleton for the worst purposes in the world. . . ." (Add. 21757-2, ff. 366-367).

³³ This reads as if this company was fortunate enough not to have its furs on the "Haldimand," which was lost on its way down the St. Lawrence in 1780 with a valuable cargo of furs (Haldimand to Germaine, Quebec, November 20, 1780, Add. 21715, ff. 10-12; also B. 55, p. 18 *et seq.*)

³⁴ *Origin and Progress*, 6-7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 7. Between July 31 and October 22, 1782, twenty-five canoes manned by 218 men passed the Petit Carillon on their way to Montreal from Grand Portage. Of these canoes Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher owned ten, Holmes and Grant owned four, Forrest Oaks one, Mr. Beath (perhaps this means McBeath) owned three, and a Mr. Dawisch, or Davison, owned five (Add. 21790, ff. 54-55, 74-75, 94-95). These all passed between August 24 and September 17.

³⁶ The agents of the North West Company, writing in 1784, stated that at the end of 1782 there were no more than twelve interests left in the fur trade to the North West. The terms in which they wrote convey the impression that these twelve interests were the ones which formed the union of 1783-4 (Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, October 4, 1784, Add. 21877, ff. 398-401; also copy in C. O. 42 vol. 47).

generally acknowledged, and in the winter of 1783-1784 a third agreement of five years³⁷ was entered into under the name of the North West Company.³⁸ The merchants of Montreal, who recognized the value of combination, were largely responsible for the formation of the company, in which the leading persons were Messrs. Benjamin³⁹ and Joseph Frobisher and Simon McTavish. The main principle of the arrangement was that the separate capitals of the several traders were to be thrown into a common stock, in consideration of which each individual held a proportionate share of the combined adventure.⁴⁰

Mackenzie states that smallpox had been destroying large numbers of the natives and seriously reducing the proceeds of the fur trade, insomuch that the fur traders and their friends from Canada became confined to two parties, who began seriously to think of making permanent establishments on the Missinipi⁴¹ River, and in Athabasca. For this purpose they selected their best canoe-men in 1781-1782 and sent them forth, unaware of the fact that the smallpox had penetrated in that direction. The most expeditious of the adventurers got only as far as Portage La

³⁷ The length of the agreement is also given as five years in a petition for Haldimand's consideration addressed to Mabane by Benjamin Frobisher (Montreal, April 19, 1784, Add. 21735, ff. 421-424, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1888*, pp. 63-64). The petition announced an intention of exploring for a route north of Grand Portage and asked for a monopoly over it for seven years. The reply was non-committal (Add. 21723, ff. 78-79).

³⁸ *Origin and Progress*, 7, which, however, gives the date of the formation of this company as 1784. It is possible that the author was thinking of the acceptance by the wintering partners at Grand Portage in the spring of that year. It may even be argued that he had knowledge that the agreement was made in the early months of 1784. In this connection it may be noted that Cruikshank has stated that the company was formed in October, 1783. Cf. Canadian Institute, *Transactions*, V, 75. He does not, however, give any authority for his statement. The date which it seems safest to adopt is "the winter of 1783-4," given by Mackenzie (*Voyages*, London ed., 1801, p. xvii).

³⁹ Benjamin Frobisher died April 14, 1787, and was buried two days later (*Can. Arch. Report, 1885*, Note A, p. xciv). A copy of the register of the Anglican parish of Montreal is printed in this volume.

⁴⁰ Selkirk, *Fur Trade*, 10-11.

⁴¹ The Churchill.

Loche, or Mithy-Ouinigam, in time to dispatch to that country one canoe, strongly manned and lightly laden. These men found that the ravages of the smallpox extended in every direction, and they were compelled to return in the spring with only seven packages of beaver. The woods and mountains gave safety to those natives who fled from the contagion of the plains, but they were so alarmed at the general destruction that they avoided the traders and were too dispirited to do more hunting than was required for their subsistence. The traders, however, who went back into the country in the year 1782-1783 found the inhabitants in some sort of tranquillity and more numerous than they had reason to expect, so that their returns were proportionately better.⁴²

The stock of the North West Company as founded in 1783-1784⁴³ was divided into sixteen shares, no capital being deposited. Each party furnished a proportion of the articles necessary for the trade and agreed to satisfy his friends in the country who were not provided for in the agreement, out of the shares which he held. The two houses of Messrs. Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher and Mr. Simon McTavish had the general management, for

⁴² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xvii.

⁴³ Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Cruikshank, in an article published in the Canadian Institute *Transactions*, is more specific in certain points. He writes as follows: "The original Northwest Fur Company, called the 'sixteen share concern,' had dissolved at the end of a single year. In 1781, a new company, known as the 'three share concern,' was formed for one year, which did not, however, embrace the English River nor Mississippi within the scope of its operations. The success of this enterprise was sufficient to convince the merchants generally of the benefits of combination, and the number of adventurers trading in the Northwest had in the meantime been reduced to twelve. Consequently, in October, 1783, a general partnership was agreed upon for five years, in which each stockholder was assigned an interest in proportion to his previous trade. The stock was divided into fifteen shares of which 9¼ were allotted to non-residents. The expectations of profit were then so limited that one of the old traders readily accepted an offer of an annuity of 4000 *livres* (£166,135, 4d. currency) in lieu of dividends. He lived to see a clear profit of £2000 sterling derived from a single share." So far I have not been able to determine whence Cruikshank got his precise information in regard to the date of the formation of the company, the allotment of the shares, and the figures quoted in regard to the value of the shares.

which they were to receive a stipulated commission on all transactions.⁴⁴ The company was purely a partnership with transferable shares and not a chartered company, although attempts were made at a later date to obtain a charter granting exclusive trade in the Pacific and Mackenzie basins. The firm was probably not incorporated, and of course was not a limited liability company. It was rather what has been termed a common-law company, a type existing in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such companies were regarded with legal disfavor on account of their irresponsibility, and, in the middle of the nineteenth century, steps were taken to make them suable by public officers. Besides the responsibility of its individual members for their own acts, the North West Company might conceivably have been controlled by a judicious use of the governmental power of granting or withholding trading licenses.

In the spring of 1784, two of the agents⁴⁵ went to Grand Portage with their credentials, which were confirmed and ratified by all the parties having an option except Peter Pond, who was not satisfied with the share allotted to him. Accordingly, he and Peter Pangman, who had a right to be a partner but for whom

⁴⁴ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xviii. These brief remarks by Mackenzie form the basis of our knowledge of the North West Company's organization at this date. In a letter dated Montreal, October 4, 1784, from Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, it is stated that Article 32 of the Agreement of Partnership of the North West Company said that the Articles were to be registered "at the Secretaries Office for this Province at Quebec, for the inspection of the public." Inquiry at Quebec and elsewhere has failed to elicit any information in regard to such registration. From the wording of the letter it would appear as if the stipulation of Article 32 had not up to this time been fulfilled. Possibly it never was fulfilled. Numbers of the early records at Quebec have been destroyed by fire, and others are not fully catalogued, making search difficult.

⁴⁵ These were Joseph Frobisher and Simon McTavish. They started in the month of May. Benjamin Frobisher wrote to Major Mathews on May 10, 1784, that the canoes would probably all be off by the middle of the month. He asked that the above agents be given power at the Great Carrying Place "to send such persons away, as have been guilty of crimes or disturb the peace, or prove mutinous" (Add. 21735-2, ff. 446-447). It does not appear whether they received the power.

no provision had been made, came to Canada with the determination to return to the fur country if they could find any persons to join them and give their scheme a proper support.⁴⁶

The consolidation of the competing interests encouraged the traders resident in the upper country. Having every reason to expect that their past and future labors would be recompensed, they forgot all their former animosities and engaged with the utmost spirit and activity, so that in the following year they met the agents at Grand Portage with good returns from the interior.⁴⁷ But they were mortified to find that Pangman⁴⁸ had persuaded Messrs. Gregory and McLeod to join him with their support, although the latter were deserted by Pond, who had accepted the terms offered by his former associates.⁴⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, who had been employed in Gregory's counting-house for five years and was now at Detroit, was admitted as a partner to the concern at the instance of Gregory. Mackenzie, on being informed of the offer, promptly accepted it and took his departure for Grand Portage.

A severe struggle for trade now commenced, and was marked by acts of violence.⁵⁰ The murder of Ross, one of the opposition partners, came as a shock to both parties, although intimidatory firing had previously occurred. The North West Company, fearing the consequences of the deed, was now willing to come to

⁴⁶ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xix.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ A list of the traders to the Upper Country, apparently compiled in 1785, gives the following information: The interest trading to Grand Portage were: Todd & McGill, Benjamin & Joseph Frobisher, George McBeath, Laurence Ermatinger, McTavish & Bannerman, Ross & Pangman, Waden & St. Germain, William & John Kay, Mnr. Blondeau, Charles Grant, Adam Lymburner, Forrest Oakes, Peter Pond, Bruce, McGill & Paterson. Those trading to Lake Superior were: John & William Grant, Alexander Shaw, Ezl. Solomon, Jobert and St. Germain, Monsr. Cotts, Monsr. Desriviers, Monsr. Louis Chabollez, Monsr. Perinault, Monsr. Charles Chabollez, James Finlay, Mr. Cadotte, and Mr. Henry (Add. 21885, f. 350).

⁴⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xix.

⁵⁰ Consult Masson, *Esquisse*, 21-31, for details of the struggle.

terms. The opposition, which had been operating at a loss, asked for nothing better, and a union of interests was concluded in July, 1787.⁵¹ Then for a few years there was fairly united action on the part of the Canadian fur trading interests in the interior of the country.

The method of operations is worthy of some attention. The company was a self-erected concern, which assumed the name of the North West Company and was no more than an association of commercial men, agreeing among themselves to carry on the fur trade unconnected with any other business, though many of the parties engaged had extensive interests altogether foreign to it. It may be said to have been supported entirely upon credit, for whether the capital belonged to the proprietor or was borrowed, it bore interest, for which the association was annually accountable. There were twenty shares, unequally divided among the parties concerned. Of these a certain proportion was held by the persons who managed the business in Canada and were styled agents of the company. Their duty was to import the necessary goods from England, store them at their own expense at Montreal, get them made up into the articles suited to the trade, pack and forward them, and supply the funds that might be wanting for the outfits; for this they received, independent of the profits on their shares, a commission on the amount of the accounts, which they were obliged to make out annually, keeping the adventure of each year complete. Two agents went annually to Grand Portage, to manage and transact the business there and on the communication⁵² at Detroit, Michilimackinac, St. Marys, and Montreal, where they received stores, and packed up and shipped the company's furs for England. On this they also had a small commission.

⁵¹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xx.

⁵² Previous to 1792, the portage at Niagara was from opposite Queens-town to Fort Schlusser. Later it was from Queenstown to Chippewa (Maude, *Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800*, p. 144).

The remaining shares were held by the proprietors, who were obliged to winter and manage the business of the concern with the Indians, the respective clerks, and others. These proprietors were not supposed to be under any obligation to furnish capital, or even credit. If they obtained any capital by the trade, it was to remain in the hands of the agents, and the proprietors were allowed interest for it. Some of them, from long service and influence, held double shares, and were allowed to retire from the business at any period of the existing concern, each with one of these shares, and with the privilege of naming any young man in the company's service to succeed him in the other. Seniority and merit were, however, considered as affording a claim to the succession, which nevertheless could not be disposed of without the concurrence of the majority of the concern, who at the same time relieved the retiring person from any responsibility respecting the share that he transferred, and accounted for it according to the annual value and rate of the property, so that the seller could have no advantage but that of realizing the share of stock which he retained, and receiving for the transferred share what was fairly determined to be the worth of it. The seller was also discharged from all duty and became a dormant partner. Thus all the young men who were not provided for at the beginning of the contract, succeeded in turn to the character and advantages of partners. Under such expectations they entered into the company's service for five or seven years, and their reasonable prospects were seldom disappointed; there were, indeed, instances in which they succeeded to shares before their apprenticeship expired, and it frequently happened that they were provided for while they were in a position of articulated clerkship. Shares were transferable only to the concern at large, since no person could be admitted as a partner who had not served his time in the trade. The dormant partner, indeed, might dispose of his interest to anyone he chose, but if the transaction were not acknowledged by his associates, the

purchaser could be regarded only as his agent or attorney. Every share had a vote, and two-thirds formed a majority.

This regular and equitable mode of providing for the clerks of the company excited among them a spirit of emulation in the discharge of their various duties and, in fact, made every agent a principal who perceived his own prosperity to be connected immediately with that of his employers.⁵³ Masson states that the agents of the company at Montreal and Grand Portage were to be McTavish, Frobisher, and Gregory. They were to furnish the funds and make the necessary purchases and financial arrangements for a commission of five per cent besides their shares in the profits of the company. He also notes that, since the union had taken place late in the year, after the departure of a large portion of the winter outfits for the interior, it was determined to leave each company in charge of its own property until the arrival of the brigades at their respective destinations, when an inventory should be taken. One result of this decision was that there were few changes in the locating of the partners.⁵⁴

It is difficult to determine closely the returns of the fur trade of the North West Company at this, or indeed at any period of its existence. There are, however, various estimates and figures in regard to the Canadian fur trade as a whole which are of interest. Brissot de Warville states that the sales in London of furs from Canada in 1782 produced four million seven hundred thousand *livres tournois*. In 1783 the total was somewhat greater, and in 1784 it amounted to about five millions.⁵⁵ Estimating the *livre* at seven-eighths of an English shilling, this would give upwards of £218,750 in the latter year. According to Anderson, in 1782 the amount of the spring sales in London of Canada furs and peltry sent over the preceding year was £189,000.⁵⁶ The

⁵³ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxi-xxii.

⁵⁴ Masson, *Esquisse*, 31.

⁵⁵ Brissot de Warville, *Travels*, 2d ed., London, 1794, p. 214.

⁵⁶ Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, 2d ed., IV, 441.

sale produced £165,000 in 1783,⁵⁷ £201,000 in 1784,⁵⁸ £242,000 in 1785,⁵⁹ and £173,000 in 1786.⁶⁰ The large returns from the sales of 1784 and 1785 are noteworthy.

In a memorandum addressed to Carleton, January 20, 1778, it was stated that the annual returns from the trade west of Grand Portage fell little short of £40,000 sterling and that nearly five hundred persons were employed in it.⁶¹ A memorandum on the trade by way of the Grand⁶² River, apparently written in 1780,⁶³ stated that the fur trade of the province of Quebec produced each year on an average £200,000 worth of furs, of which at least one-half came from Michilimackinac and its dependencies. The trade required one hundred canoes, each navigated by eight men. Each of the canoes, including transportation charges from England to the Indian country, was worth £700 currency. Of these hundred canoes, a third were necessary for the Northwest, and the remainder for lakes Huron and Michigan, and La Baye (Green Bay). The traders to the former section, who were mostly old subjects,⁶⁴ had been allowed forty canoes in the preceding years and were stated to have sent four loaded canoes to Michilimackinac for distribution in the latter section, which had been allowed only twenty canoes.⁶⁵ An accompanying memorandum states that the trade to the upper country by way of lakes Ontario and Erie had an average annual volume of £50,000 and required

⁵⁷ Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, IV, 521.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 568.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 598.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 627.

⁶¹ Add. 21759, ff. 1-2.

⁶² I. e., the Ottawa.

⁶³ It is undated but is in a volume, Add. 21759, in which the dated papers range from 1778 to 1782. The memorandum states that forty canoes had been allowed to go to the Northwest and twenty canoes to La Baye, etc., the preceding year. Now it appears (Add. 21759, f. 71) that these numbers were true for the year 1779.

⁶⁴ I. e., French.

⁶⁵ Add. 21759, ff. 140-141.

two hundred *batteaux* men from La Chine to Carleton Island.⁶⁶ Charles Grant, reporting to Haldimand in 1780, likewise estimated the total value of the trade at £200,000 sterling and said he was informed that from ninety to one hundred canoes had been used annually by the Ottawa River route. He added that one-half of the furs came from Lake Huron and the districts beyond; one-fourth from Niagara, Detroit, and their environs; and one-fourth from the lower posts and inhabited parts of the province of Quebec.⁶⁷

A petition to Haldimand dated Montreal, April 19, 1781, requesting permission to purchase five hundred bushels of corn at Detroit for the Northwest trade, stated that the annual value of that trade to the province was £30,000 sterling.⁶⁸ A later writer gave the same value for the returns in 1784.⁶⁹ Hay, writing from Detroit in 1784, said that furs to the value of £100,000 sterling had been sent out that year from Detroit.⁷⁰

A committee of the Montreal merchants reported in 1787 that the Indian trade owed a debt of probably more than £300,000 sterling to the merchants of the province of Quebec, chiefly of Montreal. Of this amount £125,000 was owed from Cataraqui to Detroit and its dependencies; the remainder came from Michilimackinac and its dependencies, which included all the country west and north of the east shore of Lake Huron. The committee estimated the total annual value of furs from Michilimackinac and Detroit, with their dependencies, to be not short of £160,000 sterling, of which three-fifths came down by the Grand River⁷¹ and two-fifths by the lakes. They therefore strongly urged the retention of the posts.⁷²

⁶⁶ Add. 21759, ff. 138-139.

⁶⁷ B, 99, pp. 110 *et seq.*

⁶⁸ Add. 21877, f. 184.

⁶⁹ *Origin and Progress*, 9.

⁷⁰ Hay to Nepean, Detroit, September 1, 1784, Q. 56, pp. 564 *et seq.*

⁷¹ I. e., the Ottawa.

⁷² Committee of Merchants of Montreal to Committee of Council on Commercial Affairs and Police, Montreal, January 23, 1787, C. O. 42, vol. 11, Dorchester (No. 5) Enclosure C, pp. 41-42.

All these furs were paid for with English manufactures, and the fourth part of them were prepared in England, by which their value was doubled. Naturally a large proportion of the furs did not come from the sphere of operations of the North West Company. Part of the sales of 1784 were no doubt made by agents of the North West Company in London, but even these furs can hardly be said to have been traded for under the auspices of that firm, which did not definitely take charge of the operations in the interior until the meeting at Grand Portage in that year. However, the company sent down in 1784 eight hundred packs of furs, which apparently composed its returns for the season.⁷³

The value of each canoe-load, on arrival at Michilimackinac, had been estimated in 1780 to be £660 currency, or \$2640. This shows that the cost of transportation by the Ottawa was \$640 for each canoe, the value at Montreal having been \$2000.⁷⁴ In April, 1784, Benjamin Frobisher wrote that there were ready to be sent

⁷³ Captain Robertson to Captain Mathews, Michilimackinac, August 19, 1784, Add. 21758, f. 317; also B, 98, p. 278 *et seq.*

⁷⁴ This estimate was that in the report of Charles Grant to Haldimand as printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1888* (Note E, pp. 59-61). Grant stated that a canoe-load of goods was reckoned to be worth in dry-goods £300 first sterling cost in England. Charges at fifty per cent would make this £450. Besides this each canoe carried about 200 gallons of rum and wine, worth about £50 more. Thus every canoe on its departure from Montreal might be said to be worth £500 Quebec currency. The charges of all sorts from Montreal to Michilimackinac were £160, and from thence to Grand Portage £90, making a value for each canoe at Michilimackinac of £660 and at Grand Portage of £750 currency. Each canoe was manned by eight men for transportation of the goods. If wintering, they took up ten men (Add. 21759, ff. 81-82). The apparent discrepancy in Grant's report, where he changes his monetary standard from sterling to Quebec currency, has been passed over by Willson, who does not quote the first estimates of values. In fact, it looks as if he had copied directly from Brymner's statement in *Can. Arch. Report, 1890*, p. xxvi, only omitting the name of Grant (Cf. Willson, *The Great Company*, II, 66).

Writing in 1784, Frobisher stated that freight by the Ottawa route was generally estimated at about twenty-five per cent on canoes assorted for the trade, but provisions or other articles of little value required from fifty to sixty *livres* in freight to Michilimackinac, and from eighty to ninety *livres* to Grand Portage (Benjamin Frobisher to Hamilton, Montreal, May 2, 1785, C. O. 42, vol. 47; also Q, 24-2, pp. 423 *et seq.*).

off twenty-eight canoes, valued at £20,000 currency, or \$80,000, a sum for each canoe largely in excess of the estimate of four years before.⁷⁵

In 1779 a partnership of traders, termed a "General Store," was formed at Michilimackinac.⁷⁶ According to an undated list, probably compiled in 1780, this store was composed of thirty-eight individuals and companies who contributed an estimated number of $34\frac{3}{4}$ canoe-loads of goods.⁷⁷ A union of the traders at Michilimackinac was formed in 1785 by the pooling of stocks. This organization was spoken of two years later as the "Michilimackinac Company."⁷⁸

The goods given in barter for furs are of interest. Anburey, in a letter written at Montreal in 1776, stated that the traders took with them brandy, tobacco, a kind of duffle blanket, guns, powder and ball, kettles, hatchets, tomahawks, looking-glasses, vermilion and various other paints. Lord Sheffield, writing in 1784, adds to the list coarse woollens, cutlery, beads, ribbons, and other ornaments.⁷⁹ The Indians were especially eager to obtain powder, ball, paint, brandy, and tobacco. The guns were attractively fitted up; but since they were by no means fool-proof, accidents were common from bursting firearms. The Indians on occasion took revenge by attacking the first traders they could lay hands upon.⁸⁰

The furs from a certain amount of United States territory were also going through Canada to Europe.⁸¹ This was particularly

⁷⁵ Willson, *The Great Company*, II, 109.

⁷⁶ De Peyster to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, October 5, 1779, *Can. Arch. Report*, 1886, p. 703.

⁷⁷ Add. 21757-2, ff. 577-578.

⁷⁸ Joseph Howard to the Committee of Merchants at Montreal, Montreal, January 11, 1787, Dorchester (No. 5) Enclosure C, p. 78. C. O. 42, vol. 11.

⁷⁹ Sheffield, *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, new ed., 33.

⁸⁰ Anburey, *Travels*, I, 126-128.

⁸¹ McGill, writing in 1785, stated that he estimated the value of the Upper Country trade—in which he included the country from the mouth of the

the case in the territories in which the Indians were supplied with goods from the posts retained by the English after the treaty of peace in 1783, which retention the English justified on the ground that the Americans themselves had not fulfilled certain articles of the treaty.⁸² These furs were not handled by the North West Company, although various of its members were also interested in the trade. The North West Company appears at this time to have been tapping United States territory only at Grand Portage and, possibly, at Fond du Lac. South of this, the furs went out by way of Michilimackinac⁸³ or down the Mississippi. The Spaniards, according to Imlay, controlled the Missouri trade and that toward the Wisconsin and Illinois rivers from the post of St. Louis.⁸⁴

The company employed two sets of men in transportation, making over five hundred in all. Of these men, one-half were engaged in transporting the goods from Montreal to Grand Portage in canoes of about four tons burden, each manned by eight or ten men. The other half were employed in transporting the goods inland from Grand Portage in canoes of about one and one-half tons burden, manned by four or five men only. The large canoes left Montreal in May and followed the Ottawa River route. At Michilimackinac they took an additional supply of provisions, part of which was intended for use on the inland transport, and part for consumption at Grand Portage. The quantity required was so large that part had to be forwarded across Lake Superior in boats or a ship. All supplies had to be at Grand Portage early

Ohio and on the rivers falling into the Mississippi to as far north as Lake Arabaska—at £180,000 currency. Of this £100,000 came from the country south of the American line (James McGill to Hamilton, Montreal, August 1, 1785, Q, 25, pp. 111 *et seq.*, printed in *Can. Arch. Report*, 1890, pp. 56-58).

⁸² Notification of this policy was sent to Haldimand by Sydney under date of London, April 8, 1784 (*Can. Arch. Report*, 1885, p. 286, cataloguing B. 45, pp. 129 *et seq.*).

⁸³ In spite of complaints of a poor season by the traders, nearly 4000 packs came down by way of Michilimackinac in 1773 (Add. 2173, f. 25).

⁸⁴ Imlay, *Description of the Western Territory*, 3d ed., 501.

in July, and fifteen days were usually consumed in making the ten-mile crossing.⁸⁵ The parties for the interior generally left the west end of the portage between July 15 and August 1. They took a canoe-lading of about one-third provisions and two-thirds trading goods. They were therefore compelled to depend in part upon provisions obtained from the natives *en route*. As a result, there was at times much suffering and privation on these inland trips, and the situation was likely to be worse on the trips out in the spring.⁸⁶

According to the settlement of 1784, the North West Company had in the interior, exclusive of its houses and stores at the different posts, property to the value of £25,303-3-6 currency, and it planned to send inland the next year from Montreal goods amounting in value to nearly the same sum.⁸⁷

The volume, personnel, and character of the trade is illustrated by the trade passes. The enumeration may be tedious, but the showing is interesting and significant. Haldimand, in his report of August 20, 1783, stated that there had been ninety-four applications for trade passes to date that season. Of these, three were not allowed. The total value of the goods specified in the applications was £232,374-8-4, to be transported in 120 canoes and 347 *batteaux* by 2479 men. The licenses to Grand Portage were to Simon McTavish, Holmes & Grant, Benjamin & Joseph Frobisher, and Joseph Dejarlais & Baptiste Plante, for goods of a total value of £9900. The first-named was allowed 6 canoes, 54 men, 500 gallons rum, 72 *fusils*, 2800 pounds gunpowder, 35 cwt. shot, etc.,

⁸⁵ A request by the North West Company for a grant of land one acre in width from Lake Superior to "Long Lake" for the purpose of constructing a wagon road to obviate the need of using one hundred men at the portage, was adversely reported on by the Council at Quebec on June 30, 1788. They considered, however, that the company might be granted the monopoly of transport there at a regulated rate (Q, 37, pp. 262-266).

⁸⁶ Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, October 4, 1784, Add. 21877, ff. 398-401.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

valued at £4500. The second were allowed 3 canoes, 28 men, 200 gallons rum, 16 *fusils*, 600 pounds gunpowder, 10 cwt. shot, etc., valued at £1800. The third were allowed 5 canoes, 40 men, 680 gallons rum, 48 gallons wine, 32 *fusils*, 1160 pounds gunpowder, 11 cwt. shot, etc., valued at £3500. The fourth were allowed 1 canoe, 5 men, 60 gallons rum, 4 *fusils*, 70 pounds gunpowder, 1 cwt. shot, etc., valued at £100.

Permits to Lake Superior were granted to McBeath & Pond, Charles Chaboillez, and Hypolite Desrivieres, the goods being valued at £4000. There were also twenty-four passes to Michilimackinac, two passes to Temiscamingue for goods worth £4500, one pass to Michipicoton for goods worth £450, and one pass to Nipigon for goods worth £1500. J. B. Cadot had passes to Sault Ste. Marie for £1000 worth of goods. John Gregory had a pass to Detroit for £17,500 worth of goods and to Michilimackinac for £960 worth. Benjamin & Joseph Frobisher, besides the pass to Grand Portage, had others to Carleton Island, Niagara, and Detroit for £1800 worth, and to Michilimackinac for £630 worth, while Joseph Frobisher had one to Detroit for goods worth £2000.⁸⁸

In the year 1785 there were issued forty-three passes for 108 canoes, 146 *batteurs*, 1644 men, 42,780 gallons rum, 7270 gallons wine, 48,610 pounds powder, 1425 *fusils*, 839½ cwt. shot, to a value of £109,875. Of these the following were granted to Grand Portage: On May 2, Pass No. 13 was issued to Gregory and McLeod, on the security of John Gregory and N. McLeod, for 4 canoes, 50 men, 400 gallons rum, 32 gallons wine, 1700 pounds powder, 64 *fusils*, 20 cwt. shot, worth £2850. On May 3, Pass No. 15 was issued to Benjamin & Joseph Frobisher, directors of the North West Company, on the security of Benjamin Frobisher and James McGill, for 25 canoes, 260 men, 3500 gallons rum, 340 gallons wine, 8000 pounds powder, 300 *fusils*, 120 cwt.

⁸⁸ Haldimand to North No. 14, August 20, 1783, in C. O. 42, vol. 44.

shot, worth £20,000. On May 9, Pass No. 27 was issued to Joseph Howard, on the security of J. Howard and Al. Hay, to Michilimackinac and Grand Portage for 3 canoes, 24 men, 500 gallons rum, 100 gallons wine, 600 pounds powder, 24 *fusils*, 8 cwt. shot, worth £550. On May 12, Pass No. 29 was issued to Donald McKay, on the security of D. McKay and Daniel Sutherland, for 2 canoes, 17 men, 100 gallons rum, 100 gallons wine, 700 pounds powder, 20 *fusils*, 12 cwt. shot, worth £500. On May 19, Pass No. 35 was issued to Pangman & Ross, on the security of John Gregory and William Griffin, for 4 canoes, 40 men, 350 gallons rum, 32 gallons wine, 1600 pounds powder, 36 *fusils*, 18 cwt. shot, worth £2775.⁸⁹ These items are interesting because of the active opposition trade which was started in 1785. It is probable that, while not so mentioned in the return, the values given include dry goods and other articles for the trade besides those which are given.

In the year 1786 there were sixty-seven licenses granted for 163 canoes, 163 *batteaux*, 2139 men, 56,324 gallons rum, 8950 gallons wine, 2010 *fusils*, 66,207 pounds powder, 899½ cwt. ball and shot, value £144,880. Of this list, there were licensed to Grand Portage 41 canoes, 2 *batteaux*, 422 men, 4800 gallons rum, 584 gallons wine, 624 *fusils*, 12,600 pounds powder, 181 cwt. shot, value £8500. The individual items follow: On May 18, Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, directors of the North West Company, got a license, on the security of Benjamin Frobisher and James McGill, to send to Grand Portage 2 *batteaux* and 9 men with a lading valued at £500. On June 17 they similarly received a permit to send to Grand Portage 30 canoes, 300 men, 3000 gallons rum, 500 gallons wine, 500 *fusils*, 9000 pounds powder, 120 cwt. shot, value £2500. On May 20, Gregory & McLeod received a permit, on the security of N. McLeod and James Finlay, to send to Grand Portage 8 canoes, 83 men, 1600 gallons

⁸⁹ C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 675.

rum, 64 gallons wine, 104 *fusils*, 2800 pounds powder, 45 cwt. shot, value £4500. This was the company opposing the North West Company. On May 22, McKay & Shaw received a permit, on the security of A. Shaw and Alex. Robertson, to send to Grand Portage 3 canoes, 30 men, 200 gallons rum, 20 gallons wine, 20 *fusils*, 800 pounds powder, 16 cwt. shot, value £1500. Besides the above, the Frobishers were interested in six other licenses to trade to Cataraqui, Niagara, Michilimackinac, and the Illinois. McGill was also widely interested. Hypolite Desrivieres was licensed for Lake Superior with two canoes and a lading worth £1000. Cadot was scheduled for Sault Ste. Marie with two canoes and a lading worth £1000. Leon St. Germain was licensed to Michipicoton with one canoe and a lading worth £500. There were three licenses to the St. Maurice aggregating six canoes and ladings worth £500. Desrivieres and Beaubien were licensed to Temiscamingue with eight canoes and goods worth £1200. Except where stated, there is nothing to show that these men were connected with the North West Company. Charles Chaboillez was licensed to Michilimackinac in the same year, B. Frobisher being one of his backers. The Forsyths appear with interests in the trade at Michilimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, and in the Miamis Company, of which the directors were Askin, McIntosh, and Leich.⁹⁰

An abstract of the craft, men, and goods licensed to trade with the Indians in the Upper Countries in the year 1787 recorded 116 canoes, 167 *batteaux*, 1766 men, 59,105 gallons of rum, 1570 *fusils*, 47,893 pounds powder, 742 cwt. of shot; value of the goods £97,972. A note stated that other items of merchandise besides those enumerated were included in this total.⁹¹ This must also have been true in preceding years.

⁹⁰ Enclosure in Hope's No. 32 of October 21, 1786, Q, 26-2, p. 563 a.

⁹¹ In Lord Dorchester's No. 44 of November 9, 1787, Q, 28, p. 187. (More particular details are not included.)

It was predicted that the cession of the posts in 1783 would throw the fur trade into the hands of the United States.⁹² Sheffield advocated the drawback of all duties upon exportation of furs from Great Britain, arguing that the furs intended for foreign consumption would otherwise all go through the United States, and he even went so far as to advocate the removal of all duties on the importation of furs certified to be the product of the British North American colonies.⁹³ The danger adverted to by Sheffield was met by a prohibition of the exportation of furs from Quebec by land or to foreign European countries.⁹⁴ Evidence was given before the Board of Trade in 1789 by Thomas Ainslie, who had been collector of customs in the province of Quebec for twenty-seven years, that the prohibition was strictly enforced, but that some beaver was now and then smuggled into the United States.⁹⁵ He also stated that the Indians brought nearly all their furs to Michilimackinac and a few to Detroit, receiving in return strouds, blankets, all kinds of woollens, fire-arms, powder, shot, traps, flour, bread, wampum and other trinkets, and a small quantity of spirits.⁹⁶ According to a return supplied by him, the value in the London market of the furs shipped from Quebec in 1788 was £258,970-3-10½.⁹⁷

⁹² Cf. Sheffield, *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, new ed., 1784, pp. 100-101.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁹⁴ This step was taken after Haldimand had given evidence before the Board of Trade on March 7, 1785, that he as governor had forbidden such export and that in his opinion such a step was advisable. He remarked that such a step would have the advantage of keeping down the price of furs to the merchants. He was optimistic as to the prospects of retaining a large share of the fur trade if smuggling were guarded against. The committee adopted a resolution recommending that the governor should recommend the passing of the required ordinance to the Legislative Council (B. T. 5, vol. 2, pp. 208-209). A similar resolution was passed March 14, 1785 (B. T. 5, vol. 2, pp. 220-221). On July 13, 1787, it was again resolved that Lord Dorchester should under no circumstances allow the export of peltry from the province of Quebec to the United States (B. T. 5, vol. 4, p. 325).

⁹⁵ B. T. 5, vol. 5, 233.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 250.

The policy of the British government after the conquest, as expressed in instructions to the governors of Quebec, was that the fur trade should be open to every British subject provided with a proper license.⁹⁸ The traders were expected to observe certain regulations in regard to supplying liquors⁹⁹ and rifles—the latter were forbidden—to the natives. Posts were to be established in the northern districts of America for trading purposes and were to be under military supervision. Such restrictions hardly applied to the North West Company, because the government did not at that time establish posts west of Lake Superior. A detachment had been stationed at Grand Portage in 1777 and succeeding years to preserve order during the trading period. This was done at the request of the merchants,¹⁰⁰ who bore part of the expenses, including the construction of a small fort which was commenced in 1778.¹⁰¹

The government did not reduce the number of its vessels on lakes Erie and Ontario as much as it had intended, because of the importance and extent of the fur trade.¹⁰² For purposes of reg-

⁹⁸ Twenty-eight licenses were granted at Quebec between April 13 and June 4, 1778, for trade to Michilimaekinae and beyond, involving sixty-one canoe-loads. Of this number William and John Kay had a permit for 2 canoes, 20 fusils, 1200 pounds of gunpowder, and 1200 pounds of shot and ball for the "North West." Grant and Solomon had two licenses for 5 canoes, 1600 pounds of gunpowder, and 3400 pounds of shot and ball for Nipigon. Gabriel Cotté had a permit for 3 canoes, 34 fusils, 1200 pounds of gunpowder, and 1200 pounds of powder and shot for Nipigon. John Baptiste Barthe had a license for 3 canoes and 5200 pounds of shot and ball for Lake Superior. The rest all went for trade in the region towards the Illinois and Mississippi rivers (Add. 21757, f. 5).

⁹⁹ Writing to Carleton from Michilimaekinae on May 30, 1778, Dr. Peyster stated that rum was rising in price because the importation was stopped "except a little for the North Trade" (Add. 21757, f. 3).

¹⁰⁰ Add. 21678, f. 195; also B, 18; also B, 40, p. 64.

¹⁰¹ De Peyster to Haldimand, Michilimaekinae, September 16, 1778, B, 96—1, p. 9 *et seq.*; also Add. 21756-1.

¹⁰² Haldimand to the Treasury, Quebec, September 1, 1784, B, 56, p. 285; also Add. 21716.

ulation it was required that the traders' goods¹⁰³ and furs should be transported on these lakes in the royal ships.¹⁰⁴

The trade was not without its difficulties. The government complained of attempts to evade the law against sending furs to the United States,¹⁰⁵ and of delay in the payment of freights¹⁰⁶ which necessitated commencing suit.¹⁰⁷ The merchants complained of insufficient ships to transport their goods at the required time.¹⁰⁸ In compliance with the request of the North West merchants,¹⁰⁹ permission was granted to them in 1784 to construct a vessel at Detroit which was to be drawn up above the falls of St. Marys and employed on Lake Superior.¹¹⁰ Orders were transmitted by the same letter that every assistance should be granted to the North West Company in the matter of forwarding provisions to Michilimackinac in the king's ships, for use in the Northwest trade. A vessel, the "Beaver," was constructed at Detroit and sailed from there in the spring of 1785. She proved too large to be taken up the Falls of St. Marys, and the North West Company was again reduced to the

¹⁰³ By May 26, 1780, twenty-two passes for trade by Niagara had been granted (Add. 21721, f. 74), but there was a doubt as to whether the goods could be transported in time, the amount being large and the king's service requiring consideration (Add. 21721, f. 72).

¹⁰⁴ Add. 21721, f. 253; B, 61, p. 143; Add. 21724, f. 34.

¹⁰⁵ A letter of Haldimand dated Quebec, August 9, 1784, speaks of the reports that Charles Patterson had sent furs by way of Lake Champlain the preceding autumn and that Mr. Ellice had done the same that spring (Add. 21724, f. 34). Ellice later tried to explain on the score that the furs had been sold in the province and were only being delivered to the purchasers at St. Johns (Robert Ellice & Co. to Major Mathews, Montreal, August 23, 1784, Add. 21735-2, f. 532).

¹⁰⁶ Add. 21724, ff. 34-35.

¹⁰⁷ Q, 26-1, pp. 295 *et seq.*

¹⁰⁸ A third ship was employed in the king's service on lakes Erie and Ontario in 1784 (Add. 21724, f. 34). This was the result of a petition by the merchants because the number had been reduced to two ships.

¹⁰⁹ Benjamin Frobisher to Mathews, Montreal, October 4, 1784, Add. 21877, ff. 402-403.

¹¹⁰ Haldimand to Hay, Quebec, November 10, 1784, B, 64, p. 405, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1888*, Note E, p. 72.

necessity of depending on boats and canoes on Lake Superior, as had been the case since Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe had ordered down the Falls the vessels which were on Lake Superior. Even with the cargo of the "Beaver" and what could be carried in the king's vessels, it was claimed that the supply of provisions would have been insufficient for the inland trade had it not been for a chance purchase. This left no corn at St. Marys for the canoes bound for Montreal, but Lieutenant-Governor Hay took it upon himself to allow the "Beaver" to take the necessary supply to St. Marys on another trip.¹¹¹ The North West Company therefore requested permission to use the "Beaver" for the purpose of carrying goods and the provisions, which it was accustomed to purchase at Fort Erie and Detroit, to Michilimackinac and St. Marys, the vessel to be under the command of any person selected by the government and paid by the company. The "Beaver" was a small decked vessel of thirty-four-foot keel, thirteen-foot beam, and four-foot hold. She cost £1843-13-2 York currency to construct.¹¹² Hamilton, who considered the request reasonable, could not give the required permission. He forwarded the petition to Sydney for decision,¹¹³ and a copy of it to Barry St. Leger, who did not recede from his previous decision on the question of navigation of the lakes.¹¹⁴ This decision was that there were enough king's ships for the purposes of trade and that the delays complained of had been due to the exceptional step of relieving the regiments at the posts in the Upper Country.¹¹⁵ Permission had been granted to take goods up the lakes in private *batteaux* and canoes.

¹¹¹ Benjamin Frobisher to Hugh Finlay, Montreal, August 8, 1785, Q, 25, pp. 119 *et seq.*, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1890*, p. 59.

¹¹² Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Hamilton, Montreal, May 8, 1785, Q, 25, p. 122, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1890*, p. 60.

¹¹³ Q, 25, p. 125, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1890*, p. 61.

¹¹⁴ St. Leger to Hamilton, Montreal, August 15, 1785, Q, 25, p. 134.

¹¹⁵ St. Leger to Sydney, Montreal, July 25, 1785, Q, 25, p. 156, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1890*, p. 64.

In the year 1776 the traders to the Northwest had possessed a vessel which they termed a *periauger* or *perriauger*. This vessel made a trip from Grand Portage to St. Marys, leaving the former place June 9 of that year. McTavish left Michilimackinac June 12 and was to "go from St. Marie's to the Portage in the Perriauger for which place I imagine she has already sailed."¹¹⁶

The firm of Dyer, Allan, and Company of Mincing Lane, London, appears as an English firm interested in the trade of the North West Company. On January 12, 1785, John Strettell, one of the firm, wrote to Haldimand in support of the petition of the North West Company for an exclusive control for ten years of the trade by way of a route which they were exploring.¹¹⁷ Haldimand promised attention to the subject of the petition—which had been presented to him at Quebec—in a letter dated London, January 14, 1785.¹¹⁸ The letter refers to the exploration by Umfreville of the route by Lake Nipigon and Lac Seul in the year 1784. This interesting letter is discussed in the next chapter.

¹¹⁶ James Bannerman to William Edgar, Michilimackinac, June 23, 1776, Edgar Letters, pp. 21-23. Toronto Public Library.

¹¹⁷ Add. 21736, f. 6; B, 76, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ Add. 21724, f. 129.

CHAPTER II

EARLY EXPEDITIONS TO THE WEST

The North West traders were by no means the first to penetrate the secrets of the western wilderness. The French in 1756 held a chain of posts from Montreal to the foot of the Rockies. The posts of Presq'île, Le Boeuf, Venango, and Du Quesne commanded the navigation of the Ohio. They had stations on the St. Josephs, Wisconsin, Wabash, and Illinois rivers which quite monopolized the trade of the surrounding country. Thriving settlements of long standing at Kaskasia, New Orleans, and elsewhere on the Mississippi gave them control of that mighty river. In the Southwest they had posts at Natchitoches, Cododachos, and Taovayas on the Red River, and on the Arkansas, Osage and Kansas. They had establishments at Prairie du Chien and Lake Pepin in Wisconsin. Pascoya, on the upper Saskatchewan, was nine hundred leagues beyond Michilimackinae, and the journey thither usually occupied three months. The most western French post, La Jonquière, was still a hundred leagues beyond Pascoya. St. Denis, La Harp, Dutisne, Bouremont, the Mallets, La Vérendrye and his sons, Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, and other adventurers had explored this western country.¹

Bougainville, writing about the western establishments two years before the English conquest, said:

The Post of the Western Sea is the most advanced towards the north; it is situated among many Indian tribes with whom we trade and who have intercourse with the English towards Hudson Bay. We have there several forts built of stockades, trusted generally to the care of one or two officers, seven or eight soldiers, and eighty *engagés Canadiens*. We can push further the discoveries we have made in that country and communicate even with California.

The Post of La Mer de L'Ouest includes the forts of St. Pierre, St.

¹ Cruikshank, *Early Traders and Trade Routes* in Canadian Institute, *Transactions*, III, 254.



Pond's Map in C. O. 42, Vol 47, p. 665 (Public Record Office)

Charles, Bourbon, De la Reine, Dauphin, Poskoiac, and Des Prairies (De la Jonquière), all of which are built with palisades that can give protection only against the Indians.²

Jefferys gives a similar list, except that he mentions Fort Maurepas and omits Fort des Prairies.³

Ninety canoes were annually permitted to go to the southern posts, which were Niagara, Toronto, Frontenac, La Presentation, Detroit, Ouias, Miamis, Michilimackinac, La Baye, St. Josephs, Illinois, and their several dependencies. Twenty-eight canoes were despatched to the northern posts, namely, Temiscamingue, Chagouamigon, Nipigon, Gamanistigouia and Michipicoton, Mer du Ouest, Rivière des Kikipoux, Lake Huron, and Belle Rivière. Of these, Toronto and Fort Frontenac were king's posts. The trade to them was conducted for the royal account, and the furs were sold by auction at Montreal.⁴ Such was the situation at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.

After the British conquest these French posts were abandoned and the Indians carried their furs to Hudson Bay. A number of *coureurs du bois* followed them there or dispersed among the different tribes. Soon only slight traces of the civilization of the French fur trader and missionary were left in the Northwest.⁵

One of the first Englishmen who ventured into this old French country⁶ was Alexander Henry, a daring merchant. Ignorant alike of the trade and the wilderness, he trusted to an old French trader, Etienne Champion. He purchased his goods at Albany

² Quoted in Bryce, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 3d ed., 90-91.

³ T[homas] Jefferys, *Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions*, pt. II, 19.

⁴ Q. 5-1, pp. 382 *et seq.* Apparently used without citation by Cruikshank (Canadian Institute, *Transactions*, III, 255).

⁵ Masson, *Esquisse*, 9.

⁶ Anthony Hendry had traveled inland from York Factory to the Black-foot country in 1754-1755. His journey has been edited by L. J. Burpee, in Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, Series III, vol. I, sec. 2, pp. 307-364.

because they were not to be obtained at Montreal. Going by the Ottawa route, he found it advisable to adopt the *voyageur* costume. Shortly after he reached Michilimackinac, that fort was taken by the Chipewyans during Pontiac's war. Henry was captured after the first fury of the attack was over, but finally reached Niagara in safety.⁷ In 1765, having obtained a grant of the monopoly of the trade around Lake Superior,⁸ he combined his interests with Jean Baptiste Cadotte, who had established a post on what is now the Michigan side of Sault Ste. Marie.

In a letter to Haldimand, Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher stated that the first British adventurer went from Michilimackinac in 1765.⁹ He was stopped and plundered that year and the year following at Rainy Lake, but in 1767 the canoes went past Lake Winnipeg. Matthew Cocking's Journal of 1772 makes James Finlay reach the Saskatchewan not later than 1767. Burpee suggests that Thomas Curry was with Finlay.¹⁰ If Curry was along he was breaking his license, which was issued July 12, 1767, on the security of Isaac Todd, and permitted him to go to Kaministiquia with two canoes and £1000 worth of goods.¹¹ At any

⁷ Masson, *Esquisse*, 10; Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., pp. 11-174. The capture caused a loss to Howard, Chinn & Bostwick of £5000 sterling (Joseph Howard to Committee of Merchants at Montreal, Montreal, January 11, 1787, C. O. 42, vol. 11, p. 79).

⁸ Masson, *Esquisse*, 11; Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., 184-185.

⁹ Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, October 4, 1784, C. O. 42, vol. 47, pp. 637-648; Add. 21877, ff. 398-401.

¹⁰ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 304.

¹¹ C. O. 42, vol. 14. Eighteen canoes with £7481-17-0 worth of goods went to Lake Superior this year; fourteen canoes with £5117-10-7 worth of goods went by Lake Superior to the Northwest; five canoes with £6875-9-0 worth of goods went to Lake Huron; twenty-four canoes with £6875-9-0 worth of goods went into Lake Michigan; forty-three canoes with £13,364-10-4 worth of goods went by Lake Michigan into La Baye; and seventeen canoes with £4850-0-0 worth of goods went by La Baye to the Mississippi, making a total of 121 canoes with £38,964-6-11 worth of goods from Michilimackinac.

The permits to trade to the Northwest were to Blendeau, issued on July 7 to go to Fort La Reine and Fort Dauphine with two canoes and £700-0-0 worth of goods, on the security of Spicemaker & Blendeau, Jr.; to Le Blancell on July 7, to go to Fort Daphne (probably Dauphin) and La Pierce with six canoes and £2400-0-0 worth of goods, on the security of Alexander

rate Mackenzie stated that Curry was the pioneer on the Saskatchewan.¹² Masson says that the traders remained in the districts south of Lake Superior and in the neighboring regions until 1767, when a trader by the name of Clause¹³ went beyond Lake Nipigon in an attempt to reach the Indians who were then trading with the Hudson's Bay Company. He and his men almost perished of hunger.¹⁴ Two or three later expeditions met a worse fate. Many *voyageurs* died of starvation, and the place acquired a bad reputation among their fellows.¹⁵

In the meantime Thomas Curry went to Kaministiquia and made a very successful venture. Some traders followed him there the next year but the majority went to Grand Portage, and the Kaministiquia route was in due time completely forgotten.¹⁶

Further determined efforts were made to extend the trade in other directions and to forestall the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1770 Curry attempted to reach the most westerly of the French posts, but got only as far as Fort Bourbon, where he traded to such advantage that he was able to retire. The next year James Finlay reached Fort Lacorne, or Nipawee, as Mackenzie calls it. In 1772 Joseph Frobisher established Cumberland House near the site formerly occupied by Fort Poskoyac on the Saskatchewan River.¹⁷ He then proceeded to the Missinipi, or Churchill,

Baxter; to Campion on July 10, to go to Lac De Plieu and Lac Dubois with one canoe and £400-0-0 worth of goods, on the security of Groessbeek; to Marcaut on July 13, to go to Nipigon and La Carpe with two canoes and £511-10-0 on the security of Guillard & [blank]; and to Menard on July 23, to go to Nipigon and La Carpe with three canoes and £1106-0-7, on the security of Forrest Oakes.

¹² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, viii.

¹³ Marcaut and Menard had permits to go this year with two and three canoes respectively to Nipigon and La Carpe (C. O. 42, vol. 14). Was Clause under these or was he trading without a license?

¹⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 242.

¹⁵ Masson, *Esquisse*, 12-13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14. Bain states that the North West Company had a fort here which was established about 1793. And Alexander Henry speaks

River, where he met the Indians on their way to Hudson Bay with valuable furs for payment of the credits which they had received.¹⁸ He purchased all these furs, the number being so great that he was forced to build a fort to store the portion that he could not take down with him. This post bore the name of Fort La Traite, in memory of his success.¹⁹ Later he sent his brother, Thomas Frobisher, to establish the post of Ile à la Crosse.²⁰

In 1774 Samuel Hearne built Cumberland House on Cumberland, or Pine Island, Lake for the Hudson's Bay Company.²¹ This was the first effective step in inland work for the chartered company, although in the years 1740-1760²² they had built three posts close to the Bay: Henley House on Albany River, Split Lake House on Nelson River, and Fort Nelson on Footprint River. Hearne went to Prince of Wales Fort as governor in 1775. The same year Alexander Henry the elder came up from Sault Ste. Marie by way of Grand Portage, Lake of the Woods, Winnipeg River, and the Saskatchewan, reaching Cumberland House October 26, 1775. On the way he had been overtaken by Peter Pond, and later by Joseph and Thomas Frobisher.²³ Pond had preceded Henry into the West. It is clear from one of his

only of the Hudson's Bay Company's fort at this place in 1775 (Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., 261, note 17). Burpee suggests that it must have been only a temporary trading structure (*Search for the Western Sea*, 324).

¹⁸ A map drawn by Peter Pond was presented to Congress March 1, 1785. It bears, however, on the west side of a lake, just below Portage de Traite, the legend "Fort Frobisher 1771", with a location mark. This would appear as if the Canadian traders had been thus far north of the Saskatchewan some years before the Hudson's Bay Company established Cumberland House (Add. 15332, D, and Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 182).

¹⁹ Masson, *Esquisse*, 14-15. It is "Mr. Frobisher in 1774 called Fort de Trait" on the map by Pond (C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665).

²⁰ Masson says "next year" (*Esquisse*, 15), but Henry's account makes the date 1776 at the earliest (Henry, *Travels*).

²¹ Hearne had at an earlier date crossed the Barren Lands to the Coppermine River and returned to his starting point, Fort Churchill.

²² Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 162-163.

²³ Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., 230-263.



Pond's Map. Additional MS., 15332 D (British Museum).

maps that he had been on the St. Peter's River in 1774.²⁴ If the figures given by Crèvecoeur are accurate, Pond must have gone to the West as early as 1768.

At Cumberland House the canoes separated, Cadotte going up the Saskatchewan to Fort des Prairies,²⁵ Pond returning to Fort Dauphin,²⁶ Henry and the Frobishers going up the Maligne

²⁴ There are in the British Museum two maps entitled "Copy of a map presented to the Congress by Peter Pond a native of Milford in the state of Connecticut. This extraordinary man has resided 17 years in these countries & from his own discoveries as well as from the reports of Indians, he assures himself of having at last discovered a passage to the N.O. sea; he is gone again to ascertain some important observations. New York 1st, March 1785. The original map being incumbered with a great deal of writing I have thought it best to transcribe it separately with the references marked by ye numbers.—Copied by St. John de Crevecoeur for his Grace of La Rochefoucault." They are Add. 15332, C, and Add. 15332, D. They are accompanied by remarks and a memoir in French which shows that the map was presented to Congress March 1, 1785 (Add. 15332, E). Both maps are 30" x 22" in size. They are both on a thin tracing paper. It is evident from the differences in detail that neither map is a copy of the other. Add. 15332, C, which is of a cream shade with the waters a weak brown, does not photograph well. Add. 15332, D, which is of a brown shade with waters edged with green, photographs better. The British Museum acquired these at the Barbié de Bocage sale of November 9, 1844. This is the only record of their history which the Museum possesses. Burpee has printed a similar map from the Kohl copy, which is said to have been copied from a map in Hudson's Bay House, London. This printed map also differs from both the above maps. These go as far south as the Gulf of California, and also have figures on them to place the information in Add. 15332, E. These maps locate a "Fort Pond 1774" on the St. Peter's River, which Burpee identifies as the Minnesota River (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 309).

²⁵ Bain says it was probably just below the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan (Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., 275, note 4), but Pond's maps locate it on the North Saskatchewan above the Forks (Add. 15332, D; C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665; map copied by Stiles, 1790).

²⁶ Pond's map of 1785 shows where he wintered in 1775 at the northwest corner of Lake Dauphin (C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665). The copy published in *Can. Arch. Report*, 1890, is quoted by Bain (Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., 263, note 15), who adds that the North West Company's house here was later on Ochre River, a few miles south of the lake. This "fort Pond 1775" is also located near the northwest corner of Lake Dauphin in the copy of the map which is in the British Museum and was presented by Pond to Congress (Add. 15332, D). The map as printed by Burpee from the Kohl copy has this as "Pond Fort 1779" (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 182).

Burpee challenges the date of 1785 for the map in the Public Record Office, and argues that it was the map sent by Dorchester to Grenville in connection with his letter dated Quebec, November 23, 1790 (cf. Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 338-342).

River²⁷ and wintering at Beaver Lake.²⁸ Bain has noted how cleverly the traders had located themselves on the waterways

Now the map among the Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office is bound among the other enclosures in C. O. 42, vol. 47, with other enclosures in the letter dated Quebec, June 6, 1785 (Hamilton to [Sydney]). It is rather improbable that a mistake was made in the binding, which is certainly not recent. It is true that two plans are referred to in Hamilton's letters as No. 1 and No. 2. The first plan, which is a sketch of the water connection from the Bay of Quinté to Lake Huron, bears the endorsement "No. 1," and this larger folded map bears no endorsement of any kind. The map contains no date later than 1784, which fact tends to show that it was constructed at the earlier date. Moreover, in Dorechester's letter of November 23, 1790, there is a marginal note opposite the mention of the map "In a Tin Case." The letter is endorsed on the back "Rd. Jany. 4th 1791" and also "(Tin Case not yet delivered)." Perhaps this map never reached the Colonial Office. It was not to be found in the Public Record Office, the Colonial Office, or the British Museum in the spring of 1915. The size of the Public Record Office map, 28¼" x 19¼", seems rather small for presentation to the Empress of Russia, or even for requiring enclosure in a tin case. On the whole, it is safe to conclude that this is the map sent to the Colonial Office in 1785. It bears the Jesuit water-mark, below which is the further water-mark I. VIULEDARY.

The roughness of the map, or rather of the copies of the map presented to Congress March 1, 1785, as compared with this one, may be explained by the fact that the notes in French which accompany these copies in the British Museum are dated and signed by Peter Pond at Arabosea, March 15, 1784. He further adds "Il ne faut pas croire que les Détails que je mets sur Cette Carte ont aucune analogie précise avec L'endroit même. Eloigné dans les bois, avec peu de Papier, j'ecrirai mes reflexions et les placois ou je Pourai" (Add. 15332, E, ff. 2-3). Burpee has stated that the Kaministikwia route is indicated on the Public Record Office Map, or rather on the reprint of it in the Canadian Archives Report. A closer examination of the map itself leads to the conclusion that such is not the correct interpretation of the forked waterway at Lake Superior. The northern branch is apparently the waterway, the difficult lower waters of which necessitated the Grand Portage. The southern branch is probably nothing more than one of the lesser streams of the region, perhaps the one beyond the Grand Marais. A bay with a river emptying into it from the north is shown on the map farther to the north-east. It is west of Nipigon River. It surely is Thunder Bay, and the river is the Kaministikwia, but there is no indication of a route to the west by way of it. Had Pond known of such a route in the summer of 1784, when Umfreville made his exploration, he might not have spoken of it to the partners of the North West Company, because he was then dissatisfied with the terms they offered him. But soon afterwards we find him assisting in an attempt to get from the government a monopoly for ten years of the trade along Umfreville's route (Pond to Hamilton, Quebec, April 18, 1785, C. O. 42, vol. 47, pp. 649-652). It is very unlikely that he would have kept silence then had he known of the Kamanistikwia route.

²⁷ Now called Sturgeon-Weir River (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 313).

²⁸ Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., 263-264.

south, west, and north of Cumberland House in order to meet the Indians with furs before they reached the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment.²⁹ Henry left the post on Beaver Lake on New Year's Day and went by way of Cumberland House and the Saskatchewan River to Fort des Prairies, where he found James Finlay, who, Bain states, was the pioneer on the upper Saskatchewan, having wintered at Nipawi House in 1771-1772.

From Fort des Prairies, Henry went with a party of Assiniboines to their winter camp and then returned to Beaver Lake, which he reached April 9.³⁰ Three days later Thomas Frobisher was sent to construct a fort on Churchill River in order to intercept the fur trade down this river to the Bay.³¹ This was probably a permanent fort, on or near the site of the temporary post built in 1774. On June 15 Joseph Frobisher and Henry reached this fort. They left it the next day, proceeding up Churchill River—or English River, as Joseph Frobisher had named it.³² At the entrance to Ile à la Crosse Lake they met the Chipewyan Indians for whom they were looking and returned to the new fort with them. Here they bought twelve thousand beaver skins, besides large numbers of otter and marten.³³ These Indians described to them Lake Athabasca, Peace River, Slave River, and Slave Lake, but were unable to state whether or not the latter was the sea or a body of water emptying into the sea.³⁴

Leaving Thomas Frobisher to return with the Indians to Athabasca Lake, Henry and Joseph Frobisher proceeded by way of Grand Portage to Montreal, which they reached October 15, 1776. Henry had left Montreal for the interior in August, 1761. How far Thomas Frobisher went with the Indians, it is hard to

²⁹ Henry, *Travels*, Bain ed., 266, note 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 267-322.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 323.

³² *Ibid.*, 325-326.

³³ *Ibid.*, 328-331.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 331-332.

say. Mackenzie states that he went only as far as Ile à la Crosse Lake.³⁵ Pond's map of 1785 bears a legend which indicates that Frobisher wintered on the west side of Ile à la Crosse Lake in 1777, but this may mean the winter of 1777-1778. This was the spot in which Pond wintered in 1783.³⁶ It was the site upon which Ile à la Crosse House was later built and was a strategic point, where various forts were constructed by both the North West and Hudson's Bay companies.

Pond, who had wintered in 1775-1776 at Fort Dauphin, went to the forks of the Saskatchewan in 1776 and wintered slightly above the forks on the north branch. He passed the following winter at the same place.³⁷ In the spring of 1778 he went to Sturgeon Lake. The fur traders here pooled their stock and sent Pond with it to the Athabasca country. He went by way of the Churchill, Ile à la Crosse Lake, Lake Clear, Buffalo Lake, River La Loche, Lake La Loche, Portage La Loche or Methye Portage, and the Clearwater River to the Athabasca River, where he built a fort about thirty miles above its mouth.³⁸ It was called "Old Establishment," "Old Pond Fort," etc. Mackenzie says it was the only fort in this part of the country until 1785.³⁹ Pond was apparently here quite frequently during the next six years.⁴⁰

³⁵ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xii.

³⁶ C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665.

³⁷ Add. 15332, D; and C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665. It would be interesting to know how far Pond went up the Saskatchewan. He stated in connection with site 11 on the Congress map that in the mountains there he had seen flints (*pierres à fusil*) containing veins of white metal which looked like silver. The figure 11 is in the mountains west of the North and South Saskatchewan (Add. 15332, D, and Add. 15332, E, f. 3).

³⁸ Masson states that, after trading for some time on the English River, he crossed, being the first to do so, the height of land at Portage La Loche, and two years later reached the celebrated Athabasca region, where he built Fort Athabasca on River à la Biche, forty miles above its mouth (Masson, *Esquisse*, 15). The information given on Pond's own maps does not accord with this account of his movements.

³⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, lxxvii.

⁴⁰ The Public Record Office map states that he wintered here in 1778 and 1784 (C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665). The meaning of this latter date is ambigu-

The map in the Public Record Office indicates that he was at Lac La Ronge in 1782; and the copies of the Congress map, that he was at the same place in 1781.⁴¹ However, he had been at Lac La Ronge before, in 1780⁴² with Jean Etienne Waden, who had also been there the previous year.⁴² These two men represented rival interests at Grand Portage; and as a result of the ill-feeling which arose between them, Waden was shot and mortally wounded. Pond and one of Waden's clerks named Toussaint Le Sieur were tried for murder but acquitted.⁴³ Pond later acquired more notoriety by the murder of Ross. In 1790, according to Masson.

ous. He could hardly have been there in the winter of 1784-1785 after quarreling with the newly formed North West Company at Grand Portage that summer and attempting to form an opposition. It seems to be certain that he was there during the winter of 1783-1784, since the date 1783 is given on the map presented to Congress, or at least on the copies in the British Museum and on the one printed by Burpee. Moreover, his remarks to accompany this map were dated at Araboska, March 1, 1784 (Add. 15332, E). These maps also indicate that he wintered there in 1782. This clashes with the fact that these same maps locate him at Ile à la Crosse Lake in 1782. And the Public Record Office map dates his presence at Ile à la Crosse Lake in 1783 and at Lac La Ronge in 1782, whereas the copies of the Congress map date his presence at Lac La Ronge in 1781. It is interesting to observe that the copies of the Congress map, particularly the British Museum copies, locate "Fort Pond 1782, 1783" quite plainly on the south shore of Lake Athabasca, eastward from the river.

⁴¹ C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665; Add. 15332, D; and Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 182.

⁴² Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 329; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xvi.

⁴³ Mackenzie says that Waden was killed about the end of 1780 or the beginning of 1781 (Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xvi). Brymner gives an account of the event from the deposition of Joseph Fagniaut. This makes the date to be the beginning of March, according to Brymner's account (*Can. Arch. Report*, 1889, p. xxxvi), as does the petition of his wife.

On May 29, 1783, the widow, Josetta Waden—as she spelled her name—petitioned for the apprehension of Pond and Le Sieur by the military officers at the back posts, as the civil power was inefficient at such a distance (Add. 21879, ff. 122-125). The deposition, which is referred to, is not with this copy of the petition in the British Museum, although Josetta Waden's petition and the covering letter of Allan Morison to Captain Mathews are in this bound volume. The endorsement reads, Joseph Fagnant, instead of Fagniaut. Brymner quotes the Canadian Archive copy B, 219, p. 113. This must have been copied from the British Museum papers, or else Brymner's reference is wrong.

he sold out his shares for £800 and retired to the United States, where he died a poor man.⁴⁴

The question of Pond's activities is partly elucidated—and also partly befogged—by the notes on the backs of two maps in the Canadian archives which are copies of a map in Yale University Library entitled, "Travels of Capt. Peter Pond of Milford from April 1793⁴⁵ to March 1790. Extracted from his own Map by Ezra Stiles, March 25, 1790."⁴⁶ The notes in question do not agree with the data on the map.⁴⁷ Moreover, there is an unusual amount of detail between lakes Athabasca and Great Slave east of Slave River which is not contained in present day maps. It is

⁴⁴ Masson, *Esquisse*, 16; *Bourgeois*, I, 38.

⁴⁵ Probably should be 1773.

⁴⁶ The notes referred to contain, among other things, the following:

"Capt. Peter Pond. Residences.

1773. Wintered at St. Peters R. in the sources of the Mississippi, 3 Leagues below

1774. the falls of St. Antoine.

1775. Two years at Ft. Dauphin on S. W. side L. Winepeke No. 8.

1776 } at Ft. Prairie No. 12.

1777 }

1778. At Arabauska and came to Montreal 1779.

1779 } Montreal, 1781 Ft. La Rouge. No. 14. 1782 or 1783 at

1780 } Mischlamakinak & Montreal.

1785 } At Arabauska 3 years to

1786 } No. 21 in summer, Excursions

1787 } & came out 1788.

and came out of the 2nd [Probably should be "Ind."] country 1788.

At Montreal & Quebeck 1789 and 1788.

Returned to Milford March, 1790."

⁴⁷ The map shows the fort on the west side of Lake Ile à la Crosse with the legend, "Capt. Pond here 1787." Fort "No. 21" is marked east of the mouth of Jotchyniny River [Slave River] with the legend, "Here Capt. Pond reside 3 years 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784 came off." Fort Dauphin is located. "No. 12 Ft. Rai—" [Fort des Prairies] is located on the North Saskatchewan above the forks with the legend, "Capt. Pond wintered 2 y with 160 men." A fort "No. 15" is shown north of this on the east side of a lake which may be Green Lake. A fort "No. 18" is shown on the east side of the mouth of Athabasca River. Fort "No. 19" is on the south side of Peace River, some distance from the mouth. A fort "No. 20" is shown on the north side of Lake Athabasca, well to the east of the exit of Slave River. This appears to be an otherwise unrecorded post.

Indians

Indians signify Slaves, or a savage,
and uncultivated people. Capt. Pond
are made slaves everywhere else.

Capt. Peter Pond - Residences.

1773. Wintered at St. Peter's R. on the sources of Mississipp. 3 Leagues below

1774. the falls of St. Antoine.

1775 Two years at Ft. Dauphin on S.W. side of L. Winnipeg, No 8.

1776 } at Ft. Prairie No 12.

1777 }

1778 at Arabanaka, and came to Montreal 1779.

1779 } Montreal. 1781 Ft. la Rouge, No 14 1782, 1783 at Misikama R. m. 13.

1780 } Montreal. 1781 Ft. la Rouge, No 14 1782, 1783 at Misikama R. m. 13.

1785 } at Arabanaka 3 years & No 21 in summer, exactions, and came out 1788

1786 } a

1787 } and came out of the Pond. Country 1788, a Montreal and Quebec 1789 & 1788

Returned to Melford, Maine 1790.

a noteworthy fact that this map shows no river connecting Great Slave Lake and the Arctic Sea, but instead has two rivers with a considerable distance between their heads. The western edge of Great Slave Lake does not appear on the map, and there is no sign of the Mackenzie River. Pond's route-marks might easily make one think that Peace River flowed out of Lake Athabasca.⁴⁸ This map throws light on the map which Pond was preparing in 1789 and explains where Isaac Ogden of Quebec⁴⁹ got some of the ideas which appear in the letter he wrote to his father, David Ogden, November 7, 1789.⁵⁰ It would be interesting to know what reasons Pond had for exchanging his earlier theories—which were fundamentally sound—of the Athabasca drainage system for his later erroneous view. Whatever these reasons were, they probably influenced Alexander Mackenzie's subsequent activities, for it is evident from the account given by the latter of his 1789 journey that he started out under the impression that the waterway which he was following would lead him to the Pacific Coast. The fact is made positive by some notes affixed to a map in the Colonial Office Library in London.⁵¹ Now Ogden explains very clearly Pond's belief, derived from inspecting Pond's map and from conversing with Pond, that the river which flowed out of Great Slave Lake went southwestward and was the river the mouth of which Cook had explored on the Pacific Coast. The Rocky Mountains were supposed to end just far enough south to permit the passage of this river.

⁴⁸ It is Lake of the Hills on this map.

⁴⁹ He was then acting clerk of the Crown. Later he was a judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court in Quebec (*Can. Arch. Report, 1889*, p. xxvii).

⁵⁰ Brymner printed this in *Can. Arch. Report, 1889*, pp. 29-32, from Q, 49, pp. 357 *et seq.*, the copy in the Canadian Archives. A comparison of the printed version with the copy in the Public Record Office in England shows many variations in spelling, capitalization, and paragraphing, with one serious slip on p. 31, where Brymner prints "Eastward of the Lake" for "Southward of the Lake." The latter was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1790, vol. 60:1, pp. 197-199. The names of the writer and his correspondent did not appear there, however.

⁵¹ The map is listed as America, No. 54.

Moreover, Ogden states that Pond had left a man by the name of McKenzie at Slave Lake with orders to go down the river, thence to Unalaska, and thence to England through Russia. Mackenzie certainly says nothing in his published work about such orders. He does not even give Pond credit for information on the geography of this portion of America. If Pond's ideas were current among the traders, it may possibly help to explain why Mackenzie's exploration of the Mackenzie River in 1789 received little attention at Grand Portage when he went there the next year. Moreover, the traders were probably not quite satisfied that he had reached the Arctic Ocean. As late as 1814, Wentzel writes of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's turning back on the Grand⁵² River.⁵³ In 1807 he writes to Roderick McKenzie that "The Grand River, which obtains its waters from Slave Lake and which empties into the Pacific Ocean, is perhaps one of the longest and most beautiful rivers in the North."⁵⁴ Wentzel was doubtless not alone in his error.⁵⁵

It is difficult to identify the rivers north of Great Slave Lake on the map. They are well west of the Coppermine, which is indicated, though not named, as part of Hearne's route. Probably Pond knew of Lac à la Martre and its drainage into Great Slave Lake. The river draining into the Arctic may even be one draining into Great Bear Lake.

The route-marks on the map suggest that Pond went northwards from Fort des Prairies via Green Lake and Lake Ile à la Crosse to Athabasca, but Mackenzie's account is opposed to such a route.⁵⁶

⁵² I. e., Mackenzie.

⁵³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 111.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁵ Had he read Mackenzie's book? He does not make the argument that Mackenzie, who took the middle channel of the delta, had missed a westerly branch which might lead to the Pacific Ocean.

⁵⁶ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xii.

Besides the facts previously mentioned, this map locates a fort on Lake Superior,⁵⁷ a fort at Rainy Lake, a fort at the east end of Red Lake, a fort on the east side of Red River, Fort Epinett on the north side of the Assiniboine, a fort on the Qu'Appelle, a fort on a river emptying into the east side of Lake Winnipeke (Winnipeg), a fort on a little river emptying into the northwest corner of Little Winnipeg Lake, a fort on a little lake north of Lake Winnipeg, Fort Traite on the north side of Churchill River, Fort Eturgeon on the South Saskatchewan above the Forks, and a fort some distance up the North Saskatchewan.

Much of the knowledge displayed in the Pond maps was based upon Indian reports. Pond stated in the remarks accompanying the Congress map that he had talked with forty Red Knife Indians who lived a short distance from the Northwest Sea. They informed him that there were tides in that sea, that they knew of no lands farther north, that the shores of this sea ran towards the west, and that the navigation of the rivers emptying into it was open at the beginning of summer. They also spoke of having seen icebergs.⁵⁸ Pond furthermore claimed to have conversed with Indians who had captured prisoners west of the Rocky Mountains.⁵⁹ He had purchased articles made of copper from the natives, whom he called Ochipoins or Orchipoins. It is probable that Pond had been at Lake Athabasca by the time he drew the Congress map, but that he had not been north of it. In fact, the map makes one think that he confused the Mackenzie River with Coppermine River, and the general character of the remarks accompanying the map tends to support this belief. The later Public Record Office Map has a river which is apparently intended for the Coppermine.

⁵⁷ Probably it is at Grand Portage.

⁵⁸ Add. 15332, E, f. 2. It is a curious fact that Pond, in speaking of Hearne's voyage to this northern shore, states that it occurred in 1773, 1774, and 1775. The same erroneous time is given by Alexander Henry. Pond stated that his knowledge was from Indians who had accompanied Hearne.

⁵⁹ Add. 15332, E, f. 3.

Dorchester, writing in 1790 in connection with the Pond map, which he was forwarding, stated that Pond, who had left for the United States, returned from the Northwest in 1788, after having penetrated as far as Great Slave Lake.⁶⁰

About this time the dissensions of the traders encouraged the tribes of the south and west to massacre the whites and pillage the posts. The Indians were also irritated by unscrupulous actions on the part of the traders. An overdose of opium administered to an Indian precipitated an outbreak. The trader who gave the fatal draught was killed, with several of his men. Some months later, in the autumn of 1780, two forts on the Assiniboine were attacked. One, the Fort aux Trembles, commanded by Bruce and Boyer with twenty-one men under them, was attacked by Assiniboines and "*sauvages du bas de la rivière.*" The fort was abandoned, the goods and men being transported to the mouth of the Assiniboine. Other forts were assailed, and the movement was assuming formidable proportions when it was checked by the smallpox, which ravaged the country from the Assiniboine to the Saskatchewan and even to the Churchill River. The trade was interrupted for a time, but revived again.⁶¹

It is not quite certain when English establishments were first located in the Assiniboine district. Fort Espérance on the Qu'Appelle is said by John McDonnell to have been built by Robert Grant about 1787.⁶² As has been mentioned, Fort aux Trembles was there in 1780. How much earlier the English traders were on this river, it is hard to say. They appear to have early explored the Assiniboine, its tributaries, the Qu'Appelle and the Souris, and to have crossed the prairie to the Mandan villages on the

⁶⁰ Dorchester to Grenville, No. 78, Quebec, November 23, 1790, C. O. 42, vol. 73, pp. [1-2].

⁶¹ Masson, *Esquisse*, 17-18; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xiii-xvii.

⁶² Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 274. The author of Masson Papers, 2352, which is in McGill University, states that he was informed in 1793 that Robert Grant built the fort in 1787.

Missouri. Trade in the latter region seems to have been conducted from Pine Fort. This fort was abandoned in 1794 because the Hudson's Bay Company⁶³ and other traders had established themselves in 1793 at Souris River Fort, about seven leagues by land higher up the river. After this, the Mandan trade of the North West Company was conducted from Souris River Fort.⁶⁴ In McDonnell's Journal there are references to the journey of a band in 1793 from Fort Espérance to the Mandans, and to one which had just returned in May, 1795.⁶⁵ During 1793 David Monin, the North West Company clerk whom Robert Grant left in charge of Pine Fort, made a trip to the Missouri on the solicitation of three freemen, Morgan, Jussome, and Cardin. While returning,⁶⁶ Monin and Morgan were killed by a Sioux war party. Hudson's Bay Company men may have gone from the Assiniboine to the Missouri about this time, but no names or dates are extant. The first detailed account of an expedition is that of David Thompson, 1797-1798.

The formation of the North West Company put a check for a moment to the renewed fierce competition, but this respite was soon followed by the strife with the opposition firm of Gregory, McLeod and Company.⁶⁷ During the summer of 1784, before the latter body was organized, the North West Company had dis-

⁶³ They had established Osnaburgh House in 1786 (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 244).

⁶⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 271-272. It is here called River La Souris.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 286-294.

⁶⁶ Masson, Papers, 2352, McGill University.

⁶⁷ Roderick McKenzie gives a list of the members of this company in 1785. There assembled at their newly constructed headquarters at Grand Portage on the north side of Pigeon River: John Gregory, Peter Pangman, John Ross, Alexander Mackenzie, partners; Duncan Pollock and Laurent Leroux, clerks; James Finlay and Roderick McKenzie, apprentice clerks. Norman McLeod, being a dormant partner, remained at Montreal. The guides, *commis*, and interpreters, were few in number and not of the best.

The Athabasca Department was put in charge of Ross; English River, of Mackenzie; Fort des Prairies of Pangman; Red River, of Pollock; and several smaller outfits were entrusted to subalterns. Roderick McKenzie was left at Grand Portage, under Pierre L'Anniau (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 10-11).

patched Edward Umfreville to explore a route by way of Lake Nipigon to the interior.⁶⁸ The boundary, as arranged by the treaty of peace, placed Grand Portage in United States territory. The lower portion of Pigeon River was not navigable, and the land to the mouth of it did not admit of a portage route. In return for this expedition and for the proposed exploration of the country between latitudes 55° and 65° from Hudson Bay to the Pacific, the North West Company requested a monopoly of the fur trade to the Northwest for ten years and the exclusive use of the route they expected to find.⁶⁹ The question had been suggested as early as April, but the governor had intimated that he could not promise anything,⁷⁰ and the officials of Quebec were not too favorably inclined towards the request. Pond⁷¹ and the Frobishers corresponded with the government on the subject, and finally in 1785 Haldimand wrote to Sydney suggesting—he did not directly recommend—the granting of the privileges requested;⁷² but there is no record of their being granted. Neither were the trading posts handed over to the United States for some

⁶⁸ Umfreville's Journal for this expedition is part of Masson Papers, 2370, in McGill University. It opens Wednesday, June 16, 1784, with the words, "At 11 *a.m.* parted company with Mr. Grant, having an Indian guide to conduct us to lake Nipigon . . ." The last entry is on Wednesday, July 28, when they reached Portage du Rat. Umfreville reports rather favorably of the route which he had explored, and signs all at Lac du Bois, July 31, 1784. He explains the Journal's numerous abbreviations by saying that it was copied at Portage de l'Isle.

The expedition had been discussed for some time. Mathews wrote to Frobisher, April 26, that the governor would give every assistance towards ascertaining a new passage, but that the traders should not express doubts about the boundaries (Mathews to Frobisher, Quebec, April 26, 1784, Add. 21723, ff. 78-79).

⁶⁹ Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, October 4, 1784, C. O. 42, vol. 47, pp. 637-639; Add. 21877, ff. 396-403; *Can. Arch. Report*, 1890, pp. 48-52.

⁷⁰ Benjamin Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, April 19, 1784, Add. 21735, ff. 421-424; Benjamin Frobisher to Mathews, Montreal, May 3, 1784, B, 75-2, p. 123 *et seq.*

⁷¹ Pond to Hamilton, Quebec, April 18, 1785, C. O. 42, vol. 47.

⁷² Add. 21855, f. 354; and Hamilton to Sydney, Quebec, June 6, 1785, C. O. 42, vol. 47.

years. Since the route traversed by Umfreville was circuitous and difficult,⁷³ the Grand Portage route was followed for the greater part of two decades;⁷⁴ and when the British traders finally found it necessary to change, they used the Kaministikwia waterway.

Although the situation was tense, the winters of 1785 and 1786 passed fairly amicably in a number of districts.⁷⁵ There was some extension of the trade, too. It is stated that in 1786 Pond sent Cuthbert Grant and Laurent Leroux⁷⁶ to establish a post on Great Slave Lake. They succeeded in establishing a post at the outlet of Slave River which was later called Fort Resolution.⁷⁷ Leroux went even farther north to a place called at a later date Fort Providence, to induce the Indians to come to trade at the southern posts. It is difficult to determine whether white men had been over this route before.

The murder of Ross in the winter of 1786⁷⁸ led to an amalgamation of the rival companies as soon as the news was brought to Grand Portage. Alexander Mackenzie, who was sent from English River to the Athabasca district to act with Pond, at first planned to abandon the posts farther north. Then he changed his mind, and Boyer was sent to establish a fort on Peace River.

⁷³ A memorial dated Montreal, December 9, 1792, and signed by McTavish, Frobisher & Co., Forsyth, Richardson & Co., and Todd, McGill & Co., stated that the Nipigon route would require three or four weeks longer and that the small North Canoes were to be obtained only at Rainy Lake and not at Nipigon (Q, 278, pp. 146-162).

⁷⁴ In 1788 Simon McTavish and Joseph Frobisher, on behalf of the North West Company, asked for a grant of land an acre in width from Lake Superior to Long Lake in order to build a wagon road. The Council reported adversely June 30, 1788 (Q, 37, pp. 264-265).

⁷⁵ For example, Roderick McKenzie and William McGillivray both made good returns with the Indians of Lac des Serpents (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 17-18).

⁷⁶ Is this the Leroux who was in the employ of the opposition company in 1785 (cf. Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 11) ?

⁷⁷ Masson, *Esquisse*, 30.

⁷⁸ The Athabasca brigade reported to Roderick McKenzie in June, 1787, that Ross had been shot in a scuffle with Pond's men. McKenzie took the news to Grand Portage (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 18-19).

Leroux was sent back to Slave Lake, from which he had been recalled, with orders to press the trade there. The natives being indolent, Leroux sent the influential Chipewyan "English Chief" on a successful mission to influence the Indian tribes to come to his fort to trade.⁷⁹ James Sutherland, an employee, followed this up by an expedition, returning in the spring with some natives and a considerable number of furs. Presents were given to the chiefs. As a result, the savages from Lac à la Martre and the country beyond it came the next spring in great numbers to the fort on Slave Lake.⁸⁰ At their request, a fort was built at Lac à la Martre, fifteen days' travel from Great Slave Lake.⁸¹

Fort Espérance, which Robert Grant founded at this time on the Qu'Appelle, became later the chief provision depot of the North West Company. Large quantities of dried meat and pemmican were kept here for distribution to the other posts in case of scarcity of game or fish.

In 1789 Angus Shaw established Lac d'Original Fort at the lake of the same name on the upper course of the Beaver River, northeast of the present city of Edmonton.⁸² He found four Hudson's Bay traders near there with a band of Assiniboines and had them sent away.⁸³ Three years later he established Fort George on the Saskatchewan River.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Masson, *Esquisse*, 31-32.

⁸⁰ Burpee states that this fort was at the eastern mouth of Slave River. (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 416). It is mentioned by Mackenzie under date of June 9, 1789, as "the houses erected by Messrs. Grant and La Roux in 1786" (Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 8).

⁸¹ Masson, *Esquisse*, 33.

⁸² Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 14.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, I, 32.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 17.

CHAPTER III

MACKENZIE'S EXPLORATIONS

Alexander Mackenzie¹ was now in a position to carry out the extensive explorations for which he was well fitted. The year spent in the Athabasca department with Pond had given him a good grasp of its known geographical features and of the theories regarding the unexplored portions.² Pond left the Upper Country in 1788, irritated because the North West Company was not providing for him as fully as he wished, and his fellow-partners evidently did not urge him to remain. Mackenzie had to report a season's trade fraught with difficulties and somewhat meager in returns.³ For a time he also was uncertain whether he should remain in the country, but finally he decided to do so. In the latter part of July he was at Rainy Lake superintending the arrangement of the Athabasca affairs there.⁴ He urged his cousin

¹ Bryce (*Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson*, 10), has ascertained that Mackenzie was born at Stornaway, on the Isle of Lewis, in 1763. The article by H. Manners Chichester in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXV, 134-135, is a hopeless tangle of truth and error, particularly about the early career of Mackenzie.

² In his report to Dorchester, Alexander Mackenzie stated in regard to his expedition of 1789, "I followed the course of the Waters which had been reported by Mr. Pond to fall into Cook's River, they led me to the Northern Ocean, in latitude 69½ north and about 135 of west longitude. . . ." (Mackenzie to Dorchester, Montreal, November 17, 1794, copy enclosed in Dorchester to Portland, No. 10, of November 20, 1794, C. O. 42, vol. 101.

³ In a letter dated Ile à la Crosse, February 1, 1788, Mackenzie reported to the agents at Grand Portage that he had been unable to get the goods into Athabasca the preceding fall. The lading of only three canoes had been carried across Portage La Loche, and these had to be left at the end of the portage. Mackenzie himself in a light canoe with eight men had only reached Athabaska October 25. It was too late to send goods either to Slave Lake or Peace River. After some correspondence Leroux was recalled from Slave Lake; MacLeod and Boyer were sent to Peace River, November 9, with two canoes and nine pieces of goods to trade for provisions for the spring canoes and to induce the Indians to bring their furs to the fort in March (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 23-24).

⁴ On account of the distance, the Athabasca canoes did not go to Grand Portage, but discharged their returns and received fresh supplies at Rainy Lake (Mackenzie, *Voyages*, London, 1801, Ivi).

Roderick McKenzie to reconsider his determination to leave the country. The latter at first refused, but when Mackenzie confided to him his plan for exploring the waterway out of Slave Lake,⁵ he consented. A refusal would have necessitated the abandonment of the project for lack of a person to take charge of the department during Mackenzie's absence.⁶

On reaching Pond's Old Establishment, Alexander Mackenzie attended to the sending out of the trading outfits and remained there over winter with two or three men. Roderick McKenzie was sent to Lake Athabasca, about one or two days' travel farther on. Here he built Fort Chipewean on a point on the south shore of the lake.⁷ It was later perceived that the north shore of the lake afforded a more suitable situation and, about 1820, this fort was abandoned.⁸ Fort Chipewean was the most important establishment in the far northwest, being the headquarters from which departed the expeditions down the Mackenzie and up the Peace River. The fisheries were a main source of its food supply. Mackenzie visited the new fort about Christmas and remained until the departure of the winter express in February. By it he sent a letter dated February 14, 1789, to the partners at Grand Portage, announcing the building of Fort Chipewean and the opening of an extensive trade with the Chipewyans, who had been accustomed to trade at Hudson Bay, though it cost them a seven-months' journey.⁹ Roderick McKenzie, on his way to Grand Portage and back in 1789, explored for a better

⁵ Mackenzie, it would appear, had suggested some such trip to McKenzie in January of that year. A letter of his says: "I already mentioned to you some of my distant intentions, I beg you will not reveal them to any person . . ." (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 22).

⁶ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 26-27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 27. The name is also spelled Chepewyan. It finally settled into the form Chipewyan.

⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 38, note 1. Franklin writes as if the post on the north shore of the lake had been under construction at least eight years before 1820 (Franklin, *Narrative*, 152-155).

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 28-29.

route than the long and difficult Portage La Loche, or Methye Portage. He found no better, although he followed the route by way of Little Fish River below Portage La Loche on his way out, and crossed from Lake Ile à la Crosse by Lac Clair to the head of Athabasca River on his return. This river was particularly turbulent and he experienced some difficulty in making his way to the landing-place of Portage La Loche. On his way to Grand Portage he carried a letter from Mackenzie dated Athabasca, May 22, 1789, announcing that there was a sufficient stock of goods on hand for the succeeding year, and that eight canoes, with three of the five that remained inland, would be ample to carry out the returns. The traders had still to place their chief reliance for furs on Peace River, as the Chipewyans clung to their habit of going to Hudson Bay. Vaudreuil was to pass the summer on Peace River, as Boyer was going out. Leroux had returned March 22 from the north side of Great Slave Lake, where he had traded with a great number of Red Knife and Slave Indians, to whom he promised a rendezvous that summer on the west side of the lake.¹⁰

It was in this year that Alexander Mackenzie made his expedition down the great river which bears his name. On June 3, 1789, he left Fort Chipewean with four Canadians, a German, and two women.¹¹ The men were François Barribeau, Charles Ducette, Joseph Landry, Pierre de Lorme, and John Steinbruck. Various Indians, including the English Chief, accompanied the party. Mackenzie also took Leroux along with him to establish relations with the Yellow Knives north of Great Slave Lake. He was to build a fort at the outlet of the river from Lac à la Martre. This was old Fort Providence, on the north shore of Great Slave Lake, in longitude *circa* 114°.

Mackenzie's party entered Slave River on the first day's trip.

¹⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 29-30.

¹¹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 1-2.

Here their leader noticed the peculiarity of the river, which empties into Lake Athabasca when the water is high in Peace River, and at other times carries the waters of this lake northward into Great Slave Lake.¹² Several rapids necessitated portaging on the way down Slave River, and heavy rain compelled the party to stay in camp for the better part of two days.

On June 9 they reached Great Slave Lake.¹³ They were detained by the ice for five days at Leroux's establishment, which had been started in 1785.¹⁴ It took them nine days to cross through the ice to the North Arm, where they met the Red Knife Indians, and Leroux did some trading.¹⁵ Mackenzie left Leroux here on the morning of June 25; and after four days' canoeing along the north shore, the party entered the river which was later to bear the name of Mackenzie.¹⁶ Mackenzie here mentions the fact that land where pine, spruce, and white birch have been burned off, afterward grows nothing but poplar, though no poplar may have been there before. This remark was, of course, challenged by the British reviewers of Mackenzie's book.¹⁷

Horn Mountain, the home of the Beaver Indians, was now in sight to the northwest.¹⁸ The party proceeded, and passed the River of the Mountain¹⁹ on July 1. About nine miles farther on they hid two bags of pemmican for use on their return.²⁰ They were now daily expecting to arrive at a great rapids of which alarming stories had been told them.

The following day they sighted the Rocky Mountains, which appeared to be sprinkled with white stones, that glistened in

¹² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 2-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10-17.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-23.

¹⁷ *Edinburgh Review*, ed. 4, I, 149.

¹⁸ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 25.

¹⁹ Now called Liard River.

²⁰ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 28.

the sun. The Indians called these *manetoe aseniah*, or spirit stones. Mackenzie thought that they might be tale, but on his return found that they were only patches of snow.²¹ On the morning of July 5 the party met five families of Dog-rib and Slave Indians. They were made to smoke, though they apparently were unacquainted with the use of tobacco, and presents were also made to them of grog, knives, beads, and other articles. In return they gave some fabulous accounts of the river which terrified the Indians with Mackenzie, so that he had trouble in inducing them to proceed.²² That afternoon the party passed the mouth of Great Bear River,²³ and the next day they reached a rapids, but although this proved to be the waterfall of which they had been hearing dire things,²⁴ it presented little difficulty. On July 7 the party passed between the ramparts of the Mackenzie River. The next day they were among the Hare Indians, so-called because the hare formed a staple article of their diet.²⁵ One day's travel farther brought them among the Deguthee Dinees, or Quarreller Indians.²⁶

On July 10 Mackenzie reached the delta at the mouth of the river, and was somewhat at a loss which channel to follow, but finally he determined to proceed along the middle one.²⁷ This day Mackenzie got an observation of 67° 47' north latitude, which was farther north than he expected. He assigns the variation of the compass as the reason.²⁸ Mackenzie here states for the first time that it was evident that these waters emptied into

²¹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 29.

²² *Ibid.*, 33-34.

²³ *Ibid.*, 39.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 41. It is now called the Sans Sault Rapid (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 430).

²⁵ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 42-44.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 54. According to the 1914 Dominion of Canada map, he was, if anything, not far enough north in his observation.

the Hyperborean Sea, and he determined to proceed to their outlet.²⁹ His guide became much discouraged, declaring that he had never been at the *Belhoullay Toe*, or White Man's Lake, and that when he had gone to Esquimaux Lake, which was a short distance ahead, he had made the trip by land. The Chipewyan hunters were also anxious to return, but Mackenzie persuaded them to proceed for seven days more. At the end of that time, scarcity of provisions made binding the promise to return.³⁰

The next day the party reached a deserted Esquimaux encampment, and on July 12 they came to what Mackenzie thought was the entrance to the lake of which they had heard.³¹ He obtained an observation of $69^{\circ} 1'$ north latitude. Without knowing it, he had reached the mouth of the middle branch of the Mackenzie River. The party now followed a westerly course to an island fifteen miles away, the water being only five feet deep. The ice prevented their going farther westward.³² Next day Mackenzie took an observation which gave him $69^{\circ} 14'$ north latitude, the meridian variation of the compass being 36° eastward. He states in a footnote that the longitude had later been determined by dead reckoning to be 135° west.³³ The party engaged in a fruitless chase of some small white whales on July 14, from which circumstance Mackenzie named this Whale Island.³⁴ That evening they camped at the east end of the island. Mackenzie mentions at the end of the entries for the day that he ordered that morning a post erected close to their tents, and that on it he engraved the latitude of the place,³⁵ the number of the persons with

²⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 54.

³⁰ *Ibid.* *Benohulla Toe*, as here spelled by Mackenzie, becomes elsewhere *Belhoullay Toe*.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

³² *Ibid.*, 60.

³³ *Ibid.*, 63, note 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

³⁵ Probably that of $69^{\circ} 14'$, though he does not state specifically that such was the case. It was the observation he had made the preceding day.

him, and the time they remained there. On the morning of July 15 he found at four o'clock that the water had risen among their baggage, and concluded that it was the tide. At noon he got a reading of $69^{\circ} 7'$ north latitude. An observation of the tide next morning showed about sixteen or eighteen inches of rise, but accuracy could not be attained because of the wind.³⁶ This day they sailed among the islands apparently to the eastward and then "made for the river and stemmed the current."³⁷ This casual statement is all that Mackenzie vouchsafes in regard to his abandonment of further search for the sea.

At ten o'clock on the morning of July 21, the party was back at the head of the delta.³⁸ The strength of the current made it necessary to resort to the towing line. The next day Mackenzie visited an Indian village and conversed with the natives through the medium of the English Chief. From them he received some information about the Esquimaux, in particular the fact that ten or twelve winters before the Esquimaux had seen large canoes filled with white men to the westward on the lake which they called *Belhoullay Toe*, or White Man's Lake. From these white men they had received iron in exchange for leather.³⁹ On July 26, the party met a Dog-rib Indian, who stated that the Hare Indians had informed him that there was a river on the other side of the mountains to the southwest. This river was much larger than the Mackenzie and emptied into the *Belhoullay Toe*.⁴⁰ The following day Mackenzie heard more about this river. Meeting a party of Indians, he paid one of them some beads to draw a map upon the sand. He says:

This singular map he immediately undertook to delineate, and according-

³⁶ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 65-66.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 82-83. This was probably the Yukon, or one of its larger tributaries.

ly traced out a very long point of land between the rivers, though without paying the least attention to their courses, which he represented as running into the great lake, at the extremity of which, as he had been told by Indians of other nations, there was a *Belhoullay Couin*, or White Man's Fort. This I took to be Unalascha Fort, and consequently the river to the west to be Cook's River; and that the body of water or sea into which this river discharges itself at Whale Island, communicates with Norton Sound.⁴¹

But he could persuade no one to guide him to this river. Conversation with another party the same day elicited no new information, and Mackenzie decided that he could hear nothing more until he reached Great Bear River. Here he expected to meet some Indians who on his way down had informed him about this river to the westward. Mackenzie had not believed their account at the time.⁴² On his arrival there, August 2, the natives were absent hunting.⁴³

On August 13 Mackenzie reached the River of the Mountain⁴⁴ and the next day ascended it about two miles.⁴⁵ On August 22 the party reached the entrance to Great Slave Lake.⁴⁶ Two days later they met three canoes, containing Leroux and some Indians, who had been out on a hunting party for twenty-five days. Leroux had been as far as Lac à la Martre, where he met some Slave Indians.⁴⁷ On August 30 the entire party arrived at Leroux's house. Here Mackenzie paid off his Indians, and arranged with the English Chief to bring the Beaver Indians to trade their furs at this establishment.⁴⁸ The next day Mackenzie proceeded on his way and arrived at Fort Chipewean on September 12, after a journey which had lasted one hundred and two days.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 84-85.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 86-88.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 95-97.

⁴⁴ The Liard.

⁴⁵ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 106-107.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

It would appear, from reading the account of this journey as published by Mackenzie, that he started down the river which drains Great Slave Lake under the impression that he was going to the western coast of America. It was not until he reached the delta that he recorded his conviction that the river emptied into the Arctic Ocean.

It is also an interesting question whether Mackenzie realized that he had actually reached this northern ocean. He had reached that large branch of the Arctic now marked on the maps as Mackenzie Bay. On the map in his published work, the term "THE SEA" appears north of Whale Island, and in his report to Dorchester dated Montreal, November 17, 1794, he speaks of the waters he followed as leading him to the Northern Ocean.⁵⁰ But it is by no means certain that Mackenzie realized on his journey—or even soon after his journey—how far north he had actually been. There is no definite statement in his published journal that he had reached the northern ocean. In fact, he speaks rather of a lake.⁵¹ He records that the expedition had reached tidal waters, but the effect of tides may be perceived at some distance up rivers and similar bodies of water, and the height of the tide which he gives is not great. An interesting point is that he does not record whether the water was salt or fresh. If he ever tasted the water on this whole trip, he certainly does not mention it.⁵² On a manuscript chart in the Colonial Office which is attributed to Mackenzie, there is a semicircular body of water with Whale Island in it marked at the mouth of the river. The delta is not shown. On the east side of the mouth of the river is the inscription, "5 ft. deepest Water in the Entrance of the Lake 12 July 1789." On the west side of the

⁵⁰ Copy in Dorchester to Portland, No. 10, of November 20, 1794, C. O. 42, vol. 101.

⁵¹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 60.

⁵² Barrow noted the fact that Mackenzie had not dipped his finger into the water to see if it were salt (Hugh Murray, *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in North America*, I, 156-157).

river-mouth is another inscription, "Number of Streams seen from a Hill." And where the river turns sharply from a west-by-south to a north-by-west course in about $67^{\circ} 25'$ north latitude, there appears on the west side of the river the inscription, "By the Indian Account the Sea is but a short way to the Westward." It would seem from this map that Mackenzie did not realize that he had reached the Arctic Ocean.⁵³

⁵³ This map is cited as "America No. 54." It is of size $4' 1\frac{3}{4}" \times 2' 1\frac{1}{2}"$. The scale is about 29 leagues to the inch. It is drawn on a thin paper, which might possibly be a tracing paper, and is gummed at the edges to a heavy white paper. The Colonial Office officials were unable to state when this map came into their possession. The map shows nothing east or south of Keweenaw Point (?) on Lake Superior. Lac à la Martre and Great Bear Lake do not appear. It does not show the route to the Pacific. There is merely a line for the Rocky Mountains, with nothing west—except some of the coast line—or just east of them. Peace River is named and drawn as if well known to about latitude $57^{\circ} 20'$ and longitude $122^{\circ} 30'$. Beyond this is a hypothetically sketched "Lake of the Plains" in longitude $120^{\circ} 50'$ to 124° *circa* $25'$ and latitude $56^{\circ} 12'$ to *circa* $56^{\circ} 45'$ from which the Peace River appears to flow. From the west side of this lake a hypothetical river flows southwestward to the "Rocky Mountains" in longitude 125° and latitude 56° . There is a "Fort" on the north side of the Peace River in about latitude $58^{\circ} 15'$ and longitude $118^{\circ} 50'$. The Pacific coast is sketched from the "Strait of Juan de Fuca" around to the Arctic past "Bhering's Strait." Uncertainty is shown in various spots. The long rivers are on the southeast shore of the Alaskan peninsula and just south of Norton Sound. The name "COOK'S RIVER" is on the inlet in latitude 60° and longitude 153° , where there is no such name in the printed work. On the other hand, the printed map has Cook's Inlet, which this map has not. The location is slightly different. Vancouver Island is not marked. There is a big "Nepean Sound" with islands in it on the mainland coast east of "Queen Charlotte's Isles."

Besides the fort already mentioned on Peace River, this map locates Fort L'Eppinett, Fort Dauphin, Fort la Biche, Cumberland House, Fort Eturgeon, Hudson's House, Manchester House, Ft. de Trait, York Fort, Fort Church [*sic*], a fort at Grand Portage, one on the east side of Red Lake, and the fort of "P. Pond 1773."

It would appear that this map was drawn by Mackenzie before his journey of 1793. Possibly he gave it to the authorities while in England before that journey. Possibly it came through some other source. It might have been given in the winter of 1794-1795, when Mackenzie was in England, officially recommended. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in his report to Dorchester, dated Montreal, November 17, 1794, he states that he made himself but little known during his residence in London in 1791-1792 because he had not been provided with proper instruments for ascertaining longitude on his first expedition (C. O. 42, vol. 101). But in this case it is strange that his western expedition is not delineated. Pinned to the map are some manuscript notes entitled, "A few Remarks to Elucidate my Tracks from Athabesca Latitude 58.38 North and Longitude $110\frac{1}{2}$ West from

The portion of the notes pinned to the map which deals with the journey of 1789 is worth quoting in full. It reads as follows:

Athabasca is 2750 Miles to the North and West of Montreal the distance from this to the North Sea in Latitude $69\frac{1}{4}$ North and Longitude about 135° West from Greenwich by the Slave Lake and McKenzie's River is 1540 Miles. It was in the Summer of 1789 that I went this Expedition in hopes of getting into Cook's River tho I was disappointed in this it proved without a doubt that there is not a north west passage below this latitude and I believe it will generally be allowed that no passage is practicable in a Higher Latitude the Sea being eternally covered with ice.

This statement indicates that Mackenzie supposed that the river which drains Great Slave Lake emptied into the Pacific Ocean. In regard to the "Lake" mentioned on the map, it is worthy of remark that Wentzel as late as 1814 wrote to Roderick McKenzie:

. . . the Natives also affirm that the sea is much nearer to that end of the lake,⁵⁴ than it is from where Sir Alex. MacKenzie turned back on the Grand River, which they maintain is a large lake which communicates to the sea by a very broad outlet, and not a bay of the Ocean as generally believed by the Whites.⁵⁵

Wentzel was, of course, trusting to third-hand Indian accounts.

In September, 1789, Alexander Mackenzie went up the Athabasca River and met Roderick McKenzie at the mouth of the Clearwater on his way back from Grand Portage. They wintered together at Fort Chipewean.⁵⁶ In the spring the explorer went to Grand Portage, where he arrived July 13. He wrote three days later: "My expedition was hardly spoken of, but that is what I expected."⁵⁷ Interest was concentrated upon the reorganization of the North West Company agreed upon that

Greenwich to the North Sea and Western ocean as delineated on Mr. Arrow-smith's Map." Most of these notes constitute a brief summary of the expedition of 1793. They are the same, barring slight differences in spelling, as the material in the Stowe MS, 793, ff. 80-81, in the British Museum.

⁵⁴ The east end of Great Bear Lake.

⁵⁵ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 111.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 35.

summer. This was at first kept secret, and it was not until a year later that Mackenzie divulged it to his cousin Roderick in a letter dated at Lac La Pluie, August 2, 1791. The reorganization was for seven years from the end of the year in which the letter was dated.⁵⁸ There were to be twenty shares, of which McTavish, Frobisher and Company held six. Montour, Grant, Small, Gregory, Pangman, and Alexander Mackenzie held two shares each. McGillivray and Sutherland held a share each. Mackenzie paid McBeath three hundred and fifty pounds Halifax currency "over and above the stock on hand" for one of his shares. Gregory and Pangman had to purchase their shares from Holmes and McLeod. The latter sold his for two hundred pounds per annum, probably for three or four years. Sutherland got his share from McTavish, Frobisher and Company. McGillivray bought his from Pond for eight hundred pounds. A commission of five per cent on the amount of the invoice was to be paid to the Montreal company on the goods imported for the North West Company.⁵⁹ There were few changes among the clerks or the heads of secondary posts. There continued to be some trading on shares. St. Germain traded to Rivière à la Biche on the condition that when the profits did not amount to two hundred pounds the company should supply the deficiency. Lesieur & Fraser had a similar agreement.

Mackenzie was in England during the winter of 1791-1792, perfecting his mathematical knowledge and purchasing technical equipment.⁶⁰ The astronomer Turner wintered in Athabasca that year, having been sent by the Hudson's Bay Company at the instance of the Colonial Office.⁶¹ He made an observation of the

⁵⁸ Masson states in his preliminary sketch that the company was reorganized in 1790 for nine years (*Esquisse*, 42). This is a slight distortion of what occurred, because the union of 1787 had been for five years and would not expire until the summer of 1792, and Mackenzie states that this company terminated in 1798 (*Voyages*, xxiii).

⁵⁹ Masson *Bourgeois*, I, 38-39.

⁶⁰ Masson, *Esquisse*, 56.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 52-54.

position of Fort Chipewean, proving that Lake Athabasca, instead of being only forty or fifty leagues from the Pacific, as Pond and others had supposed, was really over three hundred leagues distant. Mackenzie had not been able to determine any longitude.

Mackenzie returned to Canada in the spring of 1792⁶² and proceeded to Fort Chipewean to make preparations for an expedition to the Pacific Ocean the following year.⁶³ Leaving Rodrick McKenzie in charge here, he set out October 10, 1792, with two canoes laden with necessary supplies, to winter on Peace River.⁶⁴ Other canoes were to follow. On the morning of October 19 the party reached the Old Establishment, apparently the post built by Boyer in 1788. The river had already been surveyed to this point by a certain Vaudreuil, formerly in the company's service.⁶⁵ On October 20 they landed at the post where Finlay was to spend the ensuing winter.⁶⁶ Three days later Mackenzie proceeded, and on November 1 reached his wintering place,⁶⁷ six miles above the mouth of Smoky River. Two men, who had been sent forward in the spring, had the timber and

⁶² He left the Downs, May 9, 1792 (C. O. 42, vol. 101).

⁶³ There were various proposals by Holland and others in 1790 to explore the territory from Lake Athabasca westward to the strip of coast explored by Cook. Alexander Dalrymple, the geographer, was also interested in the problem. The proposals were not put into effect. Later, in 1792, Holland renewed his proposal in a letter to Simcoe dated Quebec, October 6 (Q, 279-1, pp. 207 *et seq*). Simcoe forwarded it in his despatch No. 12 of November 23. It is possible that this renewal of the proposal was due to a knowledge that Mackenzie was planning to explore westward the next spring. Evan Nepean was the originator of the idea of the expedition in which the Hollands were interested in 1790 (John Frederick Holland to Evan Nepean, Quebec, November 10, 1790, C. O. 42, vol. 72). This letter, in speaking of Mackenzie's expedition in the preceding year, states that the North West Company thought the river emptied into the Western Ocean, a belief which was disproved by this voyage. Holland also writes as if Mackenzie had reported that he did not reach the Arctic Ocean.

⁶⁴ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 121-122.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 127-128.

palisades at hand, and the structure was ready for occupation two days before Christmas.⁶⁸ These men had been here early in the preceding May and possibly through the winter before that.⁶⁹ From the Indians Mackenzie now heard of Lesser Slave Lake⁷⁰ and also of a river on the other side of the mountains, the course of which was towards the midday sun.⁷¹ Mackenzie records the fact that Canadian traders were first on the Peace River in 1786.⁷²

On May 8, 1793, he sent six canoes with furs, provisions, and letters to Fort Chipewean. At seven o'clock in the evening of the next day he embarked with Alexander MacKay, Joseph Landry, Charles Ducette, François Beaulieux, Baptiste Bisson, François Courtois, Jacques Beauchamp, and two Indians as hunters and interpreters. He had no guide. Joseph Landry and Charles Ducette had accompanied him on his expedition of 1789.⁷³ The passage up Peace River, where white men had never been before, was a toilsome one. On May 31 he reached the forks of Peace River.⁷⁴ An old Indian had advised him to take the Parsnip and not the Finlay River branch. His men were not pleased with his determination to follow the former branch, which afforded difficult passage.⁷⁵ Through paddling up the east side of the Parsnip River in the high water season, Mackenzie missed the mouth of Pack, or McLeod's Lake, River, which would have led him to Giscome Portage. He does not mention it on his return, either.⁷⁶ On June 9 he met some Indians, probably Sicannnis, who had iron utensils, the metal of which was procured

⁶⁸Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 129-135.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 136.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 139-140.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 140.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 146.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 151-152.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 185.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 185-186.

⁷⁶Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 456.

by intertribal trade from the coast.⁷⁷ The following morning he got word from these Indians that he could proceed by a series of portages from the head of Parsnip River to a small river emptying into a large one flowing towards the midday sun. This latter river he was told did not empty into the sea.⁷⁸ It was of course the Fraser. The party proceeded with one of these Indians as a guide, and on June 12 they reached a small lake which Mackenzie considered the highest and southernmost source of the Unjigah, or Peace, River in latitude $54^{\circ} 24'$, longitude 121° .⁷⁹ They then portaged to Bad River, as Simon Fraser later named it.⁸⁰ In this river they lost almost all their bullets in a bad wrecking of the canoe, and the *voyageurs* were nearly discouraged. But on June 17 a navigable branch of the Fraser River was reached.⁸¹ Two days later the mouth of the Nechaco River was passed unseen, in the same manner as Pack River.⁸² On June 21 Mackenzie established friendly relations with the Carrier Indians, who had never seen white men before, although they possessed articles from the coast which had been obtained in trade.⁸³ The next day Mackenzie learned from other Indians that it would be a long and dangerous way to the sea if he followed the river, but that the way overland was short and not difficult.⁸⁴ The problem was complicated. He did not wish to abandon his exploration of the river. But provisions and ammunition were running short, time was pressing, and he might find himself unable to return to Athabasca that season. Moreover, he was becoming convinced, from the descriptions given by the Indians, that the river could not empty into the ocean north of what was then called the

⁷⁷ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 200-201.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 203-204.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁸² Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 463-464.

⁸³ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 242-246.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 253-254.

River of the West.⁸⁵ Later, under date of August 18, he calls it the Tacoutche Tesse, or Columbia River.

On June 23 Mackenzie decided to turn back on his course and follow the overland route to the ocean.⁸⁶ Difficulties with his guide lent danger in addition to that of an Indian population aroused and rendered suspicious by the sudden turning back of the expedition, but on July 3 the West Road⁸⁷ River was reached.⁸⁸ Goods were cached, and on the following day the party set out overland. The route lay along the Blackwater and Bella Coola rivers, the latter of which was reached July 17.⁸⁹ On the morning of July 20 the party reached the mouth of the Bella Coola River, on Bentinck Arm, and the next day they arrived at Vancouver's Cape Menzies.⁹⁰ Here trouble was started by an Indian who had been punished by some of Vancouver's men, but in spite of this, observations were taken and the following inscription was written in grease and vermilion on a rock:

Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.⁹¹

Mackenzie's latitude by an artificial horizon was 52° 21' 33", and by the natural horizon it was 52° 20' 48". His longitude was 128° 2'.

Mackenzie now retraced his steps. There was more trouble with the Indians in the village at the mouth of the Bella Coola River, but it was overcome by a bold front, and the return trip was made in safety. The Fraser River was reached on August 4, the Parsnip

⁸⁵Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 255-256.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 260. Fort Alexandria was later built at the spot where the party started back.

⁸⁷Blackwater.

⁸⁸Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 282.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 317; Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 475.

⁹⁰Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 343.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 349. Mackenzie does not appear, either on this voyage or on the one down the Mackenzie River in 1789, to have taken possession of the newly explored lands for the Crown. He was, of course, a civilian with no official status.

River on August 17, and the main Peace River on August 19.⁹² At 4 p. m. on August 24, Mackenzie reached his fort on Peace River, surprising the men he had left in charge of that establishment.⁹³ Thus was accomplished the first crossing by white men of the American continent north of the Spanish settlements. Mackenzie's explorations had demonstrated that there was no Northwest passage navigable for ships south of latitude 70°.

Mackenzie spent the following winter at Fort Chipewean. The next summer he left the interior country and did not return to winter, but became one of the agents of the Company, in which capacity he attended yearly the business at Grand Portage. He left this same year for England, returning in the summer of 1795.⁹⁴ In 1801 he published the account of his explorations, and on February 10, 1802, he was knighted for his accomplishments. The published work⁹⁵ opens with a "General History of the Fur Trade," which some persons think was written by Roderick McKenzie. The book closes with some remarks by Mackenzie in support of his plan for uniting the activities and

⁹² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 388-390.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 396-397.

⁹⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 45. He wrote to Simcoe on September 10, 1794, describing his expedition to the Pacific (Q, 280-2, pp. 362-363). Official mention of this expedition was sent to England in November by Dorchester, who enclosed a brief account of both expeditions and recommended Mackenzie to notice (Dorchester to Portland, No. 10, Quebec, November 10, 1794, C. O. 42, vol. 101).

⁹⁵ Stowe MS 793 in the British Museum, consisting of 81 folios or 160 pages of manuscript written in a fine, slanting hand, bears on the first binding-page the following pencil note: "This is the original journal in the handwriting of Mackenzie." It has the following misleading heading: "Journal of a Voyage performed by Order of the N. W. Company, in a Bark Canoe in search of a Passage by Water through the N. W. Continent of America from Athabaska to the Pacific Ocean in Summer 1789." The expedition of 1789 is given at some length in the first 79 folios. The expedition of 1793 is dismissed with a summary, on folios 80-81. Another copy of the material on these last two folios is pinned to Map America, No. 54, in the Colonial Office library. Nothing of the preliminary history of the fur trade which appears in the printed work, is in this manuscript. The account of the expedition of 1789 is not in the expanded, literary form of the printed version. The paper is of size 7½" x 6¼".

privileges of the Canadian traders and the Hudson's Bay Company in a big trans-continental and trans-Pacific fur trade. He seems to have entertained this idea at least as early as 1794, for we find Simcoe, in a postscript to his report to the Lords of Trade dated September 1 of that year, stating that Mackenzie had remarked on the necessity of combined action on the part of the fur companies for this Pacific trade, on the value of the Hudson Bay route, and on the probable action of the East India Company.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Simcoe to the Lords of Trade, Navy Hall, September 1, 1794, Q, 280-2, pp. 307-363, especially pp. 359-361.

CHAPTER IV

THE X Y COMPANY

After the foundation of Fort Cumberland by Hearne in 1774, the Hudson's Bay Company seems to have taken no active steps in trading by means of interior posts until after the formation of the North West Company. The intervening period had been one of wide-spread warfare for Great Britain. In 1786, wishing to stop the Indians of the Height of Land from trading with the Canadians of Nipigon district, they founded Fort Osnaburg on Lake St. Joseph. This post had to face the efforts of Duncan Cameron, who took charge of the Nipigon district as clerk for Mr. Shaw in 1785. It also formed a basis for further advance inland.¹ Encouraged by two years of good trade, the Hudson's Bay traders penetrated inland until they reached the Red River.² Clause had reached Nid du Corbeau beyond Lake Nipigon in 1767, and succeeding Canadian traders had arrived at Lac du Pichou. Here the advance from the south ceased until 1793, when Cameron sent in Turcot, who reached Big Lake.³ In 1796 Cameron himself penetrated a hundred leagues beyond this and met the Hudson's Bay traders from York Factory.⁴ He remained in the Nipigon Department for at least a decade more, and records a decreasing trade.

In 1787 the Hudson's Bay Company sent an expedition inland to the Saskatchewan under an officer named Tomison. This party established two new trading posts on the stream above the

¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 243-244.

² W. McGillivray wintered in 1789 at Rat River Fort, where he opposed the Hudson's Bay Company. He took out 105 packs of furs and 6 kegs of castoreum when he left. His journal opens September 9, 1789, and closes June 13, 1790 (Masson MSS, vol. 3, Canadian Archives).

³ Possibly Lake Severn. It was evidently on Severn River (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 283). Cameron calls it Big Lake (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 244).

⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 242-245.

forks. David Thompson, a member of the party, wintered at the first, Manchester House, in 1787-1788, and at the second, Hudson's House, in 1788 and 1789. The next two winters he spent at Cumberland House.⁵ Following this beginning, the Hudson's Bay Company continued in the trade on the upper Saskatchewan. On October 18, 1793, Thompson was at South Branch House, whence he went to Manchester House and Buckingham House on the North Saskatchewan. He wintered at the latter place.⁶ Writing in 1805, Harmon speaks of the destruction by the Indians of the Hudson's Bay Company's post on the South Saskatchewan fifteen years earlier.⁷

In 1789 the Hudson's Bay Company made a fruitless effort to establish itself on the Assiniboine, and its men were on Lake of the Woods in 1793.⁸ In the latter year, they first descended the Winnipeg River, according to a journal among the Masson Papers. The writer's party passed Portage de l'Isle on August 27 and heard from the Indians that a Hudson's Bay trading party of three boats and two canoes had for the first time descended the river eight days before. They overtook them on August 29 and found that their leaders were Donald McKay and Sutherland. This Hudson's Bay party went on up the Red River.⁹

The same year the Hudson's Bay Company made a successful settlement at Souris River, where the North West Company followed them.¹⁰ From this post, trade was conducted with the Mandans and Gros Ventres on the Missouri through men who took a certain number of skins in credit and paid on their return. So many of their servants deserted from the Mandan country to go to the Illinois and other Mississippi points, that

⁵ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 186.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 187-188.

⁷ Harmon, *Journal*, 117.

⁸ Masson, *Esquisse*, 44.

⁹ Masson Papers, 2352, in McGill University.

¹⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 271.

the North West Company later neglected this trade.¹¹ The Hudson's Bay Company entered the Assiniboine River by way of Swan River, carrying their goods on horseback from one river to the other, a trip which took three days. They were thus a month ahead of the traders from Grand Portage, and secured the best of the beaver and other skins which had formerly gone to swell the Red River returns.¹² Traders from Prairie du Chien at this time were trading on the Assiniboine, which they ascended after coming down the Red River.¹³ In fact, five different parties traded in opposition to one another at Souris River in the winter of 1794-1795.¹⁴ Hudson's Bay Company men traded with poor results on Pembina River in 1797-1798.¹⁵

The Hudson's Bay Company did not have as much success in the south and west as in the northern departments, when the Indians were accustomed to making long journeys with their furs to the posts on Hudson Bay and where the Hudson's Bay Company was now taking steps to meet them half-way, at posts like Fairford House and Bedford House.¹⁶ The competition was unscrupulous. The Canadian traders resorted to doubtful means, like offering high prices for furs for which the Hudson's Bay Company had given credits. They also made free use of liquor. The English company, however, retained much influence over the Indians of Churchill River, Lake Athabasca, and the country to the eastward.¹⁷ In other districts their officers lacked zeal, and

¹¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 272.

¹² *Ibid.*, 275.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 269, 290.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁵ Journal of Charles Chaboillez in Masson Papers, Canadian Archives.

¹⁶ David Thompson was at Fairford House, on the Churchill, one mile below the mouth of the Deer River, in June, 1796. From here he went by way of Reindeer Lake and Black River to Lake Athabasca. Retracing his steps, he built Bedford House on Reindeer Lake and wintered there (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 189). Burpee here and elsewhere has made use of J. B. Tyrell's brief article on David Thompson.

¹⁷ Masson, *Esquisse*, 48-49.

their men were not the equals of the *voyageurs* in the adaptability requisite for a life of adventure. The character of the *voyageurs* appears to have more than compensated for the disadvantage of distant bases of supplies and the expense incident to the upkeep of a system which was spread over so great an area that it required a small army of more than a thousand men to manage the posts and transport the provisions, goods, and peltries.¹⁸

And now dissension among the Montreal traders was to add a further quota to the burden of the North West Company. In 1795¹⁹ some partners withdrew and undertook an independent

¹⁸ Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish, writing in 1794 in connection with the proposed relinquishment of the posts to the United States, estimated that at the average price of the preceding five years, the furs sent from Canada to England were worth £250,000. Nearly £100,000 worth of these came from the Northwest trade (Chatham MS, vol. 346). These men also requested that the Indian lands be made neutral trading-ground, and that the delivery of the posts extend over a period of three years. They pointed out the difficulties which would arise in the matter of transportation at Sault Ste. Marie and Grand Portage (C. O. 42, vol. 88, Q, 57-2, pp. 382-384).

Mr. Inglis of Mark Lane, writing about the same time, estimated the average annual value of the furs imported from Quebec for the preceding ten years at £200,000, obtained as follows: £30,000 from below Montreal; £30,000 from the Grand River and the north sides of lakes Ontario, Huron, and Superior; £40,000 from the country generally called the Northwest; and £100,000 from the country south of the lakes, mostly centering at Detroit and Michilimackinac, as there was very little Indian trade at Detroit. A note appended to the estimate on Northwest trade stated that since the estimate was made in 1790, the Northwest trade had greatly increased and was supposed to have doubled during the preceding two years because the traders had penetrated farther inland, and that the trade at the nearer posts continued with little variation, but would decrease as the country was settled. The trade of Detroit was estimated at about £40,800. A pack was estimated at £12, and 1000 packs came from Detroit, Saginaw, and the south side of Lake Huron; 2000 packs from the Miami and Wabash country; and 400 packs from Sandusky. With an estimated value of £20 per pack, the Michilimackinac trade amounted to £60,400. Of this, 100 packs came from the Grand River; 300 packs from St. Josephs, 100 packs from Chequago, 120 packs from Milwaki, 300 packs from the south side of Lake Superior, and 600 packs from the Illinois country. The figures for La Baye, or Green Bay, including the upper parts of the Mississippi, are not given, but, to make the estimated total of 3220 packs, it would be 1700 packs (C. O. 42, vol. 88, Q, 57-2, pp. 382-387). A slightly different report appears in C. O. 42, vol. 72. Here it is 1500 packs from La Baye, making a total of 3020 packs for the Michilimackinac trade. Chequago appears as Chequago.

¹⁹ In this year a North West Company partner, writing in Athabasca, estimated that the North West Company got about eleven-fourteenths of the

trade under the auspices of a strong organization — Forsyth, Richardson and Company—which had already been engaged for some time in the trade around Lake Superior. The greater number stayed with the old company, among them being Alexander Mackenzie.²⁰ He had gone to Grand Portage in the spring of 1794 and had become an agent of the North West Company as a member of the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company. He therefore could not separate from his associates, but he assented to the arrangement of 1795 for three years only, reserving the right to retire at the end of that time if he judged it proper.²¹ During that period ill-feeling increased between him and Simon McTavish. The agreement of 1795 is referred to in the agreement of 1802. In the preamble of the latter it is recited that on October 30, 1795, an agreement was made at Montreal by Simon McTavish, Joseph Frobisher,²² John Gregory, and William McGillivray, comprising the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company of Montreal, and by Angus Shaw, Roderick McKenzie, Cuthbert Grant, Alexander McLeod, and William Thornburn, these being represented by Alexander Mackenzie as agent and attorney, to carry on a joint trade to the Northwest. Other partners were to be admitted, and the agreement was to go into op-

Northwest trade returns, that the Hudson's Bay Company got one-seventh, and that the various oppositions from Canada got one-fourteenth (Masson Papers, No. 2370, item 3, p. 50. McGill University).

²⁰ Masson, *Esquisse*, 73-74. Mackenzie apparently first announced the fact of the formation of this concern to his cousin Roderick in a letter written October 25, 1797 (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 46). It is possible that this is a later development. The whole matter is rather obscure. The names of William and Thomas Forsyth appear in the trading license reports of 1786 as interested in Michilimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, and Miamis trade (Enclosure in Hope's No. 32 of October 21, 1786, Q, 26-2, p. 563 a). The surrender of the frontier posts to the United States, arranged in 1794 and completed in 1796, may be connected with this appearance in the Northwest trade.

²¹ Masson, *Esquisse*, 74. I find no other authority for this statement.

²² Frobisher was a native of Halifax, Yorkshire. His daughter was the wife of Major O'Brien of the 24th Regiment. She was burned to death at Exeter (Maude, *Visit to the Falls of Niagara*, 239; Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, I, 233).

eration with the first outfit of 1799 and to terminate with the returns of the outfit of 1805. The concern was to consist of forty-six shares. Further rules and regulations are not recited.²³ It will be noticed that Alexander Mackenzie apparently did not sign this agreement on his own behalf.

In 1798 the company took on a new form, the shares being increased to forty-six in number. New partners were admitted and others retired. This date marked the termination of the existing agreement, which was not renewed by all the parties concerned in it. The majority continued to act upon the old stock and under the old firm. The others began a new firm,²⁴ the date of the agreement being given in the coalition articles of 1804 as October 20, 1798.²⁵ Simon McTavish wrote to Roderick McKenzie on July 22, 1799, stating that the threatened opposition had that year made a serious attack upon them.²⁶ He expressed his fear that a coalition of the opposing interests²⁷ would render them more formidable, but cherished a hope that the new discoveries in the department under McKenzie's charge, coupled with extension of the Fond du Lac trade, would make up for the returns taken by the opposition.²⁸

In that year, his engagement with the company coming to an end, Alexander Mackenzie²⁹ announced at the annual meeting

²³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 459-460.

²⁴ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxiii. This latter is evidently what was to be known as the New North West Company, though Mackenzie gives it no name.

²⁵ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 486.

²⁶ Phyn, Inglis & Co. of London were probably interested in this opposition. At any rate, they addressed a communication to the Duke of Portland in this year protesting against a request by the North West Company for a grant of land at the Falls of St. Mary's on the ground that it would mean a monopoly of the Northwest trade (Phyn, Inglis & Co. to Portland, London, December 6, 1799, Q, 286-2, pp. 532-533).

²⁷ Harmon in 1800 speaks of the X Y Company as "a number of merchants of Montreal, Quebec, &c.," and states that they had little success (Harmon, *Journal*, 15).

²⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 47-48.

²⁹ Alexander Mackenzie, Roderick McKenzie, and William McGillivray apparently came to this meeting from Montreal by way of the lakes, instead of

his intention of leaving it. A violent discussion arose between the wintering partners and the agents. The former declared that Mackenzie alone had their confidence and urged him to reconsider his resignation. He persisted, left Grand Portage at once, and retired from the concern in November.³⁰ He again proceeded to England, and Roderick McKenzie was chosen to fill the vacancy occasioned by his withdrawal.

While in England, the explorer published an account of his voyages and on February 10, 1802, was knighted.³¹ Mackenzie was now interested in a far-reaching scheme for combining the fur trade of America with the fisheries. Some reference to this plan is made in the concluding pages of his printed work. In January, 1802, while in London, he laid proposals on the subject before Lord Hobart, the colonial secretary. His "Preliminaries" suggested the formation of a supreme civil and military establishment at Nootka, with one subordinate station on the Columbia River and another in Sea Otter Harbor, in latitude 55°. It was proposed that those acts be repealed which granted to the South Sea and East India companies the exclusive right of fishery, trade, and navigation in the Pacific Ocean and on the west coast of North America, or else that irrevocable and unlimited licenses be obtained from those companies to trade and fish and establish factories and agents in Canton or elsewhere for the sale or barter of their exports or imports. Moreover, a clause proposed that a license of traffic be obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company, with a right to the latter to have a manifest presented and examination made at the first port of entry within its jurisdiction, but not at any other station or trading post. The existing establishments at Montreal and in the interior were to be utilized, but establishments were not to be made within the limit-
taking the usual Ottawa route (Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, II, 68).

³⁰ Masson, *Esquisse*, 74; *Bourgeois*, I, 48.

³¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

its of the United States or the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.³²

Mackenzie did not succeed in forming his company. Hobart recommended that, as a first step, he secure the union of the two Montreal companies. On October 25, 1802, Mackenzie wrote to Sullivan, the under secretary, stating that he had not been able to secure this union, and probably would not be unless the government would grant a license to one party, with the option to the other of sharing in accordance with the trade then being carried on.³³ This the government was in no hurry to grant, although on December 15, 1802, the colonial secretary desired Milnes to communicate at an early date his ideas in regard to the subject of forming a chartered company.³⁴ The latter replied in May that he was not as yet prepared to express an opinion.³⁵ On his return to Canada, Mackenzie placed himself at the head of the New North West Company, also known as Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company, and better still as the X Y Company.³⁶ Bitter rivalry commenced once more,³⁷ and fights between members of the two companies became common. Intoxicating liquors

³² Alexander Mackenzie to Lord Hobart, Norfolk St., January 7, 1802, Q. 90, pp. 37 *et seq.*, printed in *Can. Arch. Report*, 1892, pp. 147-151.

³³ *Can. Arch. Report*, 1892, xxxvi, 150-151.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvi.

³⁵ Milnes to Hobart, Quebec, May 31, 1803, C. O. 42, vol. 121; copy in Q. 91, pp. 154 *et seq.*

³⁶ Masson, *Esquisse*, 76-77.

³⁷ Among other things, there was in dispute the use of a boat canal about half a mile in length, which the North West Company had constructed on the Canadian side of the River St. Mary in 1797-1798, following the cession of the posts to the United States. The North West Company wished the monopoly of its use as private property, but not of a road which they had also built there. The X Y Company wished the privilege of using the canal in return for slight payments. The matter was complicated by applications from the rival companies for grants of land for buildings and roads, and by the fact that Forsyth, Richardson & Co. had paid £45, which formed one-sixth of the cost of the survey in 1797. The X Y Company also built a road of their own. The matter appears to have been unsettled when the companies united in 1804. Brynner has discussed the question, largely on the basis of the C. Series papers at Ottawa (cf. *Can. Arch. Report*, 1886, xx-xxix).

were freely used.³⁸ Reference to this strife is made by Lord Selkirk in his *Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*. He also definitely gives the date of the founding of the X Y Company as 1798.³⁹ The prestige and business ability of Mackenzie made the X Y Company's operations very menacing.

McTavish, who scornfully called his opponents "The Little Company," rose to the occasion. He reorganized his company on new lines in 1802, and enlarged the circle of its operations.⁴⁰ The agreement, which was to go into effect December 1, 1802, was to last for twenty years. There were to be ninety-two shares, of which seventy-six were assigned by the reorganization agreement. The agents, McTavish, Frobisher and Company, held thirty shares. In return for their services in purchasing goods, disposing of the furs, and advancing funds, they received four per cent commission on the outfits, and five per cent and six per cent on the moneys they advanced. They also received one-half per cent on furs sent to England, and two and one-half per cent on those sent to the United States. Other duties of the agents were defined. Strict rules were laid down against competitive trading, a fine of five thousand pounds per share being the penalty. Extensive powers were given to the general meeting of the partners and agents at Grand Portage, but an echo of the coming change of the place of rendezvous found expression in the document. The agreement was signed by twenty-eight persons, the name of the forceful "Marquis" heading the list. Some of the more able clerks were made partners, and sixteen shares were left unassigned as a prospective reward for faithful and able service.⁴¹

The North West Company was now attempting to extend its

³⁸ Masson, *Esquisse*, 77.

³⁹ Selkirk, *Sketch*, 62.

⁴⁰ Masson, *Esquisse*, 77.

⁴¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 459-481.

operations into new fields. An attempt by Livingston to hunt for silver and open trading relations with the Esquimaux ended disastrously, in the massacre of the party in 1799.⁴² Expeditions were also sent to the Missouri and to the waters of the South Saskatchewan. A post was established on Bow River in a region of warlike tribes.⁴³

The fisheries of the St. Lawrence were now utilized. McTavish rented the King's Posts for one thousand *louis* a year,⁴⁴ the lease to run for twenty-one years from 1803.⁴⁵ The servants of the North West Company established themselves at Lake St. John and ninety miles above the mouth of the Ashwamuchuan River. They were even at Lake Mistassini,⁴⁶ where there had been no fixed posts before the North West Company rented the King's Posts. Here they were only four days' journey from the Hudson's Bay Company post of Birch Point, which was outfitted from East Main Factory.⁴⁷ The *King's Domains*, although restricted by the grant of Murray Bay to Major Nairn and Lieutenant Fraser in 1762, was still an extensive tract. James McKenzie, who has left a journal of his trip through this section in 1808, states that it extended seventy-six leagues along the coast from the Black River, a rivulet five leagues below Murray Bay, to the River Cormorant, nine leagues beyond the Seven Islands, and up the Saguenay River in a westerly direction to Lake Mis-

⁴² Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 95.

⁴³ Masson, *Esquisse*, 78-79. It appears that the South Saskatchewan as a whole was called Bow River at this period (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 30, note 1).

⁴⁴ Masson, *Esquisse*, 79. The author of the *Origin and Progress* says it was for about £1000 sterling annual rent to the government (*Origin and Progress*, 29). The pound sterling and the French *louis d'or* were of nearly the same value.

⁴⁵ *Origin and Progress*, 29.

⁴⁶ Masson, *Esquisse*, 79.

⁴⁷ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 446.

tassini.⁴⁸ The North West Company also traded in Mingan seignory, according to the statement of this same writer.⁴⁹

In the spring of 1803 McTavish sent the "Beaver," a vessel of 150 tons, to Hudson Bay to trade, and prepared land expeditions with orders to go by way of lakes St. John and Mistassini and consult with the commander of the "Beaver" in regard to establishments on the Bay. Two posts were established: one on Charlton Island, the other at the mouth of Moose River. These posts did not have great financial success and were soon abandoned.⁵⁰ In connection with this movement, the Hudson's Bay Company laid a case before Erskine, Gibbs, and others. The latter gave the opinion that the Hudson's Bay Company's title was good and that a trespass had been committed, but that, it not being a criminal action or an appeal, there was no recourse to English courts. The North West Company had sufficient force to defy the Hudson's Bay Company's jurisdiction. William McGillivray later stated to Coltman in writing that the Hudson's Bay Company purchased the ship "Eddystone" from the North West Company when the latter withdrew from the Bay.⁵¹

One result of the reckless competition was a more definite extension of the jurisdiction of the Canadian courts. In 1788 Dorchester had reported that there were doubts as to the jurisdiction of the courts of Quebec on the southern frontier, in the districts at Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, which had not been surrendered to the Americans, and that there was difficulty with respect to the trial of persons charged with murder in the Northwest, owing to the indefinite boundaries of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory.⁵² If brought to trial under the Act of 33

⁴⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 406. An anonymous writer said it extended from the Saguenay to the Moisé, and included all the area draining into the St. Lawrence within that space of coast (*Origin and Progress*, 29).

⁴⁹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 436.

⁵⁰ Masson, *Esquisse*, 79-80.

⁵¹ *Blue Book of 1819*, pp. 129-134.

⁵² Dorchester to Sydney, No. 67, Quebec, June 9, 1788, Q. 36-1, pp. 276 *et seq.*

Henry VIII, c. 23, it was argued that proceedings must be instituted in England, which would necessitate great delay, expense, and inconvenience.

The grand juries of Quebec and Montreal repeatedly called attention to the want of jurisdiction, either in the Canadas or in the Indian territories, for the trial of offences committed in the latter region.⁵³ The executive officers supported these representations, and on August 11, 1803, the Act of 43 George III, c. 138, received assent. This provided that offenses committed in the Indian territories and other parts of America should be tried in the same manner, and be liable to the same punishments, as if performed within the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The Act claimed special authority over British subjects.⁵⁴

The Hudson's Bay Company had held in abeyance its chartered right to jurisdiction. Otherwise there would have been a jurisdiction for a portion of the Indian territories. The Act of 43 George III, c. 138, was quite extensive in application. Doubts having been raised as to the power of the courts under it, a further act to remove these was assented to in July, 1821.⁵⁵

The tenseness of the situation between the Montreal traders was removed by the death of Simon McTavish in July, 1804.⁵⁶ He had been the great opponent of conciliation. On his death, overtures were made to Sir Alexander Mackenzie and his friends, with successful results.

⁵³ For an example, cf. Q, 293, p. 239.

⁵⁴ Selkirk later remarked upon the fact that from the vague wording of the Act, an argument had been made that the term "Indian Territories and other parts of America" could be applied to the colonies of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland (Selkirk, *Sketch of the Fur Trade*, 85). The Act recognized Upper and Lower Canada and the United States as if they were the sole jurisdictions in America.

⁵⁵ 1 and 2 George IV, c. 66.

⁵⁶ He left a widow who later resided at Ramsgate, Kent. By her he had four children: William, who died in 1818, Simon, Mary, and Ann (Q, 343-1-2-3, pp. 231-233). After her husband's death, Mrs. McTavish married W. S. Plenderleath.

In the autumn of 1804 operations were commenced with the object of developing the trade of the Missouri. Charles Chaboillez, the partner in charge of the Assiniboine River, found that he had a surplus of men and goods because of an agreement with his opponents not to establish any new outposts in that quarter. He therefore hired a freeman named La France, who had been a Missouri trader for several years, to serve as guide, clerk, and interpreter. A party was organized under the command of François Antoine Larocque. Besides the leader, it consisted of the two clerks, La France and Charles Mackenzie, and four *voyageurs*. The goods were transported on horseback. The party left Fort Assiniboine November 11, quietly in order not to arouse the opposition traders or the Assiniboine Indians. They reached the Mandan villages November 24, and in this neighborhood they passed the winter. When they arrived, the Lewis and Clark expedition was already there. Relations were quite amicable, Larocque not questioning the claim of the American leaders that the region formed part of the territory of Louisiana, which had been purchased the preceding year by the United States.⁵⁷ The party was none too successful in a trading way. A Hudson's Bay Company trader, who was on the ground, got his full share of the trade. Moreover, the tribes were too self-sustaining to hunt beaver for the advantage of the whites.⁵⁸ The united company determined to send Larocque back to the Missouri, with orders to go to the foot of the mountains, if possible, and encourage the Indians to hunt beaver. Mackenzie was to go as far as the Mandans.

⁵⁷ Lewis recorded that the North West Company, having carried on unlicensed trade to the Missouri under the Spanish domination, was planning, according to his information, to make a permanent establishment, since Louisiana had been purchased by the United States. The treaty privileges of 1794 and 1796 were relied upon. Lewis expresses his opinion that these did not apply to Louisiana (Lewis and Clark, *Journals*, Thwaites ed., VI, 52). Lewis was probably quite correct as to the reasons for the action of the North West Company. The Michilimackinac traders appear to have been adopting similar tactics (B. T. 5, vols. 16, 28).

⁵⁸ Masson, *Esquissé*, 81-84; *Bourgeois*, I, 299-340.

The party set out on June 5. On their arrival at the Missouri, they met a number of Gros Ventres, who had plundered a party of whites on the Saskatchewan.⁵⁹ The Gros Ventres were opposed to Larocque's plan of ascending the Missouri. Nevertheless, the latter persisted and, with two companions, he accompanied a large body of Crows to the upper waters of the Missouri. In August Mackenzie returned to the Assiniboine, where Larocque also appeared on November 18, his expedition having met with disappointing results.⁶⁰ Mackenzie made a third expedition to the Missouri in the winter of 1805-1806.⁶¹ He set out once more on June 4, 1806, collected some furs for which he had given credits the preceding winter, and made a trip to the Cheyennes south of the Missouri. Shortly after his return to the Missouri, Alexander Henry, Charles Chaboillez, Alan Macdonel, and three other men arrived. These partners did not make a good impression upon the Indians. After accompanying the Gros Ventres and Mandans on an unsuccessful trading expedition to the Cheyennes, which nearly resulted in a fight, the traders returned from the Missouri.⁶² Masson states that the last two expeditions were merely for closing accounts,⁶³ and that it had been already decided, on the recommendation of De Rocheblave, who had succeeded Chaboillez in charge of the Assiniboine district, to abandon the attempt to organize the Missouri trade.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Probably the party under John McDonald of Garth (cf. Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 33-34).

⁶⁰ Masson, *Esquisse*, 85-87; *Bourgeois*, I, 341-362.

⁶¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 362-370.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 371-393.

⁶³ The fourth expedition was sent primarily to collect the debts of a freeman who had taken credits to trade among the Pawnees. He was captured by the Sioux, and the debts were lost (Masson Papers in McGill University Library).

⁶⁴ Masson, *Esquisse*, 87. Merry reported from Washington in 1806 that he had received a memorial from the principal merchants of Lower Canada, known by the name of the North West Company, complaining that their trade with the Indian tribes up the Missouri had been obstructed by a proclamation dated St. Louis, August 26, 1805, issued by General Wilkinson, the governor

Mention has already been made of the union of the competing interests. A convention, or agreement, was signed at Montreal, November 5, 1804, between the two competing companies, who therein designate themselves as the Old and the New North West companies. For the Old Company thirty men were present, or represented by their attorneys. Of these John Gregory, William McGillivray, Duncan McGillivray, William Hallowell, and Roderick McKenzie composed the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company. Three firms were represented in the New Company interests. The first was that of Forsyth, Richardson and Company, composed of Thomas Forsyth, John Richardson, and John Forsyth. The second was the firm of Phyn, Inglis and Company of London, composed of Alexander Ellice, John Inglis, and James Forsyth. This firm was represented by John Richardson and John Forsyth. The third was the defunct firm of Leith, Jamieson⁶⁵ and Company, which was represented by John Richardson, John Forsyth, and Thomas Forsyth as trustees and assignees. The last-named individual, being absent, was represented by the other two members of the firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Company. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was present in his own right and as the representative of five wintering partners out of the six belonging to the New Company. The other was represented

of Louisiana, and complaining further of the restrictions of the American custom houses at Detroit and Michilimackinac. He enclosed copies of his correspondence with the American Government on the subject (Merry to Lord Mulgrave, No. 5, Washington, January 31, 1806, F.O. 5, vol. 48). From the enclosures, it would appear that Merry was in error as to these complaints being from the North West Company, which he apparently confuses with the Michilimackinac traders who, relying on the Treaties of 1794 and 1796, were attempting an extension of their existing trade, upon the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. Wilkinson did not consider that these articles applied to the newly acquired territory, and his government supported him. The correspondence was considered by the Board of Trade (B. T. 5, vols. 16, 82), which recognized the American contention. A copy of the petition of the traders is in Q, 99, pp. 8-14.

⁶⁵ It is Jamieson, not Jamieson, in the MS from which Masson printed (Masson Papers, No. 2368, McGill University).

by John Forsyth. John Ogilvie⁶⁶ was present in his own right and as representative of John Mure of Quebec. But the name of Thomas Thain of Montreal, which is recited in the preamble, is not among the signatures. No reason for the omission is given.

The agreement united the interests of the two companies for the balance of the term named in the agreement of July 5, 1802, which meant that the company should operate for eighteen years beginning with the outfit of 1805.⁶⁷ There were to be one hundred shares, of which the New Company should control twenty-five. They were to give one of these shares to each of their six wintering partners. As the New Company had been planning to put their wintering partners on the same footing as those of the Old Company when their agreement of October 20, 1798, should expire, it was stated that these six men must definitely accept or refuse when they were informed of the offer at Grand Portage the following summer. If they refused, the New Company might appoint any of their deserving clerks. The Old Company should then have the nominations to the next three vacancies. After that, candidates were to be selected strictly by seniority and merit.

It is not clear by what method the Old Company was reduced from the seventy-six shares, which are said to have been distributed in the agreement of July 5, 1802, to the seventy-five shares here named. Sixteen shares were not distributed in the earlier agreement, but reserved for new partners. If none of these had been assigned, they were now probably given to the New Company with eight extra, which would raise the total number to one hundred shares. But what of the one share taken from the Old Company? It is stated⁶⁸ that Alexander N. McLeod refused

⁶⁶ He was a partner in the firm of Parker, Gerrard, Ogilvie, and Company in 1800 (Maude, *A Visit to the Falls of Niagara*, 185).

⁶⁷ It was stated at a later period that the North West Company terminated by effluence of time on November 30, 1822 (Masson Papers, *Letters addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant by a Creditor of the North West Company*, Canadian Archives, 24).

⁶⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 480, note 1.

to take his share. This is partly an error. There is an Archibald Norman McLeod whose name appears in the preamble and among the signatures to the agreement of July 5, 1802. Archibald N. McLeod is assigned two shares. Article 20, which was not printed by Masson, states that Alexander McLeod refused to take his share and that those forming the new agreement guaranteed that he should be paid what would have been coming to him for the balance of the term agreed upon October 30, 1795, which was to end with the returns of the outfit of 1805.⁶⁹ But this does not appear to have been counted as one of the seventy-six shares. So the difficulty remains unsolved.

As the shares of the six wintering partners of the New Company became vacant, they were to go to the joint concern. The share of the late firm of Leith, Jamison and Company was to hold until the end of the first outfit, when it should go to the partners of the New Company who should agree to purchase it.

The New Company was to have one-quarter of the commissions and advantages accruing after the deduction of the actual running expenses of the joint concern. Its agents were to import one-fourth of the goods of the joint concern from its correspondents in London, and these should receive one-fourth of the exports, the risks, however, being on the joint concern. The same proportion was to obtain in the tobacco ordered from the United States.

The New Company was not to be responsible for Simon McTavish's venture to Hudson Bay; but in case Duncan McGillivray should succeed in his negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company for a complete transit of goods and returns by way of Hudson Bay, it should bear one-fourth of the expense, and it might arrange with the Old Company for more than one-fourth of the business in case an arrangement for full participation in, or complete purchase of, the rights of the Hudson's Bay Com-

⁶⁹ Masson Papers, No. 2368, McGill University.

pany should be effected. Nothing apparently resulted from these suggested negotiations.

The two agents appointed by the New Company were Thomas Thain and John Ogilvie, who were to hold their positions for five years. One of these was to go annually to the general meeting. They were to be employed in whatever department of the joint concern was found advisable. The advances of money on the part of the Old Company were to be by McTavish, Frobisher and Company; on behalf of the New Company by Forsyth, Richardson and Company.

Goods and debts in the interior were to be inventoried at Old Company valuation. The forts, buildings, and vessels on lakes Superior, Huron, and Erie, comprehending three-eighths of the schooner "Nancy," were to be valued later. Goods were to be forwarded from Kingston and Niagara jointly. At Sandwich, Angus McIntosh, the Old Company agent, was to continue, but the New Company was to furnish its share of the provisions.

No business except the fur trade and the fisheries below Quebec, then leased by the Old Company, was to be carried on without the consent of the New Company. The penalty named in the agreement of July 5, 1802, should apply to any partner trading or supplying goods for trade in the Northwest, but not in the territory drained by the Mississippi River or in the region south of Lake Superior, reckoning from the mouth of the St. Louis River.

Unless distinctly stated to the contrary, the articles of July 5, 1802, a copy of which was attached to the new agreement, were to hold.⁷⁰

As a result of the coalition, scenes of violence decreased in number, and less liquor was sold. The clerks and the employees alone suffered. Their salaries, which had been raised twenty-five per cent during the competition, were restored to their former very modest size.

⁷⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 482-499.

In regard to the relative importance of the two companies, Milnes reported in 1802 that the capital of the New North West Company was equal to that of its rival. He also stated that the former employed about one-third as many men as the Old North West Company, and enclosed a statement by McTavish, Frobisher and Company of the posts and men of the company they represented. Various figures as to the amount of furs were also enclosed.⁷¹

According to this statement, the Old North West Company possessed, exclusive of the King's Posts, one hundred and seventeen trading posts in various parts of the country, at which they employed regularly one thousand and fifty-eight men.⁷² Of these, ninety-five were employed in the United States territory south of Lake Superior and including Grand Portage, seventy-six on the waters that drain into the St. Lawrence from the north side of Lake Superior to the St. Maurice, six hundred and thirty on the waters draining into Hudson Bay, and two hundred and fifty-seven on the waters emptying into the Arctic Ocean by Mackenzie River. Besides these, there were from eighty to one hundred free Canadians and Iroquois who held contracts with the North West Company. The company annually employed on the Ottawa five hundred and forty men, of whom four hundred went to the rendezvous on Lake Superior and brought back the furs. It had one post at St. Marys, three at Michipicoton, one at Kaministiquia, two at Grand Portage, two at Mille Lacs, three at Pic, two at Lake Nipigon, seven in Nipigon District, six at Rainy Lake, ten on the Red and Assiniboine rivers, seven at Lake Winnipeg, seven at Fort Dauphin, nine on the Saskatchewan River, nine on

⁷¹ Milnes to Hobart, Quebec, October 30, 1802, Q. 89, pp. 144 *et seq.* Other copies in B. T. 1, vol. 20, No. 3, and B. T. 1, vol. 21, No. 2, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1892*, pp. 136-144.

⁷² In connection with these estimates, it may be well to consider the charge made by Selkirk that the North West Company in this rivalry hired many more men than they had ever employed before and that they paid retaining pensions to retired *voyageurs* (Selkirk, *Sketch of the Fur Trade*, 63).

Churchill River, eighteen in Athabasca, three on the Upper Athabasca River, twelve on the south side of Lake Superior and at Fond du Lac, four on the Ottawa River, three on the St. Maurice, two at Moose River and Hudson Bay, and six at Temiskaming.⁷³

The duties on the furs exported from Quebec to England for the nine years from 1793 to 1801, reckoned on the Consolidation Act of 27 George III, were £16,071 15s. 4d. Additional imports would bring this up to £22,051 15s. 4d. The value of the furs exported in 1801 from Quebec, according to the average prices at which they sold in London, was £371,139 11s. 4d.

John Richardson of the firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Company, writing in 1802, estimated that there were from twelve hundred to fourteen hundred men from Canada who wintered in the British territory in the interior, where the question of jurisdiction applied. Of these he estimated that the Old Company had about two-thirds, and the New Company about one-third.⁷⁴

A report of the Northwest population in 1805 by Alexander Henry listed ten hundred and ninety men, three hundred and sixty-eight women, and five hundred and sixty-nine children, apparently for the North West Company. The list includes Athabasca, Athabasca River, English River, Rat River, Fort des Prairies, Fort Dauphin, upper Red River, lower Red River, Lake Winnipeg, Lac la Pluie, Nipigon, Kaministiquia, Mille Lacs, Lac des Chiens, and Pic. There were also five hundred and twenty men, thirty-seven women, and thirty-one children of "A M K Co. Men & Co." This is evidently the X Y Company. The Indian population of the same regions is given as seven thousand five hundred

⁷³ An incomplete list found among Roderick McKenzie's papers was published by Masson. It lists fourteen partners and proprietors, and ninety-six clerks, etc. The wages and equipments of the latter amount to 97,770 (the denomination is not given) in Grand Portage currency (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 61-66).

⁷⁴ Richardson to Ryland, Montreal, October 21, 1802, Q, 293, pp. 230 *et seq.*, printed in *Can. Arch. Report*, 1892, pp. 144-146.

and two men, sixteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-five women, and fifty-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-one children.⁷⁵

The X Y Company appear to have competed with the North West Company rather widely in the interior. Details are scanty, however. Wentzel speaks of the diminution of returns from the natives of Mackenzie River from the winter of 1799 onward, partly because of the X Y competition and partly because of the death of many natives.⁷⁶ James McKenzie records the opposition of the X Y Company at Fort Chipewean in 1800. At least one of their men went up Peace River, but how far and with what success does not appear.⁷⁷ It has been stated that there was a well-equipped X Y fort on the north bank of the Peace River opposite the Smoky River.⁷⁸ McDonald of Garth records the presence of X Y traders on the North Saskatchewan as far up as Fort Augustus,⁷⁹ and also the death of King at the hands of La Mothe of the X Y Company in 1801.⁸⁰ He speaks of the opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company in the same territory and also on the South Saskatchewan, but makes no mention of X Y traders on the latter river.⁸¹ In a letter dated at Fort Augustus, October 15, 1800, McDonald and D. McGillivray said that the X Y Company had gone to Athabasca⁸² with six canoes and seventy pieces of goods by way of the Pembina River. Charles Mackenzie refers to the opponents in trade of the North West Company on the Assiniboine in the fall of 1804.⁸³ There were X Y men among these,

⁷⁵ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 282.

⁷⁶ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 95.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 389-399.

⁷⁸ Mair and Macfarlane, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 88.

⁷⁹ Now Edmonton.

⁸⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 22-26, 35. Selkirk gives further details (Selkirk, *Sketch of the Fur Trade*, 88-91).

⁸¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 25, 31.

⁸² Journal of Norman McLeod 1800 at Alexandria, Masson Papers in McGill University.

⁸³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 327.

no doubt, although the fact is not specifically stated. Alexander Henry refers to an X Y brigade's going up the Assiniboine on August 20, 1800.⁸⁴ Harmon writes on June 2, 1803, that the X Y people are building a fort five miles up the river⁸⁵ from Alexandria.⁸⁶ The same author records, February 22, 1804, that he is to winter at Lac La Pêche, two days' journey west of Alexandria, in opposition to the X Y Company.⁸⁷ He also records, on October 26, 1804, that the North West and X Y companies have forts on River Qu'Appelle.⁸⁸ and on May 27, 1805, that the North West, Hudson's Bay, and X Y companies have each an establishment at Souris River, about fifty miles from Montagne à la Basse.⁸⁹ Malhiot, who built a fort and wintered at Lac au Flambeau, south of Lake Superior, in 1804-1805, sending men to trade on the Wisconsin River, had to face the opposition of the X Y Company as well as of the Michilimackinac traders.⁹⁰ Cameron mentions the presence of X Y traders at Red Lake in the Nipigon Department in October, 1804.⁹¹ Selkirk speaks of an X Y post at the Pic in 1803.⁹² The X Y Company had a fort at Grand Portage, and Henry records that they continued to take their furs there when the North West Company removed to the mouth of the Kaministiquia,⁹³ but there was an X Y house one mile above the North West Company's rendezvous in 1804.⁹⁴ Henry several times mentions X Y traders and posts on Red River, at Scratching, Pembina, and Salt rivers in the years 1801 to 1804.⁹⁵ The presidential

⁸⁴ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 48.

⁸⁵ Assiniboine.

⁸⁶ Harmon, *Journal*, reprint 1903, p. 75.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁸⁹ Should be Montagne à la Bosse (Harmon, *Journal*, 107).

⁹⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 228, 229, 231, 249, 258, etc.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 294-295.

⁹² Selkirk, *Sketch of the Fur Trade*, 48.

⁹³ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 218.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 217, note 19.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 187, 188, 193, 195, 214, 225, 231, 239, 242, 245, 251, etc.

message to Congress of February 19, 1806, reporting explorations by Lewis and Clark, Sibley, and Dunbar, speaks of trade on the Assiniboiné and Red rivers of the X Y and other companies.

The keenness of the opposition is shown by the quantity of liquor used. It was estimated that in 1800 there were consumed ten thousand and ninety-eight gallons. In 1803 the North West Company used sixteen thousand two hundred and ninety-nine gallons, and the traders opposing them used five thousand gallons,—in all twenty-one thousand two hundred and ninety-nine gallons. The average consumption in the years 1806 to 1810 inclusive was ninety-seven hundred gallons.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ *Origin and Progress*, pp. 9-10. The author wrote in the interest of the North West Company.

CHAPTER V

FURTHER ADVANCE WESTWARD

Much of our knowledge of the exploration accomplished in the Northwest during the closing years of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth century is based upon the journals of David Thompson, Daniel Williams Harmon, Alexander Henry the younger, and similar men. The first-named left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at Bradford House on Deer's Lake in 1797,¹ when it was intimated to him that exploration and survey were not the services expected of him. Traveling down to Grand Portage, which he reached July 22, 1797,² he was enrolled in the service of the North West Company. He received directions to determine the location of their posts, to locate the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, to go as far as the Missouri and visit the ancient villages of the agricultural nations that dwelt there, to inquire for the fossils of large animals, and to search for any monuments which might throw light on the ancient state of the countries traveled over and examined. He received orders on all the agents and trading posts of the company for men and whatever else he required.³

Thompson left Grand Portage in the brigade under Hugh McGillis on August 9, 1797.⁴ He went along the regular route from Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg, passing the establishments on

¹ The entry in his *Journals* reads as follows: "May 23, Tuesday. This Day I left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and entered that of the Company of Merchants from Canada. May God Almighty prosper me" (Thompson, *Journals*, vol. III, A, Book V, 1, Ontario Archives. These are typed copies).

² Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 530.

³ Lindsey, *Report on the Boundaries of Ontario*, 236-237. Lindsey makes the error of stating that the 49th parallel had been the boundary to the Rocky Mountains since the Treaty of 1792.

⁴ Thompson, *Journals*, vol. III, A, book V, 25. Lindsey says 1796 (*Boundaries of Ontario*, 229). Burpee repeats the error (*Search for the Western Sea*, 531).

Rainy River and at the mouth of Winnipeg River.⁵ The latter was an important depot for provisions, which were brought in from the bison countries that surround the Red and Saskatchewan rivers, and were distributed to the canoes and boats on their way to the several wintering places on Lake Winnipeg.⁶ From here Thompson went up Dauphin River, portaged to Lake Winnipegosis, and ascended Swan River to Swan River House. Leaving here September 26, he went to the Stone Indian⁷ River, where there were several posts, the upper one being in charge of Cuthbert Grant. Thence he went to the post in charge of Belleau, between Swan River and the Assiniboine. From here he returned to the upper trading house, and proceeded to the post which Thornburn commanded.⁸ His course was now down the Assiniboine to the post under John McDonnell. Having written up his journals and surveys, he left for the Mandan villages on the Missouri, November 28, 1797. His guide and interpreter, René Jussomme,⁹ had resided in those villages for eight years and Hugh McCracken, another member of the party, had been to the villages many times and had resided there for weeks and months at a time. There were in the party seven more French-Canadians, who on this occasion were free traders, outfitted by McDonnell. On December 7 they were at Ash House on Souris River, and twenty-two days later they struck the Missouri River six miles above the Mandan villages, having been compelled to go about a hundred miles out of the direct line.¹⁰ The party remained here until January 10, Thompson being unable to persuade the Mandans to hunt beaver and go to the posts on the Assiniboine to

⁵ Lindsey, *Boundaries of Ontario*, 230.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁷ Assiniboine.

⁸ Lindsey, *Boundaries of Ontario*, 233. Thompson's record until November 9 may be found in *Journals*, vol. III, A, book V, 25-57.

⁹ Jussaume.

¹⁰ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 354.

trade.¹¹ On the return trip the party reached McDonnell's House on February 3.¹² On the twenty-sixth of that month Thompson left for the sources of the Mississippi.¹³ He reached Red River on March 7 and followed it towards its source.¹⁴ On March 14 he arrived at the post under Charles Chaboillez, which he found to be slightly south of the forty-ninth parallel. There were Hudson's Bay Company traders here at the time.¹⁵ Leaving this post on March 21, he reached the post under Baptiste Cadotte four days later. This was still farther up Red River, in latitude $47^{\circ} 54' 21''$ and longitude $96^{\circ} 16'$, according to Thompson's observations.¹⁶ Apparently it was the most southerly post of the North West Company in this region. From here he went to Red Lake, where the North West Company maintained an occasional winter post, and then to the head waters of the Mississippi, making Turtle Lake its source.¹⁷ He next visited Red Cedar Lake post, which was in charge of John Sayer, partner, went down the river, and turned up Sand Lake River to Sand Lake post, which was under Boiské.¹⁸ From here he crossed to St. Louis River through a difficult piece of country. This was the route of the North West Company for their trade between Lake Superior and the Mississippi.¹⁹ Thompson's route then lay down St. Louis River to Lake Superior, which he reached in May, 1798. Near the mouth of this river was a post under Lemoine. Its estimated furs for the year would be one thousand pounds, of which he had obtained six hundred. Thompson, on this trip, had made the first careful survey²⁰ of the

¹¹Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 356-357.

¹²*Ibid.*, 358.

¹³*Ibid.*, 532.

¹⁴Lindsey, *Boundaries of Ontario*, 236.

¹⁵Cones, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 79, note 2.

¹⁶Lindsey, *Boundaries of Ontario*, 239.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 241.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 243.

²⁰These posts are located on Thompson's large manuscript map in the Ontario Archives. The second manuscript map, in a folio atlas by John

upper waters of the Mississippi. He had already left the first detailed account extant of an overland expedition from the Assiniboine to the Missouri since the British conquest of Canada.

Thompson now surveyed part of the south shore of Lake Superior, reached Sault Ste. Marie, and took canoe to Grand Portage, arriving on June 7.²¹ Seven days later he started back for the country north of the Saskatchewan. He went by way of Churchill River and Ile à la Crosse Lake to Beaver River, continued up Green River past a North West Company post at Green Lake,²² and crossed overland to Fort George on the Saskatchewan.²³ Turning north by Beaver River, he built a fort at Lac La Biche and wintered.²⁴ In the spring of 1799 he went to Fort Augustus on the North Saskatchewan. Then, after exploring Pembina River, he visited Lesser Slave Lake, and, descending Athabasca River and crossing Methye Portage, reached Ile à la Crosse Fort. Here he was married on June 10.²⁵ In the summer he was at Grand Portage. In September he was back once more at Fort George, where he remained until March, 1800. Then he went to Fort Augustus and to Rocky Mountain House, the latter being the uppermost permanent post on the Saskatchewan. It was on the north bank, a mile above the mouth of the Clearwater.²⁶ From

Dutton, 1814, locates the North West Company posts on Red Cedar Lake, on Leech Lake, and on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite Meadow River. It locates a "Trader's Ho." on Elk River east of the Mississippi (Add. 27368).

²¹ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 533.

²² Pond's map, as copied by Stiles in 1790, shows a post here (cf. Canadian Archives copy).

²³ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 533.

²⁴ Thompson's account of his route from Beaver River via Fort George to Lac La Biche, which he calls Red Deer's Lake, can be read in Thompson's *Journals*, book VI, 71½-91.

²⁵ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 534-535.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 535. The date of the erection of this post is dubious. McDonald of Garth says that he built it in 1802. He had previously spoken of Thompson's presence in the department (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 26-27). The name Rocky Mountain House was used by Thompson in 1800 (Thompson, *Journals*, vol. III, A, book VII, c. 1). The name was applied at various times to

here he sent four men down the Red Deer River from its upper waters to the South Saskatchewan. They were the first white men over a large portion of this route.²⁷ On October 5 he left Rocky Mountain House for a trip to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, where he met the Kootenay Indians in the region of the upper Red Deer River.²⁸ On November 17 he went on another trip to the upper Bow River, going as far as the Gap.²⁹ Thompson states that Duncan McGillivray made a trip westward this summer to the source of the North Saskatchewan through Howse Pass, going as far as a stream running westward. As Tyrell has pointed out, this shows that McGillivray, not Thompson, was the discoverer of Howse Pass.³⁰ Thompson wintered at Rocky Mountain House, and the following June made another trip into the mountains to a point in latitude 51° 57' 24", longitude 116° 27' 54".³¹

Thompson's journals are missing from the autumn of 1801 to the autumn of 1802.³² In November, 1802, he was at Lesser Slave Lake, where he observed the position of the North West Company's post at the west end of the lake. Early in the year 1803 he arrived at Fort of the Forks on Peace River, five miles

four other posts in different parts of the country (Masson, *Bourgeois*, 11, 26, n. 2).

²⁷ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 536.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 536.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 536-537.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 537.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 537-538. Alexander Mackenzie was probably referring to some of this exploration when he stated to Lord Hobart that two attempts had been made by partners in the old fur company to penetrate to the Columbia River south of his route. Both attempts failed; the first on account of illness of the leader, and the second because of a mutiny of the men. He speaks of an astronomer's being with them. This was probably Thompson (Mackenzie to Sullivan, Montreal, October 25, 1802, Q, 293, p. 225, printed in *Can. Arch Report*, 1892, pp. 150-151).

³² Pelly, writing to Huskisson in 1825, stated that Thompson crossed the mountains in 1802, at which time Pelly understood that he was "in one of the tributary streams of the Columbia" (Pelly to Huskisson, July 25, 1826, C. O. 6, vol. 6). Pelly's statement may or may not be fact. He was not exactly telling truth when he stated earlier in the same communication that the North West Company had posts on the Columbia in 1806. Those posts were

above the mouth of Smoky River, where he remained until March 15, 1804. He then went down the Peace River past Horse Shoe House to Athabasca House. From this post he continued past Pond's old fort and Ile à la Crosse Fort to the New Fort on Lake Superior, whither the headquarters of the North West Company had been moved from Grand Portage since Thompson was last at a general meeting.³³ In June he followed the new route through Lac Mille Lacs and Lac La Croix to the connection with the old line by way of Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and Winnipeg River. On September 9 he was at Cumberland House. Until June, 1806, he was traveling in the country between the Saskatchewan and the Churchill, east of Cumberland House and Frog Portage. During this period he was mapping routes and establishing new posts.³⁴ At first glance this activity, which threatened the Hudson's Bay Company's trade, might seem to be a result of the union of the North West and X Y companies in

on Fraser River, for Pelly cites Harmon. Later in this communication he states: "In 1803, when Mr. Duncan McGillivray who died in 1807 set out on an Expedition with David Thompson from the North West Company's Post in Saskatchewan River to Cross the Rocky Mountains to explore the Country and with a view to establish trading Posts Mr. McGillivray was taken ill and obliged to remain behind. Mr. Thompson proceeded with the Expedition crossed the upper part of the Columbia and called the first great river he reached McGillivray's, the next after himself. McGillivray & Thompson were both Partners in the North West Company. They traded with the natives but formed no Establishment at that time." These statements must be received cautiously. In a letter dated May 9, 1845, Thompson states: "In 1801 the North West Company determined to extend their Fur Trade to the west side of the Rocky Mountains, and if possible to the Pacific Ocean; this expedition was intrusted to me, and I crossed the Mountains to the headwaters of McGillivray's River; but an overwhelming force of the eastern Indians obliged me to retreat a most desperate retreat of six days for they dreaded the western Indians being furnished with Arms and Ammunition" (quoted by F. W. Howay in *Rev. Hist. Publ. relating to Canada*, XIX, 146, from *Report of Prov. Arch. Dep. of British Columbia*). Howay states that this is a new item of information, and remarks on the gap in Thompson's journals from September, 1801, to November, 1802. If the date as quoted is correct, the item is of much interest. On the other hand, the events sound somewhat like those of 1810 and 1811.

³³ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 538.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 539.

November, 1804. But Thompson probably received his orders at the general meeting preceding the amalgamation, which would indicate that it was really part of the activity resulting from the reorganization of 1802. In this connection it may be noted that Thompson had been in the outlying trade region of the Peace River in 1803, and was later to go to new trade regions beyond the Rockies. It would be interesting to know what relation there existed between Thompson's activity of 1804-1806 and the invasion of the Hudson Bay trade, undertaken by Simon McTavish, which had resulted in the founding of the Charlton Island and Moose River posts.

On June 14, 1806, Thompson set out from Cumberland House for Fort William. On September 11 Harmon met him at Cumberland House on his way to Fort des Prairies.³⁵ One month later he was at Rocky Mountain House, where Jules Quesnel was now in charge,³⁶ and on May 10, 1807, he left this post to cross the mountains. On June 22 he was at the summit, and soon came to Blaeberry River.³⁷ He reached the Columbia on June 30 and paddled upstream to Windemere Lake. Building Fort Kootenay on the west side of the river a mile below the lake, he wintered there.³⁸ In April, 1808, he crossed the portage from Upper Columbia Lake to the Kootenay River, which he descended to Kootenay Lake, following the Moyie River on his return. He was back at his fort on June 5, and then went to Rainy Lake House with his furs, arriving on August 2.³⁹ On October 31 he was back on the Columbia River. Sending Finan McDonald to build a fort at Kootenay Falls, he went on and wintered at Kootenay Fort.⁴⁰

³⁵ Harmon, *Journal*, 122.

³⁶ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 539.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 540-541.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 541-542.

³⁹ As was the case with Athabasca, this region beyond the Rockies was so distant that there was not time to make the journey to Lake Superior and back. Thus returns were delivered and outfits received at Rainy Lake.

⁴⁰ Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 543.

In April, 1809, he crossed the mountains with forty packs of furs, and was at Fort Augustus by June 24. On his return he met Mr. Howse of the North West Company, who had been exploring in the mountains.⁴¹ Crossing the mountains, Thompson went up the Columbia and down the Kootenay. He passed over the Cabinet Range to Pend d'Oreille Lake and built Kullyspell House on its eastern shore. He then explored the country around the lake.⁴² In November he built Saleesh House near the mouth of Ashley Creek, Montana, and wintered there.

In 1810 he went to Rainy Lake again. On his way east he passed the ruins of Fort Augustus, which had been destroyed by the Blackfeet since he last passed that way.⁴³ The Piegans were blocking Howse Pass⁴⁴ on his return, trying to prevent arms and ammunition from reaching the Flatheads.⁴⁵ So he made his way northward and crossed Athabasca Pass, after being in imminent danger of starvation. On January 10, 1811, he crossed the height of land. For scientific and practical purposes, Thompson discovered Athabasca Pass on this trip, though a party of freemen and Nipissing Indians had traversed it a few years before.⁴⁶

Thompson then explored up the Columbia as far as he had been before and continued to Spokane House, which seemingly had been built by him, or by one of his assistants some time before.⁴⁷ He descended the Spokane River to the Columbia; and after going up to Kettle Falls, went down the Columbia.

⁴¹Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 543-544.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 544-545.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 545.

⁴⁴This was the pass by which Thompson first crossed the Rockies. Duncan McGillivray, who named it after Jasper Howse of the North West Company, had ascended the North Saskatchewan to this pass in 1800 (Burpee, *Highways of the Fur Trade*, Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, III, Ser. 3, sec. 2, p. 191).

⁴⁵Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 643.

⁴⁶Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 546-549.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 549-550.

As far as the mouth of the Snake River he was on new ground. From here to the mouth of the Columbia he had been preceded by Lewis and Clark in 1805. At Snake River, which he reached on July 9, Thompson laid formal claim to the country for Great Britain. He reached the mouth of the Columbia on July 15 or July 16. Ross and Franchère give the former date, but Thompson's own account rather indicates the latter, as Tyrrell observed.⁴⁸ Thompson found that he had been preceded by the Astor party, which erected Fort Astoria for the Pacific Fur Company. After remaining a few days, Thompson ascended the river. He went up Snake River as far as latitude $46^{\circ} 36' 13''$, longitude $118^{\circ} 50'$, and then crossed overland to Spokane House. Descending Spokane River, he then ascended the Columbia through the Arrow Lakes to Boat Encampment at the mouth of Canoe River. He had now completed his survey of the Columbia, an accomplishment which had taken him four and a quarter years.⁴⁹

Thompson next crossed the mountains by Athabasca Pass, but returned the following year. For the last time he went east from Boat Encampment over the mountains in May, 1812. His survey stops short on Beaver River. In August, 1812, he was at Fort William,⁵⁰ and then he left the West. After settling at Terrebonne he spent two years on his great map of the West, which is now in the care of the Provincial Archivist at Toronto. Portions of it have been copied for Coues' edition of the *Henry-Thompson Journals*. Thompson died at Longueuil, February 16, 1857, and was buried in Mount Royal Cemetery at Montreal, his wife following him to the grave about three months later.⁵¹

⁴⁸Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 550-551.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 551-553.

⁵⁰Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 554-555.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 555-556. Erroneous statements by H. H. Bancroft in regard to Thompson's activities on the Pacific slope (cf. his *History of British Columbia*, 134, and his *History of the North West Coast*, II, 122), are pointed out by Burpee (*Search for the Western Sea*, 556-559). But Burpee is certainly

Thompson's map is of good size, its dimensions being 10' 3½" x 6' 6". It is entitled:

Map of the North West Territory of the Province of Canada from actual survey during the years 1792 to 1812. This Map was made for the North West Company in 1813 and 1814 and delivered to the Honorable William McGillivray, their agent. Embraces the Region lying between 45 and 60 Degrees North Latitude and 84 and 124 degrees West Longitude comprising the Discovery and Survey of the Oregon Territory, to the Pacific Ocean, the Survey of the Athabasca Lake, Slave River and Lake, from which flow Mackenzie's River to the Arctic Sea by Mr. Philip Turner, the Route of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1792 down part of Fraser's River together with the Survey of this River to the Pacific Ocean by the late John Stuart of the North West Company, by David Thompson, Astronomer & Surveyor.

David Thompson.

The error in the date of Mackenzie's presence on Fraser River will be noticed. Turner was in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as astronomer and surveyor. His work was done in 1790-1792. A copy of his map is in the Kohl Collection of the Library of Congress and has been reproduced by Burpee.⁵² Turner had the support of the Colonial Office in his work.⁵³

Thompson's map locates seventy-eight posts of the North West Company.⁵⁴ The title of the map covers the space between

in error when he states, on page 559, that David Stuart left Astoria in July, 1811, under instructions from Thompson to explore the Okanagan. David Stuart was a partner in the Pacific Fur Company and was not likely to be taking orders from a partner of the North West Company. For exploration up the Okanagan and to the Thompson River, consult Irving, *Astoria* (N. Y., 1855 ed.), 105, 118, 351, 434; Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 145-151.

⁵² Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 170.

⁵³ Masson, *Esquisse*, 54.

⁵⁴ At Falls of St. Maries; Mishipicoton (south side of the mouth); north side of Peak River [Pie River]; Fort William; [Fond du Lac]; up Montreal River, lat. 46°, long. 90° 10' *circa*; at bottom of the bay southeast of Pt. Keewenaw; west side of Sand Lake; east side of Leach Lake; west side of Red Cedar Lake; southwest corner of Red Lake; on Red Lake River; south side of mouth of Pembina Brook; in forks of Rat Brook and Red River, lat. 49° *circa*; east of Meadow Portage in lat. 48° 54", long. 90° 8' *circa*; southwest corner of Rainy Lake; southeast of Isle Portage on north-east side of the river in lat. 50° 5", long. 94° 30' *circa*; south side mouth of [Winnipeg River]; south of Dauphin's Lake on west side of river; south

Lake Superior and Winnipeg River and Hudson Bay. There are no North West Company posts marked on the Missouri River

side of Swan Lake; west side Cedar Lake; north side Cross Lake in lat. $54^{\circ} 40'$, long. $97^{\circ} 55'$ *circa*; northwest side of a lake in lat. $55^{\circ} 30'$, long. $97^{\circ} 55'$ *circa*; north side of the mouth of a river from Burnt Wood Lake to a lake eastward on Wood River in $55^{\circ} 44'$, long. $98^{\circ} 55'$ *circa*; east side Indian Lake in lat. $56^{\circ} 55'$, long. $99^{\circ} 10'$ *circa*; south side of a lake in lat. $56^{\circ} 10'$, long. $100^{\circ} 25'$ *circa*; south side of Pine Island Lake in lat. 54° , long. $102^{\circ} 15'$ *circa*; on north side of a small lake in a river in lat. $54^{\circ} 40'$, long. $101^{\circ} 24'$ *circa*; east side of Pelican Lake in lat. $55^{\circ} 10'$, long. 103° *circa*; west side of the mouth of river draining Lac la Ronge; southwest corner of Lac la Ronge; east side of Lac la Ronge; east side of water in lat. $55^{\circ} 40'$, long. $105^{\circ} 35'$ *circa*; south side of Snake Lake in lat. $55^{\circ} 38'$, long. $106^{\circ} 45'$ *circa*; west side of Lake Isle a la Crosse; between fork of Lesser Athabasca River and another river in lat. $56^{\circ} 45'$, long. $118^{\circ} 30'$; east side of lower point of the southwestern bay of Rein Deer Lake in lat. $56^{\circ} 20'$, long. $103^{\circ} 15'$ *circa*; northwest corner of Rein Deer Lake south of the mouth of the river connecting it with Manito Lake to the north; at outlet of Lake Athabasca; north bank of Peace River near Grand Marais; north bank of Peace River in long. $114^{\circ} 55'$ *circa*; north bank of Peace River near Fort Liard in long. $116^{\circ} 20'$ *circa*; Fort du Tremble on west bank of Peace River in long. $116^{\circ} 40'$ *circa*; Fort Vermillion on north bank of Peace River in long. $117^{\circ} 2'$ *circa*; on east bank of Peace River in lat. $57^{\circ} 6'$, long. $117^{\circ} 30'$ *circa*; Old Fort on west bank of Peace River in lat. $56^{\circ} 40'$, long. $117^{\circ} 5'$; on west side of Peace River in lat. $56^{\circ} 5'$, long. $117^{\circ} 10'$; south side of Peace River in lat. $56^{\circ} 10'$, long. $120^{\circ} 40'$ *circa*; west bank Fraser's River in lat. 54° *circa* marked "The place of Mr. Simon Fraser's & Party's departure"; near mouth of Columbia River; on Skeetsho River in lat. $47^{\circ} 50'$, long. $117^{\circ} 50'$ *circa*; east side Kullyspell Lake in lat. $48^{\circ} 15'$, long. $116^{\circ} 15'$ *circa*; west side McGillivray's River in lat. $48^{\circ} 45'$, long. $116^{\circ} 2'$ *circa*; west side of Columbia River and small lake [Windermere Lake]; east side mouth of Canoe River [later Boat Encampment]; Pine Fort on north side of [Assiniboine River]; north side of [Assiniboine] River just west of the mouth of Mouse Rivulet; on south side of Calling Rivulet [Qu'Appelle] in lat. $50^{\circ} 30'$, long. $101^{\circ} 56'$ *circa*; on east side of river in lat. $51^{\circ} 30'$, long. $101^{\circ} 58'$ *circa*; Alexandria on west side of the river in lat. $51^{\circ} 45'$, long. $102^{\circ} 30'$ *circa*; on north side of Red Deer's Rivulet (which runs into Winnipegosis Lake) in lat. $52^{\circ} 55'$, long. $102^{\circ} 15'$ *circa*; on north side of the same in lat. 53° , long. $101^{\circ} 30'$ *circa*; south side of Saskatchewan River in lat. $53^{\circ} 15'$, long. $103^{\circ} 55'$ *circa*; north side of Saskatchewan River west of a river from the north in lat. $53^{\circ} 10'$, long. $105^{\circ} 56'$; south side of Saskatchewan River north of the mouth of Battle River; Fort George on north side of Saskatchewan River in lat. $54^{\circ} 50'$, long. $111^{\circ} 1'$ *circa*; Fort Augustus on north side of Saskatchewan River south of the mouth of Sturgeon Rivulet in lat. $53^{\circ} 45'$, long. $113^{\circ} 5'$ *circa*; north side of Saskatchewan River in lat. $53^{\circ} 25'$, long. $114^{\circ} 2'$ *circa*; on north side of Saskatchewan River in lat. $53^{\circ} 10'$, long. $114^{\circ} 45'$ *circa*; northwest side of Saskatchewan River across and above the mouth of Clear Water River; on northeast side of Green Lake in lat. $54^{\circ} 15'$, long. $107^{\circ} 40'$ *circa*; on north side of Beaver River in lat. $54^{\circ} 25'$, long. $109^{\circ} 30'$ *circa*; on east side of Red Deer's Lake (Beaver Lake is east of this) in lat. $54^{\circ} 50'$, long. $111^{\circ} 50'$

or on Mouse Rivulet.⁵⁵ At the mouth of Fraser River is the legend: "Mr. Fraser and Party returned from the Sortie of the River." This looks as if Thompson thought that Fraser actually got to open water, and he delineates the lower waters of the Fraser accordingly.

There are five large manuscript maps by Thompson in the British Museum.⁵⁶ Each is about four feet in width and over ten feet long. The first one⁵⁷ covers latitude 51° to $53^{\circ} 50'$ and longitude $110^{\circ} 10'$ to 126° , but has map work only between longitudes 114° and $123^{\circ} 25'$. It lacks detail in the portions north of latitude 52° and east of longitude 115° and in the portion north of latitude 53° and east of $116^{\circ} 50'$. It gives detail between longitudes $115^{\circ} 48'$ and $117^{\circ} 5'$ south of latitude $53^{\circ} 6'$, which the Coues and Burpee prints⁵⁸ lack. It has fewer names of the small rivers. The second map⁵⁹ is between latitudes 48° and 51° and longitudes 110° and 126° . It is blank east of $112^{\circ} 10''$ and also north of latitude 49° and east of longitude 114° . It gives detail west of longitude 124° , which the Coues and Burpee prints lack, but leaves out many small data, particularly the inscription at the mouth of the Fraser River. It locates posts on Kullyspell, McGillivray's, and Windermere lakes. The latter post, however, is on the east side of the Columbia. The third map⁶⁰ shows the district between latitudes 45° and 48° and between longitudes 110° and 126° . It is blank north of latitude $47^{\circ} 50'$ and east of longitude

circa; on east side of Buffalo Lake west of Slave Lake) in lat. $55^{\circ} 35'$, long. $116^{\circ} 4'$ *circa*; on east end of Slave Lake south of a river in lat. $55^{\circ} 10'$, long. $114^{\circ} 52'$ *circa*; on west side of river in lat. $54^{\circ} 45'$, long. $114^{\circ} 15'$ *circa*; on south side of river in lat. $54^{\circ} 8'$, long. $115^{\circ} 30'$ *circa*; on east side of river in lat. $52^{\circ} 58'$, long. $117^{\circ} 50'$ *circa*.

⁵⁵ Souris River.

⁵⁶ They are listed as Add. 27363, A-E, and are marked as purchased of Bohn in 1866.

⁵⁷ Add. 27363, A.

⁵⁸ I. e., from the Ontario Archives manuscript map.

⁵⁹ Add. 27363, B.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, C.

113° 5'. It has much detail in the rivers and their tributaries. It locates Spokane House on the Skeetsho River, a "N. W. Ho." in longitude *circa* 115° 25' on Saleesh River, and Astoria. The third map⁶¹ covers the area between latitudes 41° and 45° and longitudes 116° and 126°. A good knowledge of the country is shown between longitudes 109° and 114°, possibly even to 115°, as far south as latitude 41°. There is also apparently good knowledge between longitudes 122° 40' and 124° 20', as far south as latitude 41°. The Wilarmut or Wilarbut—both names appear—is marked as flowing from south of latitude 41°. Some of its tributaries are traced almost to latitude 41°. The map marks Reid's Fort, on the Kamoenim River, where Reid and his men were massacred by the Snake Indians in 1813-1814. It also marks "Henry's Fort built Canoes." The fourth map⁶² is of less interest. It delineates Lake Superior, marking Fort William and Grand Portage, and is signed "David Thompson, Astronomer and Surveyor under the 6th and 7th Articles of the Treaty of Ghent." The other maps are signed by Thompson, but say nothing of such official position.

The year after Thompson entered the service of the North West Company, Roderick McKenzie rediscovered the route to the Northwest by way of the Kaministikwia River and Dog Lake. This route had been traversed by traders during the French period;⁶³ but from the time that La Vérendrye had followed the

⁶¹ Add. 27363, D.

⁶² *Ibid.*, E.

⁶³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 46; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, viii. Burpee calls attention to Mackenzie's mention of the route and to the indication of the route on Pond's map which he dates in 1789. He suggests that the reason for the apparent ignorance of the North West Company may be found in the fact that both Alexander Mackenzie and Peter Pond were members of the X Y Company, which was not absorbed by the North West Company until 1804 (Burpee, "Canoe Routes from Lake Superior to the Westward," in *Geographical Journal*, August, 1910, p. 201). The first edition of Mackenzie's work appeared in 1801, three years after the rediscovery of the route in 1798 when Mackenzie was still a partner in the North West Company, as he had been since 1787, and there is no evidence extant of his being

Grand Portage route, the more southerly course was adopted, and the Kaministikwia route was presently forgotten. There is no record of an English trader's having up to this time traversed it. It has been already stated that Umfreville had in 1784 explored a route by way of Lake Nipigon and Lac Seul to Winnipeg River. The route being difficult and the posts to the southward being retained by the British, the traders continued to go by way of Grand Portage. Since the surrender of the posts in 1796, the question of a more northerly route which did not traverse United States territory was again of interest. In the spring of 1798, while returning from a visit to Canada, Roderick McKenzie learned from the Indians at the Height of Land of the Kaministikwia route. He obtained a guide and traced the route from Lac La Croix to Kaministikwia, whence he proceeded to Grand Portage.⁶⁴ On June 22 of the following year, Simon McTavish wrote to McKenzie stating that if the company's application for a grant were successful, the place of rendezvous on Lake Superior would be promptly changed.⁶⁵ Thompson states that in the summer of 1800, a United States collector landed⁶⁶ and informed the British fur traders that he would levy duties on all the merchandise and furs that should be brought into the bay or across the portage. The traders therefore, after surveying the Kaministikwia route, moved in 1802.⁶⁷ McKenzie says that Kaministikwia became the headquarters in 1801,⁶⁸ though the

a member of the X Y Company until he returned from England in 1802. Pond was not a member of the X Y Company. He had sold his share in the North West Company in 1790 and retired to the United States, several years before this Company was organized. Moreover, an examination of the Public Record Office original (C. O. 42, vol. 47, p. 665) of the map to which Burpee refers, would indicate that the route which Burpee considers the Kaministikwia route, is in reality that by Grand Portage.

⁶⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 46.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁶ At Grand Portage.

⁶⁷ Quoted by Burpee, *Highways of the Fur Trade*, Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, Ser. 3, VIII, sec. 2, p. 188.

⁶⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 47.

date usually given is 1803. Apparently the movement began in 1801. Building went on in 1802 and 1803, as we see by Henry, but was not expected to be completed until 1804, although the fort proper was complete in 1803. It received the name of Fort William in 1807, in honor of William McGillivray. Harmon calls it the New Fort in 1805.⁶⁹

Alexander Henry the younger was another fur trader and traveler of note. His journals for the years 1799-1814 have been published by Coues, with many references to Thompson's journals. This trader entered the North West Company in 1792.⁷⁰ His journals commence abruptly in 1799 at Rivière Terre Blanche, about thirty-five miles west-north-west of Portage la Prairie, where he was building a trading post. He had come here from Montreal by the Grand Portage route.⁷¹ The following year he went down to Grand Portage, whence he proceeded by way of Lake Winnipeg and Red River to Park River in North Dakota, where he built a post about a quarter of a mile up the latter stream.⁷² On his way up Red River he passed the fort built by Chaboillez in 1797 at the mouth of the Pembina River, and, on the other side of Red River, the remains of an old fort built by Peter Grant some years earlier.⁷³

In May, 1801, Henry abandoned Park River and built a post lower down Red River, on the north side of the Pembina.⁷⁴ In

⁶⁹ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 219, note 22; 222. William McGillivray directed the construction of the fort on the ground laid out by Colonel Bruyeres of the Royal Engineers (*Can. Arch. Report, 1897*, p. 99).

⁷⁰ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 452.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I, 1, note 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*, I, 6-123.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 80-81. Henry states that this was the first establishment ever built on Red River. He no doubt means the upper Red River and may mean North West Company establishment. Burpee states that, except for a rumored fort of La Vérendrye, this was the earliest post on upper Red River (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 385). The map of Peter Pond, as copied by Stiles in 1790, shows, however, a post on the east side of upper Red River some distance south of the river draining Red Lake (Copy in Canadian Archives).

⁷⁴ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 181-188.

1803 he went to the mouth of the Kaministikwia River. Since his last visit the depot on Lake Superior had been moved here from Grand Portage. Building was still going on, and he records the presence of two vessels, the "Invincible" and the "Otter."⁷⁵ Again in 1804 Henry made the trip from Pembina to Lake Superior and returned.⁷⁶ On New Year's Day he heard at his post of the union of the North West and X Y companies, which had taken place on November 5. In 1805 he again went to the rendezvous, and in 1806 he made a trip *via* the Assiniboine and Souris rivers to the Missouri.⁷⁷

On May 8, 1808, Henry left the Red River Department for the Saskatchewan. He wintered at Fort Vermillion on the North Saskatchewan, having passed on his way thither the ruins of Fort Montagne d'Aigle just below the Forks, an old establishment named Fort Providence near the site of Prince Albert, and Hudson House of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁷⁸ In 1809 he made the trip to Fort William, reaching there June 18. He arrived at Fort Vermillion again on September 13.⁷⁹ He then made a trip to Fort Augustus,⁸⁰ past old Fort George, which had been built for the North West Company by Angus Shaw in 1792 and had been abandoned since 1802. He also passed old Fort Augustus on the north side of the Saskatchewan.⁸¹ On May 31, 1810, the Hudson's Bay and North West companies abandoned Fort Vermillion for White Earth River.⁸² Thompson passed by this year on his way to

⁷⁵ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 214-223. Coues states that the "Invincible" was lost November 13, 1816 (*ibid.*, note 23). The sloop "Otter" belonged to the North West Company in 1799 (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 65).

⁷⁶ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 244-246.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 258, 285-421. There is an abridged form of the journal of this expedition in McGill University. It was apparently revised in 1840, according to a pencil note on the back (Masson, MS, No. 2365, McGill University).

⁷⁸ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 447-509.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 509, 539.

⁸⁰ Edmonton.

⁸¹ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 560-567.

⁸² *Ibid.*, II, 601.

Rainy Lake.⁸³ In September, Henry went to Rocky Mountain House, and on November 9 he rode up the river to a spot on the north bank where Peter Pangman had cut his name on a pine in 1790.⁸⁴ In February, 1811, he went into the mountains to a spot near the source of the Blaeberry River. He was back at Lower White Earth House May 17, 1811.⁸⁵ There is a gap in his journals from this date until November 15, 1813. He was then at Astoria, having come from Fort William.⁸⁶ He was present when the name was changed from Astoria to Fort George, on November 13. On May 22, 1814, he was drowned there with Donald McTavish, of the North West Company, and several others, on their way from the fort to the company's vessel, the "Isaac Todd."⁸⁷

Beside the names of Thompson and Henry stands that of Harmon. Daniel Williams Harmon entered the North West Company, apparently in 1800.⁸⁸ On June 13 of that year he reached Grand Portage, which he describes. Three years earlier⁸⁹ the X Y Company had built a post about two hundred rods away from the North West establishment. After a month at Grand Portage, Harmon proceeded inland, intending to go with John McDonald to Fort des Prairies. He was a day or two at Fort Charlotte at the west end of Grand Portage, sending off the Fort des Prairies canoes.⁹⁰ On July 31 he reached the North West Com-

⁸³ Coates, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 606-607.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 632-642, 662.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 676-699, 745-746.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 747.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 770, 916. Burpee points out H. H. Bancroft's errors in stating that Alexander Henry wintered at the forks of the Missouri 1808-1809, built Fort Henry on the Clearwater branch of the Snake River, and was in charge of Willamette post in 1814. Andrew Henry is the man whose name should be connected with the first two of these actions. Alexander's cousin, William Henry, was in charge of Willamette post in 1814 (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 405-407).

⁸⁸ Harmon, *Journal*, 1; citations are from the New York, 1903, reprint.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 14-16.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

pany's establishment at the mouth of Winnipeg River. The Hudson's Bay Company had a fort here too. It was now determined that Harmon should take charge of a new post in the Swan River Department, for which region he left with the Swan River brigade on August 10.⁹¹ Stopping at the mouth of Dauphin River, they made up the goods for Dauphin River post.⁹²

On October 10 they reached Swan River Fort, whence Harmon sent two men about fifty miles up the river to build his post. The Hudson's Bay Company had abandoned this region several years earlier.⁹³ On October 18 Harmon went from Swan River Fort to Fort Alexandria on the bank of the Assiniboine, or Upper Red River, arriving five days later.⁹⁴ For the next three years Harmon was in the Assiniboine and Swan River country, moving from fort to fort. In March, 1804, he made a trading trip westward to the Rapid Indians, or Atsinas, apparently somewhere about the South Saskatchewan.⁹⁵ In the autumn he went from Fort Alexandria to Fort Montagne à la Basse, about fifty miles above McDonnell's House.⁹⁶ On November 24, while at Fort Alexandria, he received a letter from Chaboillez stating that Lewis and Clark were among the Mandans.⁹⁷ He was back at Montagne à la Basse in April, 1805.⁹⁸ In June and July he made the trip to the mouth of the Kaministiquia.⁹⁹ On September 5 he was at Cumberland House. Thence he proceeded up the Saskatchewan one hundred and twenty miles above the Forks to South Branch Fort, which had been constructed the previous summer. On his way he passed several

⁹¹ Harmon, *Journal*, 21-22, 24.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 26.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 31-33.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 83-91.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 101-102.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 104-105.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 106-114.

abandoned trading posts.¹⁰⁰ The North West Company's fort on Lake Bourbon had been abandoned in 1802. A fort situated about six miles below South Branch Fort had been abandoned fifteen years earlier. The Rapid Indians had captured and pillaged the neighboring Hudson's Bay Company's fort and then attacked the North West Company's post. They were repulsed by the garrison of three men, who abandoned the fort under cover of darkness and established another two hundred miles farther down the river below the Forks.¹⁰¹

Harmon returned to Cumberland House in September, 1806, and wintered there.¹⁰² In July, 1807, he was again at Lake Superior, and records the changing of the name of New Fort to Fort William in honor of William McGillivray.¹⁰³ He wintered at Sturgeon Lake in the Nipigon Department.¹⁰⁴ In the spring he went to Fort William, which he left, the day following his arrival, for the Athabasca district with J. G. McTavish. Taking the route by Frog Portage, the Churchill, and Portage La Loche, they reached Fort Chipewean September 7.¹⁰⁵ Two weeks later Harmon notes in his journal that Simon Fraser had just returned from his voyage down the Fraser River.¹⁰⁶

From Fort Chipewean Harmon went past Fort Vermillion to Dunvegan on Peace River, where he remained until October, 1810, when he was sent to take charge of New Caledonia.¹⁰⁷ He went past St. John's Fort, Rocky Mountain Portage Fort, McLeod's Lake Fort, and Fort St. James to Fort Fraser on

¹⁰⁰ Harmon, *Journal*, 115-117.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 117-118. This is an interesting mention of early trading operations by these companies on the South Saskatchewan.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 122-123.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 125-126.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 126-130. He notes Fort Duncan at the north end of Lake Nipigon, and a post at Red Lake.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 132-139.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 140-153.

Fraser River.¹⁰⁸ He wintered here. In the spring of 1811 he returned to the fort on Stuart's Lake, which was his headquarters for six years,¹⁰⁹ during which he studied the Indian tribes. In January, 1812, he went on a journey to the Nâte-ote-tains, or Babine Indians, who had never been visited by white men before. From them he heard something of the country to the westward and of a river which was probably the Skeena.¹¹⁰ In November, 1812, he notes the arrival at McLeod's Lake Fort of John Stuart and his party from Fort Chipewean. Stuart's men planned to winter near the source of the Columbia River, descend it in the spring under the leadership of J. G. McTavish, and meet Donald McTavish and others, who had sailed from England in October for the mouth of that river.¹¹¹ On May 13, 1813, John Stuart, with six Canadians and two Indians, left Stuart's Lake to join J. G. McTavish on the Columbia and, if possible, find a waterway from Stuart's Lake to the Columbia by which annual supplies of goods could be imported and the returns sent out to be shipped directly to China in vessels which the North West Company would then build on the coast.¹¹² On September 25 Harmon received three letters from Stuart describing his successful journey. He had gone down the Fraser for eight days and then transported his goods overland on horseback for a hundred and fifty miles to Lake Okanagan.¹¹³ From Okanagan he wrote that he could go by water to the Pacific, which he hoped to reach in twelve or fifteen days at the outside.¹¹⁴ On November 7 Joseph Larocque, who had accompanied McTavish and his party on the

¹⁰⁸ Harmon, *Journal*, 153-162.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 165 *et seq.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 182-184.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 191-192.

¹¹³ He spells it O-ke-na-gun.

¹¹⁴ Harmon, *Journal*, 198-199. Stuart evidently descended the Fraser for eight days, though Burpee says the Columbia (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 504).

voyage down the Columbia, arrived at Stuart's Lake Fort. They had met Stuart and his party on their return, and Larocque, with two of Stuart's men, had come to Stuart's Lake by the very circuitous route of Red Deer River, Lesser Slave Lake, and Dunvegan, from which place they accompanied Harmon's people, returning from Rainy Lake.¹¹⁵ It would be interesting to know what route they followed from the Columbia to the Red Deer River, and from the Red Deer River to Lesser Slave Lake.¹¹⁶

On February 4, 1814, Harmon received word from the Columbia Department of the purchase by the North West Company of the property of the Pacific Fur Company.¹¹⁷ On October 18 Larocque arrived with two canoe-loads of goods from Fort George, which place he left in the latter part of August. North West Company vessels¹¹⁸ had arrived there in March and April, and soon after one of them sailed with a cargo of furs for Canton. Larocque also brought the news of the drowning of Henry and McTavish.¹¹⁹ On October 4, 1817, the fort at Fraser's Lake was burned, but nearly all the goods were saved.¹²⁰ In May, 1819, Harmon finally left New Caledonia. He reached Fort William August 18 and proceeded east after having spent nineteen years in the interior.¹²¹

Meanwhile the Norwesters following Mackenzie had estab-

¹¹⁵ Harmon, *Journal*, 199.

¹¹⁶ Burpee states that they went by Yellowhead Pass (Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 505). This would hardly bring them to Red Deer River if that means the branch of the South Saskatchewan which at present bears the name and is similarly named in Harmon's map. One wonders if they ascended the Kicking Horse River instead of the Blacberry and thus made their way over Kicking Horse Pass. If, however, by the Red Deer River, Harmon means the upper Athabasca, which is called Elk River in his map, Burpee's surmise is more likely to be correct.

¹¹⁷ Harmon, *Journal*, 202.

¹¹⁸ At least Harmon says "our vessels" and he later speaks of the "Isaac Todd."

¹¹⁹ Harmon, *Journal*, 204-205.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 232-233.

lished themselves in the Fraser River Valley. In 1797 James Finlay ascended Peace River and examined the river which bears his name. He then ascended Parsnip River nearly to its source, but did not ascend the branch which leads to McLeod's Lake.¹²² In the spring of 1805 James McDougall ascended the Peace and Parsnip rivers to McLeod's Lake, where a fort was soon built which was later called Fort McLeod. He then continued his explorations to the great fork of the Fraser and beyond to the Carriers Lake.¹²³ Later in the same year Simon Fraser¹²⁴ ascended Parsnip River, following Finlay's track.¹²⁵ Rocky Mountain Fort on Peace River was then under construction, in December, 1805.¹²⁶ It is worth noting that this activity was taking place in the year following the union of the Old and New North West companies.

On January 28, 1806, McDougall started on a second expedition to McLeod's Lake, which he found temporarily deserted.¹²⁷ On February 23 Fraser heard, from Indians arriving at Rocky Mountain Fort, of a large lake in the interior of New Caledonia, reached by a portage from Finlay River.¹²⁸ On May 20, 1806,

¹²² Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, II, 87.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

¹²⁴ Simon Fraser entered the North West Company at the age of sixteen. About ten years later he was a partner. Before this time we get notices of him from David Thompson and others. He was apparently at Grand Portage in 1793. In 1795-1796 he wintered at Lac La Ronge. In 1797 he was agent at Grand Portage, and in 1804 was at Fort Liard in Athabasca, in which department he had been in 1799. In 1802 he signed the Montreal agreement in person, and his attorneys signed the agreement in 1804 (Masson, *Esquisse*, 96; Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 61, II, 481, 498; Masson, MS, 2352, in McGill University; Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 506-507).

¹²⁵ Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, II, 89.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 91. There appears, however, to have been a similar, if not the same, post at an earlier date. Among the Masson papers is a journal of the Rocky Mount Fort for the fall of 1799. The writer, whose name does not appear, left the forks of Peace River on October 5 and arrived at his destination on October 13, 1799. The last entry is dated April 20, 1800 (Masson, MS, vol. 4, Canadian Archives).

¹²⁷ Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, II, 92-93.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 95-96. In Harmon's map this appears as Great Bear Lake at the head of Finlay's Branch. There is no lake of such size in that region.

he left the Rocky Mountain Fort with John Stuart to cross the Rockies again. They visited the fort on McLeod's Lake, and proceeded from there to the Fraser River, not going by Giscome Portage, but following the more roundabout route of the Parsnip and Bad rivers.¹²⁹ They entered the Nechaco River on July 11, and fifteen days later reached Stuart Lake. Here they commenced the construction of Fort St. James in accordance with their orders to establish posts beyond the mountains.¹³⁰ On August 28, 1806, Stuart went overland to Fraser Lake. His report on this section was so favorable that Fort Fraser was built at the east end of the lake.¹³¹

Fort George was built in 1807, at the confluence of the Nechaco.¹³² Having received orders to explore the Tacoutche Tesse, then supposed to be the Columbia, Fraser and Stuart left Fort George May 28, 1808. Their party comprised, besides themselves, Jules Maurice Quesnel, nineteen *voyageurs*, and two Indian guides.¹³³ On May 29 they encamped at the mouth of Quesnel River.¹³⁴ The next day the party passed the point where Mackenzie had turned back in 1793. Atnah and Tahowtin Indians were met.¹³⁵ Then Chilk-hodins who lived on the banks of Chilcotin River were encountered.¹³⁶ The difficulties of the route became so great that on June 10 Fraser decided to abandon the canoes.¹³⁷ The next day the party set out overland. On June 12 they met Askettih Indians. These were probably Lillooet

¹²⁹ Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, II, 98-106.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 107-110.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 110-111. The Bancroft MSS at the University of California contain copies of journals of Finlay, Stuart, and Fraser, and letters of Stuart and Fraser for these years.

¹³² Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, II, 112.

¹³³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 157. Fraser's *Journal*, dealing with the expedition, occupies pp. 157-221 of this volume.

¹³⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 158.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 159-161.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹³⁷ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 172.

Indians.¹³⁸ Two days later the fork of the Thompson and Fraser rivers was reached.¹³⁹ At the Askettih village Fraser heard of a river to the eastward, but it was evidently the Columbia, which Thompson was then traversing.¹⁴⁰ On June 15 the party continued the journey by water,¹⁴¹ but eleven days later they had to abandon the canoes once more.¹⁴² On June 28 they reached the Achinrow village.¹⁴³ The next day they embarked in canoes belonging to the natives, but, a day later, secured canoes of their own.¹⁴⁴ On July 2 the party sighted a gulf, or bay of the sea.¹⁴⁵ An observation gave the latitude to be nearly 49°, so the river was evidently not the Columbia, to Fraser's great disappointment.¹⁴⁶ He turned back and reached Fort George on August 6, 1808.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 173; Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 517.

¹³⁹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 175.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 176; Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 519. The Fraser MS in the Bancroft Library reads rather differently. It states that the Indians "say that they heard of white people having been down the first large river that flows into this on the left, but whether it had been Captain Lewis or some of the Fort des Prairies people we cannot determine" (Fraser, *Second Journal*, 23).

¹⁴¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 177.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 190.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 194-195.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 221. The original journal which Masson used is now in the Toronto Public Reference Library. An examination of it shows that Masson as usual takes liberties with his paragraphing and wording. The most serious discrepancy is the omission of five observations of meridian altitude taken by Stuart. These observations explain why Thompson cites Stuart rather than Fraser in the title of his large manuscript map. There is another copy of a portion of the journal of this expedition in the Bancroft MSS at the University of California. This was the one used by Bancroft. It left him for some time in doubt how far the expedition went, but his doubts were resolved by some notes by Stuart (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, II, 118, n. 11). The journal which Bancroft used covers from May 30 to June 10, 1808. Bancroft probably arranged for the copying of this journal while searching in British Columbia for material. There are many differences between it and the printed form in Masson's work and the manuscript from which Masson printed, which is now in the Toronto Reference Library. It gives much more detail

Fraser had probably descended the river, which was to bear his name, about as far as the site of New Westminster.¹⁴⁸ The lower portion of the river was apparently not explored until 1824, when Chief Trader McMillan of the Hudson's Bay Company entered its mouth, with an expedition organized at Fort George by Governor Simpson.¹⁴⁹ The journey of Simon Fraser was connected in point of policy with an attempt on the part of the North West Company to obtain a charter from the British government granting them the monopoly of the trade of the

of the directions and distances covered, and, on the whole, looks more like a faithful transcription of some portion of the original journal. George Keith, writing to Roderick McKenzie in 1815, discussed briefly the fact that Simon Fraser had been preparing his journal for publication (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 128-129). The Toronto manuscript may well be a revised form of the journal.

¹⁴⁸ This is stated in Anderson, *Northwest Coast*, 15, Bancroft MSS. It is partly contradicted when the same author states on p. 56 that the expedition "ran down the Fraser in 1808 to the sea." Stuart also says that they went to the mouth of the river (Anderson, *Northwest Coast*, 235). Fraser, however, states definitely that they had not seen the main ocean, though almost within view of it (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 203).

¹⁴⁹ Pelly to Canning, Hudson's Bay House, London, December 9, 1825, F. O. 5, vol. 208. An extract from McMillan's report of date December 31, 1824, is enclosed. One member of the expedition, Proveau by name, was with Fraser and Stuart on the descent of the river in 1808. This man, says McMillan, "described several parts of it [the river] before reaching them and those parts I recognized afterwards by his description particularly the point from whence those Gentlemen returned which is situated about 20 Miles above the entrance of the River." The letter also encloses a copy of extracts from the journal of Alexander McKenzie, who was on the brig "William and Ann" engaged in sounding the entrance to the river, of dates August 17 to August 24, 1825. Mr. Swan, the mate, entered the river in a boat while sounding on August 21. Apparently the brig did not enter. If this sounding expedition were really in 1825, as dated in this copy, the news certainly reached England very rapidly.

The letter also encloses a copy of the bill of sale of Astoria to the North West Company. Pelly suggested to the British government in this letter, respecting the boundary line, that "starting from Lat. 49 at the Rocky Mountains, the line ought to be continued Southward along the height of Land to the place where Lewis & Clark crossed the Mountains, said to be in Lat. 46° 42", then westerly along Lewis's River, until it falls into the Columbia, and thence into the Sea, leaving the navigation of both these Rivers, free to the subjects of both nations."

Pacific Slope and the Mackenzie River basin. Thompson's activities in the Columbia Valley were even more closely concerned with this attempt. The efforts of the North West Company in this respect did not, however, achieve success.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ This question is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Attention has been paid in the preceding chapters to the development of the competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian traders. The union of the interests of the North West and X Y companies resulted in making this competition even keener. The struggle culminated, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, in a period of petty hostilities, in which Lord Selkirk's agricultural colony on Red River was an important factor.

The attention of Thomas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, had been directed to the interior of North America west of Lake Superior, by the publication of Mackenzie's *Voyages* in 1801. On April 4, 1802, he addressed a letter and memorial to Lord Pelham, then secretary of the Home Department, recommending Red River as a field of colonization for emigrants from Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. He was referred to the Colonial Department.¹ The matter was not taken up, because the government entertained an unfavorable attitude towards emigration, although there was much distress in portions of the country.

The following year Selkirk organized a body of over eight hundred settlers, but the government made him take them to Prince Edward Island, where they formed a successful settlement.² In 1805 Selkirk published his *Observations upon the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland with a View of the*

¹ Montgomery, *Substance of a Speech in the House of Commons*, June 24, 1819, pp. 7-8. Bryce states that he obtained a copy of the letter, with two memorials attached to it, from the Colonial Department. These items are in C. O. 42, vol. 330. A copy is in Q, 293, pp. 172 *et seq.* Brymner gives good summaries of the early activities of Selkirk in colonization in *Can. Arch. Reports*, 1886, 1892. He bases his remarks on the material in Q, 293, and Q, 294, which are copies of C. O. 42, vol. 330-331.

² The copies of the Selkirk Papers in the Canadian Archives give much information about the details of Selkirk's activities in North America.

Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration. A perusal of this work shows that he had a real humanitarian interest in his colonizing plans. There was, however, a strong feeling against the peasantry's leaving the British Isles, if one may judge from a series of eight letters in reply published in the *Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle* by a writer who signed himself "Amieus."³

After his colonists were established in Prince Edward Island, Selkirk visited Montreal. Here he was well received. The Beaver Club, the famous social organization of the North West Company, entertained him. He was much interested in all that concerned the Northwest, asked questions freely, and listened attentively. Having already a working knowledge of the fur trade from Mackenzie's publication, he now acquired a good grasp of the subject.

Another of his attempts at colonization was lacking in success. The Baldoon Settlement in Upper Canada⁴ encountered serious difficulties. Among these was its low site, which made it liable to serious inundations in the spring. It was likewise unhealthful.⁵

Such were Selkirk's experiences in colonization before his more famous attempt in the Red River region. This enterprise was closely associated with the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. A few figures may be cited to indicate the volume of the activities of the former company. The imports to Hudson Bay, which amounted to £3600 in 1780, amounted to £6200, almost double that amount, the following year. They ranged between £4800 and £9900 from 1783 to 1790, in which year they dropped to £3400. In 1791 they jumped

³ These letters were reprinted in pamphlet form in 1806. The British Columbia Legislature Library possesses a copy of the pamphlet.

⁴ Selkirk had been negotiating in 1802 for colonization at Sault Ste. Marie. He appears to have obtained the Baldoon lands in 1803 (C. O. 42, vol. 330-331).

⁵ Bryce, *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson*, 134.

to £19,800. Except for the year 1801, when the imports were only £4000, they remained above £20,000 yearly until 1803, the largest importation being £83,200 in 1794. In 1804 the imports amounted to £4800. The following year they were £20,200. In 1806 the amount was £13,100; in 1807 it was £20,700; and in 1808 it was £25,500.⁶ The value of the exports from Hudson Bay to Great Britain, which meant to London, was £15,000 in 1780, and £14,700 in 1781. It was £6800, £7500, and £7600, respectively, for the next three years. In 1785 the exports were £11,200, and they remained above £10,000 and below £20,000 for a decade. In 1795 they were £7600, but the next year they were £29,700, and the succeeding year £20,700. In 1798 they amounted to the very moderate total of £14. In 1799 and 1800 they were respectively £18,200 and £38,400. In the succeeding years they were: £17,000, £16,000, £10,900, £15,600, £15,000, £18,800, and £20,900. In 1808 the exports were again very slight, amounting to £8.⁷ The continental market was much perturbed in the years preceding 1808, which may account for the low figure of the shipments to England in that year.⁸ The Hudson's Bay Company

⁶C. H. 17, vols. 6-30.

⁷*Ibid.*, where the figures are given to the penny. The above figures are in round numbers to the nearest hundred pounds. The valuations were according to the regulations observed by the customs officials, and, were they ever so accurate in that respect, would not accurately reflect the market prices of the times.

⁸On February 23, 1809, the Board of Trade considered a memorial of the Hudson's Bay Company transmitted by the Treasury. This stated that their trade suffered greatly from the want of a demand for furs in the foreign market, and that they had a three-years' stock of furs on hand and prayed for temporary assistance. The Board of Trade reported that the memorial contained no proposition on which they could advise the Treasury (B. T. 5, vol. 18, p. 438). The petition was dated Hudson's Bay House, December 21, 1808, and was transmitted by Harrison, January 16, 1809 (B. T. 1, vol. 42, no. 36). The following statements are worth quotation: "The (Cargoes [from Hudson Bay] are sold at public Sales. The Beaver & some few inferior Furs, together with the Oil, are bought for home consumption, and sell for about £30,000, but the fine Furs were, till after the Sales of 1806, bought by the Fur Merchants for the Fairs of Frankfort and of Leipsick for Petersburg & before the present War, for France. Since that year there has not been a Fur sold for exportation, & as a proof to your

was apparently being forced into a policy of retrenchment in the purchase of furs. On October 23, 1809, Bird of the Hudson's Bay Company arrived at Fort Vermillion with orders from York Factory to take no wolves and as few small skins as possible. Only beaver, muskrat, and swan skins were to be considered of value.⁹

While the quantity of liquor used in the fur trade was apparently not so great as it had been before the union of the rival Montreal companies, acts of violence by no means ceased. The evidence is not extensive, but, such as it is, it indicates that the North West Company's people were the aggressors.¹⁰

The enterprising spirit of the Canadian traders was evident in a less exceptionable form in their activities on the Pacific slope and in the Mackenzie basin. Here they did not as yet have to face the opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company traders. The advance of the traders and trading posts beyond the Rocky Mountains has been stated. In connection with this advance, there arose the question of the control of the fur trade, and the North West Company attempted to obtain chartered rights over it. On July 28, 1808, the Board of Trade read a letter from Mr. Cooke, dated March 17, 1808, enclosing copies of a letter and memorial from Sir Alexander Mackenzie on the subject of forming an exclusive company for establishing a permanent fur trade

Lordships that the deficiency of Buyers did not arise from our holding back for a higher Market, We sold in 1806 for Seven Shillings per Skin Furs that, in the more quiet State of Europe in 1804 had brought us Twenty Shillings & Three Pence, & which for years previous to that time had sold for a similar price, & other depreciation prevailed, in about the same proportion, the whole of the Furs calculated for the foreign Market, and in some instances Furs were sold for a lower Price than the Duties we had paid for them. Since that period no Orders have been received from abroad & our Warehouses are now filled with the most valuable productions of Three Years Import, that if sold at the prices of those years before the closing of the Ports on the Continent would have produced us at least £150,000" (B. T. 1, vol. 42, no. 36).

⁹ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 459.

¹⁰ Selkirk, *Sketch*, 56-63, 66-74, 91-106.

on the northern coast of the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was ordered in the matter.¹¹ It will be noticed that this was the year in which Fraser and Stuart explored the lower Fraser Valley, and that Thompson had crossed the mountains to the upper Columbia in 1807. It is quite possible that Fraser's discovery that he was not on the Columbia River may have disarranged the plans of the North West Company. They could not as yet be certain that Thompson was on Columbian waters. However this may be, some years passed before the North West Company was again found urging their request for a charter.

On April 12, 1810, Nathaniel Acheson wrote to Laek inquiring if a determination had been reached by the Board of Trade in the matter of the proposed exclusive company. This letter contained two enclosures. The first was a letter dated Downing Street, March 19, 1808, from Cooke to Mackenzie stating that the petition to Castlereagh of March 10, 1808, in regard to the proposed company on the Pacific Coast, had been referred to the Board of Trade. The second enclosure was the memorial.¹² The Board of Trade then apparently leisurely hunted up Mackenzie's earlier communication, which now makes its appearance among the papers of 1811.¹³ From this copy of Mackenzie's letter, which was dated at the Adelphi, March 10, 1808, it develops that he had discussed the matter with Cooke two days earlier. He says: "from what I understood to be your opinion, I have chosen the system of exclusive privilege of commerce in that Quarter, in preference to urging the necessity of making such Military & Naval Establishments, with Expensive appointments, as would be absolutely necessary to protect an open and general Trade; . . ." In his memorial, Mackenzie submitted the desirability of conducting the fur trade by a line of posts across the continent from

¹¹ B. T. 5, vol. 18, p. 208. The items referred to appear at a later date, when they were reconsidered.

¹² B. T. 1, vol. 59, no. 39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 14.

the British settlements to the mouth of the Columbia, "where a Commercial Colony might be planted, from whence a Trade could be carried on and extended, not only with the Interior, but along the Coast and its adjacent Islands." He stated that the North West Company was best able to fulfil such a plan, but that "it would be necessary to grant them an exclusive Right of Trade in the Columbia and its tributary Waters and along a certain extent of coast for a given period, as well as Grants of such Portions of Lands as may be deemed necessary to carry on the general object of the undertaking; . . ." It would also be necessary to obtain from the Hudson's Bay Company, if it had the legal right to grant or refuse it, an irrevocable and unlimited license for transit of goods through its territories on the same terms as the company itself enjoyed,¹⁴ the Canadian traders giving security that these goods would not be disposed of before reaching their actual settlements. Furthermore, unlimited and irrevocable licenses would be necessary from the East India and South Sea companies granting the privilege of trading along the Pacific Coast and of establishing factors or agents in China for the "direct Sale and Barter of the Exports and Imports, from and to the said Coast of North America, to and with the People of China, and others residing there, or trading at the Time."¹⁵ War existing with Spain, the protection of a small naval force might be necessary. Prompt action would be required now that Lewis and Clark's expedition had been made, to forestall the Americans from asserting exclusive privileges in the interme-

¹⁴ There is an interesting side-note in another hand which contains the remark that the Hudson's Bay Company charter, "not having been confirmed by Act of Parliament, is of no Force whatever under the 1st Wm. & M. Sess. 2, Chap. 2" (i.e., under the Bill of Rights).

¹⁵ Another side-note indicates that it was considered certain that the East India Company would resist the grant of such extensive rights in the China trade. Americans were not fettered thus in the China trade. The Act of 8 Geo. I, c. 15, s. 24, which required that all furs which were the produce of British plantations in America, Asia, and Africa, should be brought to Great Britain, might be easily remedied.

diates country and along the coast northward from the Spanish boundary to latitude 50°. Possible bases for such American pretensions were discussed, and Mackenzie claimed that he was the first to penetrate to the Columbia and thence to the Pacific Ocean, in 1793. This communication was read on August 2, 1811,¹⁶ and on the same day Atcheson's letter of April 12, 1810, enclosing a similar memorial, was also read.¹⁷ The wording of this memorial is almost the same as the above. It speaks in one place of "the Columbia or Oregon" River, and the changed international situation is reflected when, in discussing the necessity of a naval force, the phrase "being at war with Spain" is replaced by "Being at variance with the Americans." Atcheson also stated in his letter that on the fourth instant¹⁸ he had transmitted to Fawkenner a duplicate of other papers relative to the subject, which had been submitted to the consideration of Marquis Wellesley.

On June 22, 1811, a petition by McTavish, Fraser and Company, Inglis, Ellice and Company, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, requesting a charter of incorporation for the North West Company for the period of twenty-one years, was read before the Prince Regent in Council at Whitehall.¹⁹ It was referred to the Board of Trade. Chetwynd's letter, enclosing a copy of the petition, was received by the Board of Trade on July 4, and considered on November 16, 1811.²⁰ This petition, after reciting the situation and plans of the North West Company of Canada, proceeded to request a charter of incorporation for twenty-one years, granting exclusive trade on a large portion of the Pacific Slope and in the Mackenzie Basin, in the following words:

¹⁶ B. T. 5, vol. 20, p. 470.

¹⁷ B. T. 1, vol. 20, p. 476.

¹⁸ April 4, 1810.

¹⁹ Privy Council Register, vol. 192, pp. 255-256.

²⁰ B. T. 5, vol. 21, pp. 52-53. The letter and copy of the petition are in B. T. 1, vol. 61, no. 12.

Your Petitioners therefore submit to Your Majesty's most gracious Consideration this their humble Application for a Charter of Incorporation, for Twenty one Years, for the granting and securing to your Petitioners, and their Successors, the Sole and exclusive Trade and Commerce of that part of North America situate between the Summit of the Chain of Mountains called the Rocky Mountains on the East and the Pacific Ocean on the West, and extending from Cape Blanco in the Latitude of 42° North to 60° North, together with the Seas, Streights, Bays, Inlets, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, and Lands which lie within these Limits and the Countries, Territories, Lands, Coasts, and Confines which border upon the different Branches and Sources of the River Columbia or Oregon, or by whatever other name it may now or hereafter be called or designated, being the great River which falls into the Pacific Ocean in or about Latitude 46° North, and also the Countries, Lands, Territories, Coasts and Confines bordering upon all those Lakes, Rivers, Waters and Streams which are discharged into the Northern or Frozen Ocean, and have their Outlet to the Sea through the great Slave Lake and Mackenzie's River, in whatever Latitude or Longitude the Branches and Source of the said Rivers, Waters, and Streams may be situated, and of the produce of those Countries.²¹

The Board of Trade considered the matter on November 16, 1811, and reported that they had several times been attended by the parties on the subject of the petition. They agreed that British interests were deeply involved in the proposed trade and that a company was the only means of successfully conducting it. They reported, however, that a charter, if granted, should be subject to the following conditions: First, exclusive right of trade should be confined to the portion of the continent of America west of the Rocky Mountains; second, any persons then in Canada who had been concerned in the Indian trade should be allowed to become members of the company, if they so desired, within a specified time after the granting of the charter; third, the charter, if granted for twenty-one years, should be terminable on three years' notice. Moreover, the Board of Trade reported

²¹ B. T. 1, vol. 61, no. 12. The Privy Council Papers not being arranged in strict order of date, but simply according to the year, it was not possible to locate the original petition in the spring of 1915. It was therefore necessary to trust to the Board of Trade copy. The Privy Council Papers were, however, being duly assorted.

that they had no means of determining whether the limits proposed would infringe on territory to which the United States had a claim.²² The Privy Council read the report of the Board of Trade on December 18, 1811, and referred it to the committee.²³ The committee considered it on February 21, 1812, and referred it, together with a copy of the petition, to the Attorney- and Solicitor-General for their opinions.²⁴

In the meantime, Nathaniel Atcheson had written to Bathurst on September 19, 1811, stating that 4 Wm. & Mary, c. 15, sec. 2, and 14 Geo. III, c. 26, sec. 1, were the only mention he found of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter in Ruffhead's edition of the Statute Book. He added that the United States had chartered a company which had fitted out at New York an expedition to take possession of and settle on the banks of the Columbia. He referred Bathurst to the printed "Statement of the Origin & of the North West Company" for information, and otherwise urged the granting of the charter. The printed work referred to is evidently the anonymous *On the Origin and Progress of the North-West Company*, published in 1811.²⁵

²² B. T. 5, vol. 21, pp. 52-53.

²³ Privy Council Register, vol. 192, p. 409.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

²⁵ This publication was evidently written to aid in obtaining the charter (cf. pp. 27-38, especially pp. 28-29, therein). There is a reference to As-tor's company on p. 32. I have located and examined three copies; one in the British Columbia Legislative Library, one in the Toronto Public Reference Library, and one in the Colonial Office Library. The first-named contains a map which is lacking in the other two, though referred to in the work, p. 30, footnote. It is noteworthy that this map depicts the country west of the Rockies as if the river which Mackenzie followed were the Columbia, and it is so claimed in the text, p. 34. The results of Fraser's expedition must certainly have been known, though no mention is made of it in the text. They would, of course, weaken the North West Company's case. There is no appearance of the map's having been removed from the Toronto and Colonial Office copies. There is a written note on the Toronto copy indicating that Nathaniel Atcheson was the author. The note is in an old-style writing. It is not that of Bain, under whose librarianship the work was accessioned. From Atcheson's part in the negotiations and from the nature of his known publications, it appears highly probable that he was the author. Atcheson held the position of secretary to the Committee of

The Law Officers of the Crown, Gibbs and Plumer, reported to the committee on March 12, 1812, that there could be no objection to granting articles of incorporation provided that the conditions proposed by the Board of Trade should be observed, that United States territory should not be infringed upon, and that no grant of sale and exclusive trade should be made.²⁶ A letter to this effect was accordingly sent to McTavish, Fraser and Company on May 13, 1812.²⁷ McTavish, Fraser and Company, Inglis, Ellice and Company, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie thereupon sent to the Board of Trade another memorial, on behalf the North West Company, dated at London, June 30, 1812. This treated the question of the trade in greater detail, remarking upon the necessity of constant extension of the fur trade into new districts and stating that the region beyond the Rockies was the only one of these left. The expense of transporting goods thither overland was considerable over two hundred per cent on the original value. The company thus could not compete with goods carried by sea. To undertake so uncertain and expensive an enterprise, in which returns could not be expected short of three years, they would require an exclusive control of the trade, to prevent speculators from reaping their profits. They therefore requested such a charter for twenty-one years, terminable not on three but on five years' notice. They then recited the action of the United States government in regard to the Michilimackinac Company and how it had been compelled to sell out to an American company. This company was now planning to

British North American Merchants, which position he apparently accepted at London, August 1, 1809. This body was formed at London that year and had John Inglis and John Bainbridge as chairman and deputy chairman, and Mackenzie, Shedden, Brickwood, Venner, Hamilton, Osborne, Poindexter, Livie, Auldjo, McGillivray, Goodall, Gillespie, Forsyth, and Linthorne as members (F. O. 353, vol. 59). Several of these were interested in the Northwest trade.

²⁶ Two copies in B. T. 1, vol. 70, no. 16.

²⁷ Butler to McTavish, Fraser & Co., Council Office, Whitehall, May 13, 1812, copy in B. T. 1, vol. 70, no. 16.

extend its posts across the Rocky Mountains, and, having already sent one ship from New York to the Columbia in 1810 and another in 1811, it was preparing a third ship for the same region. If unopposed in such action, the United States government would doubtless found a claim on such possession. Apprehending opposition, the American company had repeatedly requested the North West Company to share in the enterprise to the Pacific Coast. The former had expressly offered to the latter a third of the trade, and, it was thought, would readily grant a half. The North West Company would thus share in the benefits of the American charter and the China trade, but would have to recognize the government of the United States and even be instrumental in extending its sovereignty. This it was determined not to do; and if the proposed charter were granted to the company, it hoped that the fur trade and the possession of the country where it was carried on might be preserved to Great Britain. Without the charter, the North West Company would have to abandon the idea of the trade.²⁸

Not hearing from the Board of Trade on the subject, McTavish, Fraser and Company and Inglis, Ellice and Company addressed a memorial to Castlereagh on September 24, 1812, reciting briefly what they had done, stating that they feared the Board of Trade did not consider it strictly within the reference to them to make a final decision on the application for a charter,

²⁸ Copy in B. T. 1, vol. 70, no. 16. It was signed by McTavish, Fraser & Co. and Inglis, Ellice & Co. on behalf of themselves and William McGillivray, William Hallowell, Roderick Mackenzie, Angus Shaw, Archd. Norman McLeod, James Hallowell, Simon McGillivray, Thomas Thain, and Alexander Mackenzie, agents; and on behalf of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Thomas Forsyth, John McDonald, John McDougall, Charles Chaboillez, Aeneas Cameron, Alexr. McDougall, Duncan Cameron, John Richardson, John Forsyth, John Inglis, John B. Inglis, Edward Ellice, John Ogilvy, John Mure, Daniel Mackenzie, William Mackay, Alexander Fraser, John Sayer, Donald McTavish, John D. Campbell, John Thomson, Pierre de Rocheblave, John McDonald, John Haldane, James Leith, James Hughes, Alexander Mackay, James Mackenzie, John McGillivray, Hugh McGillis, Simon Frazer, Alexander H. [*sic*, probably Henry.], David Thompson, John Willis, Kenneth Mackenzie, Archd. McLillann, and Ranold Cameron, wintering partners.

and requesting Castlereagh's influence for an early and favorable decision by the government. Enclosures accompanied this.²⁹ It was sent to the Privy Council by order of Bathurst on October 3, 1812.³⁰ On November 9 the papers in the matter were sent to the Board of Trade from the Privy Council.³¹ On November 16, 1812, the Board of Trade considered the matter and reported to the Privy Council that it did not feel competent to offer an opinion on the policy of granting exclusive trade to new companies. If the charter were granted, they advised that it should be subject to the conditions stated in their report of November 18, 1811, provided that the limits proposed should not interfere with the territories of the United States.³²

Meanwhile, Atcheson had been in steady correspondence on the subject with the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office.³³ The report of the Board of Trade on November 16 was apparently final in regard to the charter.³⁴

²⁹ Copy in B. T. 1, vol. 70, no. 16.

³⁰ Goulburn to Chetwynd, Downing Street, October 3, 1812, B. T. 1, vol. 70, no. 16. A side note states it was in the original enclosure in Mr. Atcheson's of September 25. It had been sent to the Colonial Office by the Foreign Office on September 26, 1812 (Cooke to Goulburn, Foreign Office, September 26, 1812, C. O. 42, vol. 149).

³¹ Chetwynd to Colonial Office, Whitehall, November 9, 1812, B. T. 1, vol. 70, no. 16. The enclosures comprise eight items.

³² B. T. 5, vol. 22, pp. 17-19.

³³ Atcheson to Castlereagh, Duke Street, Westminster, September 25, 1812; in Cooke to Goulburn of September 26, 1812 (Atcheson's letter had enclosed the memorial of the North West Company to Castlereagh of September 25); Atcheson to Bathurst with enclosures, Duke Street, Westminster, October 9, 1812; Atcheson to Goulburn, Duke Street, Westminster, November 2, 1812; Atcheson to Goulburn with enclosure, Great Winchester Street, November 19, 1812; Atcheson to Goulburn, Great Winchester Street, November 26, 1812; all in C. O. 42, vol. 149. Some of these also deal with the question of protection for a proposed expedition to the Columbia.

³⁴ The letter of Atcheson to the Colonial Office of November 26 expresses a desire to know the decision of the government on the subject (Atcheson to Goulburn, Great Winchester Street, November 26, 1812, C. O. 42, vol. 149). There would hardly have been time by this date for Atcheson to have learned of the report of the Board of Trade. The next North West Company's item in the same volume says nothing about the charter (Simon McGillivray to Goulburn, 2 Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, December 29, 1812, C. O. 42, vol. 149), and there appears no further negotiations on the subject.

The wintering partners were evidently aware of this attempt to obtain a charter. In April, 1812, Simon McGillivray wrote to them from London. After mentioning that he had recently become a member of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, he spoke of other matters, among them being the question of the charter. He stated that they were meeting with delays and disappointments in the matter, remarking that such delay was to be expected in applications to the government.³⁵

In the meantime, the North West Company had been making application to the East India Company for permission to carry its produce to China.³⁶ In this the company was apparently successful, for in 1812 the partners at the general meeting wrote: "We are happy to learn that part of the difficulties that existed between us and the East India Company are done away with."³⁷ And at a later date North West Company ships, like the "Isaac Todd," carried furs to China.

In 1810 the North West Company made proposals to establish the boundaries of the fur trade between them and the Hudson's Bay Company. These were to remain in force for twelve years. The Hudson's Bay Company was to have the Nipigon country, not advancing towards Abbittibi and Temiscaming or beyond Micabinishi.³⁸ The North West Company would retain Michipi-

³⁵ Simon McGillivray to the wintering partners at Fort William, London, April 9, 1812, printed, together with reply, in *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 202-206. McGillivray stated in the same letter: "In regard to the proposed expedition to the Columbia, I conceive it to be as much a matter of necessity for the North West Company to follow it up, as it is to prevent Lord Selkirk from establishing colonies on Red River."

³⁶ Copy of Statement, etc., enclosed in Simon McGillivray to Bagot of November 15, 1817, which is in Bagot to Castlereagh, no. 74, of December 2, 1817.

³⁷ John McDonald, etc., to William McGillivray, Fort William, July 18, 1812. Selkirk Papers, part of vols. 27 and 28, pp. 164-166. Permission appears to have been granted before 1812, because it is stated in the *Origin and Progress* that "the East-India Company have agreed to grant a license to the North-West Company to trade to China" (*Origin and Progress*, 29).

³⁸ Possibly this is now Missinabi.

coton, Pic, Lake Nipigon, Monontague, Red Lake, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and Winnipeg River. The Hudson's Bay Company was to have all the country east and north of Lake Winnipeg from the mouth of Winnipeg River to the mouth of the Saskatchewan, including the Maskegon and Rat River regions. The line was to run thence along the canoe route by Grand Rapids, Cedar Lake, etc., to the Missinipi River at Frog Portage, but the Hudson's Bay Company was not to establish any post within three winter-days' march of this line, especially north of Sturgeon Weir or Maligne River as far as Fort de Traite. Neither party was to establish posts on Reindeer, Wollaston, or Black lakes,³⁹ but the Indians were to be free to trade with either. The North West Company was to have Swan River Department, including Swan River, Fort Dauphin, and River La Biche as far as the district opposite Cumberland House. The Saskatchewan River was to be the boundary from Cumberland House. The Hudson's Bay Company was to have all the country to the south and west of this to the Rocky Mountain line, including the South Saskatchewan and Bow River. It was to have the Assiniboine, except two provision posts for the North West Company. It was also to have the Red River Department.⁴⁰ The North West Company was to have Athabasca, Churchill River, Beaver River, and all the country north and west of the Saskatchewan. Cumberland House was to be held as a provision post for both parties. The Hudson's Bay Company was not to go beyond the Rocky Mountains. The North West Company estimated that it was giving up territory in which it had seventeen posts and employed six partners, twenty-six canoes, and about one hundred

³⁹ They are called *Lac des Cariboux*, *Lac la Hache*, and Black Lake in the proposals. They form a waterway from the Missinipi, or Churchill, River to Lake Athabasca.

⁴⁰ They are listed as having Upper and Lower Red River in the estimates, but the accompanying sketch-map looks as if the North West Company were to hold from Lake Winnipeg beyond the forks of Red River.

and sixty men. From this territory the company obtained from three hundred and thirty to three hundred and ninety packs of furs, valued at £13,600.⁴¹

The correspondence on the subject continued through 1811, the Hudson's Bay Company holding out for its charter limits to the Height of Land and refusing to debar its members from the region west of the Rocky Mountains. The scheme of delimitation failed.⁴² There was further discussion of the question at Montreal in December, 1815. Selkirk, who had been furnished with copies of the 1811 correspondence, represented the Hudson's Bay Company, which still adhered to the charter boundaries. The North West Company proposed a division on the basis of existing trade, and also suggested joint participation in the trade. These suggestions were refused, the latter on account of the divergent character of the two companies, and the former because the Hudson's Bay Company were expecting greater returns from their trade.⁴³ The last statement probably was a reference to their plans of trading in Athabasca.

The uncertain relations with the United States in 1810, coupled with the proposal of the Upper Canada government to open a road and settlement from Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay, induced the North West Company to petition Gore for grants of lands on Kempenfeldt Bay, on Penetanguishene Bay, and at Guillimsbury. These were the respective ends of the road and the landing place on Georgian Bay. The company represented that its members were desirous of changing to this route to avoid difficulties with American officials, that it would be at considerable expense in quitting the route of its ships from Fort Erie to

⁴¹ A copy of the proposals, which were dated Montreal, November 7, 1810, is in Selkirk Papers, Canadian Archives, vol. 1, pp. 188-193. The copyist has mistaken the Missinipi for the Mississippi River.

⁴² Selkirk Papers, vol. 1, pp. 188-216; Q, 147-1-2, pp. 201-228.

⁴³ The negotiations were from December 10 to December 20, 1815 (Selkirk Papers, Canadian Archives, vol. 1, pp. 217 *et seq.*; Q, 147-1-2, pp. 201 *et seq.*; C. O. 42, vol. 184, p. 35, of printed memorial therein).

Sault Ste. Marie, and that along the new route it would purchase the provisions which it had previously obtained on American territory. The company was informed that it could not hope for a monopoly of land at the ends of the new route, but was otherwise encouraged. The matter was referred to the Executive Council.⁴⁴

The American company, which has been mentioned in the correspondence concerning the proposed charter, was the Pacific Fur Company, and its founder was John Jacob Astor. In the winter of 1783-1784 he had made his first voyage to America, where he invested the returns from some merchandise in furs, which he disposed of in London in 1784. He returned the same year to New York and devoted himself to the fur trade.⁴⁵ In time he engaged in the Canadian fur trade, at first shipping directly to England. When the restrictions on direct trade from Canada to the United States were removed by treaty, Astor made a contract with the agents of the North West Company in London for furs. He could now import them direct from Montreal to the United States, for the home market or for shipment to the European and China markets.⁴⁶ By about 1807 he was competing with the Michilimackinae Company, and in 1809 he obtained a charter from the New York Legislature for the American Fur Company, which had a capital of a million dollars. In 1811, in conjunction with other men, some of whom were North West Company partners, he bought out the Michilimackinae Company and merged it and the American Fur Company into the South West Company. The war of 1812 suspended this association, and

⁴⁴ McTavish, McGillivray & Co. to Gore, Montreal, November 5, 1810; Halton to William McGillivray, Lieutenant-Governor's Office, November 29, 1810, copies in Brook's, no. 2, dated York, November 23, 1811, to Liverpool (Q, 314, pp. 140-149). The members of the firm of McTavish, McGillivray & Co. are stated in the memorial to be William McGillivray, William Hallowell, Roderick McKenzie, Angus Shaw, Archibald Norman McLeod, and James Hallowell, Jr.

⁴⁵ Irving, *Astoria*, 27-28. There is a quite different account of Astor's early career in Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, 51.

⁴⁶ Irving, *Astoria*, 29.

after the war it was dissolved.⁴⁷ By this time Astor was interested in his extensive plan for a trans-continental and trans-Pacific trade, with a depot on the Columbia River. He made overtures to the North West Company, offering a third interest in this trade, but it was refused.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the Pacific Fur Company was formed on June 23, 1810, by Astor and four others, three of whom had served in the North West Company.⁴⁹ A sea and a land expedition were now organized. The "Tonquin," Captain Thorn, sailed for the Columbia, September 8, 1810,⁵⁰ and reached the mouth of that river March 22, 1811.⁵¹ The building of Astoria was commenced the following month.⁵² The Astorians soon heard of the presence of North West Company traders on the upper waters of the river, and on July 15, 1811, David Thompson arrived at their post.⁵³ On his return he was accompanied for some distance by David Stuart, who then established Fort Okanagan.⁵⁴ The overland party of the Pacific Fur Company, under William Price Hunt, reached Astoria in January and February, 1812, with the exception of two men, Crooks and Day, who did not arrive until May 11, 1812.⁵⁵ On October 10, 1811, Astor, who was also engaged in negotiations with Russia in the interests of his company, sent out the "Beaver," which reached the mouth of the Columbia on May 6, 1812, having gathered the news while at the Sandwich Islands of the destruction of the "Tonquin" by the natives of the Northwest Coast.⁵⁶ The Astorians now continued to explore the country in the interests

⁴⁷ Irving, *Astoria*, 30-31.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 42-44.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 91.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 97, 105; Ross, *Adventures*, 145.

⁵⁵ Irving, *Astoria*, 325, 352-353.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 354-356.

of their trade, and built posts on the Spokane and Shahaptan rivers.⁵⁷ In spite of the outbreak of the War of 1812, Astor, on March 6, 1813, sent out the "Lark," which was capsized off the Sandwich Islands.⁵⁸ This was the last ship sent out by Astor. Hearing at Canton of the outbreak of war, Captain Sowle of the "Beaver" kept his ship there until the conclusion of peace.⁵⁹ Hunt chartered the "Albatross" to reach the Columbia from the Sandwich Islands. On his return he purchased the "Pedler" for ten thousand dollars, and again sailed for the Columbia, January 22, 1815.⁶⁰

The news of the outbreak of war was brought to Astoria by McKenzie on January 16, 1813. While visiting Clarke at the Spokane post, he had learned of it from John George McTavish of the North West Company. McTavish added that the armed ship "Isaac Todd" would be at the mouth of the Columbia about the beginning of March and that he was ordered to join her there. McKenzie promptly came down to Astoria after caching the goods at his own post.⁶¹

The determination to send a ship to the Columbia was taken at the annual meeting at Fort William in 1812, and Donald McTavish was chosen to head the expedition. Thompson's report of his expedition down the Columbia in 1811 showed that the route was shorter and less arduous than had been expected. It also gave knowledge of the advanced situation of the Pacific Fur Company, and it now became necessary for the North West Company to take steps to hold their only remaining beaver country. The scarcity of beaver east of the mountains had been so severely felt for the preceding two years that it was considered impossible, without expansion, to maintain their establishment of part-

⁵⁷ Irving, *Astoria*, 436. It is also called Lewis' River.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 432, 476-477.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 472.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 473, 480.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 444-445.

ners, clerks, and other employees. In August the Montreal agents wrote to the London members of the firm informing them of the determination of the annual meeting and that the "Isaac Todd" should promptly be sent to England.⁶² They suggested that the ship sent to the Columbia should be given a letter of marque, and added that Lord Harrowby had proposed some years earlier to send a war vessel there.⁶³ The London agents petitioned the Privy Council in October, reciting the steps taken to obtain a charter, stating that a North West Company party was being sent overland that year to settle on the Columbia, and petitioning for the right to export thither by sea various cannon, firearms, ammunition, and other things.⁶⁴ On November 19 they petitioned the Colonial Office in support of their application to the Admiralty for a sloop of war to convoy their ship, which was scheduled to reach the Columbia in May, and to clear the coast of hostile vessels.⁶⁵ On December 29 McGillivray wrote to the Colonial Office referring to a conference held a few days earlier in which Bathurst had promised to support this application for a convoy, and also to propose to the Russian Ambassador some arrangement for the mutual introduction of the North West Company traders and Russian settlers on the Pacific Coast.⁶⁶

⁶² The ship "Isaac Todd," Captain Smith, cleared from Quebec for London, November 4, 1811, with "183 bales and 1 Pack of Peltries." Her owner was John McTavish; she was built in 1811, registered at Quebec the same year, and was a 350-ton ship with no guns. Her crew consisted of seventeen persons (C. O. 42, vol. 82).

⁶³ McTavish, McGillivrays & Co. and Thomas Thain to McTavish, Fraser & Co., Inglis, Ellice & Co., and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Montreal, August 18, 1812, copy in Atcheson to Bathurst of October 9, 1812, C. O. 42, vol. 149.

⁶⁴ McTavish, Fraser & Co. and Inglis, Ellice & Co. to the Privy Council, London, October 1, 1812, copy in Atcheson to Bathurst of October 9, 1812. The signature of Mackenzie, whose name is in the heading, does not appear.

⁶⁵ McTavish, Fraser & Co. and Inglis, Ellice & Co. to Bathurst, London, November 19, 1812, in Atcheson to Goulburn of November 19, C. O. 42, vol. 149.

⁶⁶ Simon McGillivray to Goulburn, 2 Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, December 29, 1812, C. O. 42, vol. 149. An endorsement indicates that an extract of this was sent to the Foreign Office on December 31.

The "Isaac Todd" sailed in due time for the Columbia, reaching Baker's Bay, April 22, 1814.⁶⁷ She was commissioned as a letter of marque with twenty guns, with Donald McTavish in command of the men for the Columbia. She was convoyed by the frigate "Phoebe"⁶⁸ from Portsmouth, which she left in March, and by the "Phoebe," "Cherub," and "Raccoon" from Rio; but she proved to be a slow sailer, and they parted company.⁶⁹ The "Raccoon," Captain Black, with John McDonald of Garth aboard, proceeded in advance and reached Baker's Bay on November 30, 1812.⁷⁰

Astoria was already in the possession of the North West Company when the "Raccoon" arrived. When McKenzie brought the news of war, the Astorians held a council and determined to abandon the establishment the ensuing spring or summer, it being considered impossible for Astor to send them further supplies or reinforcements.⁷¹ On April 11, J. G. McTavish, Joseph La-roque, and nineteen *voyageurs* arrived in two canoes. They had come to await the "Isaac Todd" until July. On May 25, Wallace and Halsey came in from their winter quarters on the Willamette, with seventeen packs of furs. Early in June, Clarke, David Stuart, and McKenzie came in with one hundred and forty packs of furs, the result of two years of trade at Okanagan and one year on the Spokane.⁷² Clarke and Stuart pointing out that provisions and horses were wanting for the overland journey, it was decided not to abandon the country until the following

⁶⁷ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 892-893.

⁶⁸ The orders given to Captain James Hillyar of the "Phoebe" to convoy the "Isaac Todd," annihilate any American settlements in the region of the Columbia, etc., are in Admiralty 2, vol. 1380, pp. 367-379.

⁶⁹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 43-48; Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 746, n. 1; Franchère, *Narrative*, tr. Huntington, 169.

⁷⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 48-50; Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 757-766.

⁷¹ Franchère, *Narrative*, 166-167. The manuscript of Franchère's book is in the Toronto Public Reference Library.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 169-170.

April.⁷³ McTavish was given goods on credit to purchase provision to take his party homeward.⁷⁴ On August 4 Hunt arrived in the "Albatross." He was surprised and ill-pleased at the decision to abandon the post, but by himself could do nothing, and he re-embarked at the end of the month.⁷⁵ On October 6,⁷⁶ McKenzie returned with J. G. McTavish and Angus Bethune, heading a party of about seventy-five men. They camped near the fort, but lacked provisions, for which they depended on the Astorians. The latter were sparingly supplied; and, as the ships did not arrive, the North West Company men found themselves in a very awkward situation. They thereupon proposed to purchase the whole establishment. The Astorians were willing, since they anticipated the arrival of the "Isaac Todd." The North West Company leaders tried to prolong the negotiations, thinking capture would obviate purchase, but the bargain was finally signed on October 16, 1813, and Astoria passed from American ownership.⁷⁷

The bill of sale recited that the Pacific Fur Company had been dissolved on the preceding July 1 by Duncan McDougall, Donald McKenzie, David Stuart, and John Clarke, with the intention of abandoning the trade. All the establishments, furs, and stock on hand on the Columbia and Thompson rivers were to be sold to the North West Company at prices stated, which were either reckoned on the prime cost or named outright in Halifax currency. Payments were to be made in three equal installments

⁷³ Franchère, *Narrative*, 170-171.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 173-180.

⁷⁶ Ross says October 7 (Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 252).

⁷⁷ Franchère, *Narrative*, 190-193; Irving, *Astoria*, 482-484. Franchère states that the North West Company party arrived early in September and that the agreement was signed on October 23. In the latter item, Irving is evidently right, as is proved by a copy of the bill of sale in F.O. 5, vol. 208. Ross says that McDougall and McKenzie manned the guns at Astoria and gave McTavish two hours to sign or depart (Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 254).

on or before October 25, November 25, and December 25, 1814. The North West Company agreed to transport any servants of the Pacific Fur Company to Montreal and there pay them any arrears of wages within one month of their arrival, such sums to be deducted from the first payment. They also agreed to pay the Pacific Fur Company the amount of any debts of men who entered their service. The bill was signed by Duncan McDougall, John George McTavish, John Stuart, and seven witnesses. On March 10, 1814, an item was added by which Wilson P. Hunt took the place of McDougall in the agreement. This was signed by McDougall, Hunt, McTavish, and Stuart, and witnessed by Halsey and Bethune.⁷⁸

On December 13, 1813, Captain Black of the "Raccoon" went through the formality of taking possession of Astoria, which was renamed Fort George, and of the country in the name of the British sovereign.⁷⁹ On the last day of the year the "Raccoon" left the Columbia River.⁸⁰

The North West Company played little real part in the actual hostilities of the War of 1812.⁸¹ The same is true of the Indians with whom they traded.⁸² When word of the outbreak of war

⁷⁸ Pelly to Canning, copy of the bill of sale in Hudson's Bay House, London, December 9, 1825, F.O. 5, vol. 208. The declaration that the company was dissolved on July 1, 1813, is of distinct interest.

⁷⁹ Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, II, 770-771.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 780.

⁸¹ On June 25, 1812, Prevost wrote to Liverpool enclosing a letter received from "the principals of the North West and South West Companies" stating that war was declared (Prevost to Liverpool, Quebec, June 25, 1812, enclosing letter of Forsyth, Richardson & Co. and McTavish, McGillivray & Co., dated June 24, 1812, Q, 118, pp. 2 *et seq.*). The joint action is noteworthy.

⁸² In a petition of the fur merchants to Bathurst, dated May 7, 1814, it was stated: "That the different tribes of Indians who aided in the defence of Upper Canada come partly from the Mississippi and Mississourie, but principally from the Countries between the latter River and the Ohio." The petition is enclosed in Inglis, Ellice & Co. to Goulburn, Mark Lane, May 7, 1814, C.O. 42, vol. 159; also copy in F.O. 5, vol. 103. The petition suggests boundaries but seems to be distinct from North West Company trade, though some of the signatures are of firms interested in that trade. It was

reached Fort William, a small force was organized to proceed to Fort St. Joseph. There it was learned that Captain Roberts, with a force largely composed of traders and Indians from south of the lakes, had captured Michilimackinac. The North West Company party visited the place and then dispersed.⁸³ However, the North West Company rendered an important service to the British government at the outbreak of the war by throwing open their stores on liberal terms to the Indian Department, which was thus able to give presents to the Indians.⁸⁴ A corps of *voyageurs* was even organized, with various members of the North West Company as officers; but it apparently did no fighting,⁸⁵ and was discharged March 12, 1813.⁸⁶

It was necessary to exercise care in transporting the annual returns from Fort William to Montreal, especially from Sault Ste. Marie to French River. The Americans never succeeded in seizing the furs, but the danger was great in 1814. On July 23 an American force under Major Holmes pillaged and burned the property of the North West Company at Sault Ste. Marie, including their schooner on Lake Superior.⁸⁷ There were on Lake Huron two armed American vessels, the "Tigress" and "Scorpion," which were captured by a boat party from Michilimackinac under Worsley and Bulger.⁸⁸ The fur brigade followed safely the route between the islands and the shore until

signed by Inglis, Ellie & Co., McTavish, Fraser & Co., Mackenzie, Gillespie, Parker & Co., Gillespie, Girrard & Co., and Jas. Daniell, Todhunter & Co.

⁸³ The Letter Book of Miles Macdonell contains two letters from his brother, John, who was a member of the expedition from Fort William (M. 155, pp. 155 *et seq.*; Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 42).

⁸⁴ Selkirk, *Sketch*, 27.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 32-35. The writer claims that it provided a method by which the North West Company could retain control over the *voyageurs* at public expense during the periods when they were not actually engaged in the transportation to and from Fort William.

⁸⁶ *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, 17.

⁸⁷ Franchère's *Narrative*, 350-351; Q, 128-1, p. 145.

⁸⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 53-54; Q, 128-2, pp. 290 *et seq.*

it reached French River. It is stated that the furs, valued at a million dollars, were carried in forty-seven large canoes, guarded by a hundred and thirty-five armed men.⁸⁹

The American control of Lake Erie, after Perry's victory at Put-in Bay, caused the North West Company to apply to the British government for permission to use the route through Hudson Bay. Their petition, dated at London, February 9, 1814, was addressed to Bathurst. They stated that the Hudson's Bay Company had a capital of one hundred thousand pounds in stock which had fluctuated during the preceding twenty years from two hundred and fifty to fifty per cent, and that for the past seven years the directors had never declared a dividend nor laid any statement of their affairs before their proprietors. They requested permission to send supplies by way of Hudson Bay to their traders in the interior. They had already, they stated, applied to the Admiralty for protection to their vessels while in the bay. At the same time they requested inquiry as to the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly.⁹⁰ On March 8 McGillivray wrote to request an early interview for Ellice and himself on the subject of the petition, as the ship intended for that expedition was then at Spithead ready to sail for Quebec. Another letter on the subject followed a week later.⁹¹ On March 16 Bathurst wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company desiring permission for that year for the North West Company to send in stores and provisions by way of Hudson Bay to their establishments and to bring out their goods collected the preceding year. On March 23 Berens replied that the Hudson's Bay Company would carry out and deliver goods to the agents of the North

⁸⁹ Franchère, *Narrative*, 354-355.

⁹⁰ McTavish, Fraser & Co. and Inglis, Ellice & Co. to Bathurst, London, February 9, 1814, C. O. 42, vol. 159; also printed in *Narrative of Occurrences*, Appendix, 55-58.

⁹¹ Simon McGillivray to Goulburn, 2 Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, March 8, 1814; the same to the same, March 15, 1814; both in C. O. 42, vol. 159.

West Company on payment of reasonable freight charges. In regard to bringing out furs, complaint was made of the encroachments of the North West Company, and it was requested that some person of responsibility in England should give security for the good conduct of those who should come to the seaport. It was also pointed out that the route by way of the lakes probably created an additional annual expense of ten thousand pounds to the North West Company, and that the earlier market possible by the Hudson Bay route would be worth even more. An adequate compensation for these advantages was therefore requested by the Hudson's Bay Company.⁹² As already stated, the furs went out by the regular route in 1814.

The North West Company filed claims for compensation for several items at the end of the War of 1812. Mention has already been made of the loss which they had suffered at Sault Ste. Marie. The brig "Caledonia," which had helped to convoy Roberts' expedition to Michilimackinac, was boarded opposite Fort Erie by a party of Americans in the early hours of October 9, 1812. The armed brig "Detroit" was boarded at the same time. Their cables were cut and they drifted towards the American shore. The "Caledonia," which carried a quantity of North West Company furs, grounded at Black Rock. The "Detroit" was destroyed by fire.⁹³

The schooner "Nancy," belonging to the North West Company and in service as a transport, was burned at Nottawasaga Creek early in August, 1814.⁹⁴ Two new schooners built on Lake Superior were also lost. The "Mink," of forty-five tons, was captured on Lake Huron. Later the "Perseverance," of eighty-five tons, was burned at Sault Ste. Marie.⁹⁵ The North West

⁹² Joseph Berens to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, March 23, 1814, C. O. 42, vol. 149.

⁹³ Christie, *A History of the late Province of Lower Canada*, II, 20-21, 43; Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, I, 54-55.

⁹⁴ Prevost to Bathurst, no. 192, Montreal, September 20, Q. 28-1, p. 226.

⁹⁵ C, 363, pp. 80-81.

Company put in claims for compensation,⁹⁶ which were considered December 14, 1814, by a board of officers; and on February 20, 1815, Prevost wrote to Bathurst that he had ordered a payment for part of these and that the remainder was referred to the government.⁹⁷ The "Nancy" and "Mink" having been paid for, the British government decided that the North West Company had no legal claim for indemnification for the "Perseverance," but gave instructions to pay them £1000 because of their zeal and services.⁹⁸

The agricultural settlement in the Red River Valley was now developing into a cause of concern to the North West Company. About 1810 Selkirk, whose earlier colonizing activities have been outlined, began to think seriously⁹⁹ of securing land in the interior through the Hudson's Bay Company. He obtained the legal opinion of Romilly, Holroyd, Cruise, Scarlett, and John Bell as to the validity of that company's charter. These men stated that it was good and that the Hudson's Bay Company had a legal

⁹⁶ Petition of McTavish, McGillivrays & Co. and Alexander Mackenzie to Prevost, Montreal, November 17, 1812, C, 363, pp. 80-81. This states that William McGillivray, Simon McGillivray, Archibald Norman McLeod, Thomas Thain, John McTavish, and Henry McKenzie then composed the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays & Co. They asked £2200 for the "Nancy," and £1486-5-0 for her transport services; £1000 for the schooner "Mink"; £2500 for the schooner "Perseverance"; £2500 for their houses, stores, and sawmill at Sault Ste. Marie; and £4330-13-9 for losses of provisions and goods at Sault Ste. Marie, St. Josephs, and on the "Mink." The first two items are marked "allowed." The amounts were all in Quebec currency.

⁹⁷ Prevost to Bathurst, no. 229, Quebec, February 20, 1815, Q, 131, pp. 50-54. The North West Company was paid £2200 currency for the schooner "Nancy," £1000 currency for the "Mink," and £1243-5-0 currency for the services of the "Nancy." The case of the "Perseverance" was referred.

⁹⁸ Treasury to Goulburn, November 28, 1815, C. O. 42, vol. 164.

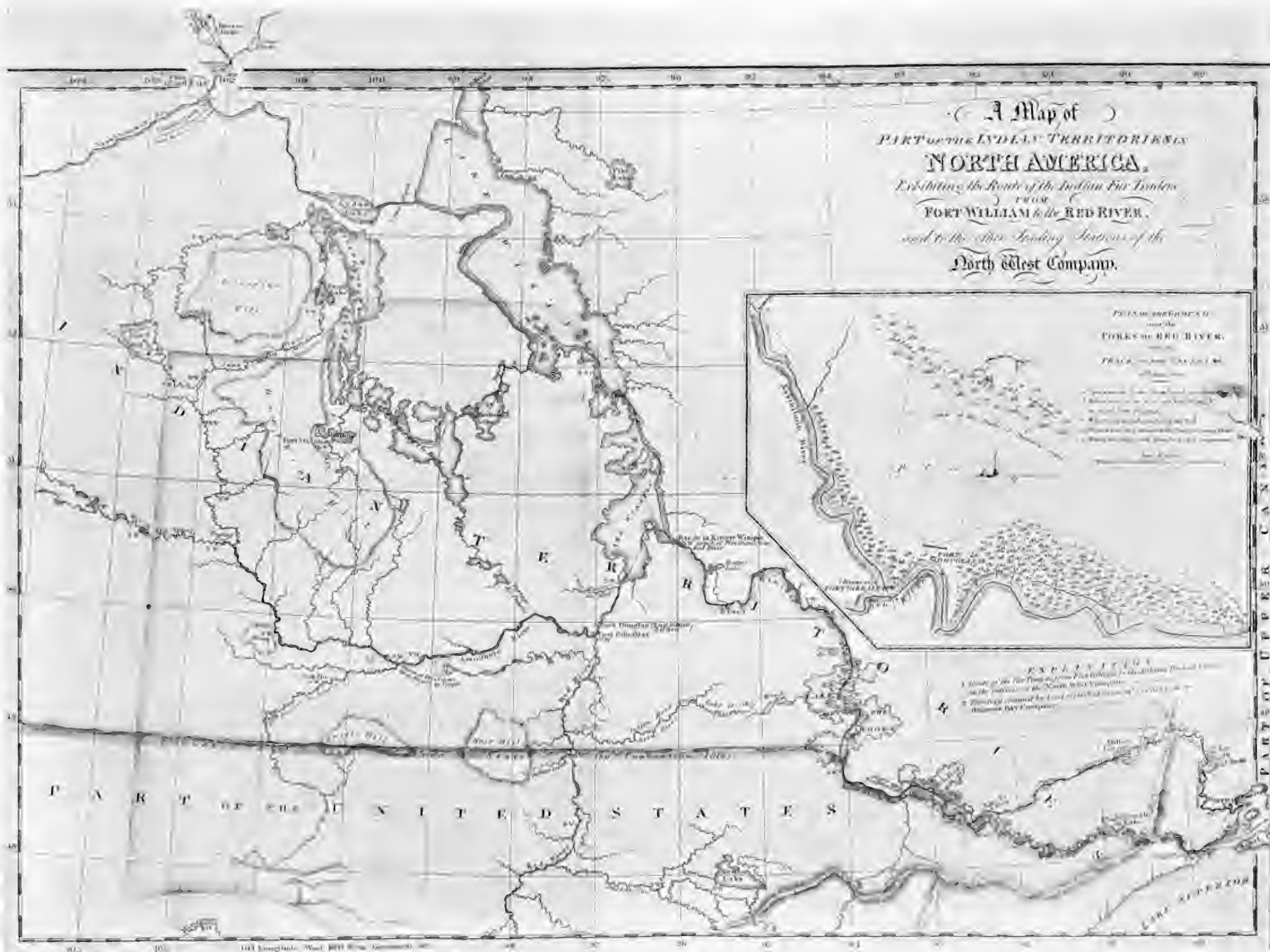
⁹⁹ He had considered the purchase of Hudson's Bay Company stock in 1808. Alexander Mackenzie wrote two letters to him that year, dated at the Adelphi, London. The second was dated October 29. Mackenzie had been making inquiries about purchasing Hudson's Bay Company stock. He stated that he would require a loan to the amount of his proportion of the purchases. In the second letter he stated that the undue influence of the secretary prevented the purchase of the stock, an immediate transfer of which would be necessary to qualify Selkirk for the directorate (Selkirk Papers, Canadian Archives, M, 733, pp. 1 *et seq.*).

right to sell portions of its territory, which, according to the charter, embraced all the lands the waters of which flowed into Hudson Bay. These men stated further than the Act of 1803 did not apply within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁰⁰ Selkirk then proceeded to get control of the Hudson's Bay Company stock, in order to purchase the territory he desired. The North West Company at once took alarm. They considered the colonizing plan as a scheme on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to destroy their trade by throwing an agricultural colony across their line of communication from Montreal and Fort William to the interior. Besides directly injuring the North West Company's trade, this colony would be a base of supplies which would undoubtedly be of great service to the Hudson's Bay Company, especially in their competition in the lands towards the Rocky Mountains. The North West Company was therefore more than ever disposed to assert their claims that they were the legitimate successors to the old French traders in the West and that the Hudson's Bay Company's charter was an illegal royal monopoly grant. They also got legal opinions to the effect that the charter gave no territory or exclusive trade privileges at such a distance from Hudson Bay.¹⁰¹

Having obtained control of not less than thirty-five thousand of the total stock of one hundred and five thousand pounds sterling of the Hudson's Bay Company, Selkirk brought his plan for a colony before a General Court, which assembled May 30, 1811. He proposed to purchase a large amount of land on the Red River and settle it with a large number of colonists in a limited period. He undertook the expense necessary for transport, government, protection, and the quieting of the Indian title to the

¹⁰⁰ *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*. Appendix A is a copy.

¹⁰¹ They already had some opinions made in 1804, stating that they could trade in Hudson Bay. They now got the opinion of Pigott, Spankie, and Brougham in January, 1816. *The Narrative of Occurrences*, Appendix, 10-20, prints these.



From British Museum Maps, 69917 (75).

lands. There was some opposition, particularly vehement on the part of some North West Company shareholders who held only two thousand five hundred pounds of stock.¹⁰² When the vote was taken, it was found that holders of stock valued at £29,937 voted in the affirmative. Of this amount, Selkirk voted £4087. Negative votes were cast by holders of stock valued at £14,823, of which Thomas Thwaytes held £9233.¹⁰³

The land purchased covered an area of about one hundred and ten thousand square miles, part of which is now United States soil.¹⁰⁴ The colony was called Ossiniboia, and Miles Macdonell, formerly a captain in the Royal Canadian Volunteers,¹⁰⁵ was

¹⁰² Some of this was purchased by Inglis, Ellice, and Simon McGillivray in order to attend the meeting (Simon McGillivray to McTavish, McGillivray & Co., June 1, 1811, in Halkett to Bathurst of January 30, 1819. McGillivray's stock was not transferred in time to vote (Q, 153-1-2-3-4, pp. 610 *et. seq.*).

¹⁰³ Willson, *The Great Company*, II, 145. Possibly Willson is quoting these figures from the minute books of the Hudson's Bay Company.

¹⁰⁴ The boundaries of Selkirk's grant are marked in the folded map in the anonymous "Notice respecting the Boundary between His Majesty's Possessions in North America and the United States, London, 1817." This map also shows a proposed American boundary line. It marks many trading-posts of the North West Company, several of which are west of the Rocky Mountains. It introduces a Caledonia River between Fraser's River (an eastern tributary of which is called Kashmin River) and the Otchenaukane [Okanagan] River. This river, which empties into Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia by a double mouth, is apparently a confusion of the course of Thompson River, perhaps being a junction of it with the Skagit River. The map, and possibly the whole pamphlet, was intended to accompany the *Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America* (Pamphlet 383, Canadian Archives). Part of the Selkirk grant is shown in a printed map in the British Museum entitled "A Map of Part of the Indian Territories in North America exhibiting the route of the Indian Fur Traders from Fort William to the Red River, and to the other Trading Stations of the North West Company." It has an inset plan of the ground near the Forks of Red River with route-marks to show the movements of June 19, 1816, evidently delineated in the interest of the North West Company. The map is undated, but is not earlier than 1818, as it shows the boundary line adopted by the Convention of 1818. It shows thirty North West Company trading-posts marked as such, besides Cumberland House, which is not so marked. These are mostly on the waters between Lake Superior and the Saskatchewan, and on the Red and Assiniboine rivers and their branches.

¹⁰⁵ *Can. Arch. Report, 1886*, p. xix; M, 155, p. 24.

made its governor. Difficulties were encountered from the enemies of the colony in the British Isles. The first settlers, about seventy in number, who were sent out in 1811, reached Red River in the autumn of 1812. Point Douglas was selected as the site of the settlement. The colonists wintered at Fort Daer, near Pembina, and returned to their lands in the spring. In 1813, 1814, and 1815, further small detachments arrived, and agriculture was undertaken.

In the meantime the feeling against the colony was changing into active opposition. It is a debatable point which side was responsible for the first attempts at injury. At any rate, the proclamation issued by Miles Macdonell on January 8, 1814, precipitated the struggle. By this proclamation, the exportation of food from the colony was forbidden for a twelvemonth except by special license for the support of the trading parties then in the territory. This was followed by the seizure of a considerable quantity of pemmican and grease in the North West Company's fort at the mouth of Souris River. An arrangement was made by which sufficient provisions were allowed from the colony for the use of the Athabasca, English River, and other posts.¹⁰⁶

The matter was debated in the general meeting at Fort William that summer. According to the testimony of John Pritchard, it was determined to induce as many settlers as possible to desert the colony, then to arouse the Indians against the remainder, and to bring Miles Macdonell a prisoner to Montreal. Two partners, Duncan Cameron and Alexander Macdonell, were put in charge of the execution of the plan. Macdonell wintered at Qu'Appelle River, while Cameron used his influence upon the settlers. Many of these were induced to go to Canada. On October 21, 1814, notice was served on the North West Company to

¹⁰⁶ Franchère states that the *voyageurs* were prepared to take the provisions by force and that only the mediation of McDonald and De Rocheblave averted a collision (Franchère, *Narrative*, 331-334).

quit the premises at the forks of the Red River within six months.¹⁰⁷

In 1815 there were various acts of violence. Cannon were seized from Selkirk's stores and taken to Fort Gibraltar. Men were fired upon. Attempts to get the Indians to rise ended in failure, however. Conditions became so serious that Miles Macdonell, in the interests of peace, surrendered in obedience to a warrant that he had at first defied.¹⁰⁸ He was taken to Montreal, but never tried. An attack upon the settlement resulted in its abandonment, the inhabitants going to Norway House, July 25, 1815. They were brought back the same year by Colin Robertson. More settlers came with them, and again they wintered at Fort Daer. Robert Semple, the new governor, was there, but does not seem to have assumed his duties at once.¹⁰⁹ The settlers went to Red River again in April, 1816.

In October, 1815, Fort Gibraltar was seized by Colin Robertson, and Selkirk's cannon and goods were recovered. The fort was returned, and Duncan Cameron, who had been captured, was released upon his promise of good behavior. In the early spring of 1816 Fort Gibraltar was again seized, and Duncan Cameron was sent to England, where he was released without trial.¹¹⁰ Fort Gibraltar was torn down and the materials used to strengthen Fort Douglas. At this news, Sheriff Alexander Macdonell seized Pembina House of the North West Company. The military stores were taken to Fort Douglas, but the prisoners were released on promise of good behavior.

Matters were now ripe for a collision. Yet Governor Semple apparently could not see the peril of his position. This is the

¹⁰⁷ Q, 133, p. 58.

¹⁰⁸ *Narrative of Occurrences*, 37-38.

¹⁰⁹ He had been appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company as chief governor over all their factories and territories (*Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, 86).

¹¹⁰ Cameron was not charged with any felony in which the English courts had primary jurisdiction.

more remarkable when it is considered that the reason alleged for the destruction of Fort Gibraltar was the danger that it would prove a rallying point for an attack by the Metis, or half-breeds, from the west.

When the attack came, it was a double one. One party under Macdonell came from Qu'Appelle, seizing Brandon House on the way; and another party, under A. N. McLeod, came from Fort William.¹¹¹ A mounted detachment from the Qu'Appelle party was sent forward under Cuthbert Grant. This body passed at some distance from Fort Douglas, and some of its members were made prisoners in the settlement. Semple, on observing the course of these horsemen, came out with a small party from Fort Douglas, apparently to protect the settlers, though his numbers were too small to accomplish even this. The half-breeds turned back to meet him. A brief parley was followed by a conflict, in which Semple's party was annihilated by superior numbers and more deadly marksmanship. The governor himself and twenty others were killed. One wounded man and possibly six unwounded men escaped from Semple's party. The opposing party lost one man killed, called Battoche's son, and one wounded out of a party of about sixty.¹¹² Such was the skirmish of Seven Oaks, or Frog Plains, June 19, 1816.

¹¹¹ *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 66-67.

¹¹² *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, 96-97; *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 67. It has been suggested that the Qu'Appelle party was intended to join the Fort William party before making an attack on the settlement (Bryce, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 3rd ed., pp. 234-235). The contemporary literature speaks of a double attack, not of a combined attack. Bourke later deposed that he overheard a conversation in which McDonell stated that he intended to starve out the settlers, and in which it was said that McLeod intended to attack their position (*Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, 114, lxxix). Lavigne's deposition shows that the half-breeds were already attacking the settlement when Selkirk's party left Fort Douglas (*Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, lv-lvi). But Frederick Damien Huerter, who was with McLeod's party, added a singular item. He swore that their party was to unite with one from Portage des Prairies and a third party from above through Lake Winnipeg, and that Alexander Mackenzie informed him that a strong body of half-breeds under Alexander Macdonell was to make

Fort Douglas surrendered at discretion, and three days later the colonists left once more for Lake Winnipeg. On the way they met the Fort William party and were deprived of their letters, account books, and documents. The North West Company later claimed that the half-breeds were attempting to pass at a distance from the settlement and meet parties from below in order that the regular provision supply might be maintained.¹¹³

In the meantime Lord Selkirk, who had spent the winter of 1815-1816 at Montreal, was on his way to his colony of Red River by the route of Fond du Lac and Red Lake. In his party were a number of discharged soldiers of the De Meuron and Watteville regiments whom he was taking to stiffen the defensive qualities of his settlement. They were going as settlers, not as military men. The party had just quitted Sault Ste. Marie when news came of the clash at Seven Oaks. Selkirk determined to go to Fort William in his capacity as a justice of the peace for Upper Canada and the Indian territories. He requested Ermtinger and Askin, two magistrates of Sault Ste. Marie and Drummond Island, to accompany him, but they were unable to go. Selkirk reported the fact in writing to Sherbrooke, the governor-general of Canada, and proceeded without them.¹¹⁴ He had a sergeant and six men, besides the aid of his own party. On August 12 he reached Fort William, released the prisoners held in custody by the North West Company, and investigated the recent events, taking depositions from witnesses. He arrested several of those charged with complicity¹¹⁵ in the events at Red

the first attack on the settlement (Amos, *Trials*, 269). There is no other mention of these Portage and Saskatchewan parties.

¹¹³ Such is the import of Siveright's affidavit (*Narrative of Occurrences*, Appendix, 47).

¹¹⁴ *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, 70-74.

¹¹⁵ As a result, the Upper Canada authorities were compelled to consider the matter. Gore reported that Fort William having been considered in the Indian Territory, he would not have presumed to interfere had Selkirk not apprehended the traders under his own warrant as a magistrate of the

River and sent them under guard to Montreal, where they were admitted to bail. One of Selkirk's warrants was served at Fond du Lac and resulted in the president's forbidding licenses to British subjects there.¹¹⁶

When Selkirk reached Fort William, the wintering partners had departed except those for Red River, Winnipeg River, and Lake Superior, who were there with their outfits. He considered it necessary to stop these canoes from going westward from Fort William that season. The North West Company later claimed that there were goods worth £8000 and six hundred packs of furs valued at £60,000 which Selkirk held at Fort William.¹¹⁷ It is quite probable that the chief reason why Selkirk's action did not cause more bloodshed was the disinclination of the North West Company's servants for an armed contest with the trained soldiers in his party.

In 1817 Selkirk pushed forward to Red River and reinstated his colony.¹¹⁸ He also made treaties with the Indians in order to extinguish their titles to his lands. He returned by way of St. Louis to Washington and Albany, whence he proceeded to Upper Canada to answer the legal charges made against him.

Sherbrooke, after considerable delay, had nominated Lieutenant-Colonel William Batchelor Coltman and Major Fletcher as commissioners to proceed to the Northwest, investigate the

Western District of Upper Canada (Gore to Bathurst, York, September 9, 1816, Q, 320, pp. 324 *et seq.*).

¹¹⁶ Bagot to Castlereagh, no. 10, Washington, January 6, 1818. Astor wrote to Selkirk in 1817-1818 for damages because some of the furs at Fond du Lac and the liquor at Fort William belonged to the American Fur Company (Selkirk Papers, Canadian Archives, vols. M 742, pp. 3441-3442, and M 746, p. 4802).

¹¹⁷ Printed Memorial, of date London, 1819, in C. O. 42, vol. 1814; also evidence of McKenzie, Q, 325-2, p. 319, printed in *Can. Arch. Report, 1897*, p. 96; *Narrative of Occurrences*, 66.

¹¹⁸ *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 77-81. Fort Douglas had been recaptured by a party under D'Orsonnens earlier in the year (Kingsford, *History of Canada*, IX, 138).

occurrences, and see to the establishment of law and order.¹¹⁹ They were compelled to winter at York, but they sent a special expedition with news of the revocation of all magisterial commissions west of Sault Ste. Marie. This order Selkirk obeyed upon receipt. A proclamation was also issued by Sherbrooke in the name of the Prince Regent calling upon all parties to desist from hostilities, restore property, and cease obstructing transportation.

Selkirk had assumed control of Fort William, Rainy River Fort, Bas de la Rivière Fort, Fond du Lac Post, and some others. He thus had control of the North West Company's communications and was in a situation to cripple its trade, had he so desired. The North West Company was alarmed at the prospect. Its London agents urged in January, 1817, that the government send a military force with the commissioners to enforce their decisions, stating that if Selkirk interrupted the communication for the ensuing spring the damage would be beyond remedy by any appeal.¹²⁰

In May, 1817, the commission proceeded westward to Fort William and Red River, where Selkirk was met. Coltman was impressed with Selkirk's evident attempt to avoid violation of the laws, and recommended that the charges against him be not pressed. The report of the commission is a carefully prepared, impartial statement of events. As a result, both parties blamed it for not giving the full facts of the case.

The struggle was now transferred from the plains of Red River to the law courts of Upper and Lower Canada. These courts, by the Canada Jurisdiction Act,¹²¹ passed on account of

¹¹⁹ Coltman had been appointed by the Prince Regent an Honorary Member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, January 13, 1812 (C. O. 47, vol. 123).

¹²⁰ McTavish, Fraser & Co., Inglis, Ellice & Co., and Sir Alexander Mackenzie to Goulburn, London, January 31, 1817, Q, 147-1-2, pp. 313 *et seq.*

¹²¹ 43 Geo. III, c. 138.

conflicts between the North West and X Y companies, had power to deal with offenses committed in the Indian territories.

These trials may be briefly summarized. Charles Reinhard and McLellan were accused of the murder of Owen Keveny and tried at Quebec, May, 1818. McLellan was acquitted. Reinhard was found guilty, but the sentence of hanging was apparently never executed. This was probably because of a question of jurisdiction, it not being certain whether the murder was committed in Upper Canada, Lower Canada, or the Indian territories, Keveny having been killed at a falls on Winnipeg River.

Selkirk appeared at Sandwich to answer charges made against him. Witnesses not appearing, the court accepted bail. These cases against Selkirk were seemingly never reopened, though a man named Allen was tried and acquitted.¹²² Selkirk then proceeded to Montreal to answer to the charges for which Coltman had bound him. The court found want of jurisdiction, but bound him over to appear in Upper Canada, under the large sum of £12,000 which Coltman had imposed.¹²³

In Montreal, Colin Robertson and four others were tried in May, 1818, for riotously destroying Fort Gibraltar. They were found not guilty.¹²⁴

In September, 1818, charges were laid against Selkirk and others of a conspiracy to ruin the trade of the North West Company. The grand jury at Sandwich delayed its answer to Chief Justice Powell. The court was summarily adjourned, and an act was passed by the Legislature of Upper Canada to enable the case to be tried in any district of the province.¹²⁵ The cases

¹²² *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 114-124.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 125-126.

¹²⁴ Amos, *Trials*, 1-27.

¹²⁵ The act was passed by the Legislative Council, October 23, and received Lieutenant-Governor Maitland's assent November 27, 1818. Besides attempts to repeal this act in Upper Canada, attempts were made in England to have assent refused to it. The Hudson's Bay Company petitioned the Board of Trade on August 3, 1819, to be heard by counsel against the

were then tried at York. Deputy Sheriff Smith was given a verdict of £500 against Selkirk for imprisonment at Fort William. McKenzie, a North West Company partner, was likewise given a verdict of £1500 for false imprisonment. McKenzie had executed a bill of sale to Selkirk of the North West Company's property at Fort William. He later repudiated it, stating that he had been under duress and continually intoxicated at the time.¹²⁶

In October, 1818, charges were brought on the part of Lord Selkirk. Cuthbert Grant and seventeen others were charged with being principals or accessories in the murder of Robert Semple, June 19, 1816. A verdict of not guilty was returned in the case of two of the alleged principals, Paul Brown and François Firmin Boucher, who were tried at York in October, 1818. As accessories to the same murder, six North West Company partners, including Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser, were tried at York in October, 1818, but they were acquitted.¹²⁷

Brown was also tried at York for the robbery of a blanket

act. They represented it as a marked innovation which would operate to the disadvantage of their servants and claimed that its application to the Selkirk cases was *ex post facto*, which was apparently true. They also claimed that Fort William was not in Upper Canada (B. T. 1, vol. 139, no. 6). The Board of Trade replied on August 5, that the petition should have been addressed to the Privy Council (B. T. 5, vol. 28, p. 103). The act was allowed to continue in effect, and on January 23, 1827, the Board of Trade reported that it, with others which had not been disallowed, should be considered in force (B. T. 5, vol. 35, pp. 398-399).

¹²⁶ A claim was later made by an anonymous writer that McKenzie had accepted an offer of arbitration on damage claims; that property on both sides was to be put in the hands of arbitrators; and that in the matter of at least £1000 worth of goods which were stipulated to be sold for fifty guineas, it was the express condition that the sale should be void if the conditions of arbitration were complied with. In other words, it was a legal formality (*Notice on the Claims of the Hudson's Bay Company*, Montreal, 1817, pp. 143-146). Selkirk had made arbitration proposals in a letter dated August 27, 1816, but they were refused by the North West Company (*Narrative of Occurrences*, 97-99).

¹²⁷ Amos, *Trials*, 189-335.

and gun from Michael Heden. He was acquitted.¹²⁸ John Cooper and Hugh Bennerman were charged with the robbery of a cannon in a dwelling-house of Lord Selkirk. They were also acquitted when tried at York in November, 1818.

Thus the legal contest ended.¹²⁹ Considering the great social and political influence which the North West Company possessed in the Canadas at that date, Selkirk was probably fortunate not to have had even more severe penalties imposed upon him.

The evidence at the trials was printed by both parties, and various partisan pamphlets appeared.¹³⁰ After Selkirk's return to England, Sir James Montgomery, one of his friends, brought the matter before the House of Commons and moved for the papers in the case. The motion was carried. As a result, the *Blue Book of 1819* was prepared. It is a valuable official source of information on the disturbances of which Lord Selkirk's colony was the center.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Amos, *Trials*, 337-346.

¹²⁹ Bryce's account of the Red River troubles and the subsequent legal proceedings is favorable to Selkirk. His statements are evidently largely based on the contemporary literature (Bryce, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 3rd. ed., 202-259).

Kingsford sums up strongly against Selkirk and in favor of the North West Company. His account is marred, however, by errors of fact (Kingsford, *History of Canada*, IX, 103-158).

¹³⁰ The criticisms made by Selkirk's supporters are stated freely in the *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool* (cf. pp. 169-180), the Colonial Office getting some bitter criticism.

¹³¹ The Colonial Office papers contain a large manuscript map, in size 5' x 2' 4", entitled "Plans of the Indian Territories, Comprehended between the 46th and 53rd Degrees of North Latitude, and the 90th and 101st Degrees of West Longitude from Greenwich. By Jos. Bouchette. Surv. Genl. &c., &c." This map was in the Surveyor-General's office at Quebec on December 3, 1816. It marks detail connected with the Red River troubles and was probably sent to the Colonial Office to give information on that subject. It shows the route from St. Louis River toward the Mississippi, and the route from Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg, called Lake Winegeg. It follows the east shore of this lake to the narrows and then branches. One branch follows the east shore to the top of the map. A North West Company post on the way indicates that that company traded extensively in this region. The other branch follows the west shore of the lake and throws off a branch

which traverses St. Martin's Lake to Boh Lake, now Lake Manitoba, where it again divides, one branch going through Lake Winnipegose, now Winnipegosis, the other southward and over Meadow Portage to the Stone Indian River, now the Assiniboine, which it ascends. Five North West Company posts are marked in the country back of St. Louis River. Fort William is shown. Six posts are shown on the route from Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg. There is also the post already mentioned on the east side of Lake Winnipeg. There is a post west of St. Martin's Lake not usually marked on other maps. Posts are shown on [Swan] and Dauphin rivers. Two posts are shown on the Assiniboine and one on Red River just south of the 49th parallel. "Mr. Semple's Fort" is also shown. The map is in C. O. 6, vol. 1.

CHAPTER VII

LAST DAYS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

The Red River colony was not, however, the sole theater of dispute in these years. There was trouble in other regions, particularly in regard to the Athabasca trade, in which the Hudson's Bay Company made a persistent effort to share. It was beyond their charter limits, of course, but they asserted that, being British subjects, they had as good a right as any person to trade in that region. The North West Company had no charter rights to adduce, but were determined that they would not tamely submit to the loss of their virtual monopoly of trade in Athabasca.

In 1815, the Hudson's Bay Company made a departure from their long-established policy and sent an expedition from Canada to Athabasca. They engaged Colin Robertson and John Clarke, former clerks of the North West Company, to obtain the men and lead them by way of Fort William and Lake Winnipeg. At the latter place they were to obtain goods and supplies from Hudson Bay. The expedition assembled at Terrebonne and not at Lachine, which was the departing point of the North West Company's canoes.¹

Robertson left the expedition at Lake Winnipeg in order to lead back to Red River the colonists who had fled thence after the first dispersal of the colony. The other members of the expedition pursued their way, but had a disastrous winter in Athabasca. The Hudson's Bay Company stated that a large party of men in the employ of the North West Company attacked their men and robbed them of a large quantity of goods. The Indians were apparently afraid to supply them with provi-

¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 56-58; McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Goulburn, Suffolk Lane, London, November 12, 1819, Q, 153-4, pp. 1034-1051.

sions. As a result, eighteen of the party were starved to death, "by the machinations of the North West Company," as the Hudson's Bay Company phrased it. About fifty of the others, after being kept without food for two and even three days, took an oath before one of the North West Company's partners, in his capacity as a magistrate, that they would not return to that region. This caused the Hudson's Bay Company a loss of from £40,000 to £50,000. Of course the North West Company claimed that the expedition had not been properly supplied with provisions and that these deaths were therefore the fault of the Hudson's Bay Company.² Wentzel stated the following year that the North West Company sent out four hundred packs that year, which was an increase in their returns. The Hudson's Bay Company did not have five full packs in the whole department, not one of their four establishments lasted through the winter, and half of their party were dead or had gone to Lesser Slave Lake or Fort des Prairies to avoid starvation.³ The Hudson's Bay Company's post of Fort Wedderburn was broken up by Archibald Norman McLeod, who had charge of the neighboring North West Company's post.⁴ The posts at Green Lake and Ile à la Crosse were seized and the occupants imprisoned; and the posts of Isle à l'Outard, Lesser Slave Lake, and Pierre aux Calumets, as well as the one at Lake Athabasca, were plundered by the North West Company.⁵ The

² Pelly to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, September '13, 1819, Q, 153-4, pp. 870-881; the same to same, enclosing copy of petition sent to the Privy Council, Hudson's Bay House, May 13, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186. The latter states that the oath was for two years. The previous item says it was for all time (McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Goulburn, Suffolk Lane, London, November 12, 1819, Q, 153-4, pp. 1034-1051.

³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 117-118.

⁴ Pelly to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, September 13, 1819, Q, 153-4, pp. 870-881.

⁵ Selkirk Papers, Canadian Archives, pp. 15795-15810, 15821 *et seq.*, 16309-16319. Green Lake post was first seized on December 21, 1816, and again on March 20, 1817. Ile à la Crosse post was seized on March 17, 1817. Fort Wedderburn was seized on March 23, 1817. Deer's Lake post was de-

latter brought about four hundred and thirty packs out of Athabasca in 1818, while the Hudson's Bay Company's men under Decoigne did not make a pack. They did, however, make thirty packs at Green Lake, and thirty-two packs in the Rainy Lake region.⁶

In September of 1818 the Hudson's Bay Company's men again appeared in force at Fort Chipewean under Robertson. Fort Wedderburn was re-established, and Clarke got away to Peace River before the arrival of the North West Company's men from Rainy Lake. The North West Company claimed that he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize provisions from their post at Fort Vermillion.⁷ The party under McAulay, who opposed Wentzel at Great Slave Lake, were kept busy fishing for a living. The Mackenzie River Department had been resumed the preceding year, after a temporary abandonment, and had produced ninety packs, but the outfits for this region and for Peace River were stopped by the ice in 1818. On October 11, 1818, Robertson, while attending the funeral of one of his men, was seized by a North West Company party under Black and taken prisoner to Fort Chipewean. The Hudson's Bay Company claimed that Robertson was unarmed and that Black fired a pistol at him. The North West Company claimed, on the other hand, that Robertson had threatened to have the Indians attack Black's men, and that he had fired a pistol at Black when the latter arrested him. Robertson was being taken to Canada in the spring of 1819 when, according

stroyed, and Little Slave Lake post was seized. Coltman reports thus (*Blue Book of 1819*, pp. 236-244). The post at Green Lake was plundered and its inhabitants imprisoned by a North West Company party led by Ogden and Black in March, 1816 (Pelly to Bathurst, enclosing petition to the Privy Council, Hudson's Bay House, May 13, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186).

⁶ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 119.

⁷ But the Hudson's Bay Company stated that what was done was to rescue Mr. Chatellain, who had been sent in advance to obtain provisions and was held a prisoner at Fort Vermillion (Berens to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, London, February 24, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186).

to the North West Company's account, he broke parole and escaped.⁸ The Hudson's Bay Company made the countercharge that an attempt was made to drown Robertson by upsetting the canoe in which he was being transported in a bad rapid in the Saskatchewan. Whatever the cause, the main point was that Robertson clung to the canoe and escaped, but the two North West Company men with him, although expert swimmers, were both drowned.⁹

The Hudson's Bay Company now took action which seriously threatened the communications of the North West Company to Athabasca. Some of the bench warrants issued at Montreal in 1818, at the instance of Lord Selkirk, came into the hands of Governor Williams, the successor of Semple, who proceeded to enforce them. He took station at the Grand Rapid of the Saskatchewan in June, 1819, with a competent force, which included some of the De Meuron colonists. The party had some pieces of light artillery, and the men were well armed. Two days later, on June 16, John D. Campbell and Benjamin Frobisher, partners from Churchill River, were arrested with their men. Four days later the fur canoes from English River arrived. They were halted, and arrests were made of the men for whom there were warrants. The others were then allowed to proceed with the furs. The partners had been in advance in light canoes in order to proceed to Fort William. On June 22 the arrested men were sent to Jack River, whence they were taken to Hudson Bay in order to be sent to Canada by way of Moose Factory and Michipicoton or Temiskaming, thus avoiding Fort William. On June 23 three more partners, Angus Shaw, John George McTavish, and William McIntosh, were

⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 122-124; Pelly to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, September 13, 1819, Q, 153-4, pp. 870-881; McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Goulburn, Suffolk Lane, London, November 12, 1819, Q, 153-4, pp. 1034-1051.

⁹ Berens to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, London, February 24, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186.

arrested. An Indian was also detained. On June 30 Robertson and some others arrived. The North West Company claimed that they brought a rumor that a large party of Indians and half-breeds were mustering to attack Williams' party and release the prisoners. However that may be, Williams broke camp and returned to Hudson Bay. McIntosh escaped on the way, and the Indian was released. It is stated that there was no warrant against either of them. Shaw and McTavish were sent to England, reaching Dover on October 27. Campbell was sent to Canada.

The North West Company's papers seized at the Grand Rapid were handed over to the North West Company on demand.¹⁰ Frobisher, who was left for the winter at York Factory, escaped with two French Canadians, but perished a short distance from Moose Lake Post of the North West Company. None of the arrested men was ever brought to trial.¹¹ Richmond, on hearing of the affair through North West Company channels at Drummond Island, sent Major McLeod and Sir Charles Saxton with dispatches commanding obedience to the Prince Regent's Proclamation of 1817. They proceeded past Fort William, but returned when they heard Williams had left the Grand Rapid for Hudson Bay, having sent forward their dispatches.¹² The North West Company asserted freely that a repetition of such measures would meet with armed resistance, but their assertion was never tested. George Simpson had charge of Hudson's Bay Company affairs in 1820, and only fifteen canoes were taken into Athabasca. The North West Company thus had a marked superiority of men and goods in that department.

Warrants were issued against Williams and others for the

¹⁰ McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Goulburn, Suffolk Lane, London, November 12, Q, 153-4, pp. 1034-1051; Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 181-207.

¹¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 206-226.

¹² McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Bathurst, London, February 12, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 168.

Grand Rapids affair, but apparently were never served.¹³ After making strong protestations on the subject to the British government,¹⁴ and after forwarding Bathurst a copy of the instructions sent to their wintering partners to obey the Proclamation of 1817,¹⁵ the North West Company acted in the same manner at the Grand Rapid in the summer of 1820. A party under J. G. McTavish, James Leith, Henry Mackenzie, and J. D. Campbell, partners, proceeded inland from Fort William in May. They were joined by two more partners, Charles Grant and George Keith, and by some others, including several Indians. The whole party, consisting of about sixty or seventy men, posted themselves in two divisions at the Rapids of the Saskatchewan. Here they remained about a month, halting all the Hudson's Bay Company's canoes which came down the river. They permitted Alexander Macdonald to continue on his way. On June 29 they arrested Colin Robertson, the Hudson's Bay Company's head in Athabasca, and took him to Fort William, but his canoe escaped. On July 2 fourteen Hudson's Bay Company canoes under Todd arrived. With them was Spence, who had been sent up from Montreal with a warrant, issued by Coltman on July 19, 1819, for the arrest of Black and others concerned in the seizure of Robertson on October 9, 1818. He had arrested a clerk and three men at Fort Wedderburn on May 21, 1820. Spence was taken and his pris-

¹³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 140-141. Franklin stated in 1820 that the Hudson's Bay Company had no settlement north of Great Slave Lake. Their post on that lake was Fort Resolution (Franklin, *Narrative*, 198, 201, Map 2).

¹⁴ McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Goulburn, 2 Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, London, January 11, 1820; petition of same to Bathurst, February 12, 1820, in Simon McGillivray to Goulburn of same date, etc., C. O. 42, vol. 168.

¹⁵ McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Goulburn, 2 Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, London, March 21, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 168. Bathurst sent a copy of these instructions to the Hudson's Bay Company, according to an endorsement, and in accordance with his orders Maitland sent, by the Hudson's Bay and North West Company canoes from Montreal in 1820, new proclamations dated Quebec, May 12, 1820, renewing the terms of the proclamation of May 3, 1817, and enjoining the keeping of the peace (Maitland to Bathurst, Quebec, May 16, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 185).

oners were liberated, but the other men and the canoes were apparently allowed to go on. Evidently the party had intended to seize Governor Williams, but he had passed Grand Rapid the day before their arrival. The Hudson's Bay Company, in reporting the matter to the Colonial Office, pointed out that J. G. McTavish, a leader of the North West Company's party, had been in London after Bathurst's intimation to the North West Company on the subject of obeying the Proclamation of 1817, that he had had ample time to consult William and Simon McGillivray, and Inglis, Ellice & Co., and that he had then left England with Bathurst's dispatch in his pocket. They asked that the action be punished, quoting Bathurst's letter to them of the preceding February 19, and likewise requested that a prompt decision should be made in regard to the validity of their charter.¹⁶

That same year Robertson reached England, and in an affidavit he stated that the North West Company had tried to drown him at Pin Portage in 1818; also that he had not been under parole when he escaped at Cumberland House. He said that his arrest at Grand Rapid was by Livingston, a half-pay officer of the Indian Department, who claimed to be a peace officer. The arrest was apparently on an indictment from which he had been free by a *nolle prosequi* at Montreal in 1818; and as Ross, the North West Company's counsel, was acting for the Attorney-General, then absent in England, he had escaped when near Montreal. Bathurst evidently sent orders to Dalhousie to have the partners concerned in the Grand Rapid affair of 1820 brought to trial.¹⁷

The Hudson's Bay Company had Simon McGillivray¹⁸ ar-

¹⁶ Berens to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, London, November 22, 1820; same to same, December 30, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186.

¹⁷ Copy of affidavit dated St. Dions Back Church, London, December 23, 1820, in Berens to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, London, December 30, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186. An endorsement indicates the action taken by Bathurst.

¹⁸ Probably the clerk of that name.

rested by a constable at Fort Wedderburn on October 23, 1820. Three duels were fought at Lac La Cloche, Ile à la Crosse, and Lac Cariboux in the early winter. In the latter duel Leslie of the Hudson's Bay Company was badly wounded. The returns of the year promised to be good except for Mackenzie River, where there had been a shortage of ammunition. There were prospects that an opposition—no doubt the Hudson's Bay Company—would start in New Caledonia in 1821. Connolly drew his men from Rat River for the winter of 1820-1821. There were reports current among the North West Company winterers that the Hudson's Bay Company were preparing a covered ball-proof barge to blockade the Grand Rapid in 1821.¹⁹

The Hudson's Bay Company does not seem to have attempted seriously to enter the field of trade west of the Rocky Mountains while the North West Company existed as a separate body. It has been already pointed out that the latter company acquired the property of the Pacific Fur Company, in addition to the eligible trading position which they held on the upper Columbia and to the northward in New Caledonia.

In 1815 the firm of Inglis, Ellice & Co., agents in London for the North West Company, addressed various communications to the Colonial Office. They observed that they were alarmed at reports that British traders were warned off American soil, and requested information in regard to the attitude of the British government. They were particularly insistent about the trade of the Columbia River and the region northward to the Russian settlements. They stated that they had always regarded this country from the Rocky Mountains to the coast as being British property, that they had established a colony on the Columbia, that they had in the preceding two years sent out three vessels with £150,000 sterling in goods to that river, and that

¹⁹J. G. McTavish to the Wintering Partners of the North West Company, Fort William, April 22, 1821, copy in C. O. 42, vol. 367.

they were planning to engage in the fur trade with China. They wished to know whether they could expect British protection there, as otherwise they might have to combine with the Americans or abandon the region altogether.²⁰ They received no definite answer, but persisted in the enterprise to which they were committed. The United States government claimed that Astoria, or Fort George, as it was now called, should be restored in accordance with the Treaty of Ghent. The North West Company protested that it had been acquired by purchase and not by conquest, that it had never been an official post, and that it was not really on United States soil. Finally, after various diplomatic interchanges, American claims over Astoria were recognized, and the United States flag was run up in 1818. The act was not to be construed as affecting the claims of either side to the possession of the country. The North West Company was left undisturbed in its trade.²¹

This trade apparently was fairly lucrative. At first the returns had been sent across the mountains to Rainy Lake, whence in due time they reached the London market. With the acquisition of Astoria, the situation was changed and furs were shipped to China. The first vessel sailed for Canton in 1814.²² This was the "Isaac Todd," which also took all the furs that the Americans had collected at Astoria and brought back a cargo of tea to England for the account of the East India Company. In 1814 the schooner "Columbia" was sent out. It reached Fort George in the spring of 1815, delivered supplies, and then pro-

²⁰ Inglis, Ellice & Co. to Goulburn, London, July 25, 1815, Q, 134-2, pp. 385-387; the same to the same, London, July 28, 1815, Q, 134-2, pp. 388-389; the same to the same, London, August 2, 1815, Q, 134-2, pp. 390-392.

²¹ Keith represented the North West Company. The articles of restitution were signed in triplicate at Fort George (Columbia River) on October 6, 1818. Barrow to Goulburn, Admiralty, August 10, 1819, C.O. 42, vol. 183, contains copies of the correspondence. There are other copies in Pelly to Canning of December, 1825, F.O. 5, vol. 208.

²² Harmon, *Journal*, 204-205.

ceeded with furs to Canton, whence it returned to the Sandwich Islands and the Columbia in order to carry the furs of the following season to Canton. The brig "Colonel Allan" carried out the supplies from England in 1815. It reached Fort George in the spring of 1816, and returned from there to England.

All these were British vessels, belonging to and fitted out by the agents of the North West Company. Their outfits were found expensive and unproductive, in consequence of the restriction of British subjects from trading in China, except under license from the East India Company. This company refused to permit the North West Company to carry away tea in return for the furs sold by them at Canton, while American ships and traders, not being under similar restrictions, had the benefit of freight both ways. Under these circumstances, the North West Company in 1815 made an arrangement with a firm at Boston by which the supplies of British manufactures required for the establishments on the Columbia were sent from England to Boston, whence a ship was dispatched to convey them to the Columbia, to take the goods from the Columbia to Canton, and to carry the proceeds of their sale, in teas and other produce of China, from Canton to Boston, where the American firm retained a certain proportion of the net proceeds as compensation for the freight. In this way, annual supplies were sent to the Columbia River from 1816 to 1820 inclusive. In 1821 the companies united, and after that the proceeds were brought to England in British ships.²³ The Boston firm with which the North West Company

²³ Garry to Hay, Hudson's Bay House, May 8, 1828, C. O. 6, vol. 6. Ross mentions these ships (Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, I, 37-38, speaks of the "Isaac Todd," I, 41, speaks of the "Columbia," I, 79-80, speaks of the "Colonel Allan" and also of an unnamed schooner). But Ross states that the "Colonel Allan" carried furs and specie to Canton in 1816. The specie apparently came from South America. Ross merely suggests the change when New England vessels carried the furs to China (I, 88). The North West Company by 1817 employed three hundred Canadians on the Pacific Slope (*Narrative of Occurrences*, 125). Willson, who uses these figures, also states that the North West Company had a post in California, and makes

dealt was, so Garry reports, Perkins & Co., and the Canton firm was J. & J. N. Perkins.²⁴

On May 9, 1820, Haldane reached Fort George with the returns in good order, and on May 25 the "Levant" sailed with a cargo of furs. On their return the boats met Donald McKenzie and his party at the Nez Percé Forks. These were from the Snake Country, which was abandoned for the time.²⁵

The fur sales of the North West Company at Canton in 1815 appear to have amounted to \$101,155.40.²⁶ The figures of other years are not given. Some furs, presumably the property of the North West Company, were imported from the Columbia River to London in 1817.²⁷ This is the only separate item of

a somewhat unintelligible statement about New Archangel (Willson, *The Great Company*, II, 156). It looks as if he were making unwarranted assumptions from the statement in the same pamphlet that the North West Company "are now extending their inland trade southward to the Spanish Settlements of California, and northward to those of the Russians at New Archangel" (*Narrative of Occurrences*, 123). Further remarks about shipping would also indicate that he had used this page rather too hastily.

²⁴ Diary of Nicholas Garry, Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, Series II, vol. VI. Sec. 2, p. 81.

²⁵ From letter by Haldane dated Spokane House, September 10, 1820, summarized in J. G. McTavish to the Wintering Partners, Fort William, April 22, 1821, C. O. 42, vol. 367. The "Levant" carried 13,414 beaver, 860 otter, 266 beaver coating, 6770 muskrats, 259 minks, 104 foxes, 116 fishers, and 37 sea otters. Faries was blockaded in the old fort at Kamloops by the natives for some days and lost nine men. Haldane had trouble in equipping his "Iroquois," but sent fifty men off towards the Flathead lands. He did not like the idea of the Fort des Prairies freemen getting to the Columbia.

²⁶ Selkirk MSS, part of vols. 30 and 31, pp. 9209-9210. The information was probably obtained by Selkirk at Fort William in 1816. 31286 musquash and 18 scrap land otters brought \$2760. Fishers sold at 50c. each, wolverines at 50c. each, lynx at \$1. each, red fox at \$1. each, common land otter at \$3.75 each, minks at 25c. each, and martens at 50c. each. 3439 fur seal sold at \$2. each, making \$6878. 123 large sea otter sold for \$22., \$26., and \$35. each, making \$2870. Medium sea otter sold at \$10. each, and 29 cub otter realized \$115. 21,234 beaver sold at \$3.80 and \$3.90 each, making \$81,404.30. 1086 pounds of beaver coating sold for \$1499.35.

²⁷ Their value was £1458-5-8, including five pounds' worth of miscellaneous articles. The most valuable item was six hundred and forty beaver skins valued at £1121-15-0. 10,993 musquash were valued at £274-16-6. The duty was £347-16-0, of which £16-15-10 was the shipping duty on the vessel which carried the furs. She was of 335 80/90 tons (C. H. 4, vol. 12).

imports from the Columbia River during the existence of the North West Company. The Columbia River, by the way, is listed in the British Custom House books as one of the Foreign Continental Colonies until 1824, when it appears among the British North American Colonies as one of the Settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company.²⁸ There was a steady exportation of goods from England to the Columbia from 1814 to 1821 with the exceptions of the years 1816 and 1820. The official values were over £1700 in 1814, £15,300 in 1815, £26,800 in 1817, £28,500 in 1818, £5900 in 1819, and £12,500 in 1821. These goods were all carried in British vessels, one ship being specified in 1815, and two ships in 1817 and 1818. A light export duty was paid, being £196-18-11 in 1818.²⁹

The system of large trapping parties in the region south of the Columbia was adopted about 1816, in which year two departments were created. One, under Keith, was for the coastal region; the other, under McKenzie, comprised the inland region.³⁰ Fort Nez Percé was built in 1818,³¹ and in the same year the first expedition went out to the Snake Indians.³² The North West Company worked up the Willamette and across to the Umpqua River.³³ The expeditions to the Snake country, while they obtained furs, were usually accompanied by loss of life.

²⁸ C. H. 4, vol. 19.

²⁹ C. H. 8, vol. 2-14; C. H. 10, vol. 6-12. The former lists British manufactures, and the latter lists foreign goods. The former gives both Official Value and Real or Declared Value. The latter value is considerably higher, as the following table will show:

	1814	1815	1817
Official Value	£ 1,738- 9-10	£13,885-18-1	£17,184-12-5
Real or Declared Value . . .	2,396- 6- 0	19,327- 5-1	19,730- 5-4
	1818	1819	1821
Official Value	£20,730-14-2	£5,955-10-6	£12,247-10-10
Real or Declared Value . . .	22,847- 6-2	6,653-18-1	12,620-13- 0

³⁰ Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, I, 73-77.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 172-177.

³² *Ibid.*, 184.

³³ *Ibid.*, 196.

In view of the claim that the ruinous competition³⁴ of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies caused their union in 1821, it may be worth while to consider the trade returns of the preceding years. In the first place, there can be no question that two companies meant more expense in wages, goods, equipments, posts, and other ways than one company would have meant. This was particularly the case since it was the recognized policy of both companies to locate their posts near together. This gave high prices—and liquor—to the Indians, who brought their furs for sale. It also, no doubt, caused a careless destruction of the fur-bearing animals, for furs would be purchased which had been summer-hunted. Most irritating to the natives in this respect were various Iroquois hunters. These men had no interest in a section of country except to strip it of furs to sell to the traders. Probably also some of the white free traders and trappers were guilty of such short-sighted action.

The years of competition were marked by a rise in the wages paid to employees. Wentzel wrote in 1819 that a middle-man received a thousand *livres* in Halifax currency, while a bowman received fourteen hundred. Interpreters received from sixteen hundred to two thousand, while clerks were paid from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds in the same currency. Wentzel also stated that Hudson's Bay Company clerks were paid about three hundred pounds sterling.³⁵ When Mackenzie wrote, a middle-man received eight hundred, and a bowman one thousand two hundred *livres*, while a clerk received about a hundred pounds. Various supplies of food and clothing were also given. These are the figures for men who wintered. Those

³⁴ Ross states that the cost of the struggle to the North West Company was £55,000 sterling (Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, I, 278). He does not state where he got this figure.

³⁵ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 124.

engaged in the transportation from Montreal to the place of rendezvous received much less.³⁶

The Hudson's Bay Company did not compete seriously with the North West Company beyond the Rockies.³⁷ This was also seemingly the case in the region from Lake Superior to the king's posts to the south of the Height of Land between Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence. Possibly there were independent traders in portions of this region, though it has been asserted that the North West Company monopolized the trade at a distance from the settlements.³⁸ As has been already noted, the Hudson's Bay Company did not get very large returns from Athabasca.

Yet on the whole the Hudson's Bay Company was very successful. Some figures have been given in the preceding chapter for their returns up to and including the year 1808. With the exception of 1810, when the amount was only about £8700, returns steadily mounted from more than £20,800 in 1809 to more than £29,000 in 1812. The books for 1813 are missing. In 1814, 1815, and 1816 the returns were low, decreasing from a little more than £15,800 in the former to a little more than £8100 in the latter year. From 1817 to 1821 they ranged between £22,400 and £29,100. In 1822 they jumped to more than £39,000.

³⁶ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxvii-xxviii.

³⁷ A Hudson's Bay Company party under Joseph Howse wintered in 1810-11 west of the Rocky Mountains, apparently in Montana. No other party from that company appears to have traded west of the Rockies before 1821 (Elliott, "Columbia Fur Trade prior to 1811," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VI, no. 1, pp. 9-10).

³⁸ The following statement appears in the Selkirk Papers: "the N. W. Co. without the shadow of claim to any exclusive privilege have obtained a real and effective monopoly of the fur trade in Canada, except in the immediate vicinity of the European Agricultural Settlements. On Lake Superior, Nipissing, the Grand River and St. Maurice, tho' the trade is by law open to all his Majys. Subjects, the N. W. Co. have no rivals. On the borders of the settlements are a number of mere traders who carry on a petty traffic, but not one of them dare venture to the distance of 100 miles from the settlements or pretend to interfere with the great Coy." It is dated 1810 (Selkirk Papers, vol. 1, p. 16, Canadian Archives).

In 1826 they were more than £40,000, and in 1827 more than £50,000. After this year the returns were all put together under Settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company, whereas previously they had been listed under Hudson's Bay. The duty charged ranged between £1600 and £10,000.³⁹ The exports of British manufactures from England to Hudson Bay were officially valued at more than £9500 in 1812. In 1814 they were a little over £9000. In 1815, 1816, and 1817 they were something over £15,600, £18,200, and £11,100, respectively. Then they took another sudden rise, being over £30,800, £23,700, £24,800, and £29,500 in the years 1818 to 1821. These are official values. A column marked "Real or Declared Value" from the year 1814 usually adds one-half and often two-thirds and more to these values. Export duty amounting to a few pounds was charged each year.⁴⁰

Besides the above values, between £1100 and £6600 worth of foreign goods were shipped to Hudson Bay from England in the years 1809 to 1821. The highest item was £6519-4-3 in 1818. In the following two years the items were in the neighborhood of £5800.⁴¹ These figures would seem to indicate that the Hudson's Bay Company had determined on energetic trade. This was probably partly caused by the Hudson's Bay Company's feeling the same need as the North West Company for inland expansion. In a letter of instructions in 1815 to Thomas Thomas, their new superintendent of the Northern Department after Auld, it was stated to be advisable to retrench in the factories

³⁹ C. H. 4, v. 5-22. The change in headings makes little difference in returns, but makes it more difficult to trace exports.

⁴⁰ C. H. 8, vol. 1-14. The Real or Declared Value was £16,059-15-11 in 1814, £26,180-14-8 in 1815, £30,480-10-0 in 1816, £21,617-19-2 in 1817, £44,162-11-7 in 1818, £34,797-0-0 in 1819, £40,936-14-6 in 1820, and £38,704-8-3 in 1821.

⁴¹ C. H. 10, vol. 1-12. The items totaled £1129-7-5 in 1809, £2035-1-10 in 1810, £4561-9-6 in 1811, £2945-15-0 in 1812, £3105-4-9 in 1814, £3682-8-7 in 1815, £4827-4-6 in 1816, £3595-3-5 in 1817, £6519-4-3 in 1818, £5727-19-4 in 1819, £5888-6-5 in 1820, and £3823-0-2 in 1821.

at the bay, which were all loss, while the inland ones gave good profits. An officer's share for three years was estimated to be about £4000, but had the bayside been equal to the inland trade, it would have been £10,000.⁴² The increase of the totals after 1814 suggests that the end of the Napoleonic Wars—for the Hundred Days would hardly affect the figures of 1815—had encouraged the company to greater efforts. The end of the American phase of the struggle may also have had a similar effect. However this may be, it is quite likely that the North West Company was aware of the increased quantities of goods which their rivals were importing, and this knowledge may have had some connection with their determination to give up the contest.

It is much less easy to determine the imports of merchandise and the returns of furs for the North West Company. In the first place, a certain amount of Canadian produce was consumed, the figures for which are not available. Some of the furs and other items in the returns, aside from those already indicated for China, were no doubt disposed of in Canada and in the United States. Moreover, the furs listed as being imported into Great Britain from Canada include all those shipped from the port of Quebec. This would mean many more furs than those belonging to the North West Company. Many of these came from the settlements in the St. Lawrence basin, and many came from United States territory. This was especially true in the years preceding the War of 1812, when the Michilimackinac Company was still prospering. After the war the Americans obtained more of these furs for themselves and for shipment from United States ports.

The imports of castoreum, skins, and furs from Canada to Great Britain during the existence of the North West Company were valued by the Custom House as follows: In 1784 nearly

⁴² Selkirk Papers, Canadian Archives, M, 736, pp. 1327-1375.

£72,000 worth was imported. In 1790 the value was nearly £77,900, and in 1800 it was over £144,300. In 1801 it was back to £68,500. The next year it was £82,100, and the following year £70,700. The figure was nearly the same in 1804, being £71,500. In 1805 it was £64,300, and in 1806 it was £51,600. It dropped to £27,400 in 1807, but rose to £81,400 the following year. In 1809 it dropped again to £21,300, but in 1810 it was £59,500. The figures are noticeably lower after this date. In 1811 the value was £14,400, in 1812 it was £30,200, and in 1814 it was £48,300. In 1815 the total was £23,400. The following year it was £29,600. In 1817 it was £47,200, and the following year somewhat less, being £43,000. In 1819 the total was £34,700, and in 1820 it was £46,000. In 1821, the year of the union with the Hudson's Bay Company, it was £33,100. There is a sharp drop after this. In the years 1822 to 1826 the figures were £10,500, £6400, £7400, £11,900, and £10,400.⁴³ The same official values being used throughout the whole period, they give a good idea of the relative values of the trade in the respective years, aside from the market fluctuations.⁴⁴ Apart from the loss of the American trade, which would not particularly affect the North West Company, it would look as if the amount of this Canadian trade was not markedly lessening before the union of the two companies.⁴⁵

⁴³ C. H. 17, vol. 8-30; C. H. 4, vol. 5-21. The totals are my own, given to the nearest hundred pounds. The Custom House valuations in 1790 were as follows: castoreum, 7/ per lb.; bear, black, 6/6 each; beaver, 3/6 each; deer in hair, 2/6 each; elk, 5/6 each; fox, 1/3 each; marten, 5/ each; mink, 1/6 each; musquash, 6d. each; otter, 3/6 each; raccoon, 6d. each; seal, 10d. each; wolf, 5/ each; and other skins not stated. These same figures were used in 1772 and in 1826.

⁴⁴ For example, a report of Lieutenant-Governor Milnes enclosed a statement of the furs exported from Quebec in 1801 with the average prices at which they sold in London, amounting to £371,139-11-4 (Milnes to Hobart, Quebec, October 30, 1802; extracts are to be found in B. T. 1, vol. 20, no. 93).

⁴⁵ A committee of the House of Representatives of the United States had a resolution referred to it on December 19, 1820, directing an inquiry into the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean and the expediency of

The foreign market for furs exported from Great Britain was still taking its regular quota. In fact, it was absorbing an increased quantity of almost all of them. The values of the furs thus exported in 1814, 1815, and 1816 were £28,300, £22,400, and £30,700. The total for 1817 is not given, but amounted to £26,700. The next year the value was £35,100. In 1819 it was £41,800. In 1820, 1821, and 1822 the values were £43,700, £35,300 and £35,500.⁴⁶ With the exceptions of hare and raccoon,⁴⁷ the number of skins exported in the years 1809 to 1812 was not equal to the exports of the later years.

According to the figures so far given, the fur trade was not declining markedly in value. The returns of the Hudson's Bay Company were certainly good, whatever those of the North West Company may have been. The presumption would be that these also were not declining. In this connection, various complaints of the volume of trade, made by members of the Canadian company, must be considered. In 1812 the wintering partners wrote that the returns were not so good as in the preceding year, though presumably the quality was better in some departments. Much of the country, they said, was fast being ruined and would need to lie fallow for two or three years, and there was no hope of increasing the trade in the regions then hunted.⁴⁸ Letters of the time speak of poor returns from Athabasca and

occupying the Columbia River. Its report was read January 25, 1821. Among other items it stated that the exports of the North West Company from Quebec alone were valued at more than a million dollars annually, without reference to those brought to the United States and shipped from New York and Philadelphia direct to China, rather than incur the cost and delay in procuring them a passage to London and thence to India in the ships of the East India Company. It mentions the reshipment at Botson of British manufactures for the Columbia (printed copy in Canning to Castle-reagh, no. 4, Washington, February 5, 1821, F. O. 5, vol. 157). The figure for the Quebec trade is high. The mention of the New York and Philadelphia trade is unique and valuable, if correct.

⁴⁶ C. H. 11, vol. 5-13. The amounts are to the nearest hundred pounds.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1-4.

⁴⁸ Twelve partners to William McGillivray, Fort William, July 18, 1812, Selkirk Papers, part of vols. 27 and 28, pp. 164-166.

Mackenzie River for the years 1814 and 1815.⁴⁹ Fort Nelson had been surprised by the natives in the winter of 1812-1813 and several traders killed.⁵⁰ In 1815 the North West Company apparently withdrew its posts in the Mackenzie River region and reduced the posts in Athabasca from fifteen to eight in number.⁵¹ After this the resistance to the Hudson's Bay Company's advance increased the returns, and in 1818 the posts in Mackenzie River were again occupied.⁵² Similar data are lacking for other districts. However, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, writing in January, 1819, stated that the losses occasioned by the difficulties with Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company had been compensated to a considerable degree by the high prices for furs obtained the preceding year in the London market. He estimated that the income would thus be £50,000 greater than had been estimated. Similar good prices and returns were expected in 1819. At the same time, Mackenzie made the interesting statement that the agents of the North West Company had never paid him a shilling of interest or principal since he became a partner under the firm of Sir Alexander Mackenzie & Co.⁵³ The amount owing to him was probably considerable.

The business dealings of the North West Company with the American Fur Company were apparently trivial. At least, the items on the journals of the latter would indicate that such was the case.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 109, 114; II, 129.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 109; II, 125.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 113-115.

⁵² *Ibid.*, I, 116-124; II, 131.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, 53-54.

⁵⁴ The journals of the American Fur Company from April 1, 1817, to September 20, 1834, are in the Canadian Archives. They contain a brief account to the following effect: The North West Company is debited in 1817 to Cash \$94.88; to Merchandise \$7.50; to Albion T. Crowe \$5.00; to Adam D. Stewart \$9.00; to Retail Store \$2.33; and on May 25, 1818, to Profit and Loss \$5.37. On the same date the North West Company is credited under the caption "Contra," "By South West Company, \$124.08". This

The term of agreement of the North West Company was nearing expiration. According to the agreements of 1802 and 1804, it was to come to an end on November 30, 1822. There seemingly was a determination reached at the general meeting in the summer of 1820 at Fort William to continue the company. It is stated that an agreement was executed by the agents and some of the wintering partners to continue the company for ten years longer; that is, from 1822 until 1832. Some of the partners who were not consulted, and others who would not attend, sent two of their number to London, as delegates. These were seemingly Dr. McLaughlin and Angus Bethune. The dubious claim was even made that they were the persons really responsible for the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies. It was thus argued from the fact that they and those whom they represented became chief factors and retained their inventory and other rights in the Northwest.⁵⁵ Henry Mackenzie, a partner in the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company of Montreal, in a remonstrance dated November 24, 1819, stated that proposals had been recently submitted to the partners at Fort William for a new association, these never having been submitted to the partners in Montreal. In the same letter in which a copy of this remonstrance is printed Mackenzie said that an agreement had been made in triplicate at Fort William in 1820 to continue the North West Company until the returns of the outfit of 1832 were received.⁵⁶

balances both sides and it is so lined out. Then below this in the debtor column appears, on October 16, 1818, "To Louis Deschamps \$11.00," and in the opposite column, on September 24, 1819, "By Deserters & Delinquents \$11.00." This is all of the account.

⁵⁵ *Letters Addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant by a Creditor of the Agents of the North West Company*, 10-11, 51. These letters, which are to be found among the Masson Papers in the Canadian Archives, were written in 1830 in regard to an assignment made in 1826. Possibly McLaughlin should be McLoughlin.

⁵⁶ *Letter to Simon McGillivray . . . by Henry Mackenzie*, p. 3. This is pamphlet 457A in the Canadian Archives. The letter is dated Montreal, June 19, 1827. Mackenzie complains of not being properly apprized of the

Notwithstanding this agreement, Simon McGillivray, according to his own account, entered into negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company in December, 1820. In these he was aided by Edward Ellice of London, but seemingly was acting entirely upon his personal responsibility, not having been granted authority by the partners of the North West Company or even by the other members of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, the Montreal agents.⁵⁷ The negotiations resulted in an agreement to unite, dated March 26, 1821. This agreement was by indenture, and a Deed Poll bearing the same date was engrossed to the same effect and bore the seal of the Hudson's Bay Company. It named twenty-five persons who were to be appointed chief factors, and twenty-eight who were to be appointed chief traders; also forty-two persons who might retire and retain shares for seven years, and nine persons from whom their successors should be appointed. No expense for colonization or other activity unconnected with the fur trade was to be chargeable on the joint concern.⁵⁸

The agreement provided for conducting the fur trade for twenty-one years, commencing with the outfit of 1821 and ending with the returns of the outfit of 1841. William and Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice were to have the appointment of two out of five members of the board of directors. The net profits were to be divided into one hundred equal shares. Twenty of these were to belong to the Hudson's Bay Company's governor and directors; twenty to the McGillivrays and Ellice. Forty shares were to go to the men named as chief factors and

actions of the firm of which he became a member November 1, 1814. He makes various charges also.

⁵⁷ *A Letter from Simon McGillivray, Esq., to the Creditors of the Firms of McTavish, McGillivrays and Co. and McGillivrays, Thain and Co. of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada*, dated London, February 26, 1827, pp. 5-6. The letter was in explanation of the declaration of the insolvency of these firms at Montreal, December 27, 1825. It is Pamphlet 457B in the Canadian Archives.

⁵⁸ Printed copy of date 1821 in C.O. 42, vol. 186.

chief traders by the Hudson's Bay Company. Five shares were to be at the disposal of the Hudson's Bay Company, to carry out their arrangements with the heirs of Lord Selkirk; five shares were to go to the McGillivrays and Ellice as compensation for the relinquishing of the agency and commissions of their houses in London; and the remaining ten shares were to be invested by the Hudson's Bay Company in parliamentary stocks, government securities, or public funds, the income to be used for unforeseen losses and emergencies, for increasing the capital stock of the company, or upon trusts specified in the agreement.⁵⁹

On March 28 the Hudson's Bay Company appointed fifteen men as chief factors, and seventeen men as chief traders.⁶⁰ By the agreement of March 26, the block of forty shares provided as remuneration for these men was divided into eighty-five parts, of which each chief factor should receive two, and each chief trader should receive one. Three more of these parts were to be given by the McGillivrays and Ellice for seven years to any persons lately in the service of the North West Company to whom they saw fit to grant them. The Hudson's Bay Company had the similar disposal of four shares. The matter of promotion from the position of clerk to chief trader, and from chief trader to chief factor, was duly provided for. So were the questions of retirement, disposal of shares, furlough, and other matters of detail.⁶¹

Through the influence which both parties had at the Colonial Office, an act of Parliament⁶² was passed in 1821 by which the Crown was empowered to grant to "any body corporate or company, or person or persons," the exclusive privilege of trading within lands and territories not previously granted to the

⁵⁹ Partly printed in *Letter to Simon McGillivray*, Pamphlet 457A, Canadian Archives, 11-13.

⁶⁰ Release of claims by the Wintering Partners, 6-7.

⁶¹ A copy of the Deed Poll was printed in London in 1821.

⁶² 1 & 2 Geo. IV, c. 66.

Hudson's Bay Company, not belonging to the British provinces in North America, and not part of the United States, for a period of twenty-one years. This was not to infringe upon the rights of American traders west of the Rockies as guaranteed by the Convention of 1818.⁶³ Incidentally this act took occasion to regulate the question of the administration of justice, particularly as it applied to British subjects in the extensive lands where the fur traders roamed. It was specifically stated that the Act of 43 Geo. III was valid in the lands granted to the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶⁴ At the same time all chartered rights and jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company were guaranteed. The charter was granted at Carlton House, December 5, 1821, and was signed by Bathurst. It granted the exclusive right to trade for twenty-one years in lands northward and westward of the United States which were neither a British North American province nor belonged to any European power. It required no rent, but demanded that a register of employees be kept, and made other stipulations. The grant was made to the Hudson's Bay Company and to the McGillivrays and Ellice.⁶⁵

By a covenant dated on the same day as the royal license of trade, December 5, 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company and the McGillivrays and Ellice bound themselves to submit annual registers of the persons in their employ. They also bound themselves in the penal sum of five thousand pounds to ensure the due execution of criminal and of civil process above two hundred

⁶³ An anonymous writer later made the claim that it was understood that this privilege was to be given to William and Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice, the leading members of the North West Company, who were later to transfer it to the Hudson's Bay Company, which was done (*The Hudson's Bay Company versus Magna Charta*, 17). The statement was erroneous.

⁶⁴ The same recognition of no other jurisdiction in North America than those of Upper and Lower Canada and the United States, occurs once more.

⁶⁵ C. O. 42, vol. 276; copy in Q, 241-1-2-3, pp. 350 *et seq.*; Draft in C. O. 42, vol. 189. The Board of Trade was apparently not consulted in regard to any of the questions connected with the union of the two companies.

pounds in the territories where trade was granted them by the license. They also agreed to limit the supply of liquor. But it was declared that the Hudson's Bay Company, the McGillivrays, Ellice, their successors, heirs, etc., could be prosecuted only by His Majesty's Attorney-General in England or in his name, and that they could plead the covenant in bar of any other action against them for breach of the same.⁶⁶

Simon McGillivray now had the task of getting the consent of the other parties concerned in the North West Company. His brother, William McGillivray, apparently gave his consent readily. This practically meant the consent of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, for Henry Mackenzie, who had been a persistent minority opposition for some years, could be overridden, especially as there seems to have been no opposition to the actions of the leading partners by any other member of the firm.⁶⁷ The formal agreement was evidently in the form of a deed dated April 6, 1821.⁶⁸

In the Public Reference Library at Toronto there is a document which purports to be a copy of a release to William and Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice, accorded by the wintering partners, and covering their claims for the returns of the outfits of 1821 and 1822. It bore the date of March 28, 1821, which, it will be observed, was two days later than the agreement, or Deed Poll, between the two companies. According to this document, inventories were to be taken on the following first day of June, and compensation for the loss of income from the outfits of the years 1821 and 1822 was to be made to the retired partners and others who held fifteen shares in the North West Company, interest from June 1, 1821, to be added. The

⁶⁶ The deed of covenant is in C. O. 42, vol. 192.

⁶⁷ *Letter to Simon McGillivray . . . by Henry Mackenzie*, Pamphlet 457A, Canadian Archives, records his opposition in these years.

⁶⁸ *Letter to Simon McGillivray . . . by Henry Mackenzie*, Pamphlet 457A, Canadian Archives, 22.

appointed chief factors and chief traders released all their claims on these outfits, which were not to be sent by the North West Company. This release was between thirty-three factors and traders whose names are cited,⁶⁹ and William McGillivray, Esquire, of Montreal, Simon McGillivray, merchant, of Suffolk Lane, London, and Edward Ellice, of New Street, Spring Gardens, in the County of Middlesex. These same appellations were used in the Deed Poll. Signatures, or copies of the signatures, are not attached to the document. It bears the accession date of July 9, 1900, but the Reference Library has no record of the source from which it was obtained. Whatever value this document may have, Simon McGillivray later stated that he carried the arrangement into effect the following summer—probably of 1821—throughout the interior country.⁷⁰

It is difficult to determine, from the scanty material available, exactly what was the reason for the North West Company's merging into the Hudson's Bay Company. It is true that the agricultural colony on Red River was evidently firmly planted across their line of operations. It must have been inimical to the fur trade in various ways, and it was likely to render assistance to the Hudson's Bay Company. The question of trade returns has been discussed. Apparently the Hudson's Bay Company was gaining somewhat in this respect. The advantages of united action in the prosecution of the fur trade were of course obvious. Government support was certain to be rendered to

⁶⁹ They appear as John Thomson, John Macdonald, James Leith, John Haldane, Alexander Stewart, John George McTavish, George Keith, John Dugald Cameron, John Stuart, Edward Smith, John McLoughlin, James Keith, Angus Bethune, Donald Mackenzie, John McBean, William Mackintosh, Thomas McMurray, Donald Mackintosh, Allan McDonell, Hugh Faries, Roderick Mackenzie, Daniel Williams Harmon, John Warren Dease, Angus Cameron, Simon McGillivray, Joseph McGillivray, Wm. Connelly, Peter Warren Dease, John Rowan, Joseph Felix La Rocque, James McMillan, Alexander Roderick McLeod. These were the men who were appointed chief factors and chief traders on March 28, 1821.

⁷⁰ *Letter from Simon McGillivray*, Pamphlet 457B, Canadian Archives, Appendix, 5.

any action which would put a stop to the scenes of violence and bloodshed which had been occurring. And two men who might have created serious opposition had both died in the same year. The death of Selkirk in southern France removed the man who had the most right to feel bitter towards the North West Company, and the death of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in Scotland on March 12, 1820,⁷¹ removed the high-spirited individual on the other side, who might have been expected to dislike the thought of the extinction of the company in the service of which he had acquired fame. Incidentally he was the man whom the wintering partners had trusted at the time when he played an active part in the affairs of the company. Judicial proceedings, which were pending, may have helped influence the Hudson's Bay Company to grant liberal terms to their opponents.

On May 3, 1820, the Hudson's Bay Company sent a petition to the Privy Council, citing the difficulties which had arisen with the North West Company, and requesting, among other items,

That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to declare, that by virtue of the said Letters Patent of His said Majesty King Charles the Second, your Petitioners are the sole and absolute Lords Proprietors of all Lands between the extreme heights from which any waters flow into the Seas within Hudson's Streights, and the said Seas, and that your Majesty will be pleased to appoint Commissioners to run a line along the said Heights or will otherwise determine more precisely the said Boundary, and that your Majesty will also be graciously pleased to declare, that your Petitioners are justly entitled to have, hold, enjoy and exercise all the lawful rights of Territory and Jurisdiction granted in the said Charter, within the Boundary so defined or hereafter to be more precisely determined, and that means may be taken to stop further outrages both within and without the aforesaid Territory; and that such further relief may be granted to your Petitioners in the Premises, as to your Majesty in your Wisdom may seem fit.⁷²

⁷¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 57.

⁷² Copy in Pelly to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay House, May 13, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186.

The Hudson's Bay Company's petition was read by the Privy Council on May 29, 1820, and referred to committee.⁷³

Selkirk's executors also formulated a petition to the Privy Council in which they requested the same items in connection with the title of the grant to Lord Selkirk by the Hudson's Bay Company.⁷⁴ It was referred to committee by the Privy Council on July 1.⁷⁵

In the meantime, early in February, 1820,⁷⁶ the North West Company had petitioned the Privy Council for a writ of *scire facias* to determine the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter. The petition was formulated by Kaye, Freshfield & Kaye, solicitors, in the name of Inglis, Ellice and Company.⁷⁷ It was read by the Privy Council on February 12 and referred to committee.⁷⁸ On May 8, 1820, it was sent to the Attorney- and Solicitor-General for their opinion.⁷⁹ On May 30, 1820, Kaye, Freshfield & Kaye wrote to the Colonial Office in reply to a letter to McTavish, Fraser and Company, enclosing a copy of their petition to the Privy Council requesting *scire facias* proceedings. This copy was altered so as to leave it open to the Privy Council to grant other relief if it were deemed inexpedient to grant a writ of *scire facias*. It was sent to the Privy Council by the Colonial Office.⁸⁰

On August 2, 1820, the Hudson's Bay Company again peti-

⁷³ Privy Council Register, vol. 202, p. 363.

⁷⁴ James Montgomery, Bart., John Halkett, and Andrew Colvile to the King in Council. George St. Adelphi, London, June 10, 1820; copy in same to Bathurst of same date, C. O. 42, vol. 186.

⁷⁵ Privy Council Register, vol. 202, p. 446.

⁷⁶ McTavish, Fraser & Co. to Bathurst, 2 Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, London, February 12, 1820, in Simon McGillivray to Goulburn of same date.

⁷⁷ Kaye, Freshfield & Kaye to Goulburn, New Bank Building, May 30, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186.

⁷⁸ Privy Council Register, vol. 202, p. 93.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

⁸⁰ Kaye, Freshfield & Kaye to Goulburn, New Bank Building, May 30, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186.

tioned the Privy Council. They referred to their earlier petition and said they had been informed that the North West Company had petitioned that the Attorney-General should be instructed to cause a writ of *scire facias* to be issued in the king's name to repeal the Hudson's Bay Company's charter. They requested prompt attention to the North West Company's petition and asked that they might be represented by counsel before and submit evidence to the Attorney- and Solicitor-General, to whom the petition had been referred.⁸¹ This petition was read by the Privy Council on October 10, 1820, and referred to committee,⁸² who referred it to the Attorney- and Solicitor-General on October 14.⁸³ This apparently ended consideration of the matter until the union of the two companies made the question valueless to the North West Company, although Kaye, Freshfield & Kaye again requested Bathurst's consideration on December 2, 1820.⁸⁴ Both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company withdrew their memorials, and on June 7, 1821, Buller, the clerk of the Privy Council, wrote to the Attorney-General that there was no need for the reports previously requested.⁸⁵

But the business affairs of the North West Company were not concluded in a manner which was satisfactory to all concerned.⁸⁶ It would appear that the Montreal agency in the earlier

⁸¹ Copy in Pelly to Bathurst, Hudson's Bay Co., August 2, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186.

⁸² Privy Council Register, vol. 202, pp. 503-504.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁸⁴ Kaye, Freshfield & Kaye to Goulburn, New Bank Building, December 2, 1820, C. O. 42, vol. 186. Bathurst ordered that the letter be referred to the Privy Council.

⁸⁵ Privy Council Register, vol. 203, p. 206.

⁸⁶ The chief authorities for this are three items in the Canadian Archives, two printed and one manuscript. The first is entitled: *A Letter from Simon McGillivray, Esq. to the Creditors of the firms of McTavish, McGillivrays and Co. and McGillivrays, Thain and Co. of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada*, dated London, 26th February, 1827. With an Appendix containing statements in explanation of the circumstances under which the Insolvency of these Firms was declared at Montreal, on the 27th of December 1825. This was printed at London, 1827. There is a copy in the Cana-

days of the North West Company had been in the hands of McTavish, Frobisher and Company. This firm was succeeded by that of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company. The date of this change is somewhat uncertain. The membership of the firms apparently varied even when the title remained the same. The London agents, in the later years of the North West Company at least, were McTavish, Fraser and Company and Inglis, Ellice and Company.

The firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company expired by effluxion of time on November 30, 1828, its existence being connected with the North West Company's agreement. But there were various business matters of the North West Company to be settled. Chief among these were the returns which were still coming in from interior posts on ventures of the North West Company. Seemingly there was also inventory and financial business to transact. So the firm of McGillivrays, Thain and Company was formed for the express and sole purpose of winding up these affairs. Its origin can be dated as November 30, 1822, and its members were William and Simon McGillivray and Thomas Thain. The two former had long been prominent in the affairs of the North West Company; the latter had been in charge of its accounts in the last years of its existence, or at least had had that position for the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company. Three years passed by, and Simon McGillivray had come to Canada on some of this business, when he heard of

dian Archives listed as Pamphlet 457 B. The second item is entitled *Letter to Simon McGillivray, Esq. in answer to one addressed by him to the Creditors of the late Firms of McTavish, McGillivrays & Co. and McGillivrays, Thain & Co., dated London, 26th of February, 1826* [corrected to 1827 by pen on Canadian Archives copy], by Henry Mackenzie, late Partner of the former Firm. This was printed at Montreal, 1827. There is a copy in the Canadian Archives which is cited as Pamphlet 457 A. The third item is entitled: *Letters Addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant by a Creditor of the Agents of the North West Company*. These are in the Masson Papers, vol. 1, in the Canadian Archives. They comprise about fifty-three pages of manuscript and were written in 1830.

the death of his elder brother, William, near London on October 16, 1825. This event may have further embarrassed the finances of the firm, though the charge was made that it was merely taken advantage of by Simon McGillivray. Be that as it may, he called a creditors' meeting on December 27, 1825, and declared a suspension of payment. A second meeting was held on January 25, and a third on February 2, 1826. At the latter he executed an assignment in favor of the creditors of the firms of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, and McGillivrays, Thain and Company. Then he returned to England.

Comment upon his assignment, and reports of further proceedings to be taken, especially on the part of the Bank of Montreal, caused Simon McGillivray to make a printed statement in 1827.⁸⁷ In this he said that the pressure on his finances in the fall of 1820, in order to meet the bills of exchange on London, was very severe, and that failure to meet them would have irretrievably ruined the North West Company. Nearly all the wintering partners and some of the Montreal partners were indebted to the Montreal firm. Some of them relaxed their efforts; nearly all of those with savings retired. Some thought of changing sides and sent delegates to London; others again simply continued in their extravagance. Under these circumstances Simon McGillivray took it upon himself to come to terms with the Hudson's Bay Company. Complaints, he said, were made only by young wintering partners and by retired partners. The former, instead of being at the mercy of a victorious Hudson's Bay Company, became chief traders and factors; the latter realized on their scattered North West Company property, which would have been difficult to accomplish had no arrangement been made. These inventories realized three-fourths of £164,000, or £123,000 sterling. The North West Company was to contribute this £164,000, and the Hudson's Bay Company was to contribute the

⁸⁷ *Letter from Simon McGillivray*, Pamphlet 457 B, Canadian Archives.

same. William and Simon McGillivray were to put in one-half of this £164,000 and in return were to receive certain shares in the trade.⁸⁸

The debts of McGillivrays, Thain and Company were £196,000 currency, as stated in Schedule A attached to the Deed of Assignment. Certain other items brought the total of the debts under the deed to £230,000. In reality the total debts were £253,600 if there were figured in certain debts to Dunn, the receiver-general of Upper Canada, and Samuel Gerrard, which were secured by £9000 of Hudson's Bay Company stock. This Hudson's Bay Company stock, which could be valued at a high premium, would raise the estimated assets from £143,750, which was an estimate of 12s. 6d. in the pound, to £168,050.⁸⁹ This stock was a portion of that which William and Simon McGillivray had received when, in 1824, they gave up their shares and other interests in the fur trade to the Hudson's Bay Company.⁹⁰ Simon McGillivray claimed that he was surprised at the extent of the obligations which had been assumed by the Montreal firm, stated that he had no control over their financial expenditures, but admitted his liability for their debts.⁹¹ He said that not until 1813 did he become a partner of that firm, but he had announced his advancement to that position in 1812.⁹² In a letter written at London, July 25, 1826, he explained that his brother's death had tied up part of the Hudson's Bay Company stock, that other portions of it had been transferred by his attorneys, while he was in Canada, to McTavish, Fraser and Company and to Edward Ellice, though possibly the latter may mean to Inglis, Ellice

⁸⁸ *Letter from Simon McGillivray*, Appendix, 3-6. The Deed Poll simply called for equal capital. It did not state the amount.

⁸⁹ *Letter from Simon McGillivray*, Appendix, 5-6.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 8-11.

⁹² "Simon McGillivray to the Wintering Partners of the North West Company," London, April 9, 1812, printed with reply in *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 202-206.

and Company. This was also a period of financial panic. As a result, £18,000 out of £29,000 in bills of exchange on McTavish, Fraser and Company, which he had sold to the Bank of Montreal, were protested for non-acceptance. The bank agents, Messrs. Thomas Wilson and Company, took these up, and a prosecution was instituted against McGillivray and Thain. This held them in London and prevented their going to Canada to settle affairs there. McGillivray said that bankruptcy and chancery proceedings would be the inevitable result of further pressure by his creditors, and that this would postpone indefinitely any settlement of the tangled claims and liabilities of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, McGillivrays, Thain and Company, McTavish, Fraser and Company, and of the several partners of these firms.⁹³

This publication elicited a reply⁹⁴ by Henry Mackenzie, a member of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company. He stated that on November 1, 1814, he entered the association then formed under the continued title of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company as co-agents, with Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company, for the North West Company. He had been in the employ of the firms of McTavish, Frobisher and Company, and McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, and had also had business relations with them as a member of the firm of Mackenzie, Oldham and Company of Terrebonne. He therefore anticipated that the fur trade would continue to be very lucrative, as it had been under these firms. He soon found himself excluded from access to the books and from consultation on policy. He gives a record of written remonstrances which he made on May 1, 1816, in June, 1819, and on November 24, 1819. In the latter, among other items, he stated that office expenditure was nearly twice

⁹³ *Letter from Simon McGillivray*, Appendix, 9-15.

⁹⁴ *Letter to Simon McGillivray . . . by Henry Mackenzie*, Pamphlet 457A, Canadian Archives.

that of the old firms for the same service and would amount with interest to nearly £30,000 at the end of the concern. He further stated that extra remunerations since the co-partnership would amount with interest to about £20,000 at the end of the concern. He also complained that proposals for a new association had been made at Fort William without being submitted to the Montreal partners.⁹⁵ After protesting against the high powers assumed by Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice in making the agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, Mackenzie stated that an attempt had been made, as the result of secret deliberations, to publish on November 15, 1821, a notice that the functions of the agents of the North West Company and of the agents of Sir Alexander Mackenzie had terminated, and also a notice that McLeod had ceased to be a partner of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company. Mackenzie promptly warned the printers not to publish these.⁹⁶ Correspondence followed, and then the McGillivrays went to London, leaving Thain in full charge, an arrangement against which Mackenzie also protested. Simon McGillivray returned in 1822. Mackenzie wished to see the books, as the firm was nearing its end, but he was refused, it being stated among other things that the outstanding adventures could not be realized before the summer of 1824. Accordingly, on November 29, 1822, Mackenzie accepted an advance of money on account and agreed that notice of the termination of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company should be published on November 30, 1822, and that all papers should be in the charge of Thain until November 30, 1825, on which date he should render a full statement of the affairs of the firm, arbitration being provided for in case of dispute.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ *Letter to Simon McGillivray*, 1-3, 11.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-6.

After reciting these events, Mackenzie said he did not believe that the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company was insolvent on November 30, 1822, or even at the time of the declaration of insolvency. He charged that its assets had been used to liquidate the debts of the later firm of McGillivrays, Thain and Company, which might have been insolvent, but of which he was never a partner, and that he was still denied access to the books.⁹⁸ He stated that the other members of the firm were given to profuse expenditure, and that, possibly as a result, Mr. Thain's debts to the several firms of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company and their successors, and to Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company, on November 30, 1825, as he had learned from an authentic source, amounted to £96,018-4-8; those of William McGillivray on November 20, 1824, amounted to £28,325-2-4, including £22,000 advanced to him to meet the demands on him of his former concern; and those of Simon McGillivray on November 30, 1824, amounted to £42,190-10-6, and on November 30, 1825, to £50,000 or more. These sums, he stated, if forthcoming, would obviate the question of insolvency.⁹⁹ He said that he had instituted a suit in the Court of King's Bench at Montreal against the partners of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, who had assumed charge of its finances, to compel the rendering of an account to him.¹⁰⁰

From a protest drawn up by Mackenzie at Montreal on November 15, 1821, it would appear that the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company was organized on December, 1813, and was to end on November 30, 1822. William McGillivray, Simon McGillivray, Archibald Norman McLeod, Thomas Thain, John McTavish, and Henry Mackenzie were the members at the start. McTavish retired in the summer of 1818. McLeod retired, so

⁹⁸*Letter to Simon McGillivray*, 6-7, 9.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 9.

Mackenzie claimed, in May or June of 1821.¹⁰¹ McTavish doubtless was the man about whom it was stated later that his share of the profits for five years was £12,166-12-3. He is described as being succeeded in charge of the books by Thain,¹⁰² who was evidently agent for Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company for some years.¹⁰³ By the counter-protest of the McGillivrays and Thain, also dated Montreal, November 15, 1821, it would appear that the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company was organized on November 1, 1814. As the names of partners are the same and as Mackenzie himself elsewhere uses this same date, it is probable that November 1, 1814, is the correct date.¹⁰⁴ The same firm-name apparently had been used before, however.

It seems that claims for returns from the outfits of 1821 and 1822 were recognized and that stipulations were entered into to balance inventories with the Hudson's Bay Company on June 1, 1823, and for payment to McTavish, McGillivrays and Company of certain shares of profits on the outfits of 1821 and 1822 in full discharge of all claims of that firm to the trade or concerns of the North West Company or in any way relating thereto. It was figured that these returns could not be estimated until 1824.¹⁰⁵

The question was still unsettled in the year 1830, according to an anonymous manuscript among the Masson Papers in the Canadian Archives, entitled, *Letters addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant by a Creditor of the Agents of the North West Company*.¹⁰⁶ In the first of these letters, dated Ottawa, September 26, 1830, the writer gives a sketch of the early career of Simon McGillivray.

¹⁰¹ *Letter to Simon McGillivray*, 14.

¹⁰² *Letters Addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant*, in Masson Papers, vol. 1, 29.

¹⁰³ *Letter to Simon McGillivray*, 14.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, 15.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ Masson Papers, vol. 1.

According to this, McGillivray came to America early in the century and was put in a counting-house in New York. Three years later he joined his relatives in Montreal and was occasionally employed about the counting-house of McTavish, Frobisher and Company. His uncle, Mr. McTavish, died in 1804, and the next year his brothers sent him to England to the office of McTavish, Fraser and Company. In 1806, when the firm was renewed, Simon became a partner, the head of the firm getting for this a bonus of £500 yearly from the funds of the firm. In 1808 Simon McGillivray was allowed a pension of £200 by the Montreal house. His brother Duncan died in the spring of the same year, and in 1810 Simon was formally introduced to the Montreal firm to fill the vacancy. In 1813, on the renewal of the firm, Simon was a partner next to his brother William, resigning his emoluments in the London firm to the Montreal firm. Three or four years later, when Fraser, the head of the London firm, retired, young Fraser and Simon McGillivray were the only members. Young Fraser's share was now two-ninths, and the Montreal firm held seven-ninths. Simon McGillivray shared in the latter, but, as Fraser's successor in the chief command, he took for himself, possibly with the consent of William McGillivray and Thain, the above annual bonus of £500 until the end of the firm in 1822. In 1821, after the agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, he visited Canada to finish the arrangements of that year. In 1822 the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company expired by effluxion of time. Then William and Simon McGillivray and Thomas Thain reunited as McGillivrays, Thain and Company to wind up the business of the old concern, as well as to manage Hudson's Bay Company affairs in Canada, for which they received £1500 a year. Then came the suspension of payments after the death of William McGillivray. Simon promised to realize on the English estate he inherited from his brother and the North West Company and pay up. He stated that this

would require four or five months, but until date of 1830 he had reported nothing.¹⁰⁷

The writer then proceeded with a discussion of Simon McGillivray's letter to the creditors and pointed out that the latter had said nothing in regard to the annual shipments of furs to London to meet the bills of exchange of the Montreal firm. He claimed that these shipments in 1820 and 1821 and some other shipments not accounted for in England amounted to £221.-089-15-8 and that the returns from the Columbia and Mackenzie rivers on hand in 1820 amounted to £46,987-6-4, making a total of £286,077-2-0. He charged that these proceeds had not been properly accounted for at date ten years later, though it had been the regular custom of the North West Company to balance its books on November 30 of each year. Moreover, he stated that the results of the last two outfits of the North West Company were still involved in obscurity, but that it was known from undoubted authority that McGillivrays, Thain and Company received, from November 29, 1823, to November 30, 1827, property of the North West Company valued at £433,613-16-7, none of which had so far become tangible to the creditors.¹⁰⁸ The writer continued that the creditors' claims by the assignment of February 2, 1826, were as follows: £1222-12-9 due in promissory notes in 1821 and 1822; £8935-1-8 due in promissory notes in 1823 and 1824; £81,519-18-4 due in promissory notes in 1825; and £128,-491-7-1 due by account or open accounts. This made a total of £220,168-19-10. Of this amount £96,216-8-9 was due to retired partners, including £56,712-11-4 belonging to the estates of deceased partners whose heirs had received nothing since the assignment. There was also £11,009-7-10 due to the retired, the superannuated, the aged, and to the estates of deceased clerks,

¹⁰⁷ *Letters Addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant*, in Masson Papers, vol. 1, 1-6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 11-13.

guides, interpreters, etc. The balance was sums borrowed upon interest. If interest were figured upon £220,168-19-10 from the suspension of payment on November 30, 1825, to November 30, 1830, it would amount to £74,468-11-4. This sum was lost to the creditors. A composition of 13s. 4d. in the pound was apparently then being offered to the creditors. This would mean a loss of 6s. 8d. in the pound, or £73,389-13-4, which, added to the interest, would make a total loss of £147,858-4-8.¹⁰⁹ It does not appear whether this offer was ever carried out.¹¹⁰

The writer of these letters indulged in some speculation in which he suggested that the Canadian funds had been dissipated in London speculations, and that Simon McGillivray's failure to get a loan of £60,000 or £70,000 from a friend in New York precipitated the suspension of payment on November 30, 1825.¹¹¹ He also estimated the profits of the North West Company for eighteen years as being £1,185,403-10-5.¹¹² If at all accurate, it is a valuable item, but it cannot be checked, since the business papers of the North West Company are not extant.

¹⁰⁹ *Letters Addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant*, in Masson Papers, vol. 1, 13-14.

¹¹⁰ Ross later stated that William McGillivray wrote to him, after the union of 1821, that £500 sterling was placed to his credit on their books. Of this he never received a penny. When McGillivray's, Thain & Co. went insolvent, Ross lost £1400 and was almost penniless (Ross, *Fur Traders of the Far West*, I, 279-280).

¹¹¹ *Letters Addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant*, in Masson Papers, vol. 1, 39-40.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 51.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRADE AND TRADING METHODS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

The fur trade of the North West Company necessitated important activities in London, as well as in Canada and the interior regions of North America. Probably the bulk of the furs was sent to England¹ and disposed of by public auction.² Some were manufactured and used in the British Isles. Others were exported in a manufactured or unmanufactured state to the va-

¹ The expenditure in the wars with France caused various changes in duties and port dues. The following items give some idea of what was occurring: In 1797, Pitt introduced new duties on imports and exports which were called the Convoy Tax. These went into effect in "The Triple Assessment of 1798" (Dowell, *Taxation and Taxes in England*, I, 222-223). A new tax on imports and exports was substituted in 1802 for the Convoy Tax (*ibid.*, 230). In 1804 an advance of £12-10-0 per cent was made on the produce of the port duties generally. These duties, though re-enacted in 1809 as temporary duties, were made perpetual after the war (*ibid.*, 232). A fourth rise of £2-10-0 per cent was made generally on the port duties in 1805 (*ibid.*, 233). A fifth rise of £8-6-8 per cent was made on the port duties generally in 1806 (*ibid.*, 235). A consolidation of the port duties, which, though simplified and consolidated in 1803, had again become complicated, was made in 1809 (Customs, 49 Geo. III, c. 98). The duties were arranged in two columns, as permanent and temporary war duties, but the latter continued and were made perpetual after the Peace of Paris (Dowell, *Taxation*, II, 237). In 1813 the sixth general rise in port duties took place. It was 25 per cent on the produce of duties (*ibid.*, 243). There were some new port duties in 1816, and the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland were consolidated, this going into effect January 17, 1817, as 56 Geo. III, c. 98 (*ibid.*, 262-266). The customs were consolidated in 1819 (*ibid.*, 267). MacPherson, however, states that furs and skins imported from the British colonies in North America and all goods imported and exported by the Hudson's Bay Company were exempted from the new duties of 1798 (MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, IV, 448).

² The Sales Books of the Hudson's Bay Company from December, 1787, to December, 1789, are in the Public Record Office, London. They may be cited to show the form of fur auctions at that time. The first one is headed:

"Sale Book of 13 December 1787. The Hudson's Bay Company will expose to Sale by the Candle at their House in Fenchurch-Street, 1787, at Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon precisely, the following Goods (in Time). To be seen at their Warehouses, from Monday next, to the Time of Sale." The lots of furs were printed, and the prices paid were entered in ink. There were also entered the initials or some other sign of the pur-

rious countries in Europe, and some even reached the continent of Asia.³ There is no evidence that any went to Africa. Drawbacks on duties paid were allowed on re-exportation from England.

chaser. From these books it appears that beaver, bed-feathers, whale-fins, and castoreum sold by the pound. Train oil sold by the ton. Goose-quills sold by the thousand. Wolverine, bear, wolf, fisher, mink, musquash, squirrel, elk, deer, marten, otter, cat, and fox sold by the single skin. Coney sold by the dozen skins. Beaver appears under the following captions: coat beaver, damaged and stage coat beaver, parchment beaver, damaged and stage parchment beaver, cub beaver, damaged and stage cub beaver (C. 135, vol. 4).

³ A petition to the Board of Trade of the following London firms interested in the Canadian trade indicates the situation in 1806. The petition is dated London, December 12, 1806, and signed by Inglis, Ellice & Co., McTavish, Fraser & Co., Brickwoods, Daniell & Co., and Mackenzie, Gillespie, Parker & Co. It recites that "several Articles of British Manufacture and Imports, heretofore admissible in Russia, have been prohibited since 1st January, 1798 by a Tariff dated 12th October preceding; and higher duties than formerly were then laid upon others, particularly, Certain Articles of Furrs imported from Canada and formerly exported direct to St. Petersburg.

Those Articles by a Tariff dated the 1st Sept. 1766 and subsequent Tariffs were admitted upon payment of the following duties, viz.,

Beaver Skins at 420 Copecks for 10 Skins.

Otter Skins at 18 Copecks—ditto.

Furrs not enumerated at 30 per Cent ad Valorem.

By the Tariff above mentioned Beaver, and Otter Skins, are still admissible, upon payment of a duty of 10 Rubles for 10 Skins, which is a great advance, but yet, not amounting to a Prohibition, and all Furrs not enumerated are Prohibited, which has been a great Loss to the Trade of Canada, especially, in the Articles of Black Bear, and Raccoon Skins, and it is believed with no advantage to Russia; their own produce of Furrs is more valuable, and sells for higher prices in this Country, and other parts of Europe, especially Grey & White Bear Skins, which are now much in fashion here.

That this Prohibition of Canada Black Bear and Raccoon Skins in Russia has for some years past greatly reduced their price while the value of Russian Imports has increased and further that if the Communication to the Continental Markets through the Port of Hamburg continue suspended Your Memorialists will be deprived of the means of transporting their Furs and Skins imported from Canada to the only remaining Markets, the German Fairs, by which their Trade will be entirely suspended unless they can be admitted into the Russian Ports." They requested that the Foreign Secretary be recommended to obtain a revision of the tariff on such furs from America via Great Britain or, failing that, higher duties on imports of Russian furs (B. T., vol. 31, no. 36). Instructions were sent to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg to press for the requested revision of the tariff (B. T. 5, vol. 17, pp. 3-4).

On August 10, 1792, the Merchants of London trading to the Province

Various firms appear to have been in charge of the disposal of these furs. Possibly even individual merchants may at some period have done the same.⁴ It is difficult to ascertain just who these London agents—the term is a convenient one—were and what powers they possessed.⁵ The firms of Phyn, Inglis and Company, Inglis, Ellice and Company, and McTavish, Fraser and Company are mentioned in the later years of the company. For its earlier years there is great uncertainty. Mackenzie is indefinite on the subject. He speaks of the formation of the company in the winter of 1783-1784 as the forming of a copartnership by the traders in the country and the merchants at Montreal. He leaves the same impression when he speaks of the union of July, 1787, and the action taken in 1798.⁶ But in reference to the trade of the latter year he introduces a novelty. After giving the amount of the returns of 1798,⁷ he says that there had been sent through the United States to China a considerable number of beaver, otter, and kit fox skins.⁸ He does not state how these got to the United States,—merely that the furs were diverted from the

of Quebec petitioned that Lord Macartney should be instructed to negotiate a favorable treaty for the admission of furs into China (Q. 61-2, p. 463 *et seq.*).

⁴ At least since McGillivray writes in 1827 of commissions which he had received "as a London merchant, previous to 1813" (*Letter from Simon McGillivray*, Appendix, 7, pamphlet 457 B, Canadian Archives).

⁵ It is hard to decide just what emphasis to put on the following statement: "From the conquest of Canada to the present time, the same parties, resident in England and Montreal, have invested and risked the capital which has enabled the Traders in the Interior, with success to extend their commerce from the limits of Canada to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans." etc. (*Narrative of Occurrences*, 120). It would be interesting to know who the earlier parties were and what was the relative importance of those in Montreal and those in England.

⁶ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xvii-xviii, xx, xxiii.

⁷ From the context, it is evidently this year, though he does not definitely state such to be the case.

⁸ He gives the figures as 13,364 beaver skins, weighing 19,283 pounds, 1250 otters, and 1724 kit foxes (Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxvi). A kit fox, as the name would indicate, was a small or cub fox. The same adjective was applied to the skins of some other animals.

British market. Advantage was probably being taken of Jay's Treaty. Mackenzie then explains that such an adventure in the China trade was undertaken by "a respectable house in London, half-concerned with the North West Company, in the year 1792." The item indicates the existence in England of some kind of agency at that date, but this is the only mention of such a firm in Mackenzie's printed work.

The history of this experiment in the China trade was as follows: Picked furs were sent to the annual value of £40,000 in the years 1792 to 1795 inclusive. In 1796 these furs were disposed of in the London market, and in 1797 the affair was concluded. As a result, the North West Company experienced a loss of £40,400 on their half-interest. This was principally due to the difficulty of getting home from China the produce obtained for the furs in the East India Company's ships, together with the duty payable and the various restrictions of that company.⁹ Mackenzie probably related this incident to support his suggestion of an extensive fur and fishery company with the privilege of engaging in the trade with China. The American handling of North West Company furs in 1798 is of great interest. Evidence is not extant to show whether this was continued in the years immediately following, though the possibility is recognized in the Agreement of 1802.¹⁰ There is a scarcity of evidence in connection with the English firms and individual merchants who were interested in the trade of the North West Company in the earlier years of its existence. No doubt there was some agency for the marketing of the furs and the purchasing of trading goods.

In 1785 John Strettell of Riches Court, Lime Street, and Dyer, Allan and Company of Mincing Lane wrote to Haldimand that they had been requested by Grant and Blackwood, Benjamin

⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxvi.

¹⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 465.

and Joseph Frobisher, and Simon McTavish to support the request of the North West Company for a ten years' monopoly of the trade in connection with the exploration which was being conducted under the direction of that company. This might indicate that these London merchants had some financial interest in the fur trade of the North West Company.¹¹

The existence of London agents is not recognized in the Agreement of 1802, which accords great powers to the Montreal firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company.¹² But the firm of Phyn, Inglis and Company, consisting of Alexander Ellice, John Inglis, and James Forsyth of London, is recognized in the Agreement of 1804 as forming part of the New North West Company's interests. John Richardson and John Forsyth of the Montreal firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Company were the attorneys at the formation of the agreement. It was stated that these correspondents, as they were termed, should furnish to the agents of the New North West Company one-quarter of the goods necessary for the joint trade. To them should be consigned likewise one-quarter of the total returns, and they should effect the insurance upon these goods and these returns.¹³ This Agreement of 1804 continued in force until the end of the North West Company. The firm of Inglis, Ellice and Company was apparently the successor of Phyn, Inglis and Company in this interest.¹⁴ The firm of McTavish, Fraser and Company in London is men-

¹¹ John Strettell and Dyer, Allan & Co. to Haldimand, London, January 12, 1785, Add. 21736. Blackwood was particularly concerned in the American trade, at least at a later date (Blackwood Papers, McGill University). Grant probably had an interest in the Northwest trade.

¹² Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 459-481.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 483, 489-490.

¹⁴ There is mention of a firm of A. Ellice, J. Inglis & Co., owning the ship "Carleton" in 1789 (C.O. 47, vol. 80). John Inglis wrote to Grenville [?] from Mark Lane, May 31, 1790, about the Indian trade. He enclosed a statement of the same date on the subject, signed by Phyn, Ellice, and Inglis (C.O. 42, vol. 72). It is not quite evident whether this was North West Company trade. It speaks of Lake Superior, but not of the Northwest.

tioned as early as the year 1805, when Simon McGillivray was sent by his brother from Montreal to its office.¹⁵ Henry Mackenzie, writing in 1827, states definitely that the London firms were Inglis, Ellice and Company, and McTavish, Fraser and Company, in terms which indicate that they held that position in the last years of the North West Company.¹⁶

These firms were interested in other Canadian and American fur trade than that of the North West Company. On May 30, 1812, they addressed a memorial to the Treasury on behalf of their correspondents in Canada who had formed the Michilimackinac Company. They requested damages of £26,842-5-6 for the delay caused by American seizure of their *batteaux* and goods near Niagara on May 21, 1808. These had been restored in 1809, but the company had been compelled to go out of business in 1810.¹⁷ It is evident from petitions that four Canadian firms concerned were Forsyth, Richardson and Company, McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, James and Andrew McGill and Company, and Parker, Gerrard, Ogilvy and Company.¹⁸ The first two of these firms were Montreal agents of the North West Company, and more is said of them later in the chapter.

The agents at Montreal were more prominent from the beginning. Mackenzie speaks of Messrs. Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher and Mr. Simon McTavish as two distinct firms to which was given the management of affairs on the formation of the company in the winter of 1783-1784.¹⁹ Mackenzie does not give definitely the terms of the union with the opposition company of which he was a member in July, 1787, merely re-

¹⁵ *Letters Addressed to the Editor of the Canadian Courant*, in Masson Papers, 1.

¹⁶ Mackenzie, *Letter to Simon McGillivray*, 9.

¹⁷ Copy in F. O. 5, vol. 103. Damages were refused (Harrison to Atcheson & Morgan, Treasury Chambers, September 25, 1812, F. O. 5, vol. 103).

¹⁸ Michilimackinac Company to Craig, Montreal, October 20, 1808; copy in Atcheson to Castlereagh of February 8, 1814, F. O. 5, vol. 103.

¹⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xviii.

marking that the North West Company was compelled to allow them a share of the trade. His cousin, Roderick McKenzie, gives the name of Gregory, McLeod and Company, stating that it was founded in the winter of 1784-1785,²⁰ but not whether it continued in existence or whether its individual members were guaranteed a portion of the profits of the joint trade. However that may be, the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company was evidently in existence in 1790, when an agreement was made in regard to a continuance of the trade. This company was accorded the largest number of shares of the trade, six out of twenty. It is apparently "the house below" which was to be paid five per cent on the invoice for the goods imported. Gregory, Pangman, and Alexander Mackenzie, all members of the early opposition company, were each to have two shares. Of these, however, Mackenzie had to purchase one from McBeath, and Gregory and Pangman had to purchase their shares from Holmes and McLeod. McLeod had been a dormant partner in the opposition company; McBeath and Holmes were evidently retiring members of the North West Company, and McLeod was evidently also retiring from the fur trade. Ross had been killed before the union of 1787, but all the other partners are mentioned in connection with this arrangement. Nevertheless, the fact that Gregory and Pangman had to purchase their shares forbids a surmise at the agreement of 1787. Montour, Grant, and Small had two shares each, and McGillivray and Sutherland became partners with one share each.²¹

The firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Company was engaged in opposition trade to the North West Company in the latter

²⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 38-39. This is probably William McGillivray, who became important in the North West Company at a later date. McTavish, Frobisher & Co. signed a memorial to Dorchester in regard to the western fur trade dated Montreal, December 28, 1790. This was particularly concerned with the question of the surrender of the posts in the west (In Dorchester to Grenville, no. 79, of January 23, 1791, C. O. 42, vol. 73).

years of the eighteenth century.²² It is recognized in the Agreement of 1804 as one of the components of the New North West Company, its membership then being Thomas Forsyth, John Richardson, and John Forsyth. It was to be recognized as acting for the quarter-interest of the New North West Company in the joint concern. For example, it was to be the financial agent, together with the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company, for the united company. The firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company,²³ after an existence of at least fourteen years, appears to have given way to the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, although it is uncertain just when this change occurred. The firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company signed a petition dated Montreal, November 8, 1805.²⁴ The change must have been made between this date and December 16, 1806, when an agreement was entered into at Montreal between Joseph Frobisher and the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company. The agreement had reference to a North West Company share which had been transferred on November 30, 1802, by the late firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company to Joseph Frobisher

²² Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 46. It was engaged in the trade south of the Lakes at an even earlier date. Its name appears in 1791 among the signatures of a letter reporting that the traders had suffered the loss of their houses and part of their goods by the burning of the Miamis village. In 1791 merchandise was imported from Great Britain and forwarded to Detroit to the value of upwards of £40,000 currency (North West Traders to Sir John Johnson, Montreal, August 10, 1791, signed by Forsyth, Richardson & Co. and by Todd, McGill & Co. for themselves and their correspondents at Detroit; copy in Dorchester to Grenville, no. 102, of August 17, 1791, C. O. 42, vol. 83). Both these firms had also signed a report on the western trade dated December 28, 1790 (C. O. 42, vol. 73).

²³ Its membership in 1795 was Simon McTavish, Joseph Frobisher, John Gregory, and William McGillivray (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 459). In 1798 it contained the same persons and Alexander Mackenzie (Memorial of McTavish, Frobisher & Co. for a grant of land at Sault Ste. Marie, C. O. 42, vol. 112). In 1802 its membership was Simon McTavish, John Gregory, William McGillivray, Duncan McGillivray, William Hallowell, and Roderick McKenzie (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 460, 461). In November, 1804, its membership was the same, lacking Simon McTavish (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 483). The latter had died earlier in that year.

²⁴ Copy in B. T. 1, vol. 28, no. 16.

for the use and benefit of his son, Benjamin Joseph Frobisher. The share at that date was worth £3282-2-5 in Canadian currency.²⁵ This share was now released. McTavish, McGillivrays and Company were to pay any balance which might be due, with compound interest, and also £500 annually for seven years in semi annual installments. The membership of the firm at the date of the agreement was stated to be William McGillivray, Duncan McGillivray, William Hallowell, and Roderick McKenzie.²⁶ The firm bore the same name in 1814,²⁷ and was in existence when the union with the Hudson's Bay Company took place. The firm of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company, the interests of which were handled by Thomas Thain, appears to have been in existence then too. But evidence is not forthcoming to show what had become of the firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Company, or who exercised the important powers accorded to it by the Agreement of 1804.

²⁵ Canadian currency and Halifax currency were the same. They were in pounds, shillings and pence. These were of lesser value than English sterling money. A pound in Canadian currency was equal to eighteen shillings currency, or four Spanish or American dollars. The French or old currency was reckoned in *livres* and *sols*. A guinea was reckoned as equal to twenty-eight *livres*. This would mean that a *livre* was about seven-eighths of an English shilling. In practice, a dollar was equal to five Canadian shillings or to six *livres*. A *louis d'or* was twenty-seven *livres* ten *sols*, or slightly less than a guinea. York currency was in popular use in the southern and western portions of Upper Canada from a little east of Toronto. It was based on New York currency. By it an English sixpence was equal to a York shilling (C.O. 47, vol. 123; Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, I, 215-217; Kingsford, *History of Canada*, IX, 80, n.).

²⁶ Masson Papers, Canadian Archives, vol. 3.

²⁷ *Letter to Simon McGillivray*, p. 15. Its membership was given as William McGillivray, Simon McGillivray, Archibald Norman McLeod, Thomas Thain, John McTavish, and Henry Mackenzie. It reorganized either in 1813 or 1814. There are some stray references to a firm of McTavish, McGillivray & Co., but not enough to determine whether such a firm held the Montreal agency or whether it is a case of misspelling. The firm of McTavish, McGillivrays & Co. is evidently the Montreal firm which Selkirk speaks of as holding thirty shares. He calls them "the successors of those who planned the original coalition in 1783" (Selkirk, *Sketch*, 12). This may mean that the Frobishers were the persons who really organized the North West Company.

Mackenzie states that the Montreal agents had to import the necessary goods from England, store them at their own expense in Montreal, get them made up into articles suited to the trade, and pack and forward them. They had to supply the cash needed for the outfits as well. For all this they received, besides the profit of their shares, a commission on the amount of the accounts, which they were obliged to make out annually, keeping the adventure of each year distinct. Two of them went each year to Grand Portage to manage and transact the business there, and on the communication at Detroit, Michilimackinac, St. Marys, and at Montreal, where they received, stored, packed up, and shipped to England the company's furs, on which they also had a small commission.²⁸

The Agreement of 1802 also indicates that the Montreal agents had the power to engage employees and purchase liquor, provisions, and other required commodities, which would be largely done in Canadian or American territory; and, further, that furs might be disposed of in the United States or sent that way to some other country.²⁹ The agents were accorded very full powers to act as attorneys for the North West Company and also in the names of the individual partners.³⁰ The duties of the agents were not changed by the Agreement of 1804 beyond the recognition that the New North West Company should have a quarter-interest in the joint trade and that their agents should enjoy the same ratio in ordering supplies and transacting business. This guarantee gave a definite standing to the partners who thus entered the North West Company, which would have to be recognized during the existence of that company, and might even give them a claim to special consideration in case it merged with another company.

²⁸ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xx-xxi.

²⁹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 463-466.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 473-474.

The annual meeting of the wintering partners with the Montreal agents was of great importance from the earliest years of the company. These meetings were first held at Grand Portage. Later, with the rediscovery of the Kaministikwia route, they were held at the New Fort, later called Fort William. At least two of the Montreal agents were expected to be present, and the wintering partners seem to have made it a point to be present whenever possible. The meetings were held in June and July, and the place of general rendezvous was a scene of much activity during this period. Besides the agents and partners, there were always present numerous clerks, guides, interpreters, mechanics, and canoe men employed by the North West Company.

The packs of trading goods and provisions now had to be sorted and dispatched to the interior. When the meetings were held at Grand Portage, this necessitated toilsome transportation over nine miles of rough country. It was supposed to be completed by the time the north men, as they were termed, arrived from their winter quarters. Some of the goods had then to be transported in the north canoes to Rainy Lake, which was as far as the Athabasca canoes came. These canoes then brought back the Athabasca furs to Grand Portage.

The furs having been received and checked,³¹ agreements were made with any employees who wished to continue in the interior; their accounts were settled, and their savings, if any, disposed of as they wished. In about two weeks they would be on their way back to their wintering stations.³² In the meantime the partners and the agents would have discussed the situ-

³¹ The following statement in a letter from Alexander Mackenzie to his cousin, Roderick McKenzie, dated London, November 7, 1806, is of value in regard to the annual values of the returns. He says: "I understand the result of the returns from all quarters is estimated at from £130,000 to £140,000, which must leave a handsome profit upon the outfit of the year" (Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 51). The statement might indicate that this was an exceptionally high return even in view of the expectations which no doubt had been aroused by the union of the competing companies two years earlier.

³² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xlv-xlv.

ation of the trade and determined on measures for the ensuing year. These would include the locating of employees; the opening, continuance, or abandonment of trading regions, and all the details connected with the apportionment of goods and provisions. An annual report was submitted by the agents from Montreal. Copies of current accounts were sent to Grand Portage, Temiskaming, and to any other department from which the partners could not conveniently reach the general meeting. Objections had to be delivered in writing within ten days after receipt.³³ The annual meeting passed upon promotions, retirements, leaves of absence, and penalties for misconduct. Each share in the concern was entitled to one vote. By the Agreement of 1802, fifty-two votes were required to form a legal majority, or, if all shares were not appropriated, in the proportion of fifty-two to ninety-two. The same proportion was observed in the Agreement of 1804. An absent partner's vote could be cast by the man who held his power of attorney. The annual meeting had the power to make new rules and regulations for the trade and to alter the powers of attorney granted to the Montreal firm in case they were not making proper use of them. The clearest statement of the powers of the annual meeting is given in the Agreement of 1802. These rules were adopted in the Agreement of 1804, with the allowance necessary for the interests of the incoming partners from the New North West Company.³⁴ The latter agreement was apparently not superseded before the union with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Montreal agents were evidently responsible for the returns of furs and other articles after these were delivered by the wintering partners. It would seem from Mackenzie's account that they even had to arrange for getting them across Grand Portage.³⁵ The furs had been brought from the interior in packs.

³³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 466.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 459-499.

³⁵ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xlv.

These were of different values, depending upon the relative number of fine furs which they contained. Packs from the northern departments were usually more valuable than those from the Red and Saskatchewan rivers.³⁶

Mackenzie states that the lower end of the bay at Grand Portage was cleared of wood and enclosed. On its left corner was situated the fort, which was surrounded by cedar palisades and enclosed wooden houses covered with shingles. One of these contained a hall in which more than a hundred men could dine at one time.³⁷

In the preceding chapter the question of the transportation of furs from the Pacific Coast to Canton and of the return cargoes from that port has been discussed. It was shown how American ships took the place of the "Isaac Todd" and other vessels sent from England by the North West Company. The problem of the vessels which transported the trading goods and furs between England and Canada is less easily solved.

Quebec was the Canadian port from which the furs were shipped and to which the goods came.³⁸ This was necessarily the case, since there was a custom-house here and none at Montreal. It is probable that the furs were always shipped to the port of London³⁹ and that the bulk, if not all, of the goods were shipped from there. But of this there is little proof. Presum-

³⁶ In 1810 the packs from Nipigon, Rat River, and east and north of Lake Winnipeg were estimated at £50 each, while those from the Upper and Lower Red and the Saskatchewan rivers were valued at only £30 each (Selkirk Papers, Canadian Archives, vol. 1, p. 192).

³⁷ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xliii-xliv.

³⁸ St. John's, Coteau du Lac, and Chateauguay are mentioned as ports in the year 1820 (C. O. 47, vol. 122). But these would hardly grant clearances for sea-going vessels.

³⁹ According to the Navigation Act, 12 Car. II c. 18. s. 18 and 8 Geo. I. c. 15. s. 24., beaver and other skins, the produce of any British plantation in America, Asia, or Africa, could be carried only to Great Britain or some British plantation. The penalty was forfeiture of ship and goods or their value. This still held when the North West Company was organized.

ably these furs and goods were carried in ships belonging to the North West Company or to its Montreal and London agents in preference to paying freight charges to outsiders.

Some figures may be given in regard to the ships carrying furs from Quebec during this period. In 1784 six vessels, the "Nancy," the "Harvey" (or "Hervey"), the "Euretta," the "Integrity," the "Polly," and the "Maria," carried furs from Quebec.⁴⁰ Three ships are listed for 1786, eight for 1787, eleven for 1788, eight for 1789, and nine for 1790.⁴¹ Two ships are given in 1792, but this is only for the quarter ending July 5. Seven ships are mentioned in 1800, nine in 1801, fifteen in 1802, eight in 1804, two in 1805 for the quarter ending October 10 only, two in 1806, and twelve in 1807.⁴² Thirteen ships are mentioned in 1808, seventeen in 1809, eleven in 1810, and nine in 1811.⁴³ Seven ships are given in 1812, and five in 1813.⁴⁴ The bulk of the furs were shipped, as a rule, in the last quarter of these years. The lists do not cover every month of some of these years, but they are complete for the years 1808 to 1813 inclusive. The furs are entered under bales, puncheons, casks, packs, loose, and on one occasion a trunk. This list indicates the forms in which they were shipped. Nearly all of the furs went to London. A few are listed to Liverpool, Greenock, Aberdeen, and Kirkaldy, and some to St. Johns, Newfoundland, and to Halifax. A few items of furs entering Quebec from lower St. Lawrence ports are given. It is impossible to tell, from the lists of goods on incoming ships, what quantity of commodities was destined for the Indian trade. These ships mounted guns,

⁴⁰ Manifest of the Export of Furs from the Port of Quebec in 1784 (Add. 21881, f. 29). The "Euretta" may possibly be the "Everetta" mentioned later.

⁴¹ C. O. 47, vol. 80.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 81.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 82.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 83.

sometimes a dozen of them. This, however, was not the case with those listed before the war with France.

The names of certain ships and of certain owners occur quite regularly in these lists. The ship "Everetta," owner James Phyn and Company, is listed in 1786 as carrying six hundred and twenty bales, thirteen puncheons of furs. An "Everetta," from its description apparently the same vessel, is mentioned in 1788 with its owners, A. Ellice, J. Inglis and Company. It carried eight hundred and seven bales of furs to London. The "Everetta" is given right through to 1813. Its owner in these later years was Phyn, Ellice and Company, this name first definitely appearing in 1807. Preceding this, after 1800, the owners' names are given as J. Phyn, A. Ellice, and others. The firm is listed in 1810 as Jas. Phyn and Company. The "Carleton" was owned by A. Ellice, J. Inglis and Company in 1789 and probably the preceding year. The firm J. Phyn, J. Inglis and Company first appears in 1789 as owner of the brig "Mary Ann." The "Montreal," which had been listed in 1789 under the ownership of J. Phyn and J. Inglis, appears in 1800 under the ownership of J. Fraser and S. McTavish. In 1804, after the death of Simon McTavish, its ownership is stated as J. Fraser and others. It does not occur again. John Fraser's name appears in 1807 and 1808 as one of the owners of the "Mary." In 1810, its last appearance, this vessel was owned by S. McGillivray and Company. It carried only a few furs that year. J. Forsyth is indicated in 1800 and 1801 as one of the owners of the "Reliance"; in 1802 and 1804, as one of the owners of the "Adeona." Inglis was interested in various ships, besides those already mentioned in connection with his name, such as the "Adeona," the "Adriatic," and the "Reliance." John McTavish in 1811 and 1812 was owner of the "Isaac Todd," a vessel built at Three Rivers. The "Everetta" regularly carried good cargoes of furs. There was a drop in the furs which these

vessels carried after the Michilimackinac Company went out of business.⁴⁵

The items show a presumption that there was some distinct connection between shipping interests and the fur trade. It is not possible to determine just which cargoes of these furs belonged to the North West Company. No mention is made of the "Beaver," which was sent to Hudson Bay on McTavish's venture, as engaging in this trade from Quebec to London. Selkirk, in his publication of 1817, speaks of three ships being employed in the North West Company's trade,⁴⁶ but a later publication states that the North West Company's trade gave employment to only one vessel, of three hundred and fifty tons burden, to and from the St. Lawrence. This should represent the situation around 1818.⁴⁷

It is possible that some of the North West Company's furs were sold from time to time in Canadian markets. Certainly furs from the West were sometimes disposed of in this manner. For example, the Nipigon furs of 1788 were thus sold for £4000 currency.⁴⁸

After reaching Quebec, the goods had to be transported to the different trading posts. The goods for the King's Posts probably came from Quebec. The supplies for the St. Maurice may have come from either Quebec or Montreal. In fact, there is little

⁴⁵ C. O. 47, vols. 80-83. One of the most provoking gaps in this list is that of 1805, the year following the absorption of the X Y Company.

⁴⁶ Selkirk, *Sketch*, 122.

⁴⁷ *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 10. In the same connection it was pointed out that the average annual duties paid by the company did not equal those paid by an ordinary East Indiaman. The writer also claimed that many commercial houses at Montreal and Quebec imported far more goods for ordinary trade than did the North West Company for its trade.

⁴⁸ R. Mathews to, Plymouth Barracks, [17]90, C. O. 42, vol. 72. Some of the furs from Michilimackinac also were sold this way. The following are some of the market prices of furs at Montreal in the year 1819: North beaver £1-0-0 to £1-1-0 per pound; marten £0-4-1 each; muskrats £0-0-9 to £0-1-0 each (Montreal wholesale prices current quoted in James Strachan, *A Visit to Upper Canada in 1819*, p. 218).

information regarding the fur-trade procedure in the lands north of the St. Lawrence. Montreal was the chief depot for the supplies of goods to the Indian countries of the interior. It is likely that the goods came by ship from Quebec to Montreal.⁴⁹

The Ottawa River provided the regular channel for these goods, which were carried in canoes.⁵⁰ These canoes did not, however, depart from Montreal, but from Lachine, which was connected with Montreal by a road that was sometimes in a very bad condition. Each canoe, according to Mackenzie, was manned by eight or ten men. It carried their baggage and sixty-five packages of goods, six hundredweight of biseuit, two hundredweight of pork, and three bushels of peas for provisions. It was provided with two oilcloths to cover the goods, a sail, an ax, a towing line, a kettle, a sponge to bail out water, and some gum, bark, and *watape*⁵¹ for repairs. Thus loaded, a canoe sank to within six inches of the gunwale, but the skill of the Canadian *voyageurs* was such that accidents were few in number. Each canoe cost about three hundred *livres*.^{51a}

The canoes usually left Lachine early in May and did not return until September. The navigation of the Ottawa and other rivers was broken by rapids and various obstacles, which necessitated portages and *décharges*. A portage was a spot where both the canoe and its loading had to be carried overland. A *décharge* was a spot where a portion or all of the loading had to be transported. The canoe could then be towed past the ob-

⁴⁹ Palmer, who visited Lower Canada in 1817, speaks of the "Ewereta" [in all probability this is the "Everetta"], a large ship from London, as loading entirely with furs and skins at Market Wharf, apparently at Montreal (Palmer, *Journal*, 213).

⁵⁰ North West Company canoes carried goods by way of the Ottawa River in 1784, i.e., during the first year of the company's existence (Add. 21735-2, ff. 446-447).

⁵¹ Watape, or wattape, was the fine roots of the spruce or some similar tree. It was used to sew the birch bark of the canoes. Gum was used on the seams or around the edges of patches of bark.

^{51a} Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxviii-xxix.

struction, or, in case of descending a river, a rapid might be run by the lightened canoe in comparative safety. The goods were carried on the men's backs in slings which passed over the forehead. The ordinary load was two packs of about ninety pounds each, although more were sometimes carried.⁵² Mackenzie records a startling feat in this line. He states that there had been instances when men carried seven packs weighing ninety pounds each across Portage du Bonnet without stopping. The portage was half a league long.⁵³

At Mattawa the canoe left the Ottawa and proceeded by way of Lake Nipissing and French River to Georgian Bay. It is probable that the goods for Lake Temiskaming were forwarded from Mattawa. From the mouth of French River the canoes followed

⁵² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxx-xxxi. In a journal written in 1793 this list appears: "The following are the names of the portages from Montreal here in the order in which they occur in ascending the Ottawa River &c. to Lake Huron, viz., 1st Chute a Blondeau, No. 2-3-4 Long Sault, No. 5-6-7 Les Chaudières, No. 8 Les Chats, No. 9 Portage du Fort, No. 10 La Montagne, No. 11 D'argy, No. 12 Le Grand Callumet, No. 13 Allumettes, No. 14 Les Joachims, No. 16 La Roche Capitaine, No. 17 Les deux Rivières, No. 18 Le Troué. Those of the Little River, No. 1 Le plain Champs, No. 2 Les Roses, No. 3 Campion, No. 4 La Gross Roche, No. 2 La Paresseu, No. 6 La Prairie, No. 7 La Cave, No. 8 Talon, No. 9 and 10 Le Musiques, No. 11 La Tortue, No. 12, 13, 14, Les Vases. And the portages in the French River: No. 1 La Chaudière des Français, No. 2 Parisiens, No. 3 Le Grand Recollet, No. 4 La Petite Fausille.

18 portages in the Ottawa.

14 portages in the Little River & Vases.

4 portages in the French River.

In all 36 portages to the entrance of Lake Huron and there are besides these about an equal number of Décharges" (Masson Papers, no. 2352, McGill University). In 1781 Lieutenant-General Hope reported 16 portages on the Grand River, 15 portages up the Little River to Lake Nipissing, and 3 portages on French River (Hope to Haldimand, Quebec, October 19, 1781. Add. 21758, f. 178).

In 1821 Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn made various observations while in attendance on Dalhousie, who was making a tour of inspection. Among these is a detailed account of the route from St. Mary's to Montreal via the north bank of Lake Huron, the French River, and the Ottawa River. It mentions that the North West Company kept up a dam near the head of the river which emptied into Lake Nipissing. An Indian was caretaker (Report 1897, pp. 75-78, printed in Canadian Archives). This dam would help the canoes.

⁵³ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, lxi.

the north shore of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron to Sault Ste. Marie. From here, according to Mackenzie, the canoes were transported over Lake Superior with only five men in each, while the other men were sent to Michilimackinac for additional canoes which were needed for the trade. These would take a lading either at Michilimackinac or Sault Ste. Marie and then follow the others to Grand Portage.⁵⁴

The cost of canoe transportation by the Ottawa route was estimated by Joseph Frobisher in 1785 to be about twenty per cent on the canoes assorted for the trade. In the case of provisions and other articles of small value, he stated that the freight on every package of a hundred pounds in weight was from fifty to sixty *livres*, and to Grand Portage it was from eighty to ninety *livres*.⁵⁵

A portion of the goods was also transported by the lake route. These goods, when Mackenzie wrote, were sent in boats from Montreal to Kingston⁵⁶ and thence in vessels⁵⁷ to Niagara. They were then carried overland about ten miles to a water connection to Lake Erie. Here they were again placed in boats and taken to Sault Ste. Marie, carried above the falls, and then shipped to Grand Portage. This was less expensive than the canoe

⁵⁴Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xl.

⁵⁵ Benjamin Frobisher to Hamilton, Montreal, May 2, 1785, C. O. 42, vol. 47.

⁵⁶ A manuscript map in the British Museum, drawn by W. Chislett in 1789, bears a legend to the effect that it took nine days to go from Lachine to Kingston in *batteaux* set with poles all the way, the distance being 196 miles. This map shows various portages to the north of Lake Ontario, including the "Carrying Place from Toronto," which meets a river flowing into the southeast of Lake La Clie, and portages from the northern bay of this lake to Lake Huron (Add. 31866, 1).

⁵⁷ A committee of the Merchants of Montreal reported January 23, 1787, in favor of lowering freight charges on the lakes, saying: "On Lake Ontario a Barrel Bulk of 36 Gallons is to pay 10/ York or 6/3 Currency and on Lake Erie 15/ York or 9/4½ Currency which on an average is 7/9 5/8 Curry. The freight from London is 5 5/6 Currency per ton or say 9/3 per barrel for at least a 4 months voyage." A month was required on the lakes. The traders' goods were still required to go in the royal ships (Enclosure C in Dorchester, no. 5, of July 4, 1787, C. O. 42, vol. 11).

route, but much slower and attended with more risk. These goods had to be sent from Montreal the preceding autumn. The North West Company also obtained provisions, such as flour and corn, at Detroit, and considerable supplies of maple sugar, tallow, gum, and other articles at Michilimackinac. For this transportation they had two vessels on lakes Erie and Huron, and one on Lake Superior, of from fifty to seventy tons burden. The water at Grand Portage was so shallow that the ship had to anchor nearly a mile from the shore.⁵⁸

The North West Company had various vessels navigating the upper lakes, but there is no record of any on Lake Ontario. In 1784 permission was granted them to build a vessel at Detroit to be taken up the Falls of St. Marys and used on Lake Superior.⁵⁹ This vessel, the "Beaver," could not be taken up the falls in the spring of 1785,⁶⁰ but seems to have been allowed to navigate Lake Huron by special permission. It is uncertain when the first North West Company ship was constructed on Lake Superior.⁶¹ A list, which was probably drawn up early in 1790, speaks of "two small vessels belonging to the company trading to the northwest about twelve and fifteen tons," as being on Lake Superior.⁶² The "Otter" was built by Nelson at Point aux Pins on Lake Superior in 1793. She was launched in July, and reached Grand Portage on August 2. Her master's name was Bennett. The "Athabasca," which had previously sailed Lake

⁵⁸ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxxix-xl.

⁵⁹ Add. 21724.

⁶⁰ Q. 25, pp. 119 *et seq.*

⁶¹ It is said that the French had an only vessel on this lake, which was lost or destroyed about the date of the conquest (Frobisher to Mabane, Montreal, April 19, 1784, Add. 21735, ff. 421-424). The traders to the Northwest possessed a periauger or perriauger on Lake Superior in 1776 (James Bannerman to William Edgar, Michilimackinac, June 23, 1776, Edgar Letters, 21-25).

⁶² Enclosure bearing endorsement "List of Ships on the Lakes. R. from Capt. Schank May 31-1790." It is in Phyn, Ellise & Inglis to Grenville (?), Mark Lane, May 31, 1790, C. O. 42, vol. 72.

Superior, was floated down the Falls of St. Marys to help the "Beaver" bring supplies from Detroit and Michilimackinac to the Sault.⁶³ The "Otter" was a vessel of seventy-five tons.⁶⁴ It is listed in 1799,⁶⁵ and in 1803 Henry records that this vessel and the "Invincible" were at the New Fort at the mouth of the Kaministikwia.⁶⁶ The schooner "Beaver" is mentioned by John McDonald of Garth as being on Lake Superior in 1812.⁶⁷ M'Cargo was the master of the North West Company's schooner on Lake Superior in 1815.⁶⁸ A vessel on the stocks was part of the property which Daniel Mackenzie purported to transfer to Lord Selkirk in October, 1816.⁶⁹ The schooner "Invincible" was totally lost in a gale on Lake Superior November 13, 1816.⁷⁰ McIntavish, writing at Fort William on April 22, 1821, speaks of sending the dispatches, which had arrived the preceding day from the north, by the "Recovery" to St. Marys.⁷¹

The "Beaver" and the "Arabasca" are listed as North West Company vessels on Lake Huron in November, 1793. The former was a vessel of forty-five tons, and the latter of forty tons. The former carried a crew of five men, and the latter a crew of four men. Both could mount four four-pounders and six swivels.⁷² The "Arabasca" is probably the "Athabasca" already mentioned. The "Nancy" is mentioned in the Agree-

⁶³ Masson Papers, no. 2352, McGill University. Masson says the "Athabaska" was also built at Pointe aux Pins (Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 149, note 1).

⁶⁴ C. O. 42, vol. 318.

⁶⁵ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 65.

⁶⁶ Coles, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, I, 244-246.

⁶⁷ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 42. But McDonald's memory was sometimes treacherous.

⁶⁸ *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, 192.

⁶⁹ *Narrative of Occurrences*, 82-83.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁷¹ C. O. 42, vol. 367.

⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. 318. Both are termed sloops, as is the "Otter," in this return.

ment of 1804 as if a three-eighths interest in it was to be the property of the joint concern.⁷³ The North West Company's brig "Caledonia" was used as a transport at the capture of Michilimackinac in 1812, but she was lost later in the same year.⁷⁴ The "Nancy" was burned at Nottawasaga River early in August, 1814.⁷⁵ Two new schooners built on Lake Superior were also lost. The "Mink," of forty-five tons, was captured on Lake Huron, and somewhat later the "Perseverance," of eighty-five tons, was burned at Sault Ste. Marie.⁷⁶ The government compensated the North West Company for these last three.⁷⁷ It is not known whether the North West Company constructed new vessels to replace these losses.

It would appear that the North West Company made some use of the route between Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay. In 1784 Captain Robertson applied for the grant of a tract of land along this route with Frobisher, McTavish, and others, in order to carry on the Northwest trade.⁷⁸ The grant was evidently not made.

The administrative and judicial events which transpired at York in connection with the Red River troubles must have caused some use to be made of this route. A traveler named Head, who spent four months in the woods on the borders of Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, speaks of his house on Kempenfeldt Bay as being a little way out of the line of march of the Northwest traders. He also speaks of North West Company stores, as well as government stores, arriving on their way to Lake Huron in the early part of June, but he does not give the year.

⁷³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 493.

⁷⁴ Christie, *History of the Late Province of Lower Canada*, II, 20-21, 43; Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, I, 54-55.

⁷⁵ C. O. 42, vol. 167.

⁷⁶ C. 363, pp. 80-81; C. O. 42, vol. 161.

⁷⁷ Treasury to Goulburn, November 28, 1815, C. O. 42, vol. 164.

⁷⁸ Robertson to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, July 10, 1784, printed in Canadian Archives, Report 1888, note E.

A man at Newmarket, thirty miles from York, was the North West Company's agent. Head gives the route of some of the government stores as being from York by land to Holland River, thence by water to the head of Kempenfeldt Bay, an outlet of Lake Simcoe. A portage of eight miles led to the Nottawasaga River, which provided a water route to Georgian Bay.⁷⁹ Probably the North West Company's goods went the same way. Goods must still have been going by the Niagara route, for a writer who left Upper Canada in June, 1820, tells of the North West Company's forwarding stores by the carrying places from Queenston to Chippewa.⁸⁰

The canoes used in the fur trade were of various sizes, the two chief types being the one used on the route between Lachine and Grand Portage or Fort William, and the smaller "North canoe" used beyond the latter places. The first type could carry about four tons.⁸¹ Colonel Landmann, who traveled from Lachine to St. Josephs in one of these canoes with William McGillivray in 1798, has left a good description, which reads as follows:

These canoes were exceedingly strong and capacious, they were about thirty-six feet in length, by six feet wide, near the middle; and although the birch bark which formed a thin external coating over their ribs of white cedar, and their longitudinal laths of the same wood, appeared to compose but a flimsy vessel, yet they usually carried a weight of five tons. It may be as well to state that this cargo was very carefully stored, in order to remove any unequal pressure, which would have been fatal to such a vessel. Four poles, three or four inches at their thickest ends, denominated by the Canadians, *grand-perch*, were laid side by side in the middle of the bottom of the canoe. On these poles, the cargo was carefully arranged so that all the weight rested on them, and none allowed to press against the bare and unprotected sides of

⁷⁹ Head, *Forest Scenes*, 178, 229, 247-248, 318-319. Head does not give a single year date in his whole work, which was published at London in 1829, but in his preface he speaks of the "few years which have intervened" since the events.

⁸⁰ Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada*, 72, 273.

⁸¹ Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, October 4, 1784, Add. 21877, ff. 398-401.

the canoe. Every package was made up of the weight of ninety pounds and none heavier.

The five tons included the provisions for ten men, sufficient to support them during about twenty to twenty-two days. Each canoe was provided with a mast and lug-sail, and also each man had a ten-foot setting-pole, of good ash, shod with an iron ferrule at each end, for assisting the men towing with a strong line in ascending the rapids. The paddles were supplied by the canoe-men, each bringing his own. Each canoe had also a camp-kettle, provided by the owners, as also a few Hambro lines, a bundle of watap, roots of the pine tree, for stitching up any seam that might burst, a parcel of gum of a resinous nature, for paying over the seams when leaky, a piece of birch-bark for repairs, hatchet, crooked knife, and a few more indispensable articles.

In speaking of portaging, Landmann said that a canoe weighed fifteen hundred pounds and that six men were expected to reverse, shoulder, and carry it.⁸² This weight is probably wrong. Gourlay stated that one of these canoes weighed five hundredweight,⁸³ which sounds more reasonable.

The North canoes were about half the size of the Montreal or Ottawa River canoes, and when loaded to their utmost capacity could carry a ton and a half. The number of men required to navigate them was four or five, the lesser number being for posts near at hand. A partner or chief clerk was allowed by the company to have an extra man in his canoe to wait upon him. Complaints were sometimes made of partners who, from motives of vanity, took a needless number of picked men in their canoes.⁸⁴

The canoe which was constructed for Franklin at Fort Chipe-wean in the summer of 1820 was doubtless a good specimen of the North canoe. Its extreme length was thirty-two feet six inches, including the bow and stern pieces. Its greatest breadth was four feet ten inches, but it was only two feet nine inches forward where the bowman sat, and two feet four inches behind,

⁸² Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, I, 303-306.

⁸³ Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, I, 595-596.

⁸⁴ Masson Papers, no. 2352, McGill University. This journal was written in 1793.

where the steersman was placed. Its depth was one foot eleven and a quarter inches. There were seventy-one hoops of thin cedar, and a layer of slender laths of the same wood within the frame. Its weight was about three hundred pounds, and it could carry twenty-five pieces of goods each weighing ninety pounds, besides its crew and their provisions and baggage.⁸⁵ Fewer men were required to carry a North canoe than an Ottawa or Grand River canoe. Peter Grant, a partner, stated that the bowman and steersman were expected to carry it, the middle-men being exempt from that task.⁸⁶ Birch bark of a yellowish color and free from wrinkles was considered the best and most lasting for canoes.⁸⁷

The time occupied in these trips was sometimes very brief, but the work was fatiguing and long-continued. Landmann states that he knew the canoemen to work about twenty hours a day for two or three weeks, resting only every two hours for five or ten minutes to fill their pipes.⁸⁸ Roderick McKenzie made the

⁸⁵ Franklin, *Narrative*, 163.

⁸⁶ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 313.

⁸⁷ McTaggart, *Three Years in Canada*, I, 305. According to Ross, the North West Company carried its policy of using birch bark canoes on the Columbia to the extent of shipping a stock of bark from Montreal to London, whence it was taken to Fort George via Cape Horn, in case there was none of equal quality on Pacific waters (Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, I, 72). This is probably the cargo which the "Isaac Todd" took from Quebec, October 26, 1812, on her last trip before going to the Columbia River. She carried, among other items, 81 rolls of bark, 51 bundles of watape, and 2 kegs of gum (Naval Officer's Returns of Lower Canada, C. O. 47, vol. 83).

⁸⁸ Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, I, 309. The passage is interesting. It reads as follows: "No men in the world are more severely worked than are these Canadian *voyageurs*. I have known them to work in a canoe twenty hours out of twenty-four, and go on at that rate during a fortnight or three weeks without a day of rest or a diminution of labor; but it is not with impunity they so exert themselves; they lose much flesh in the performance of such journeys, though the quantity of food they consume is incredible. They smoke almost incessantly, and sing peculiar songs, which are the same their fathers and grandfathers, and probably their great-grandfathers sang before them; the time is about the same as that of our military quick marches, and is marked by the movement of their paddles.

They rest from five to ten minutes every two hours when they refill their

trip from Rainy Lake to Fort Chipewean in a month and four days in 1799. He had six men in a light canoe, and arrived September 4.⁸⁹

Partners, traveling light with picked crews and only baggage and provisions in their canoes, made much faster trips than the heavily laden canoes. They would save much time at the portages especially. The record time of the North West Company from St. Josephs to Montreal was probably that of Simon McTavish, who performed that journey in seven and three-quarter days. The record for this journey held until Landmann, as a young man in the military service, reduced it to seven and a quarter days in July, 1800. Landmann used a light, twenty-five-foot canoe with a crew of ten picked men. The baggage was arranged so that everything could be portaged in one trip, a most unusual advantage. He had a favoring wind on Lake Huron, and his chief discomfort was from the smoke of the forest fires through which the party raced.⁹⁰

There was a regular system of expresses to carry correspondence, reports, and news to and from the different posts in the Northwest. Masson states that there were two expresses annually. The winter express left the farthest posts in the north about the end of November, passed through the whole country on sledges and snow-shoes and reached Sault Ste. Marie in March. The summer express hurried down to the place of rendezvous with the results of the winter's trade,⁹¹ apparently in advance of the canoes with the furs. The dispatches from Mackenzie

pipes: it is more common for them to describe distances by so many pipes, than in any other way. In regard to the use of spirits they are always allowed a dram of high wines, a strong distillation from corn, in the morning and one at night. They are short-lived and rarely are fit to voyage after they have attained their fortieth year, and sixty years seems to be the average of their existence."

⁸⁹ *Journal of James McKenzie*, Masson Papers, no. 2538, McGill University.

⁹⁰ Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, II, 168-171

⁹¹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 387, note 1.

River were ready to be transported by two Canadians to Slave Lake on January 29, 1801.⁹² From there they would go to Fort Chipewean. The dispatches from Great Bear Lake were sent by way of Mackenzie River on January 30, 1806.⁹³ The winter express from the north reached Fort William on April 21, 1821, which seems to have been later than usual.⁹⁴

Ross says that the express from the Columbia left the mouth of that river on April 1 and arrived at Fort William on July 1 with great regularity. Leaving Fort William on July 20, it reached Fort George on October 20. Similarly, a light canoe from the mouth of the Columbia could reach Montreal in a hundred days.⁹⁵

The British goods used in the Indian trade were stated by Mackenzie to be coarse woollen cloths of different kinds, milled blankets of different sizes, arms, ammunition, twist, and carrot tobacco. Manchester goods, linens, coarse sheetings, thread, lines, twine, common hardware, several varieties of cutlery and ironmongery, brass and copper and sheet-iron kettles, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, hats, shoes, hose, calicoes, printed cottons, and other items.⁹⁶

According to a statement made about ten years later, in 1811,

⁹² Masson Papers, no. 2362, McGill University.

⁹³ Journal of Great Bear Lake by A. McKenzie, Esq., Masson Papers, no. 2353, McGill University. Mackenzie left Fort Chipewean on September 15, 1805, for his post, which he later terms Great Bear Lake Castle. He returned August 23, 1806. The returns from Mackenzie River that year were 117 small packs. Mackenzie mentions Rocky Mountain Fort as being deserted. He had charge of Mackenzie River, to which 61 pieces of trading goods were sent in 1805. He stated that the Dog Rib Indians were poor hunters, as they hunted beaver only in the spring and fall. The Hare Indians, about 300 men, were very indolent. They killed very little beaver, their principal hunt being martens and muskrats. It was only three years since they first had had traders. Seemingly there was no trade with the Loucheux and Rapid Indians that year.

⁹⁴ J. G. McTavish to the Agents and Proprietors of the North West Company, Fort William, April 22, 1821, C. O. 42, vol. 367.

⁹⁵ Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, I, 304.

⁹⁶ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxv.

the principal items were blankets, which were manufactured at Witney, Oxfordshire; Yorkshire woollen goods, comprising strouds, coatings, meltons, serges, flannels, common blue and scarlet cloth; Manchester cotton goods, comprising striped cottons, dimities, janes, fustians, printed British cottons, shawls, handkerchiefs, gartering, and ferreting; large quantities of hardware; Irish and other linens; Scotch sheetings; osnaburgs; large quantities of nets, twine, birdlime, thread, and worsted yarn; brass, copper, and tin kettles; Indian *fusils*, pistols, powder, ball, shot, and flints; painters' colors, vermilion, etc.; stationery, beads, drugs and large parcels of all kinds of Birmingham manufactures.⁹⁷ A special permit from the Privy Council was necessary for the exportation of worsted yarn.⁹⁸ Selkirk estimated the annual value of the British goods exported for the trade of the Northwest to be about £30,000.⁹⁹

There are definite figures of the amount and value of the articles exported to the Columbia River in years when the North West Company controlled the trade of that region. In the year 1814, these show the following items of British manufacture: wearing apparel, felt hats, slops, haberdashery, butter, cheese, pickles and sauces, suet, candles, gunflints, gunpowder, guns, military stores, saddlery, fishing tackle, playing cards, stationery, tobacco pipes, wrought brass, copper, iron and leather, pewter, tinware, turnery, grindstones, soap, seeds, painters' colors, various packages and woollen goods comprising long cloths,

⁹⁷ *Origin and Progress*, 14, n.

⁹⁸ This requirement was embodied in an act of 47 George III. and re-enacted five years later. On March 9, 1808, McTavish, Fraser & Co., Inglis, Ellice & Co., and others named were granted a permit "to export 4900 lbs. of Worsted or Woollen Yarn to Quebec or Montreal for the Indian Trade" (Privy Council Register, vol. 176, pp. 63, 64). These permits appear regularly during the remaining years of the North West Company's existence. The amount never reached 20,000 lbs. and was usually much less than that (Privy Council Register, vol. 176, pp. 192, 194-203). No other article required such persistent licenses.

⁹⁹ Selkirk, *Sketch*, 20.

double baize, blankets, stuffs, and stockings.¹⁰⁰ In 1815 there were exported similar types of goods and also apothecary wares; beer and ale; cotton goods, comprising white or plain, printed, and checked calicoes, white or plain muslins; fustians; velvets; stockings; sewing cotton; earthenware; window and bottle glass; hardware and cutlery; jewelry; lead and shot; linens, comprising British and Irish white or plain linen and sail cloth; machinery; brass and iron ordnance; perfumery; pistols; silk stockings and gloves; silk stuffs mixed with worsted; snuff; unwrought steel; umbrellas; and woollen goods comprising, besides the varieties of the preceding year, short cloths, napped coatings, kerseymere, flannel, and woollens mixed with cotton.¹⁰¹ In 1817 there were also cordage and cables, twist and yarn cotton, cotton lace and net, pitch, tar, salt, saltpetre, silk ribbons, swords, tobacco, and vinegar.¹⁰² In 1818 there were in addition brushes and brooms, chalk, castor hats, lime juice, mathematical instruments, musical instruments, plated and gilt ware, sugar, and twine.¹⁰³ The year 1819 saw also ships' blocks, cabinet and upholstery ware, carts and wagons, white lead, linseed oil, and various trunks and boxes.¹⁰⁴ There were no shipments in 1820.

In 1816 there were exported to the Columbia River from Great Britain the following foreign goods: great bugle; bar iron; Russia linen; pepper; Indian calico; prohibited piece goods; prize silk;

¹⁰⁰ C. H. 8, vol. 2. The official value was £1738-9-10, and the real or declared value £2396-6-0.

¹⁰¹ C. H. 8, vol. 3. The official value was £13,885-18-1, and the real or declared value was £19,327-5-1. There was a duty on the lead and shot of £9-16-0. All went in one British vessel.

¹⁰² C. H. 8, vol. 6. The official value was £17,184-12-5, and the real or declared value £19,730-5-4. There was a British shipping duty of £26-17-4, a dock duty of £15-12-8, and a percentage duty of £118-16-5, totaling £161-6-5. The goods went in two British vessels.

¹⁰³ C. H. 8, vol. 8. The official value was £20,730-14-2, and the real or declared value £22,847-6-2. The duties, similar to those of 1817, totaled £196-18-11. The goods went in two British ships.

¹⁰⁴ C. H. 8, vol. 10. The official value was £5955-10-6, and the real or declared value was £6653-18-1. No duty is indicated.

tar; brandy; Geneva spirits; British plantation rum; Canary, Portugal, and Spanish wine.¹⁰⁵ In 1817 there were also glass, nankeens, steel, tea, toys, British plantation sugar, and an unusual item of about eleven tons of quicksilver. The list that year was directed to the Columbia River and Northwest Coast.¹⁰⁶ There were over twelve and a half tons of quicksilver exported to the same region in 1818. French wine is a new item.¹⁰⁷ Only in 1819 were cocoa and coffee exported.¹⁰⁸

The lists of goods exported to Hudson Bay show similar articles of British manufacture and foreign goods. The amounts are greater and there are more articles of food and liquor, teas and tobaccos.

Liquor and provisions were purchased in Canada and in the American settlements on the south side of the Great Lakes. Some tobacco was also obtained from the United States.¹⁰⁹ Other

¹⁰⁵ C. H. 10, vol. 6. The total value was £1423-10-9, of which £35-8-0 was prize.

¹⁰⁶ C. H. 10, vol. 8. The total value was £9691-1-11, with a duty on Russia linen of £3-18-0. . . . All went in British shipping.

¹⁰⁷ C. H. 10, vol. 9. The total value was £7776-18-2. It went in British shipping.

¹⁰⁸ C. H. 10, vol. 10. The value was £24-1-9.

¹⁰⁹ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 494. Some of this tobacco was consigned by the firm of Caldwell, Fraser & Co. of Albany. McTavish, Frobisher & Co. petitioned at Montreal, May 15, 1802, stating that the preceding year Messrs Caldwell, Fraser & Co., merchants residing at Albany, U. S. A., consigned 12,879 pounds of manufactured tobacco to Grand Portage, also in the United States, "for the purposes of the trade carried on by the Memorialists there and in other parts of the Indian Country." The collector of the revenue at Niagara demanded and received of Mr. Robert Hamilton, agent of the Memorialists, a bond for the payment of one penny sterling and three pence provincial duty per pound, making £220-11-7½ Halifax currency. They requested that they should be excused from paying this duty. Before hearing of this demand, they had ordered two more large consignments of tobacco from the same Albany firm: one for themselves at Grand Portage, and the other for Toussaint Pothier at Michilimackinac. It was considered in the Council Chambers at York, June 9, 1802, and left to the regular courts for decision (C. O. 42, vol. 332, pp. 80-84). When inquiries were being made in regard to the Red River troubles, Pritchard in a sworn statement asserted that a fathom of tobacco weighed about three-quarters of a pound. An Indian would receive this, or two horn combs, or twenty charges of powder and ball, for a buffalo (*Blue Book of 1819*, p. 91).

articles of Canadian and American produce and manufacture were no doubt also utilized in the trade.

The liquor was seldom formally sold to the Indians, but was presented to them¹¹⁰ when they brought furs for barter and on other occasions. In spite of the fact that the liquor was diluted, the *boissons*, or drinking bouts, which resulted were bestial affairs and not infrequently resulted in mutilation and loss of life.¹¹¹ The policy of supplying the Indians with liquor was defended by the North West Company on the plea of necessity. For example, in the year 1808 they presented a petition in opposition to a bill prohibiting the use of liquor, which Wilberforce and others were bringing before the British Parliament. The company gave some figures on the extent of the trade and the quantity of liquor used. They submitted that the custom of making liquor presents was so firmly established that they would be compelled to abandon three-fourths of their trading territory if they could not give liquor to the Plains Indians on whom they depended for food, since the United States boundary now reached those Indians, and Americans would get the trade.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ *Origin and Progress*, 12.

¹¹¹ For example, Eneas McDonell wrote to Roderick McKenzie from Lac Seul, June 15, 1807, and stated among other items: "In the Fall 1803, when I first came to this Country, there were 40 Indians in Monontogue (exclusive of Boys) then independent of Red Lake, 10 of that number are now dead, 7 of them were killed by their relations in their drunken frolics, the other 3 died a natural death. . . . They appear to be a Tribe of the Misisagues, at least, their language and manners much resemble each other, and seem to be a mixture of the Sauteux and Maskigon. . . . their lands are so poor and drained of beaver & c. that they can hardly pay for their absolute necessities in good peltries. . . ." (Masson Papers, No. 2370, item 8, pp. 4-5, McGill University).

¹¹² Craig to Castlereagh No. 43, memorial in Quebec, November 15, 1808, C.O. 42, vol. 137. It was stated that the duties accruing to the Crown exceeded £20,000 annually on the furs exported from Quebec alone. The British manufactured goods exported for that trade, exclusive of those for the Hudson's Bay Company, had an annual value exceeding £40,000. Moreover, the North West Company paid upwards of £1000 a year for their lease of the King's Posts which had still fourteen years to run. The liquor used by the North West Company amounted to 13,500 gallons of high wines in 1805, 10,800 gallons in 1806, 9500 gallons in 1807, and 9000 gallons in 1808.

Liquor was not the only thing presented to the Indians. Tobacco and articles of clothing were often given, and sometimes a variety of other goods.¹¹³ In his journal, written in Athabasca during the winter of 1799-1800, James McKenzie says about the presents given when the Indians arrived at a fort, that the tobacco was always rotten and the rum mostly water.¹¹⁴ But McKenzie's writings are imbued with a certain animus against the ways of the North West Company and of its Canadian *engagés*.

The goods were ordered from England in October and shipped from London the following spring. They arrived in Canada during the summer. In the course of the succeeding winter they were made up into articles which were required by the Indians, and were then packed into parcels weighing ninety pounds each. These would leave Montreal in May and be exchanged for furs the next winter. The following September the furs would reach Montreal, whence they were shipped, chiefly to London. Here they were sold in March and April, and were paid for in May or June. This was three and a half years after the goods were ordered in Canada, three years after they were shipped from London, and two years after they were forwarded from Montreal. Thus the merchant, allowing a year's credit, did not

This was an average of 10,700 gallons per annum for posts from the Straits of Belle Isle to Great Bear Lake, in which region there were at least 60,000 savages, besides 1000 or 1200 partners and servants of the North West Company. The memorial was signed by McTavish, McGillivray & Co., John Ogilvy, and Thomas Thain, as agents of the North West Company. The figures quoted were in an accompanying paper.

¹¹³ The following articles were presented by Malhiot to the Indians around Lac du Flambeau from July 25, 1804, to May 21, 1805: *eau de vie par gros baril* 7, *eau de vie par chopine* 107, *eau de vie par demi chopine* 30, *habits de chef* 4, *chemises de chef* 11, *plumets de chef* 4, *chapeaux de chef* 4, *capots galonnés* 5, *tabac en carotte* 1, *tabac par brasses* 25, *tabac par demi brasses* 34, *tabac par pied* 50, *tabac par pouce* 61, *tabac par jointe* 42, *balles* 1127, *plomb par poigne pierre a feu* 161, *tire-boues* 46, *bat-feu* 42, *atenes (?)* 60; *aiguilles* 154, *petits grelots* 78, *vermillon par prise* 99, *tavelle par brasses* 57, *grands couteaux* 28, *petits couteaux* 24, *peignes* 33 (Masson Papers, McGill University).

¹¹⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 382.

receive a return to pay for these goods and for the expenses connected with them, which were about equal to the value of the goods themselves, until two years after they were considered as cash. This made the trade a heavy business to finance. Some of the goods were a year longer in realizing payment because of the great distance to which they were carried.¹¹⁵

It was stated in the Agreement of 1802 that the following valuation, which had previously been used, should be followed in accounting to a retiring partner for his share of the goods in the interior. Goods at Grand Portage were to be accounted for at the rate of twenty-five per cent on the Montreal cost and advances; those at every other post in the Northwest, except English River and the districts beyond it, were to be valued at the rate of fifty-seven per cent on the cost and advances of Grand Portage; and those of English River and more remote posts at the rate of ninety per cent on the cost and advances of Grand Portage. It was not as yet ascertained what it would cost to carry goods beyond the Rocky Mountains.¹¹⁶ These rates were probably fairly representative of the extra cost entailed by the distances to which the goods had to be carried.

The highest rank among the persons engaged in the actual trading was that of partner.¹¹⁷ The partners had charge of the various trading departments, at least of the more important ones.¹¹⁸ They were paid by shares in the trade. If they obtained

¹¹⁵ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxiii-xxiv.

¹¹⁶ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 477.

¹¹⁷ Mackenzie terms them proprietors (Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xx, etc.). The same term appears in Masson, I, 61-66. The French employees used the term *bourgeois*. But this practically had the significance of the colloquial term boss.

¹¹⁸ A list of Old Company men in 1799 locates partners at Athabasca, Upper English River, Lower English River, Fort Dauphin, Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mountains, Upper Red River, Lower Red River, Lac Winipie, South of Lake Superior, Fond du Lac, and Lac La Pluie. Lower Fort des Prairies, Nipigon, Pic, Michipicoton and the Bay, Sault and Sloop "Otter," and Grand Portage were in charge of salaried men, usually clerks

any capital in this manner, it was to remain in the hands of the agents, and the partners were allowed interest for it. Some of them, for long service and great interest, held double shares in the trade and might retire with one of these, naming any younger man in the service to succeed in the other. The consent of the majority of the partners was necessary, however, and thus the claim of seniority and merit was recognized. No one could become a partner who had not served his time to the trade. A retired or dormant partner could, of course, dispose of his share to any person, but if the transaction were not acknowledged by his associates, the purchaser could be considered only as his agent or attorney.¹¹⁹ The income from the retired share could be enjoyed for seven years. The shares of partners dying in the service reverted to the company, but their heirs were guaranteed one-half of the proceeds of these shares for the period of seven years. Notice of intention to retire had to be given a year in advance.¹²⁰ Every partner had a vote at the annual meeting, but no doubt the more influential men, especially the agents, usually had their own way. It would be interesting to know what real authority was possessed by the small French minority among the partners. The name of Charles Chaboillez appears in 1802, and again in 1804 with that of Pierre de Rocheblave, among the signatures to the agreements of those years. The other names are Scotch or English, mainly the former.¹²¹

The next grade in the service was that of clerk. Clerks were apprenticed to the trade for five or seven years and had the

(Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 61-66). But the list is obviously incomplete, since it lists only fourteen partners and ninety-six paid men.

¹¹⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxi-xxii.

¹²⁰ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 474-476. A special exception is made in this Agreement of 1802 in favor of one partner who held four shares. He could retire when he pleased (*ibid.*, 476). This may have been Simon McTavish, who was planning to enjoy his wealth in a fine residence on the slopes of Mount Royal when death claimed him, two years later.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 481, 498-499.

prospect of becoming partners in due course of time. This was an incentive to activity and consideration for the prosperity of the company. The approval of the annual meeting was necessary for promotion to partnership. A clerk received specified wages. At the end of the eighteenth century, the apprenticed clerk received one hundred pounds, food, and clothing for his period of service. Those who could not receive partnerships at the end of their apprenticeship were paid from one hundred to three hundred pounds per annum and all necessaries until they were provided for. The men who acted in the double capacity of clerks and interpreters, or were so denominated, had no other expectation than the payment of wages ranging from one thousand to four thousand *livres* per annum, with clothing and provisions.¹²² It was estimated in 1799 that the value of a clerk's equipment and necessary supplies was twenty pounds.¹²³

Competition raised the standard of wages. In 1819 Wentzel wrote that the wages of a clerk were from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds in Halifax currency. At the same time Hudson's Bay Company clerks received as much as three hundred pounds.¹²⁴ Wages dropped after the union of the companies in 1821, nobody being allowed an equipment, and salaries not exceeding a hundred pounds sterling.¹²⁵

Clerks had charge of posts and performed other important services. Their location was fixed by the annual meeting.¹²⁶ Like the partners, they were expected to keep journals and to send to Grand Portage, or later to Fort William, annual accounts of the expenditure of goods entrusted to their charge, the balance of

¹²² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxvii-xxviii.

¹²³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 61-66. According to these figures, one pound was equal to twelve units of Grand Portage currency. The name of this unit is not given.

¹²⁴ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 124.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 147-150.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 468.

goods, provisions, and other effects on hand, the debts due by Indians and canoemen left in the interior, and similar items of information.¹²⁷ Mackenzie stated that there were fifty clerks and seventy-one interpreters and clerks in the services when he wrote. Five of these clerks were employed for the summer season in going from Montreal to Grand Portage.¹²⁸

While promotions were regulated in this manner, the agents were evidently able to send in any man they wished to a position on a fixed salary with no prospect of promotion. Thus McKenzie was sent to the Columbia for five years at a salary of five hundred pounds per annum.¹²⁹

The guides were a useful and intelligent set of men, who also acted in the capacity of interpreters. They had a stated quantity of goods supplied to them, and received from one thousand to three thousand *livres* in wages. When Mackenzie wrote there were thirty-five of them, eighteen being engaged with the canoes from Montreal, for which service they received from eight hundred to a thousand *livres* and a suitable equipment.¹³⁰ At the same time there were one thousand one hundred and twenty canoemen, or *voyageurs*, in the North West Company's service, of whom three hundred and fifty were engaged in the annual transportation of goods from Montreal to Grand Portage, some of them going as far as Rainy Lake.¹³¹ A foreman, or *boulhe*,

¹²⁷ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 469-470.

¹²⁸ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxvi-xxvii.

¹²⁹ Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, I, 100.

¹³⁰ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxvii.

¹³¹ A list submitted by McTavish, Frobisher & Co. in 1801 and forwarded to the British government by Milnes listed 20 partners, 161 clerks and interpreters and 877 canoemen. Eighty to one hundred Canadian and Iroquois hunters were mentioned. The king's posts were not included. It was stated that 540 men were annually employed on the Ottawa River in canoes, of whom 400 went to the place of rendezvous, stayed from six to eight weeks, and returned to Montreal with the furs (copy in B. T. I, vol. 20, no. 93). The returns sent from Fort Chipewean to Rainy Lake in the spring of 1807 were 694 packs. Of these, the Grand River packs were observed to be too light by two pounds each (Masson Papers, no. 2363, McGill University).

received from four to six hundred *livres* for this trip. A steersman received the same. A *milieu*, or middle-man, received from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty *livres*, with an equipment of one blanket, one shirt, and a pair of trousers. These men were maintained at the expense of their employers and were allowed to traffic, many of them earning as much as the amount of their wages. About a third of these went to winter. They were engaged by the year, or sometimes for three years. Their pay and equipment were more than double that mentioned. A foreman or steersman received annually twelve hundred *livres* and had an equipment consisting of two blankets, two shirts, two pairs of trousers, two handkerchiefs, fourteen pounds of carrot tobacco, and some trifling articles. A *milieu* received eight hundred *livres* and a similar equipment with the exception of tobacco. Of this he received only ten pounds. These men were called north men, *hommes du nord*, or winterers. To this class were attached upwards of seven hundred Indian women and children, victualed at the expense of the company.¹³² The canoemen who made the trip to Grand Portage and Rainy Lake only were called goers and comers, *bangeurs du lard*, or pork eaters. The latter was a belittling term applied by the north men and corresponded to the more modern terms tender-foot, cheechalko, or new chum. The north men boasted that they could travel hard, eat dog, and otherwise endure privations, and pointed with derision to the use of pork by the Montreal canoe-men. In reality, the food supplied to the latter was chiefly hulled Indian corn and melted fat. This was also their food at Grand Portage. A bushel of corn cost about a pound sterling at Grand Portage, which would mean that one man's allowance was

¹³² Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xxvii-xxviii. Thomas Ainslie, who had been collector of customs at Quebec for twenty-seven years, gave evidence before the Board of Trade March 14, 1789, that laborers in the province of Quebec were worth from 10d. to 1s. 4d. sterling in winter and from 2s. to 2s. 6d. in summer (B. T. 5, vol. 5).

not more than ten pence. This was likewise true of the north men, who also received a feast of bread, butter, pork, liquor, and tobacco on their arrival. The proprietors, clerks, guides, and interpreters messed together at several large tables in one large hall, to the number of a hundred at times. They were provided with bread, salt pork, beef, hams, fish, venison, butter, peas, Indian corn, potatoes, tea, spirits, wine, etc. They had plenty of milk, since milch cows were kept at Grand Portage. The mechanics had rations of similar food. The north men slept in tents; the pork eater lodged beneath his canoe.

The canoemen had to sign articles before notaries public at Montreal, and were therefore termed *engagés*. This was done as a rule in the winter preceding the voyage. On arriving at Grand Portage, each man had to carry eight packs over the portage. For any more, he was allowed a Spanish dollar per pack. The winterers were among the men who made the further journey to Rainy Lake.¹³³

The Grand Portage, which was quite hilly, was divided by the *voyageurs* into sixteen posts, or stops. Its soil was chiefly a copper-colored clay.¹³⁴ The Fort William route, which was later used, was superior in various respects. It was not within

¹³³ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xlv-xlv. The following are typical instances of engagements: Joseph Lemire engaged to serve as *milieu de canot* for Vee, St. Germain and winter at Rivière à la Biche. His pay was to be 300 *livres* in silver, or double that at Montreal, with an equipment of a 3 point blanket, a 2½ point blanket, two shirts, two brayets, two prs. [*sic*] milasses, 3 carots of tobacco. It was signed at Grand Portage, July 16, 1792 (Edgar Papers, 85).

Jean Cantara of Yamaska engaged to go as *gouvernail* to Grand Portage—or to Rainy Lake for 150 *livres* extra—and return for McTavish, Frobisher & Co. This engagement was signed in presence of Alexander Mackenzie at Montreal, November 6, 1798 (Edgar Papers, 89).

Jean Amelot of Montreal engaged to serve as a *milieu* for McTavish, Frobisher & Co., to winter, and on returning to pass eight pieces over the Grand Portage. His pay was to be 600 *livres* or shillings of the old currency of the province, payable a month after his return to Montreal. Signed at Montreal, December 18, 1792 (Edgar Papers, 89). The illiterate *voyageur* frequently marked.

¹³⁴ Masson Papers, no. 2352, McGill University.

the American line, for one thing. Then the expense of the Grand Portage was obviated, the other portages being about equal. There were fewer lakes on this route, which meant less detention of the canoes by high winds.

The North West Company's shipping on the lakes provided employment for a few men, both as crews and on land. For example, it was provided in the Agreement of 1804 that Angus McTavish, the agent of the Old Company at Sandwich, should continue in the same position for the joint concern.¹³⁵

Various free trappers were outfitted from time to time at the North West Company's posts, and paid their debts in peltries and sold the balance at these posts. These trappers were usually half-breeds. The North West Company introduced some Iroquois trappers into the Northwest, but they were much disliked. Around some of the posts were occasional "freemen." These were old servants, usually French, who had spent their best years in the service and preferred to spend their remaining days in the Northwest rather than return to the settlements. Their wives were Indian or half-breed women, to whom they were married according to the custom of the country, since there were no clergymen to perform a marriage ceremony except at Red River, and that only near the end of the North West Company's existence.

Canoemen, clerks, and even partners had native wives. To a lesser degree, this was also true of the members of the Hudson's Bay Company. The bond was easily broken;¹³⁶ and the fur trad-

¹³⁵ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 493.

¹³⁶ The matter-of-fact tone of the following entries is typical: John Thomson, the writer of the journal, was wintering at Grand Marais or Rivière Rouge in 1798-1799. On November 18 he states, "in the evening Vivier with all his family arrived; gave him a dram. I asked him what he meant by leaving the Indians. He says that he cannot live with them any longer and that all the devils in Hell cannot make him return . . . (Nov. 19th). He has made an offer of his wife and child to Desmarrais who will take his place but cannot get Madame to consent" (Journal of John Thomson, Masson Papers, Canadian Archives, vol. 4).

ers. on returning permanently to the settlements, frequently left wife and children in the interior. As a result of such more or less permanent unions, there developed a considerable half-breed population in the Northwest, which made its presence felt by Lord Selkirk's colonists and at a later date was concerned in still more noteworthy disturbances.

It was stated in 1811 that the North West Company spent annually about £50,000 sterling in Canada in salaries and wages and for various articles of colonial produce.¹³⁷ The debts owed by employees and others to the North West Company were often very considerable.¹³⁸

Life in the interior was described as follows by a North West Company partner at Athabasca in 1795:

We dress in the Canadian fashion and the men outvie their masters in this article. We live on fish and flesh, to which we sometimes add a few

¹³⁷ *Origin and Progress*, 15.

¹³⁸ A comparatively full list is extant for 1805. According to this, the men's accounts were:

	Drs. to N. W. Co.	Crs.
Athabasca River Dept.	18,144- 2	7,691- 0
Upper Fort des Prairies	8,433-11	24-10
Fort des Prairies	44,423- 4	2,169- 9
Lower Fort des Prairies.....	30,665-11	51-11
Fort des Prairies (Summer Men)...	10,426- 7	13,428- 1
English River (Freemen & c.)	42,036- 3	19,734- 6
Lower Red River	42,465-10	8,318- 1
Upper Red River	66,097-11	12,964- 3
Fort Dauphin	32,960- 7	1,225- 6
Rat River	3,995-17	1,293-12
Lake Ouinipique	50,751-10	3,768-13
Mille Laes	10,281-19	.....
Lake Nipigon, Lake of the Islands and its Dependencies.....	31,596- 3	9,630- 1
Red Lake and Lac Seul.....	25,967-18	305- 3
Pie Department	5,927- 1	1,259-15
Fond du Lac	25,112-17	1,992-13
River des Sautaux	5,360-14	298-13
Point Chagouamigon	2,864-13	.....
Lac des Flambeaux	7,444- 7	4,259-17
Lac la Pluie	27,972- 6	2,930- 5
Kamanistiquia .....	.....	.....

There were five men at Chagouamigon, 18 men at Lac des Flambeaux, and 35 men at Kamanistiquia (Masson Papers, no. 2370, McGill University).

Canadian *douceurs* by way of Sauce. We take a glass of liquor perhaps once a week; and get drunk, perhaps, once in seven years. We satisfy our other appetites according to the dictates of Nature or as best suits our convenience. The one half of our time we have to ourselves, which we employ either in useful studies or innocent amusements. Gentlemen in Canada seem very fond of recommending their youthful friends to this country; but if they knew and considered the many disadvantages attending a young man in these distant regions they certainly would rather keep them at home. A Clerk here must serve a long time for a trifle, and after all in spite of abilities, friends or money, must either remain dependent on the Company's pleasure, leave the country or take the road to ruin.¹³⁹

The same writer said that men in the North West Company's service received from six to twelve hundred *livres*, with a double suit of clothes. Guides and interpreters received from one to three thousand per annum, and clerks from one hundred to five thousand, with all necessaries. He also stated that there were more than forty posts in the various departments of the north as compared with the eight or nine of ten years earlier. He then makes the following important statement:

The profits arising yearly from a share in the N. W. Co. have been various these eleven years past,—being from worse than nothing to about sixty thousand *livres*:—but now owing to the new modification of the Company, the low prices of furs, the war and the oppositions, I should think our income was again at a very low ebb.¹⁴⁰

The full amount of the employees' wages was of course not met by the North West Company in cash. The employees were allowed, and indeed encouraged, to run accounts. They were of necessity dependent upon the company for articles which they wished to purchase when in the interior. These were rated at advanced prices in accordance with the distance from Montreal. The profit upon liquor and tobacco was doubtless great, and the sales of articles of clothing and ornaments for the native women

¹³⁹ Masson Papers, no. 2370, item 3, pp. 51-52, McGill University.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51, McGill University. This author states that returns came to Grand Portage until the end of August.

must also have been lucrative. Moreover, the Northwest currency standard lent itself to skilful manipulation since it was just double the value of the Canadian currency. A *voyageur* would thus be tempted to purchase articles at a nominal price which might be temptingly low, only to find, in settling his accounts, that one shilling in the interior was counted as two shillings at Montreal. It would therefore be rather unlikely that an employee would save anything from his wages.

The charge was also made that the North West Company encouraged extravagance and vice on the part of its employees, in order to get them into debt. A man deeply in debt to the company would be practically at its mercy. Selkirk made an especially bitter denunciation of this policy, quoting Andriani and current opinion as his authority. In spite of the partisan nature of Selkirk's pamphlet, the accusation merits attention. He stated that a large number of employees was essential to the monopoly of the company and estimated that there were two thousand *voyageurs* in its employ at an average wage of £40 or more, which would mean a total of £80,000 or £90,000. The gross returns of the trade, he said, seldom exceeded £150,000. It would therefore be impossible to pay these wages in cash. The prime value of the goods used instead, according to Selkirk's informants, could not exceed £10,000 sterling. As a sample of advanced prices, he cited that spirits were sold to the employees in the interior at the rate of eight dollars a quart, having cost the North West Company little more than one dollar a gallon at Montreal.¹⁴¹ The prices of goods given to the Indians in exchange for furs were likewise high. There was, of course, always the possibility of bad debts, which would partially justify such prices.

¹⁴¹ Selkirk, *Sketch*, 36-41. Selkirk cites Andriani's account as it appears in La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, *Voyages dans l'Amérique*, II, 225, Paris, An. 7. Andriani, who visited Grand Portage in 1791, stated that there were more than 900 employees who owed the North West Company more than twelve or fifteen years of their wages. If true, this would hardly be good business on the part of the North West Company.

But this possibility would be greatest in the regions where opposition trade tended to enhance the prices paid for furs.

The North West Company possessed permanent property of considerable value in the shape of forts and other buildings. It does not appear whether it possessed or leased any buildings in London. The returns must have been stored somewhere,¹⁴² and it is not likely that they could always have been in public warehouses. They required considerable space for resorting, which was necessary for market purposes, the fine furs being surrounded by coarse pelts in transportation. The furs also required handling to keep them from spoiling.¹⁴³ Business procedure was probably accomplished in the offices of the London firms interested in the trade.

The business headquarters in Montreal were, for some time at least, in St. Gabriel Street. In 1824 the building which had been used for offices and other purposes by the agents of the North West Company was advertised for sale.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² The Hudson's Bay Company had a warehouse at Ratcliff Cross in 1768 (State Papers Domestic Entry Books, vol. 142, pp. 128-130). It was at the same place in 1789 (Hudson's Bay Sale Books, 1787-1789, C. O. 135, vol. 4).

¹⁴³ The necessity for granting facilities for breaking packages of furs and deer skins in the storage warehouses without its being necessary to pay the duties, was emphasized in remarks enclosed by John Bainbridge and William Huskisson, president of the Board of Control, in a letter dated Broadstreet, April 11, 1823, to the Board of Trade. It was necessary for preservation and for sorting for the home and foreign market. It was pointed out that the duties of the last consolidation act were high and that, unless such facilities were granted, the trade would be driven to Hamburg (B. T. 1, vol. 179, no. 12).

¹⁴⁴ In the *Montreal Herald*, vol. XIII, no. 93, Saturday, September 25, 1824, the following notice commences:

"Hotel to Let.

To Let, for Three or Five Years, and Possession immediately given, that Extensive Building in St. Gabriel Street; lately occupied as Offices & c. by the Agents of the North West Company, now fitted up for an Hotel, or Boarding House. The House contains Twenty Bed Rooms, and Four Parlours and Dining Rooms, all well finished.—Apply to

M'Gillivrays, Thain and Co.

24th September, 1824,—z"

This advertisement was still running April 30, 1825, but disappeared later in that year.

The buildings at Grand Portage are only briefly mentioned by Mackenzie. There is a much better description in a journal written in 1793, which reads as follows:

The Grand Portage is situated at the bottom of a shallow Bay perhaps three miles deep and about one league and a half wide at its mouth from *Pointe aux Chapeaux* to *pointe a la Framboise* having a small Island just opposite the fort about half way from one of these points to the other: on a low spot which rises gently from the Lake. The pickets are not above fifteen to twenty paces from the water's edge. Immediately back of the Fort is a lofty round Sugar loaf Mountain the base of which comes close to the Pickets on the North West side.

The Gates are always shut after sunset and the Bourgeois and clerks Lodge in houses within the *Pallisades*, where there are two Sentries keeping a look out all night chiefly for fear of accidents by fire. A clerk a guide and four men are considered enough (These are Montreal engagees).

The North Men while here live in tents of different sizes pitched at random, the people of each post having a camp by themselves and through their camp passes the road of the portage. They are separated from the Montrealists by a brook. The Portage is three leagues from one navigation to the other which caused great expense and trouble to the company. The men have Six Livres of this currency for every piece of goods or Pack of Furs they carry from one end of it to the other. The currency of the North west is double that of Canada which currency had its origine, I presume, from the men's wages being formerly paid in peltries and it was supposed that one liver's worth of Furs would be worth two livers to the person that took it to Montreal to be paid. The currency existed long before the North West Company had a being and I believe before Canada was taken from the French.

All the buildings within the Fort are sixteen in number made with cedar and white spruce fir split with whip saws after being squared, the Roofs are covered with Shingles of Cedar and Pine, most of their posts, Doors and windows, are painted with Spanish brown. Six of these buildings are Store Houses for the company's Merchandise and Furs &c., the rest are dwelling houses shops compting house and Mess House—they have also a wharf or quay for their vessels to unload and Load. . . . Every Improvement about this place appertains to the North West Company. Between two and three hundred yards to the East of the N. W. Fort beyond the pork eaters camp is the spot where Messrs. David and Peter Grant have selected to build upon, as yet they have done nothing to it but marking out the four corners of the ground they mean to occupy with posts. They are now off for the interior without leaving any vestige of their having been here but the four posts

above mentioned. . . . A full allowance to a *voyageur* while at this Post is a Quart of Lyed Indian Corn or maize and one ounce of Grease.¹⁴⁵

The buildings at Fort William in 1817, according to Cox, consisted of a large house, which contained a spacious dining hall; the council house; the doctor's residence; store houses for furs and merchandise; a forge, and various workshops, with apartments for the mechanics. There was a prison for refractory *voyageurs*. All these were surrounded by wooden fortifications, flanked with bastions. There was a shipyard as well. A certain amount of agriculture was carried on. There were a garden and extensive fields of Indian corn and potatoes. There were some cattle, horses, and other domestic animals. The temporary habitations of the *voyageurs*, Indians, and other non-privileged persons were located outside of the fort. From a somewhat rickety observatory in the courtyard, an extensive view could be had of the level, wooded land and of Lake Superior in the distance.¹⁴⁶

The forts of the interior varied from permanent and extensive structures at important points to temporary posts located in regions where a season's trade would exhaust the supply of furs for a year or more. Some were of more importance for obtaining provisions than for obtaining furs. Franklin described some of these posts as they appeared in the latter years of the North West Company. Cumberland House was built of logs without much attention to comfort. It was surrounded by lofty stockades and flanked by wooden bastions. Instead of glass, parchment made by the native women from the skin of the reindeer was used in the windows. The Knisteneaux, or Crees, frequented the post. Fish obtained at Beaver Lake formed a staple article of food for the families there.¹⁴⁷

At Carlton House and La Montée, establishments on the Sas-

¹⁴⁵ Masson Papers, no. 2352, McGill University.

¹⁴⁶ Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 288-289.

¹⁴⁷ Franklin, *Narrative*, 55-56, 84.

katchewan of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies respectively, few furs were obtained. These were provision stations, each of which put up between three and four hundred bags of pemmican during the winter of 1819-1820. There were about seventy Canadians and half-breeds, and sixty women and children at La Montée. They consumed about seven hundred pounds of buffalo meat daily, the allowance being eight pounds per man.¹⁴⁸ The forts at Ile à la Crosse were on the south side of the lake. They no longer sent the furs which they once had procured, but the location was an important one.¹⁴⁹ The posts which Franklin saw at Methye Lake were mere huts hastily constructed during the winter of 1819-1820.¹⁵⁰ Fort Chipewean was situated on a rocky point on the northern shore of Lake Athabasca. It possessed a tower built about eight years previous to 1820 for the purpose of watching the Indians. The post was an important center for receiving furs from, and supplying goods to, the Slave and Peace rivers. About two hundred and fifty hunters carried their furs to Fort Chipewean.¹⁵¹ Fish was the chief article of diet, though considerable meat was also obtained from the Indian hunters. Fish was also the chief food at the posts on Great Slave Lake, north of which lake the Hudson's Bay Company had no posts.¹⁵² Few furs were collected at Fort Providence, the North West Company's post on the north of Great Slave Lake. This post depended on its autumn fishing. The post at Martin Lake had been abandoned.¹⁵³ Fort Good Hope, three days' travel below the confluence of Bear Lake River with the Mackenzie, was the most northerly post of the North West Company. The Loucheux, or Quarreller, Indians traded there for blue and white

¹⁴⁸ Franklin, *Narrative*, 116-117.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 125-126.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 152-155.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 199-201.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 209.

beads. Some small pieces of Russian copper coin once made their way there across the continent from the westward.¹⁵⁴

The provisions, such as pemmican, obtained at the posts on the Saskatchewan, were evidently brought to Cumberland House for the use of the northern departments. The provisions from the Red and Assiniboine rivers were transported to Fort Alexandria, at the mouth of Winnipeg River, where the brigades picked them up.¹⁵⁵

Agriculture was carried on more or less around some of these posts. During the early years of the nineteenth century, the agricultural operations at the posts on the water communication between Fond du Lac and Red River were comparatively extensive.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Franklin, *Narrative*, 292.

¹⁵⁵ Masson, *Bourgeois*, II, 218.

¹⁵⁶ A good description of the region, which was written early in 1807, has been left by George H. Monk. It was apparently intended for the perusal of Roderick McKenzie in answer to a letter dated Kamamtiquia, June 27, 1806, enclosing a printed circular of queries intended to elicit information for a publication. The account is accompanied by a letter from Monk dated Leech Lake, April 18, 1807. After referring to Thompson's visit to the region, he continued: "From Fort William to the River St. Louis boats are more Commodious, safer and cheaper Conveyance than large birch Canoes. River St. Louis disembogues itself into Lake Superior in 47° N. Latitude 92° 40' west Longitude . . . [He speaks of a Grand Portage past the first lake up the river apparently about 27 miles up.] . . . From this place we send back our boats to winter at Fond du Lac post. . . . The portage is 27 miles from the entrance and 13 miles long. At the rate of 14 pieces per man we generally take from 7 to 8 days to cross it. At the westerly end of the portage to every two men we give a Canoe 20 pieces and their provisions. The canoes are 24 feet long and built wide and flat, the shallow and narrow rivers which we have to navigate make this construction, so much disapproved of by N. Westers, Necessary. . . . [More portages follow to River La Savanne, a distance of 45 miles] here River St. Louis takes a northerly Course and we continue a southerly course to Sandy Lake. Three miles up the River St. Louis on the south side, the N. West Company has an establishment, of which the situation is low, but commands a beautiful and romantic view of Lake Superior, of the River and the small Lake. . . . There are two horses, a Cow, a Bull, and a few pigs; with the manure of these animals a garden of 3 acres of pure sand is cultivated, which produces about 220 Bushels Potatoes. . . . Formerly this quarter was very productive in furs but is now dwindling away to a mere trifle and the wretched Inhabitants, say 30 Families, procure but a very scanty share of the necessities of life; . . . [There follows a description of Portage La Savanne, 24 miles

Franklin's description of the methods and standard of trade around Cumberland House in 1819-1820 is typical of the process of barter by which furs were obtained. The standard of exchange was the beaver skin. The relative value of this, as first

up River La Savanne. It was a difficult one, about seven miles long, usually occupying five days with twelve pieces per man.] . . . At the west end of the portage is a small river also called La Savanne, and five leagues to the entrance where it disembogues into Sandy Lake . . . [which] empties itself into the Mississippi by a river four miles long. . . .

"Beaver formerly abounded here but is now very scarce, and dangerous to hunt; being in the neighbourhood of the Sioux, the implacable enemy of the Sautaux. . . . On the South side of the lake the N. W. Company has a fort and garden; the latter produces about 1000 bushels potatoes, some beans and peas. The Company has introduced horses and pigs into that quarter. Stationary warriors are not numerous; from their continual war with the Sioux, population is on the decline. While the men hunt beaver in the spring, the women make maple sugar on which they and their children subsist. . . . [There follows a description of the course from Sandy Lake to the Mississippi, on this to Little Ouinipique branch apparently about 225 miles, then three miles to a muddy lake two miles wide, and thence 70 miles to Leech Lake.] Leech lake is 15 miles long and 12 broad, situated in 47° 16' 13" North Latitude. The little Ouinipic is 6 miles east of Red Cedar Lake. These three lakes form the great source of the Mississippi and are considered as such by General Pike. Otter tail lake is situated 200 miles Southwest by South from Leech Lake. Red lake is described by Mr. Thompson. Lakes, Rivers and swamps are numerous in this quarter. . . . Many of the lakes, Bays & Rivers are muddy and spontaneously produce vast quantities of wild rice, of which the natives gather but a small part. Beaver was formerly very abundant but is now very scarce, and dangerous to hunt, being in the neighborhood of the Sioux Tribes.

" . . . In the latter end of October and beginning of November a fall fishing is made. [Fish were also abundant in April, May, July, August, and September.] . . . a hundred warriors are stationed here, who hunt beaver in the spring, while their women make sugar, on which they and their children subsist.

"The North West Company have an establishment at the West end of Leech Lake, where five acres of ground produce 1000 bushels potatoes, 30 bushels oats or rice, cabbages, carrots, beets, Beans, Pumpkins and Indian Corn. The Company have introduced horses, cats and hens in this quarter. Hunters' meat is scarce in this country, every possible effort is made in the fall to lay in the necessary stock of provisions for the winter; consequently a quantity of wild rice is purchased from the natives.

"Round lake, situated 60 miles north of Leech lake, is the source of the large fork of Rainy River, and is inhabited by 15 or 20 warriors. On the North side of Upper Red Lake two freemen cultivate small spots of ground and some more talk of following their example; the natives would like this . . . " (Masson Papers, no. 2370, item 5, pp. 7-18, McGill University). The account is entitled: "Some account of the Department of Fond du Lac or Mississippi by George Henry Monk Esq."

established by the traders, differed considerably from the existing worth of the articles it represented, but the Indians were averse to change. Three martens, eight muskrats, one lynx, one wolverine skin, were equivalent to a beaver. A silver fox, white fox, or otter was equal to two beavers, and a large black bear or a black fox was equal to four beavers. This valuation had little relation to European prices. The same was true of European articles. A coarse butcher's knife was estimated as one skin; a woollen blanket or a fathom of coarse cloth, as eight skins; and a fowling piece, as fifteen. The Indians received their principal outfit of clothing and ammunition in the autumn, on credit, to be repaid by their winter hunts. The amount entrusted to each hunter varied, with his reputation for industry and skill, from twenty to one hundred and fifty skins. Each of the rival companies had men constantly engaged in traveling over the country during the winter to collect the furs from the different bands of hunters as fast as they were procured. These men frequently induced the Indians, by presents of liquor, to give up skins which they really owed to the opposing company. Such tactics occasionally caused armed conflicts and always meant the expense of employing a great number of men by both parties.¹⁵⁷

Some consideration may be given to the social status of the members of the North West Company. The London interests appear to have been solid, respectable merchants and shipowners. Simon McGillivray is simply cited as such in the Deed Poll of the union of the two companies in 1821. The county residence assigned to Edward Ellice implies an additional status.

Some of the retired partners were able to purchase estates in Scotland and set up as country gentlemen. The most respectable of these was Sir Alexander Mackenzie, whose services to exploration well merited the degree of knighthood which he possessed.

¹⁵⁷ Franklin, *Narrative*, 83-84.

He resided on the estate of Avock in Rosshire.¹⁵⁸ William McGillivray purchased an estate in Argyllshire for £20,000.¹⁵⁹

The agents and some of the more affluent partners of the North West Company ranked high in Montreal society and entertained extensively. Books of travel descant on the hospitality of Montreal in those years.¹⁶⁰ Some of the partners received a certain recognition in learned societies. Alexander Mackenzie's at-

¹⁵⁸ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 53, 57.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁶⁰ For example, Maude writes that on September 20, 1800, he dined with Mr. Frobisher at his town house. There were twenty-two persons at table, among the guests being Gouverneur Morris of Morrisania, Edward Livingston of New York, member of Congress, Dr. Selby, the Honorable James McGill, the Honorable John Lees, member of the Executive Council, Messrs. McTavish, Cuthbert, Todd, Henry, and Lister. On leaving Montreal he wrote: "I am now going to take leave, most probably forever, of Montreal. Never place had so won, in so short a time, upon my affections. During the ten days of my ever-to-be-remembered stay here, I have not been allowed to take a single meal at my Inn, except at breakfast, a liberty I would not give up. . . . This kindness was the more flattering as I did not come recommended. . . . I had often heard of the hospitality of Montreal; I now experienced it" (Maude, *A Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800*, pp. 234, 238).

Colonel Landmann has left a good description of a dinner at the residence of Alexander Mackenzie and William McGillivray, who dwelt together. He writes: "After many days of feasting and hard drinking, I was engaged, as also Humfrey and Lacy, to dine with Sir Alexander Mackenzie and McGillivray. The party . . . amounted to about twenty in number.

"In those days we dined at four o'clock and after taking a satisfactory quantity of wine, perhaps a bottle each, the married men, viz., Sir John Johnson, McTavish, Frobisher, O'Brien, Judge Ogden, Tom Walker, and some others retired, leaving about a dozen to drink to their health. We now began in right earnest and true highland style, and by four o'clock in the morning, the whole of us had arrived at such a degree of perfection, that we could all give the war-whoop as well as Mackenzie and McGillivray. . . .

"It had been settled at Sir Alexander Mackenzie's party, that on the following morning, Lacy and myself should proceed to Quebec, distant about one hundred and eighty miles, in consequence of which, by nine o'clock he came to press me to rise and prepare for the journey. Lacy was quickly followed by Mackenzie, W. McGillivray and others who had been of the drunken party. By twelve o'clock we started, accompanied by Mackenzie and McGillivray, as far as Point-au-Tremble, where they took leave and returned to town, whilst Lacy and myself continued our journey with post-horses and sleighs. We had both suffered so much through this heavy debauch, that it was not until late on the fourth day that we arrived at Quebec (31st December, 1797).

"I was afterward informed that one hundred and twenty bottles of wine

tainments have been indicated. His cousin Roderick McKenzie planned a literary work, which was not completed.¹⁶¹ It is stated that Pierre de Rocheblave had a seat in the Legislative Assembly at Quebec.¹⁶² Alexander Mackenzie had been a member for some years.¹⁶³ Together with Joseph Frobisher, John Richardson, of the firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Company, represented the East Ward of Montreal in the first Parliament of Lower Canada. He took the oath as a legislative councillor at Quebec, January 31, 1821.¹⁶⁴ Simon McTavish owned the seigniorship of Terrebonne, besides other wide lands in Lower Canada.¹⁶⁵ Other evidences might be given of magnates in the western fur trade who rose to positions of dignity and public trust.

The Beaver Club was the social organization of the North West Company partners at Montreal. It was formed in 1785, with a membership of only nineteen, all tried winterers. No one could be admitted who had not passed the test of a winter in the *pays d'En Haut* and received the unanimous vote of the members of the club. Its table was always open to strangers of distinction and to partners from the interior. It entertained in a

had been consumed at our convivial meeting, but I should think a great deal had been spilt and wasted" (Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, I, 233-238).

¹⁶¹ There is a bound manuscript volume among the Masson Papers in McGill University which bears on the first page the following inscription: "Some account of the North West Company containing Analogy of Nations Ancient and Modern. By Roderick MacKenzie, Esq., A Director; Member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada; Lieut. Col. of Militia; Member of the Litty & Hist Society of Quebec; Member of the American Antiquarian Society; & Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians of Copenhagen." This shows the recognition which was accorded to McKenzie. It also explains the presence of a heterogeneous mass of notes on American, Asiatic, and European peoples in the Masson Papers at the Canadian Archives. McKenzie apparently planned to dedicate his book to Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, as the McGill University volume shows (Masson Papers, no. 2370, McGill University).

¹⁶² Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections*, VII, 133.

¹⁶³ Masson, *Bourgeois*, I, 50.

¹⁶⁴ Campbell, *History of the St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal*, 87.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 243.

brilliant, expensive, and perchance noisy manner. During the winter season its members congregated every fortnight. Its motto, "Fortitude in distress," appeared on the large gold medals which the members wore on special occasions.

The club declined about 1824, when Montreal lost its pre-eminent position in the Northwest trade. Simpson made some tentative suggestions about reviving it in 1827, but these seem to have had no fruition.¹⁶⁶

French Canadians seldom rose to the higher ranks of the North West Company, but they formed the chief element of the lower grades. Their customs and language colored the trade. Many French terms were used by the traders. A common unit of value was a *plus*, which, according to Masson, was the equivalent of one good beaver skin.¹⁶⁷ Accounts kept by Malhiot at Lac du Flambeau indicate, for example, that he sent goods to the value of nine hundred and thirty-six and a half *plus* to the Wisconsin River from October, 1804, to May, 1805.¹⁶⁸ A *habillement* was a suit of clothes, which was sometimes given to the North West Company's servants as a recompense for a special service. It

¹⁶⁶ Masson, *Esquisse*, 92-94; *Bourgeois*, I, 58. It may be remarked that many travelers who praise the hospitality of the Northwest fur magnates never mention the Beaver Club. Palmer mentions it briefly as follows: "Some of the members of the North West Company have established a convivial society, called the Beaver Club, in which the calumet, or pipe of peace, is handed round, and the Indian manners, customs, and language, closely imitated. The members generally stand, but visitors have the privilege of sitting" (Palmer, *Journal*, 215-216).

¹⁶⁷ Masson, *Esquisse*, 7, note 1.

¹⁶⁸ These trading goods were in charge of J. Bte. Bazinet and R. G. Racicot. Most of the goods are listed October 4, 1804. Others were sent in February and May. In a *Livre de Drouine* appear various items recorded by Malhiot in regard to outgoing goods and incoming returns, of dates August 4, 1804, to May 18, 1805. These indicate that goods were sent to Ouisconsin; Vieux Desert; la Puise; Lac Superieur; la loge du Genou; la loge des Grandes Oreilles; la vieu La Chouette, le Canard et l'Outarde; la loge de la Moitie de chef; la loge du vieux Sorcier; Lac de la Truit; les Gens des Lacs; Portage de la Tortue; Lac de la Tolle. The outgoing items totaled 834 plus, and the incoming totaled 531 plus (Masson Papers, McGill University). The names are given with Malhiot's spelling. The items give an idea of the way in which a district was managed from a central post.

differed from an equipment, or *équipement*, which was a quantity of clothing, tobacco, and other articles stipulated in an employee's contract as part of his pay. A train, or *traincau*, was a sledge made of a thin board, ten or twelve inches wide, and eight or ten feet long. It was bent up at one end, by which it was dragged on the snow or ice. The Hudson's Bay Company's people were termed *les Anglois* or *les Gens de la Baie d'Urson* or *les Gens du Petit Nord*. The North West Company's people were called *les Gens du Nord-Ouest*.¹⁶⁹

The North West Company was an association, not a body with chartered or monopoly rights. It has been shown that this company was not averse to soliciting for such special privileges. But the influences opposing the regular granting of these proved themselves too powerful. The king's posts appear to have been the only region in which the company ever were granted legal control of trade, and this was merely in the customary form of a lease from the government.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Amos, *Trials*, 9.

¹⁷⁰ The lease in existence when the North West Company was formed had been granted September 20, 1762 (Add. 21718, f. 5; Q, 26-2, pp. 475 *et seq.*). On May 26, 1785, Hamilton wrote to Sydney from Quebec, requesting instructions. He had received positive orders to grant a lease of the King's Posts to Alexander and George Davison, but had already granted leases to Thomas Dunn and William Grant (Q, 24-2, p. 335). A memorial of Thomas Dunn, William Grant, and Peter Stuart for a renewal of their lease is in Q, 26-2, pp. 338-352. The Posts were granted to Alexander and George Davison and François Baby by a lease dated Quebec, June 21, 1786. The rent was to be £400 currency annually due October 1, with 30 days' time. The lease was for ten years, i.e., until October 1, 1796, with a further extension for six years, i.e., until October 1, 1802, if notice to leave were not given before October 1, 1796, and an extension until October 1, 1797, if notice were not given before June, 1796 (Q, 26-2, pp. 475 *et seq.*; Q, 74-2, pp. 289-290). In 1800 Milnes wrote to Portland that the lease was about to expire and that it was intended to dispose of it at public auction (Milnes to Portland, no. 19, London, March 8, 1800, C. O. 42, vol. 114). It was then leased by the agents of the North West Company for a rent of a thousand *louis*, or a thousand pounds sterling a year (Masson, *Esquisse*, 79; *Origin and Progress*, 29). The rent of the Posts for the year ending October 31, 1821, is stated to have been £922-10-0 (C. O. 47, vol. 122). The Posts were held by the North West Company until its union with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Elsewhere they depended upon established trade and energetic, on occasion even unscrupulous, tactics to obtain fur returns and discourage competitors. Except within the chartered limits of the Hudson's Bay Company and in the king's posts, the right to trade was legally open on equal terms to any British subject. The North West Company also asserted that it was entitled to trade on lands claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company under their charter. The basis of the North West Company's contention is well stated as follows, in a pamphlet issued in their favor:

The territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company have never been defined, and although they now claim as their exclusive property, all lands watered by rivers which in their course fall into the Bay, the greater part of the country which would be included in that description, was previous to the partial occupancy, or even to the discovery of it by their traders or servants, in the actual possession of the French Colonists in Canada (some part as early as the year 1727), and subsequently to the conquest of that country by Great Britain, has continued in possession of Canadian traders who now occupy it, deriving their right uninterruptedly from their French predecessors by the formal cession of Canada in 1761. . . .

Supposing, however, that the [Hudson's Bay] Company acquired by their Charter exclusive territorial and commercial rights in all countries which they claim to belong to them and their definition of which is before stated; those rights and privileges must have long since virtually ceased by the disuse of that Charter, and by the non-fulfillment on the part of the Company of the terms on which it was originally granted; . . .¹¹¹

Against such claims various arguments might be, and were, used. The question of the effect of the British conquest of Canada was by no means the least difficult to determine. Would it, as claimed, merely pass on rights to succeeding traders domiciled in Canada, the leading individuals of whom were British newcomers in the province? Or would it operate in favor of the English traders established since a much earlier date in a region at least equally contiguous to the territory in dispute, by eliminating

¹¹¹ *Narrative of Occurrences*, 62-63.

the pretensions of the rival race which had been trading in their hinterland? The Union of 1821 saved the British government from the necessity of coming to a decision on this point or of making a statement as to the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter.

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Wisconsin Historical Society

Collections.

APPENDIX A

REPORT TO GENERAL HALDIMAND ON THE NORTH WEST TRADE, 1780

Additional 21759, ff. 81-82.

Sir,—In conformity to Your Excellency's request I made every inquiry in my power concerning the trade carried on between the Mercantile people of this Province and the Savages of the Upper Countries, but the time since you spoke to me on that head being short to collect all the intelligence I wanted, I am not yet furnished with information sufficient to lay every branch of that trade before Your Excellency so full and clear as I would wish. However, such knowledge as I have acquired of that business is as follows, and submitted to Your Excellency's Consideration to grant passes for carrying on the current year's trade as you may judge Consistent with the Welfare of Commerce and the Safety of the Province.

At all times the Trade to the Upper Countries has been considered the Staple Trade of this Province, but of late years it has been greatly augmented, in so much that it may be reckoned one year with another to have produced an annual return to Great Britain in Furs to the amount of £200,000 Ster., which is an object deserving of all the encouragement and protection which Government can with propriety give to that Trade.

The Indian Trade by every communication is carried on at great Expense, Labour & risk of both men and property; every Year furnishes instances of the loss of men & goods by accident or otherwise, it is not therefore to be expected that the Traders in general are men of substance; indeed few of them are able to purchase with ready money such Goods as they want for their Trade. They are consequently indebted from Year to Year, untill a return is made in Furs, to the Merchants of Quebec & Montreal who are Importers of Goods from England & furnish them on credit,—in this manner the Upper Country Trade is chiefly carried on by men of low circumstances, destitute of every means to pay their Debts when their Trade fails; and if it should be under great restraints, or obstructed a few years, the Consequences would prove Ruinous to the Commercial part of this Province and very hurtful to the Merchants of London, shippers of Goods to this country, besides the loss of so valuable branch of Trade in Great Britain.

In these troublesome times the least stop to the Indian Trade might be productive of very bad Effects, even among the savages who are at present our Friends or Neuter, who on seeing no supply of Goods would immediately change sides and join the Enemies to Government under pretence that the Rebels had got the better of us, and that we had it not in our power to supply them any more,—all the property in the Upper Countries in such a case

would become an easy prey to their resentment,—and the lives of His Majesty's Subjects, doing business in these Countries at the time of a rupture of this nature, might probably fall a sacrifice to the Fury and Rage of disappointed uncivilized Barbarians.

I am informed that of late Years from ninety to one Hundred Canoes have Annually been employed in the Indian Trade, from Montreal by the Communication of the great River to Michilimackinae, Lakes Huron & Michigan, LaBay & the North West; but this particular may be better ascertained from the Registers Office, where I imagine not only the Number of Canoes but the Names of the men employed in that Trade and the places of their destination is recorded,—without access to that office it is impossible to be exact in these points. From the different Posts above mentioned comes at least one half the Furs annually Exported from Canada, one fourth is supposed to come from Niagara, Detroit and their Environs, and one Fourth is said to be Produced at the lower Posts and Inhabited parts of the Province.

I do not know how many Canoes may be wanted this year for the Trade of Michilimackinae and its dependencies, but I imagine a greater Number than usual is absolutely necessary, because they will have to carry from Montreal all the Provisions requisite for that Trade which was mostly furnished in former years from Detroit, and carried from thence to Michilimackinae in Vessels of burthen, by which means a great deal of Expence was saved in Carriage.

As to the danger of Goods sent by the Grand River to the North West, or La Bay falling into the hands of the Rebels or being carried to them by disaffected persons, I am told it is hardly possible to be Effected, the Communication being so difficult of Access and the distance so great, that the Carriage of Goods conveyed by that Route would cost much more than they can by any means be worth. In this I shall insert the average value of a Canoe load of Goods at the time of departure from Montreal, at Michilimackinae and at the Grand Portage, from that it may be Judged how far it is practicable to carry on any Commerce with the Enemies to Great Britain by La Bay, even by disaffected persons,—from Lake Michigan Goods may be carried to the Rebels, but at very great expence, Labour & risk, the access through that Channel being also difficult and a great way to go, though not so far as the former. For my part I am not at present perfectly acquainted with the Routes or distances so as to give a distinct account of them, therefore I refer to the Maps of these countries, from which that particular will be better ascertained.

A Canoe load of Goods is reckoned at Montreal, worth in dry Goods to the Amount of £300 first sterling cost in England, with 50 per Cent charges thereon makes £450; besides that every canoe carries about 200 Gallons of Rum & Wine, which I suppose worth £50 more, so that every Canoe on departure from that place may be said worth £500 Currency of this Province.

The charges of all sorts included together from Montreal to Michilimaekinae £160 and from thence to the Grand Portage £90, so that it appears that each canoe at Michilimaekinae is worth £660, and at the Grand Portage the Cost is £750 Currency. Every canoe is navigated by eight men for the purpose of transporting the Goods only & when men go up to Winter they commonly carry ten.

Considering the great Number of people in this Province immediately interested in the Indian Trade, it is hardly possible to suppose but there may be amongst them some disaffected men, but the Major part of them I sincerely believe are sure friends to Government and it would be hard the whole Community should suffer for the sake of a few bad men, since Regulations and Laws are, or may be made sufficiently severe to prevent in a great measure or altogether every Effort that may be made to Convey Goods to the Enemy, and if any person whatever should attempt designedly to Violate such regulations, as are made for the welfare and safety of the Whole the Law ought to be put in execution against him with the utmost rigour, on conviction of guilt and the offender never should be forgiven offences against the publick in general. This I know to be the wish of every honest man within the circle of my own acquaintance, and I daresay it is the same with every well meaning man throughout the Province, for it is evident that Severe Laws never were made for the Government of good men, but for the purpose of securing good Conduct and behaviour among such as require it, and however rigorous the Laws may be, in such times as the present they can neither affect nor offend any person, but such as may have some View to transgress them.

As to that part of the Trade carried on over Lakes Ontario & Erie, I am not well versed in it, therefore shall say nothing more on that head than what I have heard from the best authority, that is, that improper preferences have been given in transporting Goods to Niagara and Detroit, by which means it is represented that the Trade of these Countries have fallen into a few hands, to the great detriment of many honest men equally good Subjects and to the additional expense of Government being obliged to purchase what may be wanted for publick Service from a few Individuals probably for enormous prices; whereas if the Trade was more general every purchaser of Goods would be less liable to imposition.

Last year the Passes for the Indian Trade were given out so late, that it was impossible to forward Goods to the places of destination, Especially in the North-West, for that reason those concerned in that quarter joined their stock together and made one Common Interest of the whole, as it continues at present in the hands of the different persons or Companies mentioned at foot of this. The canoes for the North West are commonly the first sent off and Indeed the earlier all the Canoes bound up the Grand River goes off the

better, because most of the men that Navigate them can be back in time to Cut the Harvest and do other needfull Services.

I have the honour to be with great respect
Yours Excellency's most obedt,
and most humble Servant,
Chas. Grant

Quebec, 24th April, 1780.

Todd & McGill	2 shares	} The North West is divided into Sixteen Shares all which form but one Company at this time.
Ben & Jos. Frobisher	2 do	
McGill & Paterson	2 do	
McTavish & Co.	2 do	
Holmes & Grant	2 do	
Wadden & Co.	2 do	
McBeath & Co.	2 do	
Ross & Co.	1 do	
Oakes & Co.	1 do	

NOTE.—Brymner printed this report, with variations, from the B Series copy in the Canadian archives. *Canadian Archives Report, 1888*. Note E. pp. 59-61.

APPENDIX B

MEMOIR ACCOMPANYING POND'S MAPS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Additional 15332 c.

Amerique Septentrionale. Remarques sur la Carte présentée au Congrès
le 1er Mars 1785

Découverte de Pond. 1785. Par Pierre Pond. Natif de Milefort dans
l'Etat de Conecticut.

Cet homme extraordinaire a residé 17 ans dans les Contrées dont il parle, et d'après ses propres découvertes, et les rapports des Indiens, il assure être Certain d'avoir découvert un Passage a la mer du Nord Ouest. Il est reparti pour Constater quelques observations importantes.

No. 1. La plus grande partie de la Region a l'Est des grandes Plaines, sous la Latitude de 49 degrés est très remplie de Marais, Morasses, Terres Noyées, Laes, Rivieres et montagnes le Seul Bois qui y croit est le Peuplier, le Bouleau et plusieurs Especes de Spruce. Cette Region peut veritablement être appellée La Region des Castors.

No. 2. Je suppose qu'il y ait 140 Degrés Est de Distance entre Petersbourg et le Détroit de Bearing; de Petersbourg a Churchill 126° Ouest, dela à Arabasca 23° Ouest; en tout 289° deja decouverts; par Conséquent; il ne reste plus à decouvrir que les 74 degrés entre Arabosca et le détroit de

Bearing, Ce qui n'est rien en Comparaison de la distance entre le grande Portage et arabosea. Et je présume que la distance réelle ne peut pas être de plus de 60 Degrés.

No. 3. Depuis la Latitude 54 vers le Nord Il se trouve si peu d'habitans qu'on peut y voyager sans rencontrer une seule personne. pendant l'été les Sauvages subsistent de la Viande de Rain-Deer, Poisson et Oiseaux Sauvages. Ils attrapent les premiers dans des filets et convertissent leur peaux en vetemens. pendant l'hiver Ils s'occupent de la Chasse du Castor dont ils vendent les peaux aux Marchands Anglais pour des fusils, de la poudre et quelques autres articles indispensables. ceci est particulièrement applicable à ceux qui vivent au Nord du 58° de Latitude; Ceux au Sud de cette Ligne ont la ressource des Buffles et de l'Original—

No. 4. Quant a la maniere dont L'amérique a été peuplée je suppose une ligne droite tirée depuis la Latitude 40° Long 95° Jusques à la Latitude 60° et Long. 130° Ouest presque toutes les tribus [?] a L'Est de cette Ligne parlent une Langue qui a beaucoup d'affinité avec celle des Esquimaux de la Cote de Labrador. Les tribus [?] au Contraire, qui demeurent à Louest de cette Ligne parlent un Langage Extraordinaire, que Consiste dans un bruit de Gosier qu'il est impossible d'apprendre. Les premiers son Continuellement en Guerre avec les derniers, les premiers sont très adroits dans la construction et la Navigation de leurs Canots: les seconds ignorent entierement cet art. Les premiers sont tous amis et allies depuis Latlantique, Jusquau 60 Degré Nord.

Les seconds sont entreux également amis et dans une paix profonde.

Presque toutes les tribus [?] à Louest coupent un de leurs doigts à la mort de leurs parents. Ceux à L'Est, au Contraire, ont un usage différent, ils pincent La peau de leurs bras et de leurs Jambes et les percent avec la pointe d'un Couteau pour les faire Saigner.

fol. 2. Les tribus de L'Est gagnent et Empietent [?] insensiblement sur ceux de L'ouest. ces derniers, cherchent souvent à pénétrer vers L'Est: mais La Superiorité que donnent à Leurs antagonistes les armes a feu, et si grande qu'ils ne peuvent s'y opposer.

Toutes ces Circonstances et plusieurs autres me font Croire que l'une de ces tribus vient de L'ouest, peut être de quelque partie de La Siberie et que L'autre vient peut être par l'Est de L'Europe, et ont été ennemis irreconciliables. Comme venants de deux Souches différentes, telle est je crois la Cause de leurs Guerres Eternelles tout ce que je puis assurer, est que les tribus de L'Est ont foit reculer celles de L'ouest à une grande distance depuis 40 ans.

No. 5. J'ai tenu Conseil avec 40 des Naturels qui vivent a une petite distance dela mer du N.O. Les autres tribus Les appellent Les gens du Couteaux rouge. Ce nom leur vient de ce que presque tous leurs articles son faits de Cuivre rouge dont leur pays est rempli.

No. 6. Ils Confirment Le flux et Reflux des eaux dans cette mer. Ils assurent qu'ils ne Connoissent aucune terres nord; que Les Cotes courent vers L'ouest; que la Navigation des Rivières qui tombent dans cette Mer est ouverte dans le Commencement de L'Été; qu'ils ont vu plusieurs fois des Isles de glace, flottant Sur ces [?] arages.

No. 7. Ice herring pendant les années 1773, 1774 et 1775 a Entrepris un long et pénible Voyage avec les naturels pour aller Examiner les grandes mines de Cuivre dont ils lui avoient parlé et en a apporté des Echantillons; mais ayant trouvé que ces mines étoient à une Grande Distance d'Eaux Navigables, il crut qu'elles ne rapporteraient aucun profit à la Compagnie. une autre raison étoit que ces Rivières ne fournissant pas de bois, il n'aurait pas été possible de construire un fort, n'y d'y passer un rigoureux hiver. aussitôt après son retour, il fut fait Gouverneur du Fort Churchill et y resta jusques à ce qu'il fut pris par Les François en 1782. On a Etouffé Les plus petites circonstances de son Voyage et des ses decouvertes. J'ai reçu ces détails des Sauvages qui L'accompagnerent et aujourd' hui il est defendu à tous personnes d'aller vers L'ouest.

Suivt. les Détails que j'ai pu obtenir des Sauvages, sur ce qu'ils mont dit de la Longuer des jours et des nuits et qu'il n'y a point pendant L'été d'obscurité totale, mais toujours une Espee de Crepuscule, Je imagine que cette nouvelle Mer est sur le Cercle arctique.

No. 8. Toutes les nations du Nord, Sont perpetuellement en Guerre avec celles qui habitent dans le Voisinage de la mer de Californie; J'ai vu plusieurs Chevelures negres qui en avaient été rapportés les tributs du Nord et de l'ouest sont gens fidele [?] et honestes Grés[?]les quels on n'a Jamais entendre. . . .

No. 9. Je suis persuadé qu'il n'y a point de partie de ce Grande Continent qui ne puisse être Visitée; parce qu' on peut se procurer des Chevaux où la Navigation est arrêtée

A Arabosca 15 Mars 1784

Pierre Pond.

fol. 3. De Milford dans L'Etat de Connecticut.

No. 10. Il ne faut pas croire que les Détails que je mets sur Cette Carte ont aucune analogie précise avec L'endroit même Eloigné dans les bois, avec peu de Papier, j'écrirai mes reflexions et les plaçoir ou je Pourai.

No. 11. J'ai vu dans les montagnes des pierres à fusil, pleines de Veines d'un métal Blanc je ne sais si c'est de L'argent ou ce que ce peut être.

No. 12. Les Animaux de ces Cantons sont très différent de ceux de l'Est et du Nord. ils semblent Correspondre avec ceux de L'Amérique du Sud, particulièrement Le Lama à Cause de sa belle Laine.

No. 13. Ici on Cultive d'Excellent tabac qui a une Saveur toute particulière.

No. 14. Ici les montagnes et les plaines sont tres Chaudes pendt. L'Eté.

No. 15. On trouve de long de ces grandes montages [sic] des Sources d'Eaux Bouillantes, d'autres d'une Chaleur plus Modérée et un Nombre infini de froides.

No. 16. On trouve ici jusqu' au 54° une tres bonne espee de Chevaux, quelques mulets et des anes et de grandes troupeaux de Buffles, jusqu' au 63 D.

No. 17. Plaines immenses qui s'etendent le 30e D. Jusqu'au 60° de Latitude nord et sont termines par cette Chaine Enorme de Montagnes qui dans quelques endroits n'ont pas moins de 150 Lieues de Large.

No. 18. Tontes les rivieres de L'ouest de Cette Chaine Coulent dans La mer Pacifique ou Océan occidentale Suiv' Ce que m'ont dit les Sauvages qui quelque fois amenant des Prisonniers de ces Cantons, ils nous dirent aussi que Semblables aux habitans de MiddleBourg Suiv' le Capitaine Cook, ils se coupent un doit a la mort de leurs parents.

No. 19. Les naturels disent qu'il y a un *Chasme* ou Passage Souterrrein à travers ces Montagnes par où coule la riviere; que les Rochers au dessus sont perpendiculaires, et d'une auteur immense et qu' ils avoient osé penetrer une petite distance dans leurs Canots Sous ces Voutes [?] terribles.

No. 20. Le long des rivages de cette Riviere on trouve des Sources de Bitume qui coule sur la terre.

No. 21. Jai avec moi plusieurs instruments faits du Cuivre des mines dont Jai deja parlé que j'ai acheté des Sauvages nommés Archipoints.

No. 22. Toutes les Eaux de ces cantons coulent au N. O.

No. 23. Ces Regions sont remplies de Plaines immenses où il n y a ni bois ni herbes. on y trouve quelques Buissons dont la Grosseur N'Exede pass celle de la Jambe. C'est d'ici, où Jimagine, qu'on pourrait trouver un passage au N. O.

No. 24. La Latitude de ces Régions est bien connue.

No. 25. fol. 4. Les Rivieres sous la Longitude 125° O. sont navigables et Sans Glaces depuis le Commencement de mai en 60 degrés de Latitude nord; au lieu que les Rivieres qui Coulent dans la Baye d'Hudson, ne Sont ouvertes que Vers La mi-juin, telle est la difference du Climat quoique plus au nord qu'a York et à Churchill Sous les Latitudes ci dessus mentionnées on y trouve tous les fruits naturels a L'amérique et au Climat tels que les fraises, groseilles, &c et une infinité d'autres pour les quels Je n' ai pas de noms. ils Croissent sur les Bords des Rivieres et des Laes, qui abondent en Poisson et sont Couverts d'une multitude infinie d'byes et de Canards Sauvages, quand le vent est a Louest l'atmosphere est couvert de nuages de Brouillards humides, même pendant l'hiver; mais au contraire quand le vent est sud-est tout est clair et serein.

No. 26. Je Ne prétends a aucune Exactitude dans Cette partie parce quelle est deja bien Connue. Jene Me suis attache qu'aux découverts que

j'ai faites pendant un grand nombre d'années Vers Le N.O. Je N'ai pu insérer dans cette carte tous les Laes qui S'y trouvent.

NOTE.—The preceding is all written in a fairly neat and fairly legible slanting hand. The following is written on smaller sized paper, in a fine slanting hand. Many of the letters as "L" are formed in a different manner. It is enclosed with the preceding and is numbered consecutively as folios 5-7, but this is in pencil not in the ink of the body of the MS. But the pages are numbered 1-5 in the same ink and handwriting as the body of the MS.

fol. 5. p. 1. Extrait d' un Mémoire présenté au Congrès Americain, le 1^{er} Mars 1785 par Peter Pond* (*the following is a footnote. Ce voyageur a residé 17 ans dans les contrées dont il parle dans ce Mémoire et d' apres les propres recherches et les rapports des Indiens, il croit avoir découvert, au moyen de quelques portages, un passage à la Mer du Nord ou glaciale, par la riviere de cuivre. Il est reparti depuis pour constater quelques observations importantes. La Carte qui accompagne ce Mémoire a été dressée par lui-meme sur les lieux. Il ne pretend cependant pas qu' elle soit de la derniere exactitude, mais elle suffit pour indiques les découvertes.) natif de Milford dans l'Etat de Connecticut accompagné d'une Carte des pays situés a l'Ouest du Lac Superieur jusqu'aux grandes montagnes qui les separe de la Mer Pacifique.

La Contree qui est a l'Est du Missisipi a peu pres sous la latitude de 45° est tellement remplie de marais, morasses, terres noyées, laes et rivières qu' on peut veritablement l'appeler la Region des Castors. C'est là que sont le Lac Superieur, le Lac Michigan, le lac Huron, le Lac Erié et bien d' autres. Le seul bois qui y croisse est le Peuplier, le Bouleau et plusieurs especes de Spruce.

Au couchant de cette Contrée c'est à dire du Missisipi, sont des Plaines immenses qui s'etendent depuis le 30° degre de latitude, jusqu' au 60^{me} et qui ne sont bornées du côté de l'ouest que par une chaine enorme de montagnes qui les sépare de la Mer du Sud. Ces plains sont habitées par différentes tribus de sauvages qui sont toutes alliées entr'elles et avec celles qui sont à l'orient du Missisipi. Toutes ces Tribus paroissent avoir la même origine et elles parlent un langage qui a beaucoup d' affinité avec celui des Esquimaux de la Côte de Labrador. Elles sont très adroites dans la construction et la navigation de leurs canots, et les individus à la mort de leurs parens ont un usage tout particulier qui est de se pincer la peau des bras et des jambes et de les percer avec la pointe d'un couteau pour les faire saigner. Toutes ces nations se servent des armes à feu qu'elles achètent des Anglois et elles sont perpetuellement en guerre avec celles qui sont à l'ouest de la montagne. Ces Tribus, l'été vivent de leur chasse, et l'hiver elles ont la ressource de l'original et des buffles qui habitent par grands troupeaux dans

ces plaines jusqu' au 58^{ème} degré de latitude. Il y a aussi dans ces plaines une très bonne espèce de chevaux, quelques mulets et des ânes.

Cependant au Nord du 54^{ème} degré de latitude on ne trouve presque plus d'habitans, et l'on peut voyager long-temps dans ce pays sans rencontrer une seule personne. Le peu de sauvages qui vient [?] dans ces deserts subsistent pendant l'été de la viande de Renne, de poisson et d'oiseaux sauvages. Ces sauvages attrapent les Rennes dans des filets et convertissent leur peaux en vetemens. L'hiver ils s'occupier de la chasse du Castor dont ils vont vendre les peaux aux Anglois pour des fusils, de la poudre et quelques autres articles indispensables.

La chaîne de montagnes qui separe as plaines de la Mer du Sud est appelée par les habitans la Montagne pierreuse et en plusieurs endroits elle est taillée à pic. Elle a autant de longueur que ces plaines et sa largeur est quelquefois de 150 lieues. On trouve le long de ces montagnes des sources d'eau bouillante, d'autres d'une chaleur plus modérée et un nombre infini de froides. J'ai aussi vu dans ces montagnes des pierres à fusil, pleines de veines d'un metal blanc; Je ne sais si c'est de l'argent, ou ce que ce peut-être. Les naturels disent encore qu'il y a un Chasme ou passage souterrain à travers cette montagne, par où coule la rivière qui vient du Lac Arabosea, que les rochers au dessus sont perpendiculaires et d'une hauteur immense et qu' ils ont osé pénétrer à une petite distance dans leurs canots, sous ces voutes terribles. Ce qu' il y a de certain c'est que le long des bords de cette rivière et du Lac Arabosea on trouve des sources de bitume qui coulent sur la terre.

De l'autre côté de cette montagne toutes les rivières courent vers l'Ouest et vont se jeter dans la Mer du Sud, suivant ce que m'ont dit les sauvages. De ce côté il y a encore plusieurs plaines, qui à partir du 45^{ème} degré de latitude et allant vers le midi, sont fort chaudes dans l'été. Ces plaines sont occupées par des Tribus de sauvages qui n'ont rien du tout du commun avec celles qui habitent à l'Est de la montagne, et avec lesquelles elles sont toujours en guerre. Toutes ces tribus de l'Ouest sont très unies entr'elles et en général très simples et de mœurs fort douces. Elles ne connoissent ni la navigation, ni la construction des canots, au rapport de ceux de l'Est, et ignorent entièrement l'usage des armes à feu, ce que leur donne une grande désavantage sur leurs voisins. Elles ont un langage particulier qui consiste dans un bruit de gosier qu'il est impossible aux Nations de l'Est de contre-faire (fol. 6, p. 3), et à la mort de leurs parens, les individus se coupent un doigt, comme cela se pratique chez les habitans de l'isle de Middelbourg selon le Capitaine Cook. Ces Tribus de l'Ouest s'étendent jusqu' à la mer de Californie; ou les Nations de l'Est les poursuivent et emmènent souvent des prisonniers. J'ai même vu plusieurs chevelures de Negres qui avoient été tués dans ces rencontres.

Les animaux que nourrissent ces plaines de l'Ouest, sont aussi fort dif-

ferens de ceux de plaines de l'Est et du Nord; ils semblent plutot correspondre avec ceux de l'Amerique meridionale; et particulierement le Lama à cause de sa belle laine. Vers le 48^{me} degré de latitude dans ces plaines on cultive un excellent tabac, dont le saveur est toute particuliere.

De la difference qui existe entre ces Tribus de l'Ouest et celles de l' Est, j'en conclude que l'Amerique a du être peuplée par deux souches très distinctes. En effet, si vous tirer une ligne depuis le 40^{me} degré de latitude et le 95^{me} de longitude, jusqu'au 60^{me} de latitude et 130^{me} de longitude occidentale, cette ligne separera les deux Nations dont l'une vient certainement de l'Ouest, peut etre de quelque partie de la Siberie, et l'autre de l'Est vraisemblablement de l'Europe (fol. 6, p. 4.). C'est cette origine differente qui les rend ennemis irreconciliable et qui fait le cause de toutes leurs guerres. Les Tribus de l'Ouest cherchent bien de temps en temps à penetrer dans l'Est, mais la superiorité, que l'usage des armes à feu, donne à leurs ennemis les fait bientôt rentrer dans leurs limites, et je puis même assurer que les Tribus de l'Est ont fait reculer celles de l'Ouest à une grande distance depuis quaranteans.

Etant à Arabosea le 15 Mars 1784 et voulant avoir quelques détails sur la Mer que l'on disait exister au Nord-Ouest, je tins conseil avec quarante des Naturels qui habitent a une petite distance de cette mer. Les autres Tribus, les appellent les Gens de Couteau Rouge, parceque presque tous leurs outils sont faits d'un cuivre Rouge dont leur pays est rempli. Ces sauvages m'assurent en effet, que la Mer aupres de laquelle ils vivoient etoit une grande Mer, qu'elle etoit sujette au flux et reflux que ses côtes couroient fort loin vers l'ouest, et qu' ils ne connoissent aucune terre au Nord; que toutes les rivières de leur pays couroient au Nord-Ouest et alloient se jeter dans cette Mer; que toutes ces rivières etoient navigables dès le commencement de l'été, et qu'ils avoient vu plusieurs fois des isles de glace flotter sur leurs cotes; mais ce qu'ils ajoutoient qu'il n y a point pendant l'été d'obscurité totale dans leurs pays, mais toujours une espee de Crepuscule, me fit croire que cette nouvelle Mer est sous le Cercle Polaire Arctique.

M. Hearne, Anglois, pendant les années 1773, 74 et 75, a entreprit du fort Churchill un long et penible voyage avec les naturels pour aller examiner les grandes mines de cuivre dont ils lui avoient parle, et il en a apporte des echantillons; mais ayant trouvé que ces mines etoient à une grande distance d'eaux navigable, il erut qu'elles ne rapporteroient aucun profit à la Compagnie de la Baye d'Hudson. Une autre raison etoient que ces rivières ne fournissant pas du bois, il n'auroit pas été possible de construire un fort, ni d'y passer un rigoureux hiver. Aussitot apres son retour, il fut fait Gouverneur du fort Churchill et y resta jusqu' a ce qu' il fut pris par les françois en 1782. On a étouffé les plus petites circonstances de son voyage et de ses découvertes et aujourd'hui il est deffendu à toutes personnes d'aller vers l'Ouest. J'ai reçu ces details des sauvages qui l'accompagnoient.

J'ai avec moi plusieurs instrumens faits de cuivre des Mines dont il vient d'être question, que j'ai acheté des sauvages nommés Orchipoints.

fol. 7, p. 5. C'est dans le pays de ces derniers que j'imagine qu'on pourroient trouver un passage au Nord-Ouest. Ce pays est composé de Plaines immenses dans lesquelles il n'y a ni bois, ni herbe; on y trouve seulement quelques buissons dont le grosseur n'excède pas celle de la jambe. Tous les sauvages du Nord, sont gens fidèles et honnêtes.

Sous le 60^{me} degré de latitude et vers le 125^{me} de longitude occidentale toutes les rivières sont navigables et sans glaces depuis le commencement de Mai, au lieu que celles qui coulent dans la Baye d'Hudson ne sont ouvertes que vers la Mi-juin. Telle est la différence du climat quoique cette latitude soit plus élevée vers le nord que les positions d'York et de Churchill. Sous cette latitude du 60^{me} degré, on trouve tous les fruits naturels à l'Amérique et au climat, tels que les fraises, Groseilles &c. et une infinité d'autres pour lesquels je n'ai pas de noms. Ils croissent sur les bords des rivières et des lacs qui abondent en poisson, et sont couverts d'une multitude infinie d'oyes et de Canards sauvages. Dans ce Canton quand le vent est à l'Ouest, l'atmosphère est couverte de nuages et de brouillards humides même pendant l'hiver, mais au contraire quand le vent est Sud-Est, tout est clair et serein.

De tout ceci je conclus qu'il reste très peu de pays à découvrir aux environs du Cercle polaire Arctique, car en supposant qu'il y ait 140 degrés de longitude orientale, entre Petersbourg et le Détroit de Behring, 126 de longitude occidentale de Petersbourg au fort Churchill, et 23 du fort Churchill à Arabosca; cela fait en tout 289 degrés découverts; par conséquent il ne reste plus à découvrir que les 71 degrés entre Arabosca et le Détroit de Behring, ce qui n'est rien en comparaison de la distance entre le Grand Portage et Arabosca. Je presume même que la distance réelle n'est pas de plus de 60 degrés; d'ailleurs je suis persuadé qu'il n'y a point de partie de l'Amérique septentrionale que l'on ne puisse visiter, parcequ'il est facile de se procurer des chevaux où la Navigation est arrêtée.

Je ne prétends pas à une exactitude scrupuleuse dans la Carte qui accompagne ce Mémoire, parcequ'étant écarté dans les bois avec peu de papier, je faisois mes observations comme je pouvois. Je n'ai pu y placer tous les lacs que j'ai rencontrés à cause de la petitesse de l'échelle.

APPENDIX C

EXTRACTS FROM THE EVIDENCE OF THOMAS AINSLIE GIVEN BEFORE THE
BOARD OF TRADE

B. T. 5. Vol. 5 (Jan. 1788—Dec. 1789).

Council Chambers, Whitehall, 14 March 1789 (pp. 226-250).

"Thomas Ainslie, Esquire, Collector of the Customs in the Province of

Quebec, who has resided there in that capacity seven and twenty years, attended and was examined as follows:—

Q. Can you inform the Committee what are the Numbers of People at present inhabiting the Province of Quebec, distinguishing the Old Inhabitants from the New? (p. 226).

A. In the year 1760, when the Province was conquered, there were 76122 Souls—of whom between the age of sixteen and sixty, fit to bear arms, there were 16212 (p. 227).

In 1784 there were about 113,012 Souls, exclusive of the People of Detroit, Chaleur Bay and Gaspee. I cannot distinguish between the old and the new Inhabitants, but the new Inhabitants make but a very small proportion of the whole.

Since the year 1784, the number of the Inhabitants has increased considerably, and those entirely English, being Loyalists who came from the Countries belonging to the United States.

Q. In what Articles does the Export Trade of the Province of Quebec consist?

A. The principal are Furs of every kind (with an account of the particulars of which I will furnish the Committee.) Wheat, Flour and Biscuit, Pease, Boards & Plank, Hoops and Staves, Oak Timber, Dried Cod Fish and some Salmon, Oil, Pot and Pearl Ash.

Q. Are the Animals from whence these Furs are taken, catched principally by the Canadians or the Indians?

A. Principally by the the Indians, except a few Canadians who go with them on their Hunting Parties.

Q. Have we the whole of this Trade, or does any part of it go to the people of the United States?

A. We have the whole at present, and we take great pains to preserve it (p. 228).

Q. Is it probable that the numbers of the Animals which furnish these Furs will diminish so as to affect the Trade?

A. I think it is hardly possible the space they have to range in is so very considerable.

Q. To what part or parts of the Province do the Indians bring these Furs?

A. Principally to Michilimackinack—some few to Detroit. The Indians resort to these places as they get the Furs.

Q. In what Articles are they paid for them?

A. In Strouds, Blankets, and all kinds of Woolens, Fire Arms, Powder and Shot, Traps for catching the Animals, Flour and Bread, Wampum, and other Trinkets, and a small quantity of Spirits.

Q. Can you say on an average what the value of these Furs may amount to?

A. That depends on the price of them here, with an account of which I will furnish the Committee.

Q. Is the Export of the various articles of Grain you have mentioned, from the Province of Quebec, considerable?

A. I think it considerable, and it has increased of late very greatly; but I will furnish the Committee with the Account of these Articles exported from the Custom House Books.

. . . [Items on Grain, Flour, Lumber, Hoops and Staves, Fish, Oil, Pot and Pearl Ash follow] . . .

Q. To what Countries are the several Articles above mentioned exported? (p. 231).

A. The Furrs all go to Great Britain. I have mentioned before to what countries the Wheat &c. is exported [Wheat to Spain and Portugal; Flour and Bread to Newfoundland and the West Indies. p. 229]—The Boards, Plank, Hoops and Staves go partly to Great Britain and partly to the West Indies. The Oak Timber all to Great Britain. The Dried Cod and Salmon go to the Straights. The Oil, pot and Pearl Ash wholly to Great Britain . . . [West India Rum discussed] . . .

Q. Is ther any contraband Trade carried on against us with the Countries belonging to the United States, and what is the nature of such Trade? (p. 232).

A. Such Trade is not very considerable, but still it is an object. It is carried on principally in East India Articles, Tea and Piece Goods, which are brought from New York up Hudson's River and across Lake Champlain, and they are able to sell them infinitely cheaper than the like Articles imported into the Province from Great Britain. There is Water carriage from New York to Quebec all the way excepting sixteen miles, and it is very cheap. The People of the United States are further induced to smuggle these Articles into the Province of Quebec as they are paid for them principally in Money, of which they are in great want (p. 233).

Q. Can you suggest any method by which that contraband Trade can be prevented or diminished?

A. I believe a very good method has been adopted by Lord Dorchester by an ordinance passed in the Province and by placing Officers at proper ports. The Ordinance has been sent to the Commissioners of the Customs—and I know of no better method.

Q. What trade does the province of Quebec carry on either licit or illicit into the State of Vermont or the Countries belonging to the United States?

A. We have a very great Trade with them in British Manufactures, and in Rum, Sugar and Melasses and some Beaver is now and then smuggled there contrary to our Laws.

. . . [discusses Hemp.] . . .

Q. What is the price of Labour in the province of Quebec?

A. In the Winter from 10d to 1s/4d Sterling—in the Summer from 2/ to 2/6 per day (p. 234).

. . . [discusses Shipbuilding increase, loyalty of French subjects, English settlers mostly desire Assembly which Ainslie thinks would lead to independence cf. 236].

Accounts referred to in Mr. Ainslie's evidence (p. 237).

[Items on Furs alone are copied]

Exports in 1783. To Great Britain only. Furs. Beavers 105467, Martins 44119, Otters 19699, Minks 7221, Fishers 3817, Foxes 5446, Bears 11596, Deer in Hair 125123, Dressed Deer lbs. 30648, Musquash 68409, Raccoons 93252, Cased Cats 5536, Open Cats 4197, Elks 5626, Wolves 5858, Beaver Eaters 203, Tygers 26, Seals 8, Squirrels 489, Ermine 29, Castoreum 1106 lb. (pp. 238-9).

Exports in 1748. Recommencement of the English Board. To Great Britain only. Furs. Beavers, 128620, Martins 45973, Otters 22435, Minks 9634, Fishers 4608, Foxes 7260, Bears 14903, Deer in Hair 227568, Dressed Deer lb. 24232, Musquash 95773, Raccoons 171066, Cased Cats 3927, Open Cats 6639, Wolves 6237, Beaver Eaters 306, Elks 11238, Tygers 54, Seals 201, Squirrels 1495. Castoreum 907 lb. (pp. 240-241).

Exports in 1785. To Great Britain only. Furs. Beavers 151249, Martins 34496, Minks 9332, Otters 19835, Foxes 6432, Fishers 4445, Bears 12839, Deer in Hair 174434, Dressed Deer lb. 4944, Musquash 141118, Raccoons 99159, Cased Cats 2731, Open Cats 6336, Elks 11113, Wolves 8232, Beaver Eaters 182, Seals 1525, Tygers 172, Squirrels 31, Castoreum lb. . . . (pp. 242-243).

Exports in 1786. To Great Britain only. Furs. Beaver Skins 116623, Martins 48436, Otters 23684, Minks 9595, Fishers 3958, Foxes 6213, Bears 19372, Deer in Hair 126794, Deer dressed lb. 5477, Musquash 202719, Raccoons 108521, Cased Cats 3072, Open Cats 2977, Elks 7555, Wolves 12923, Beaver Eaters 506, Tygers 64, Seals 157, Squirrels 480, Kitts 296, Pichoux 882, Castoreum — . . . (pp. 244-245).

Exports in 1787. To Great Britain only. Furs. Beaver Skins 139509, Martins 68142, Otters 26330, Minks 16951, Fishers 5813, Foxes 8913, Bears 17108, Deer in Hair 102656, Dressed Deer lbs. 1787, Musquash 302016, Raccoons 140346, Cased Cats 5426, Open Cats 1825, Elks 9815, Wolves 9687, Beaver Eaters 153, Tygers 27, Seals 125. Castoreum lb. 1453. . . . (pp. 246-247).

Total of Furrs and Peltries Shipped from Quebec in the Year 1788, with the average price in the London Market and the Value of the Whole (p. 250).

130,758	Beaver	@ 9/	58,841	2	....
56,731	Martins	@ 6/1	17,255	13	7
20,177	Otters	@ 31/	31,274	7	....
12,186	Minks	@ 3/8½	2,259	9	9
4,702	Fishers	@ 5/10½	1,381	4	3
7,510	Foxes	@ 27/	10,138	10	....
	Do Silver Grey	@ 66/6	"	"	"
15,041	Bears	@ 48/6	36,474	8	6
151,535	Deer in Hair	@ 6/8½	50,827	7	3½
3,244	Do. half dressed	...			
	per lb.	 3/	486	12	....
106,753	Musk Rats	@ 5¾ ^d	2,557	12	5
115,556	Raccoons	@ 4/4½	25,277	17	6
7,060	Cased Cats	@ 13/4	4,706	13	4
2,161	Open Cats	@ 4/7½	499	14	7½
9,621	Wolves	@ 15/1½	7,275	17	7½
13,680	Elks	@ 13/7½	9,319	10	....
438	Beaver Eaters	...@ 18/	394	4	....
			£ 258,970	3	10½

APPENDIX D

CANADIAN FUR TRADE, CIRCA 1789

From Report to Grenville dated London 4 November 1789. C. O. 42 vol. 66.
[It is the last item in the volume.]

"Importation of Skins from Canada 1788 and Sold in January, February,
and March 1789.

		s	d.
124000	Beaver Skins sold for £62,922 average	10/2	
14000	Bears	"	15,177 21/8
9200	Otters	"	22,892 23/10
4600	Fishers	"	1,365 5/11
52000	Martins	"	12,085 4/7
9400	Wolves	"	6,323 13/5
450	Wolverins	"	392 17/5
9000	Cats	"	4,131 9/2
11000	Minks	"	1,294 2/4
7000	Foxes	"	2,836 8/1
113000	Raccoons	"	15,533 2/9

d

		s	d.
80000 Musquash Skins sold for	£2,223 average	6	½
14000 Elks	" 8,170	11	8
142000 Deers	" 34,416	4	10
2000 lb. Castorum	1,518	15	4 per lb.
[Total]		£191,277	

The average Amount of Skins from Canada for the last Five Years has been about £200,000 pr Annum.

The numbers of Skins imported in 1788 were greater than usual, but some Articles sold unusually low.

Beaver	. . when the Russia Market was open about 1/4 th was exported thither about 1/8 th — to France & Holland & about 5/8 th consumed at home in the Manufactory of Hats.
Bears	about 1/4 th exported to France Italy &c. 1/4 to Russia 1/2 to Germany
Otters	about 1/6 th exported to France Italy &c. 1/6 to Russia 4/6 to Germany
Fishers	about 1/4 th exported to France &c. 1/4 to Russia 1/2 to Germany
Martins	about 1/4 th exported to France &c. 3/4 th to Germany
Wolves	about 3/4 th exported to France &c. 1/4 to Germany
Wolverins	about 1/3 ^d exported to France &c. 2/3 to Germany
Cats	about 3/8 th exported to France &c. 4/8 to Germany 1/8 consumed in England.
Minks	about 1/2 exported to France &c. 1/2 to Germany
Foxes	about 1/8 exported to France &c. 3/8 to Germany 1/2 consumed in England.
Raccoons	about 1/8 th exported to Russia 7/8 to Germany.

When the price of Beaver is high, this article is sometimes substituted for ordinary Beaver by our Hatters.

Musquash exported to Germany
 Elks about 1/8th exported to France
 3/8 to Spain
 4/8 to Germany
 Castoreum mostly exported & to many different Markets.
 Deers about 1/3^d exported to Germany
 2/3^d consumed in England.

It is to be observed that the foregoing particulars respect the importation *from Canada only*—but there are considerable Imports of Skins & Furs from Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, and also from some of the American States.

N. B. The Beaver and Otter Skins usually ship'd from hence to Russia, when that Market was open were generally conveyed from thence to China,—but that Channel having been shut some years the Officers of our India Company's Ships going to China have adventured in those Articles from hence, and so successfully as to have occasioned a considerable Increase annually."

APPENDIX E

STATE OF THE FUR TRADE IN 1790

Enclosed in Mark Lane, 31 May 1790. John Inglis to Grenville, C. O. 42 vol. 72.

"The produce in England, of furs & skins imported from the Province of Quebec, taking the trade at the average of the last ten years amounts to the sum of Two hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, which furs &c. are traded for in different districts as nearly as can be ascertained, as under—vizt.

The whole Country & posts below Montreal.	30,000
The Grand River—the North Side of the	} 30,000
Lakes Ontario, Huron & Superior.	
	60,000
In the Country generally called the North West.	40,000
In the Countries to the <i>Southward</i> of the	} 100,000
Lakes, the Trade of which are principally	
brought to the Posts of Detroit and Michli-	
maekinae, there being very little Indian	
trade at Niagara.	
	140,000
as above	200,000

Although there is no Indian Trade of consequence at Niagara, that post is the key of the Communication to the principal trade of the Upper Coun-

tries of Canada. It is very uncertain whether the trade to the North-West, can be carried on otherwise than by the post of Michlimackinae.

The American claim extends to the Lake of the Woods, if admitted, they command the present Communication from Canada to all that Country & in that case the Trade also as stated above at.....£40,000

The Trade stated above at £100,000 is carried on by Traders who go out into different districts as under—

In the district of the Garrison of Detroit vizt.

The Fort of Detroit, Segana, & the	}	1000
south-side of Lake Huron		
Miamis & Wabach Country		2000
Sandusky		400

say	3400
-----	------

Say 3400 packs of furs estimated at

£12 Ea is.....40800——.

In the District of Michlimacinae vizt.

Lake on Michigan	The Grand River	100
	St. Josephs	300
	Chequago	100
	Milwaki	120
	— La Bay or Green Bay including the upper parts of the Mississippi	} 1,500
The Southside of Lake Superior.....	300	
	The Illinois Country	600

Say.....3020 packs of

Furs estimated at £20 Each is..... 60,400

101,200

This Computation exceeds the Sum in the general Estimate £1200—

From this short state of Indian Trade, it appears that if the Country & posts are ceded to America agreeable to Treaty 3/10 of the Furr Trade of Canada will only remain for certain to Great Britain—1/5th is dependent upon contingent circumstances—The remaining half will inevitably be lost. It is true, that probably 3/5 of the Merchandise necessary for the Supply of the Indians will in any event be furnished by Great Britain but the labour of the great Number of persons employed in the Trade from Canada is of importance as well as the Trade with the British Settlers at Detroit—where; the fixed property & Cultivation is of considerable Value.

It is presumed that America is not well prepared to Garrison the Forts, to protect the Traders & carry on the Trade with Effect, & that dissatisfac-

tion or War with the Indian Nations will be the inevitable Consequence of their being abandoned by the British Troops—All which is humbly submitted —

London 31 May 1790.
Phyn Ellices & Inglis"

APPENDIX F

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S REPORT OF HIS VOYAGES TO LORD DORCHESTER

Copy in Quebec, 20 November 1794. Dorchester to Portland.

No. 10, C. O. 42, vol. 101.

"Duplicate

No. 10

Quebec 20th November 1794

My Lord

Mr. McKenzie who has been employed by the associated Merchants of Montreal to make Discoveries in the Northwest parts of America, has sent me a short Narative of two Expeditions performed by him across this Continent. The great importance of the Trade carried on by those Gentlemen may render it of consequence for His Majesty's Ministers to be more fully informed by Mr. McKenzie's Discoveries, and as he is about to proceed to England for the purpose of presenting a more particular account of them to Your Grace, I take this opportunity of recommending him to your notice.

I am with great Respect and Esteem

My Lord

Your Grace's

most obedient

His Grace

The Duke of Portland

humble Servant

&c. &c. &c.

Dorchester

Endorsed

"Quebec, 20th Nov^r 1794 Lord Dorchester. Rx 7th March, Ans^d 4th April, No. 10. Duplicate, origl. not reed. (One Inclosure)"

[Inclosure]

"Copy

To His Excellency Guy Lord Dorchester Governor General & Commander in Chief of British America &^{ca} &^{ca}

My Lord

It was my intention to have done myself the honor of waiting on Your Lordship, but the state of my health deprives me of that satisfaction: circumstances at present have made me determine to go to England by way of the States, previous to which I think it my duty to give Your Lordship a

short Sketch of two Expeditions I have performed across this Continent; Humbly hoping it may not be disagreeable to you.

The 3rd June 1789 I took my departure in a Bark Canoe, accompanied by five Canadians, & three Indians, from one of our Settlements in the North West, Latitude $58^{\circ} 38'$ North, Longitude $110^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ West from Greenwich, I followed the course of the Waters which had been reported by Mr. Pond to fall into Cooks River, They led me to the Northern Ocean, in Latitude $69^{\frac{1}{2}}$ North, and about 135° West Longitude, by the 16th July the Sea was then covered with ice at some distance from Land, we saw a number of white Porpoises, and observed there was a small Tide: Further, it was needless for me to go, besides it would have been very dangerous to attempt to coast with such a slight Vessel as I had. Therefore we returned by the way we went.

Tho' this Expedition did not answer the intended purpose, It proved that Mr. Ponds assertion was nothing but conjecture, and that a North West Passage is impracticable. Not having been furnished with proper Instruments to ascertain the Longitude in my first Expedition, I made myself but little known during my residence in London the Winter of 1791/2, but to prevent the like inconveniency I then purchased proper ones, in case I should make a second attempt.

I left the Downs the 7th April 1792, and passed the following Winter at one of our Westernmost Settlements in the North West, on the Banks of a large River which the Natives name Unjegah, in Latitude $56^{\circ} 9'$ North, and Longitude $117^{\circ} 40'$ West of Greenwich. The 9th of May 1793 I proceeded in a Bark Canoe, ten of us viz. an assistant, Six Canadians & two young Indians, to the Source of this River: carried over the height of Land (which is only 700 yards broad) that separates those Waters, the one empties into the Northern Ocean, and the other into the Western, in following the latter, they soon increased to the Size of a large River, which I continued going down for a considerable distance. The rapidity of the current, the Natives account of it &c. convinced me that I could not go to its Mouth & be back that season: from its course and the information I received, I conclude it to be a part, If not the whole of the River of the West; this determined me to leave my Canoe in Latitude 53° North, & Longitude $122^{\circ} 43'$ West, and go over Land by a route the Natives frequent in going to the Western Ocean, to procure Iron & Trinkets for which they give Furs in Exchange to the Inhabitants of the Coasts, where I arrived the 18th of July, there being many Islands which prevented the view of the Main Ocean, I borrowed a Canoe from the Natives in order to go and get a sight of the open Sea, I went about Sixty Miles yet was not gratified, the Inhabitants becoming troublesome, made it dangerous, to proceed any further: The Latitude here, I found to be $52^{\circ} 23'$ North, and Longitude $128^{\circ} 15'$ West, which situation answers to Sir Chas. Middleton's Sound. The Inhabitants are well furnished with European Articles, few of them of any material use, except the Iron, we could not un-

derstand those people therefore could not procure much intelligence from them. We came back the way we went, and arrived at the place of our departure the 24th. of Agust.

I am sorry I cannot give Your Lordship a more particular account of this Expedition my Journal being as yet undigested.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's

m. o. & v. h. s.

Montreal 17th November 1794

(signed) Alex^r MacKenzie.

(Endorsed "In Lord Dorchester's No. 10, to the Duke of Portland of the 20 Nov^r 1794.")

APPENDIX G

A PORTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF ALEXANDER MACKENZIE IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM

Stowe MS. 793 f. 80.

f. 80. A few remarks to elucidate my tracks from Athabasca latitude 58 . . . 38 North and longitude 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ West from Greenwich to the North Sea and western ocean, as delineated on Mr. Arrowsmith's Map.

Athabasca is 2750 Miles to the North and West of Montreal the distance from this to the North Sea in latitude 69 $\frac{1}{4}$ North and longitude about 135 West from Greenwich by the Slave lake and MacKensies River is 1540 Miles. It was in the summer of 1789 that I went this expedition in hopes of getting into Cook's River; tho' I was disappointed in this it proved without a doubt that there is not a North West passage below this latitude and I believe it will generally be allowed that no passage is practicable in a higher latitude the Sea being eternally covered with Ice.

In prosecution of my journey to the western ocean in fall 1792 I took a fresh supply of provisions at Athabasca, and passed on to the Unjigah, or Peace River in which I went about 450 Miles against the current to the last of our Settlements in this direction in latitude 56 & 9 north and longitude 117. $\frac{3}{4}$ west where I passed the winter. on the 9th May 1793 I took my departure from this the waters being then very high and strong, owing to the melting of the Snow. It took me thirty days to get to the sources of the River, distance about 400 Miles, the tenth day I came to the Rocky Mountains latitude 56. longitude 120 and $\frac{1}{2}$ west which is more than half the above distance, the height of land only 750 paces broad is between two small lakes we carried our canoe and lading over the portage, went with the current the river encreasing as we advanced till it lost itself in a larger branch, which soon became a large River. After going down it about 420 miles I learned from the Natives that as far as they had any knowledge of it, it went a southern course. From this description and my own observations I

concluded it to be a part or the whole of the River of the West. The distance to the Mouth of it, would be too great for me to go and come back in the course of the season, particularly as my canoe was so much damaged as to be unfit for use therefore must lose time to make another, and that we had lost all our Bullets on which depended our safety and subsistence. we had some shot which we converted into balls but not enough. The natives gave me to understand that it was not far over land to the Sea and by their directions I returned some distance up the River left my canoe in latitude 53 north longitude 122.43 west.

f. 81. From this in 17 days I [f. 81] got to the sea coast: our course about west and distance 250 miles, here I borrowed a wooden canoe from the Indians & went out about 20 leagues amongst the Islands, which this part of the coast is much interspersed with. My observations were 52 .. 23 lat: and 128 and $\frac{1}{4}$ west long: answering nearly to Mr. Charles Middleton's Sound. The 22d. July I turned back by the way I went and arrived the 24th. Augst. at the place from which I had set out.

I have not the least doubt of the great River being navigable with canoes and boats to its mouth. I have mentioned above the cause of my not putting this to the proof. It abounds in Salmon and other fish, is well inhabited they cloathe themselves in fur and skins and live by fishing and hunting."

NOTE.—Folios 1-79 of this manuscript have the appearance of being a transcription of the journal kept by Mackenzie on his descent of Mackenzie River. On the first binding page, not on the manuscript itself, is a pencilled note: "This is the original journal in the handwriting of Mackenzie."

APPENDIX H

MEMOIR IN REGARD TO THE FUR TRADE, CIRCA 1794

Chatham MSS. Vol. 346.

We had the honor of delivering General Clark some time ago a Memorandum wherein we mentioned such stipulations as will in our opinion, be necessary to make with America, in order to enable His Majesty's Subjects in Canada to withdraw their property from the American side of the line in the Indian Country—if the Posts are given up. And to secure to them the continuance of the Trade they now carry on with the Indians in upper Canada.

At the same time We suggested the propriety of the United States allowing our Traders a free intercourse of Trade, in common with their own people, into the Country belonging to the Indians on their side the line.

In consequence of the conversation we have since had with the General on the same subject, when he asked in case the United States should demand the same liberty for their Traders to traffic with the Indians within the British Lines, how it would affect the Interest of the Provinces of Canada? We are of Opinion that such an Arrangement would not prove in the least injurious to them—As the expense of transport from the United States to the

Indian Country where the Trade is carried on, is nearly double what it is by the River St. Lawrence, & the heavy impost Duties they have laid on all Articles of European Manufacture required for the Trade, gives such a decided Advantage as must prevent any considerable Competition. Nor are we Apprehensive that a more frequent intercourse between the people of the United States and the Canadians can have any evil tendency in a political point of view, as the more the latter have the opportunity to compare situations with their Neighbors, the more attached they must be to the British Government under which they enjoy all the liberty they can wish for, without paying any Taxes.

[Enclosure]

Observations by Isaac Todd & Simon McTavish Representing the Principal Houses in Canada interested in, & Carrying on the Indian Trade to the North West &c. 1794. [This was the endorsement.]

The Merchants in Canada Trading to the Indian country send their Goods from Montreal in the Spring of the Year to Detroit, Michilimackinae & the Grand Portage; where they meet their Clerks & Traders, who have Winter'd in the interior Country; receive their Furs & deliver to them the British Goods, with which they return to Winter again with the Indians.

Goods for this Trade which leave London in Spring 1794 are sent to the Indian Country in 1795 & their produce in Furs does not come to the above Posts until 1796 so that it requires at least Two Years to obtain those returns & get them down to Montreal.

Most of the Posts where the Traders winter are within the Limits claim'd by the Americans (part of the Trade from the Grand Portage excepted) and several of the Trading places on the Missisippe are on the Spanish side of that River, and all the Lands in that Country (the Forts & environs excepted) are the property of the Indians & ought in Justice to them to be declared Neutral Ground, free alike for British & American Subjects to Trade in, & to pass the Posts of each other without restriction or hindrance, but before giving up the Posts, both Countries ought to unite to obtain a just & proper Peace between the Americans & Indians, & each to Guarantee it, & declare their intention to protect the Subjects of the other, who may meet with injuries from the Indians; for, was the Posts to be deliver'd up, or an intention of doing so made known previous to such arrangement, it's probable the Indians thinking they were to be abandoned by the British, would in resentment, destroy all the Traders in their Country, as also the defenceless inhabitants in upper Canada.

On arranging matters with America, shou'd it be concluded to Cede to them the Posts we now Occupy within the limits prescrib'd by the Treaty of Paris: it should be held perfectly secret from the Indians, untill compleatly settle'd as before mentioned, And then to allow at least Three Years before

delivering them up, for the British subjects to regulate their Trade, & withdraw such of their property & people as they may deem necessary from the Indian Country.

On the delivering up the Posts, particularly that of Detroit, where there is a valuable property in Lands & Houses, that property it is presumed will be secured to the present possessors, and as the British & American Posts & Settlements in several places will be separated only by a River, the Navigation of which is free to both, it would be necessary for the Credit & good Government of each Country that some Arrangement should be made that the Subjects of either committing Felonies or Crimes, or Debtors, should not be screen'd or protected by the other.

The Furs imported from Canada at the average price of the last 5 years Amount to about £250,000, all of which are had from the Indians in Exchange for British Manufactured Goods—of the above Amount there is not more than £100,000 in value comes from the Posts of Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac & their dependencies, or rather the Country ceded to America by the Treaty of Peace, but owing to some oversight, or want of a proper Knowledge of the Country, Mr. Oswald settling the Line of Separation between the United States & us—in passing the Falls of St. Maries at the discharge of Lake Superior, allowing them the South Side of the River precludes us from entering the Lake if they choose to prevent us, as the North Side is not navigable for such Craft as are used in the Trade & there is no landing place. Likewise at the Grand Portage on Lake Superior (where we carry our Goods Nine Miles over a Mountain, till we fall into the Long Lake) it is situated on the American side of the line about 6 Miles from the Water Communication, which is inaccessible for a considerable distance, on account of Falls, & Rapids; nor is it possible to make a carrying place on our Side of the Line, the Mountains are so Steep. It will therefore be necessary in order to preserve the N. W. Trade to this Country, which is near £100,000 of the Exports in Furs from Canada, that some Stipulations shall be made to continue us in possession of our present Establishments at St. Maries and the Grand Portage.

x

x

x

[Endorsed]

Memoir of Isaac Todd & Simon McTavish who represent principal Houses carrying on the N. West Trade, & are other ways generally concerned in Canada.

APPENDIX I

DEPARTMENTS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY CIRCA 1802

Copy of an enclosure in Quebec, 30 October 1802. Milnes to Hobart. B. T. 1 vol. 20, no. 93. This return was apparently supplied by McTavish, Frobisher & Co.

(Copy)

General Return of the Departments and Posts occupied by the North West Company, in the Indian country, with the number of Partners, Clerks & Men employed in that Trade, exclusive of the King's Posts.

Names of Departments	Latitude	Longitude	Posts	Partners	Clerks & Interpreters	Common Men	Total
Saint Maries	46.30 N	84 W	1	..	2	12	14
Michipicoton	E. 46.5 to 47.55	84.15 to 84.45	3	..	3	10	13
Kamanistiguia ...	48.25	89.20	1	..	2	18	20
Grand Portage ...	48.	90.	2	..	3	8	11
Mille Laes	48.35	91.30	2	..	3	6	9
Pic	48.40	86.2	3	..	4	10	14
Nipigon Lake	} 49 to 53	86 to 91 {	2	..	2	7	9
Nipigon			7	1	10	55	66
Lac de la Pluie ...	48.9 to 49.20	91.50 to 94.30	6	..	6	28	34
Riviere Rouge & Assiniboine	48.25 to 51.45	97. to 103.15	10	2	16	90	108
Lac Ouinipique ...	50 to 54	94.50 to 99	7	2	13	65	80
Fort Dauphin	51.40 to 53	98.35 to 102.45	7	1	14	60	75
Shuskatchivan River	53.10 to 54.30	99.47 to 115	9	2	16	80	98
English River (Mississippi) ..	53.56 to 55.45	98 to 112	9	2 ^A	12	75	89
Athabasca	55 to 66	110 to 120	18	5	16	186	207
Upper Athabasca River	54 to 55	112 to 116	3	2	4	44	50
South Side of Lac Superior and the Fond du Lac ...	46 to 48	84 to 95.30	12	1	15	68	84
			102	18	141	822	981
Grand or Ottawa River.....			4	..	6	18	24
Saint Maurice Posts			3	..	5	9	14
Moos River (Hudson's Bay).....			2	1	3	10	14
Temiscamingue			6	1	6	18	25
G. Total			117	20	161	877	1058

It may be proper to state that of this number, there are employed in the Territory of the United States, comprehending the South side of Lac Superior until the division of the Waters that fall into the Mississippi on one side and Hudson's Bay on the other as also the Grand Portage . . . 95

On the Waters which fall into the River St. Laurence comprehending the North side of Lac Superior, the Posts of St. Maries, Kamanistiquia, Temiscamingue Lake and St. Maurice..... 76

On the Waters which fall into Hudson's Bay comprehending the Riviere Rouge, Nipigon, Fort Dauphin, Lac Ouinipique, the Shaskatchiwan and English River (Missinipe)..... 630

And the waters which discharge themselves into the North Sea by McKenzie's River 257

Exclusive 1058

Exclusive of the above number of Partners, regular Clerks and Servants who Winter, there are 80 or 100 Canadians and Iroquois Hunters with whom the North West Company have Contracts, but who are not considered Servants of the Company, ranging free over the Country wherever they find it convenient to Hunt.

There are yearly employed by the Company in Canoes by the Ottawa River 540 Men, 400 of which go to the place of rendezvous on Lac Superior, where they pass from 6 to 8 Weeks, and then return to Montreal with the Furs.

R. S. M.

[Endorsed]

In Lt. Governor Milnes of the Noth

APPENDIX J

CANADIAN FUR TRADE, 1793-1801

Copies of enclosures in Quebec, 30 October 1802. Milnes to Hobart. B. T.
1. vol. 20, no. 93.

Average Number of Peltries cleared at the Custom House Quebec, for England for Nine Years from 1793 to 1801 inclusive with a Calculation of the Duties paid thereon on their landing in England amounting annually to £16,071 .. 15 .. 4.

137,548 Beaver Skins	1 ^d each	573	2	4
38,638 Martins	55/ per 40 or 1/4½ each	2656	7	3
18,349 Otters	1/5 each	1299	14	5
11,329 Minks	16/6 per 40.....	233	13	6
5,483 Fishers	1/4½ each	399	5	2
10,141 Foxes	4½ each	190	2	10
19,286 Bears	5/6 each	5303	13	..
169,811 Deer	2 ^d each	1415	1	10
144,439 Raccoons	13/9 per 100.....	993	..	..
12,200 Cased & open Cats	11/ per 100.....	67	2	..
843 Elks	4 ^d each	14	1	..
6,885 Wolves	6/4 each	2180	5	..
778 Wolvereens	3/6 each	136	3	..
819 Carcajoux	3/6 each	143	6	6
219 Badgers	7 ^d each	6	7	9
9,130 Kitts	11 per 100.....	50	4	3
1,978 Seals	2 ^d each	16	9	8
2,835 Squirrels and Hares ...	11 ^d per 120	1	1	10
57,151 Musk Rats	13/9 per 100.....	392	11	3
2 Buffaloes .....	.....	..	..	..
1 Tiger .....	.....	..	2	9
		16071	15	4
The foregoing calculation is made in conformity to an Act passed in the 27th year of His Majesty under which all former duties were consolidated, but it is understood that since that time other and additional Duties have been laid on Skins estimated on the above stated Articles to amount to.....				
		5950	..	..
Average amount of Duties paid per Annum.....£		22021	15	4

R. S. M.

[Endorsed]

In Lt Gov. Milnes of the No. 33

Statement of Furs Exported from Quebec in the Year 1801 with the average prices at which they sold in London amounting to £371,139-11-4.

Beaver Skins	179,947 Lbs....	@ 15/6 per lb.	139,458	8	6
Martins	24,454	@ 8/6 each	10,391	13	6
Otters	21,837	@ 28/6	31,117	14	6
Minks	10,689	@ 4/6	2,405	..	6
Fishers	5,422	@ 7/	1,897	14	..
Bears	25,299	@ 55/	69,572	5	..
Foxes	19,290	@ 18/	17,361	..	..
Deer	227,205	@ 6/	68,161	10	..
Cased & open Cats	18,704	@ 10/6	9,819	12	..
Raccoon	92,345	@ 3/4	15,390	16	8
Elks	1,140	@ 18	1,026	..	..
Wolves	2,875	@ 17/6	2,515	12	6
Wolvereens	1,252	@ 10/6	657	6	..
Badger	219	@ 10/6	114	19	..
Kit Foxes	9,130	@ 1/8	760	16	8
Seals	1,505	@ 6/6	489	2	6
			£ 371,139	11	4

[Endorsed]

R. S. M.

In Lt Gov. Milnes of the No. 33.

APPENDIX K

PETITION OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY FOR A CHARTER

B. T. 1 vol. 61. no. 12.

(Seal)

At the Court at Whitehall
the 22d of June 1811.
Present,

His Royal Highness The Prince Regent in Council. Upon reading this Day at the Board the humble Petition of Messrs. McTavish, Fraser and Co. praying for the reasons therein contained, a Charter of Incorporation for Twenty One Years, for "The North West Company of Canada" engaged in the Fur Trade with the Indians, or Nations of the Interior Parts of North America, belonging to His Majesty; It is Ordered by His Royal Highness The Prince Regent, in the Name and on the behalf of His Majesty, and by and with the Advice of His Majesty's Privy Council, that the said Petition (Copy whereof

is hereunto annexed) Be, and it is hereby referred to the Right Honourable The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, to consider the same and Report Their opinion thereupon to His Royal Highness at this Board.

[Endorsed] . . . Rec. July 4th Read 16 Novr. 11.

[Enclosure]

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(Copy)

To His Most Gracious Majesty in Council. The humble petition of Messrs. McTavish Fraser and Co. Messrs. Inglis, Ellice and Co. and Sir Alexander McKenzie, on behalf of themselves and the Agents and Other partners of the North West Company of Canada—

Sheweth.

That your Petitioners have, either individually or collectively, been for many Years engaged in Opening and Establishing a very extensive Fur Trade with the Indians or Natives of the Interior parts of North America belonging to Your Majesty; but Your Petitioners having by Experience found that Competition between the different Traders led to consequences highly prejudicial to the Indians and to themselves, and that a Coalition of Interests was absolutely essential to the prosperity of the Trade, have lately United to form an Extensive partnership, including all the parties who were interested in the Trade, and Your Petitioners are now engaged in the prosecution thereof, under the name or Firm of "The North West Company of Canada."

That the Trading posts or Stations occupied by Your Petitioners already extend from the Lakes of Canada to the great Chains of Mountains called "The Rocky Mountains", and that some few posts have been Established beyond these mountains, but that the Trade is capable of being much Extended in this Direction, and of being made an Object of great National Importance by opening Communications across the Continent with the Pacific Ocean, and by forming Establishments on the North West Coast of America, and in the Interior within the Limits of such parts thereof as belong to Your Majesty.

That Your Petitioners are desirous of prosecuting these Objects; but from their Extent and Magnitude, and the Capital which must necessarily be embarked, and the number of persons who must be employed therein in very distant parts out of the reach of the efficient Controul and Superintendance of the Civil and Military Establishments of Your Majesty's Colonies in North America, cannot carry their wishes into Compleat Effect, without the Aid of a Charter of Incorporation from Your Majesty, for the protee-

tion of Your Petitioners in this undertaking, and the good Government of those who may be employed therein.

Your Petitioners therefore submit to Your Majesty's most gracious Consideration this their humble Application for a Charter of Incorporation, for Twenty one Years, for the granting and securing to Your Petitioners, and their Successors, the Sole and exclusive Trade and Commerce of that part of North America situate between the Summit of the Chain of Mountains called the Rocky Mountains on the East and the Pacific Ocean on the West, and extending from Cape Blanco in the Latitude of 42° North to 60° North, together with the Seas, Streights, Bays, Inlets, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, and Lands which lie within these Limits and the Countries, Territories, Lands, Coasts, and Confines which border upon the different Branches and Sources of the River Columbia or Oregon, or by whatever other name it may now or hereafter be called or designated, being the great River which falls into the Pacific Ocean in or about Latitude 46° North, and also the Countries, Lands, Territories, Coasts and Confines bordering upon all those Lakes, Rivers, Waters and Streams which are discharged into the Northern or Frozen Ocean, and have their Outlet to the Sea through the great Slave Lake and Mackenzie's River, in whatever Latitude or Longitude the Branches and Source of the said Rivers, Waters, and Streams may be situated, and of the produce of those Countries.

YOUR PETITIONERS therefore most humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant to Your Petitioners a Charter of Incorporation, for the purposes aforesaid, with such powers and Authorities, and under such restrictions as may to Your Majesty seem expedient and fit. And Your Petitioners shall ever pray &c.

APPENDIX L

PETITION OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY FOR A CHARTER

Enclosed in Council Office, Whitehall, 9 November 1812. Chetwynd to [the Board of Trade] B. T. 1. vol. 70. no. 16.

To the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Castlereagh one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State &c. &c.

The Memorial of Messrs. McTavish Fraser & Co. Messrs. Inglis Ellice & Co. and Sir Alexander McKenzie, on behalf of themselves, and the Agents and others persons, Constituting the North West Company of Canada.

Humbly Sheweth

That in the Month of May 1811, Your Memorialists presented a Petition on behalf of the said North West Company of Canada to His Majesty in Council, praying for the reasons therein stated, that he would be graciously

pleased to grant to the said Company an exclusive Charter, to trade within the limits therein mentioned [See No. 1 hereto annexed].

That the said Petition having been referred to the Lords committee of Trade their Lordships reported thereon as your Petitioners believe that subject to certain Conditions they saw no objection to the Charter being granted.

That on the said Report being taken into consideration, by His Majesty in Council, the same was referred generally and in the usual manner to the Law Officers of the Crown, who, Your Petitioners are informed, reported against the Grant of a sole and exclusive Trade within the Limits alluded to but to these reports your Memorialists beg leave most respectfully to refer Your Lordship.

That on this opinion of the Law Officers being intimated to Your Memorialists and conceiving that from the Nature of the Reference to them, they probably could not have given any other Answer, they presented in June 1812, to the Lords Committee of Trade, a Petition in aid of their former Application stating, more in detail, the Grounds on which the North West Company had ventured to apply for an exclusive Charter, and the political Considerations which were in some degree, involved in their base. To this petition they have not received any Answer, and they are apprehensive from the political Considerations alluded to, the Lords of Trade do not consider it is strictly within the reference to them, to determine finally on their application for a Charter [See No. 2 hereto annexed].

Your Memorialists therefore beg leave to request the honor of Your Lordship's Attention not only to the papers annexed, but to the Reports of the Lords Committee of Trade and of the Law Officers of the Crown before referred to, in the hope that Your Lordships will condescend to recommend to the early and favorable Consideration of His Majesty's Government, the Application of the North West Company for an exclusive Charter on the Terms mentioned in the said Report of the Lords of Trade.

And your Memorialists will ever pray &c. &c.

London 24th Sept. 1812.

McTavish, Fraser & Co.

Inglis, Ellice & Co.

NOTE.—(No. 1) is the same as the enclosure in B. T. 1, vol. 61. no. 12, with minor differences in capitalization and spelling.

(No. 2)

To the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of His Majestys Most Honorable Privy Council.

The Memorial of Messrs. McTavish Fraser & Co. Messrs. Inglis Ellice & Co. and Sir Alexander McKenzie on Behalf of themselves and the Agents and other Partners of the North West Company of Canada.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Memorialists have received the Communication of your Lordships' Opinion upon the subject of their application for a Charter, and find with great regret, that your Lordships are of Opinion, that the Charter applied for by them should not contain a Grant of the sole and exclusive Trade to them, within the limits mentd. in their former application.

Your Memorialists being well aware that such exclusive Privilege is absolutely essential to the prosecution extension & existence of the Fur Trade, are induced to hope, that your Lordships' decision has arisen from your Memorialists not having in their first application, brought in detail, under your Lordships' view, the peculiar considerations Commercial and Political, upon which they rest their claims to Public Protection.

Your Memorialists are satisfied that the importance of the Fur Trade, and of the continuance of the Intercourse of your Memorialists with the Indians, are justly appreciated by His Majesty's Government, and as this Trade can only be carried on by a Powerful and United Association of Merchants and Traders,—such as that which now constitutes the North West Company, they are convinced that your Lordships will feel every disposition to assist their Efforts; and in this conviction submit the following Statement.

It is the peculiar nature of the Fur Trade to require a continual extension of its limits, into new Countries; because the number of Animals diminishes in those Countries where the Trade has been for any considerable time, established, and if the Trade cannot be occasionally extended into new and unexhausted Districts, where Furs are more abundant, the returns of it will not long be sufficient to support the expense of the requisite establishment.

As instances of the progressive extension of the Trade, and at the same time of the diminution of the Animals it may be sufficient to state that at the time of the Conquest of Canada from the French the Fur Trade did not extend further into the Interior than the vicinity of Lake Winnipie, and now the trading establishments of the North West Company, extend Northward to the Frozen Ocean, and Westward beyond the Rocky Mountains, yet the quantity of Furs yielded by the Trade is considerably less than at the former period.

This statement sufficiently demonstrates the necessity of the Trade being still further extended, and the Country beyond the Rocky Mountains, is the only Outlet by which it can be so extended with advantage and success—that being the only part of the Continent of North America, in which it is not already established, and the annual returns of Furs consequently diminishing as the Country becomes exhausted.

The expense of sending British Manufactures and other supplies for the Indians, to so great a distance, is an insurmountable Obstacle to the Trade of this Country, being carried on through Canada.

The distance which these Goods would have to be conveyed from Montreal to the Rocky Mountains, exceeds four thousand Miles, following the course of

the Lakes and Rivers by which the Inland Voyage is performed, and the expense is considerably above £200 per Cent, on the original value, therefore the traders going over Land from Canada, cannot possibly carry on the Trade of that Country, upon an equal footing with those who get their Supplies of Goods by Sea to the North West Coast, and from thence through the Columbia and other Rivers, into the immediate scene of competition.

The North West Company therefore must abandon every hope of extending their Trade beyond the Mountains, and ultimately abandon the Trade itself, as such extension is essential to its existence, unless they can arrange Plans and form establishments for carrying it on through that Channel, and unless they obtain a Charter, or exclusive Grant, of the Trade of the Country, for a Certain term of years, they cannot with any prudence or justice to themselves, or with any advantage to the Nation; venture to embark in so extensive a concern.

Your Memorialists venture with great deference, to submit to your Lordships, the reasons on which they form the above statement:—The proposed undertaking is, from its nature, uncertain in its result, and the amount of Property to be laid out before that result can be ascertained, will be very considerable; for it will be three years, from the commencement of the concern before any returns from the Trade can be obtained, and during that time, Shipments must be dispatched to the Pacific Ocean. There will be, at all events, a great advance of Property in the beginning, and probably considerable sacrifices must be made, before the proposed Trade can be fully opened and established. If therefore after making these sacrifices, and overcoming the difficulties incident to the Establishment of a Trade of this kind, the North West Company are to be subject to the intrusion of any Speculators, who may chuse to engage in the Trade, which may then have become advantageous, there can evidently be no inducement for the North West Company to embark in it; for it cannot be expected, that they should encounter all the difficulties and dangers incident to the first commencement of an undertaking of this kind, and by expensive efforts open new sources of Trade, with the knowledge that other persons will be at liberty to participate in the fruits resulting from their Public Spirit and exertions. For these and other reasons Your Memorialists hope your Lordships will condescend to recommend that an exclusive Charter be granted to your Memorialists of the Trade prayed for in their former Petition under the limitations to which it appears your Lordships are of Opinion the same should be confined.

They trust that for the reasons assigned, and the Political and other considerations connected with the subject, that your Lordships will think the Charter thus applied for a just and necessary protection for the Commercial Enterprize of your Memorialists, and when it is recollected that for the Shipments made from England it will take three years to realize any returns and in the meantime two other Annual Outfits will have been dispatched, so that

they will be always three years' Outfits in advance, your Memorialists humbly conceive, that under these circumstances the Term for which the Charter should be granted, should not be less than twenty one years; and if it is to be determinable before the end of that period, that in such Case not less than five years' notice of its expiration should be given to your Memorialists.

The Government of the United States fully impressed with the importance of the Fur Trade have for many years endeavoured, by a uniform system of exertion and perseverance to obtain possession of it, and by the active assistance and direct protection they have afforded to their Traders, and by the vexations, exactions, and restrictions, which they have imposed upon the British Traders, they have succeeded in that object throughout the whole of the Territories which they claim as belonging to Louisiana. It is but a few years since the whole Fur Trade of the countries bordering upon the Rivers Mississippi and Missouri, was carried on by an Association of British Merchants and Traders, under the name of the Michilimackinac Company; But the Government of the United States, having purchased Louisiana, and finding that the Boundaries of that Province to the Northward and Westward were not defined by any Treaty, availed themselves of that circumstance, to claim a Territorial right to the whole Interior of the Continent of North America, to the Latitude of 49° North, and without waiting to have the matter of Right ascertained or declared, they at once took possession, and have assumed the Sovereignty of the Country.

The Government of the United States soon after, established a Chartered Company to carry on the Fur Trade within the Territory thus acquired or claimed by them, and to rival the Establishment of the British Subjects, who 'till that period had retained the possession of the Trade, and preserved the Attachment of the Natives to the British Nation, and especially to his Majesty, whom they were taught to consider as their Great Father, who sent the Traders to supply them with Goods, and to purchase their Furs.

The advantages resulting from the Trade and this Attachment of the Natives being equally calculated to excite the Jealousy of the Government of the United States, they proceeded to subject the British Traders to every possible restriction and imposition, with a view to drive them out of the Country, and in Violation of a Treaty thus existing, they even went so far, as to prohibit the admission into the Country, of any Trader who would not take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States, and abjure his Allegiance to his native Government.

Representations of these matters, have been made at different times to His Majesty's Government, but from the remoteness of the Objects pointed out to them, their importance, perhaps, was not felt, or other matters may have pressed more strongly upon the immediate attention of His Majesty's Ministers. The British Subjects engaged in the southern or Michilimackinac Fur Trade, being thus left to themselves, in the Struggle with the American

Chartered Company, fostered and protected by, and indeed in some Measure identified with their Government, after sustaining losses to a great amount, were compelled to relinquish that branch of the Fur Trade, and to sell the American Company, their Trading Posts or Establishments and Stock of goods, while the Traders and inferior Agents employed in the Country, being involved in Debt by the losses sustained in the contest, and unfit for any other Employment than the Indian or Fur Trade, have become American Citizens and engaged in the Service of the American Company, which having thus obtained the whole Trade of the Country, which their claim, as part of Louisiana, are now forming Establishments to supplant those of the North West Company, and extending their Trade across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. In this Enterprize, they have already made good Progress. They have sent Expeditions of Traders across the Continent by the route of the Missouri, and they have dispatched two Ships (one in 1810 and another in 1811,) from New York to the Columbia River, with Supplies to carry on the Trade, and permanently to fix Establishments in that Country—a third Ship is now fitting out, to sail in the course of the present Summer; and thus following up the system which was so successful in the Michilimackinac Trade, the American Company, without stopping to enquire whether they have any Title to the Country or not, have taken possession of it, and their Government will doubtless found a claim upon that very possession, if they are left to maintain it without interruption from His Majesty's Government, or from British Subjects.

The American Company are aware, that the only obstacle to their success in this extensive Project, is the opposition they apprehend from yours Memorialists, the North West Company, especially if they are protected and encouraged by His Majesty's Government.

They have therefore expressed a wish to avail themselves of the Capital and the experience of the Parties, who comprize that Company, as well as of the extensive Establishments which have been formed to carry on the Indian Trade, and accordingly they have made repeated Overtures to the North West Company to take a share in their Trade to the Columbia River. A third part of the Trade has been expressly offered to the North West Company, on Condition of their joining the American Company, and it is thought if they were to accede to the proposal, a moiety or half of the whole would readily be given to them; in case such an arrangement should take place, the North West Company would of course participate in the benefits of the American charter, but they would also be under the necessity of recognizing the Government of the United States, as the Sovereigns of the Country, and even be made the Instruments of extending that Sovereignty; but the well know [*sic*] Loyalty and Attachment of the North West Company to their Mother Country, has hitherto formed an insuperable Obstacle to such a Union, between the North West Company and the American Chartered Company, tho' it

would in many respects, conduce to the advantage of the North West Company, especially as they could then share in the benefit of a direct and unrestricted Trade to China. The Parties composing the North West Company are determined, that even that Consideration shall not induce them to enter into any such Arrangements, with the Americans, and if the proposed Charter is granted to them, your Memorialists trust the Fur Trade, and the Possession of the Country in which it is carried on, may yet be preserved to Great Britain.

At all events your Memorialists and the other Parties forming the North West Company are ready to risk their property in the Attempt, and it is evident from the foregoing Statement, that their Property will be deeply involved before the Result can be known; But on the Contrary if they cannot obtain from His Majesty's Government, an exclusive Grant or Charter of the Countries, as a Security for the advances they must make, and the expenses they must incur in opening and establishing the Trade, they apprehend that Trade will be totally lost to Great Britain; for it cannot be expected that Individuals will risk the loss of their private Fortunes, in a competition with a Foreign National Establishment, for the Fur Trade of a New Country, when they have before them so recent an instance of the hopeless nature of such a contest, in the fate of the Michilimackinac Company, who after an arduous and expensive struggle, to maintain themselves in the possession of a Trade in which they had been long established, were finally compelled to relinquish it, and in fact annihilated as a Company, by the same Opponents, who are become the Commercial Rivals of your Memorialists, in the Trade in Question.

Your Memorialists also humbly conceive that the Territorial Possession of the extensive Country bordering on the North West Coast of America, and on the Columbia River will ultimately accompany the Trade now about to be established, for if that object is now considered not worthy of the attention and Encouragement to the views of your Memorialists, which they Trust will be sufficient to preserve it, it is not probable that it should hereafter be considered worthy of the Exertions which may be required to recover it, after the Government of the United States shall have founded a Title on the undisputed Possession which their Chartered Company is now about to take, but which they may yet be perverted from obtaining.

From all these Circumstances your Memorialists presume, and humbly trust, that they have shewn sufficient Grounds to induce your Lordships to recommend that an exclusive Charter be granted to them for the Term before mentioned.

London 30th June }
1812 } signed

McTavish Fraser & Co.
Inglish Ellice & Co. [sic]

on behalf of themselves and the Agents and other Partners of the North West Company namely

William McGillivray	Agents	John McDouall	Wintering Partners
William Hallowell		Charles Chaboillez	
Roderick Mackenzie		John D. Campbell	
Angus Shaw		John Thomson	
Archd. Norman McLeod		Pierre de Rocheblave	
James Hallowell		John McDonald	
Simon McGillivray		John Haldane	
Thomas Thain		James Leith	
Alexander Mackenzie		James Hughes	
		Alexander Mackay	
		James Mackenzie	
		John McGillivray	
		Hugh McGillis	
		Simon Frazer	
		Alexander H [sic]	
		David Thompson	
		Daniel Mackenzie	
		William Mackay	
		Alexander Fraser	
		John Sayer	
		Donald McTavish	
		John Willis	
		Kenneth Mackenzie	
		Archd. McLillann	
		Ranold Cameron	

[Endorsed]

Memorial of McTavish Fraser & Co and others the North West Company of Canada, praying for an exclusive Charter to trade within certain limits.

Read 16 Novr. 1812.

Atcheson & Morgan
Agents

In Mr. Goulburn's—3d Octr 1812. No 1340.

[Another indorsement on next folio]

3d October 1812.—Goulburn Esqr.

transmitting a Memorial from the North West Company, in Canada, praying an exclusive Charter to trade within certain limits. No. 1340.

APPENDIX M

BILL OF SALE OF ASTORIA TO THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

Copy in Hudson's Bay House, London, 9 December 1825. Pelly to Canning.
F. O. 5 vol. 208.

Copy.

Bill of Sale

Pacific Fur Compy. to North West Company

THE ASSOCIATION heretofore carrying on the Fur Trade to the Columbia River and its dependencies under the Firm and denomination of the Pacific Fur Company being dissolved on the first of July last by Duncan MacDougall Donald McKenzie, David Stuart and John Clarke with the intention to abandon the Trade in that quarter, it is hereby agreed concluded and settled upon of their own free will and Consent by Duncan MacDougall acting for himself and in behalf of his associates namely Donald McKenzie, David Stuart, and John Clarke on the one part and John George MacTavish and John Stuart acting for themselves and in behalf of the North West Company on the other Part That the following Agreement and Settlement take place between them and be binding and obligatory in the manner and subject to the terms and agreements herein after specified and contained

Now therefore it is hereby mutually agreed and concluded by and between the said parties to these presents and they do hereby mutually covenant and agree to and with each other in the manner following that is to say

Article 1st. The Party of the former part, hereby covenant and agree to deliver or cause to be delivered the whole of their Establishments Furs and present Stock on hands on the Columbia and Thompsons Rivers as soon as the necessary Inventories can be taken unto the said party of the latter part, or any other person or Persons appointed by them to represent the North West Compy to receive the same at the prices and rates concluded and agreed upon as hereinafter specified in Article 4th.—

Article 2^d. In consideration of Article first being duly and faithfully performed by the party of the former part, they the said John George MacTavish and John Stuart for themselves and in behalf of the North West Company, do bind and oblige themselves and the said North West Company or their Agents to pay or cause to be paid unto the said Duncan MacDougall acting for himself and in behalf of his associates as beforementioned his attorneys Assigns, or order, the amount of the Sum or Sums arising from the Sale, according to article first, and the rates hereinafter specified in Article fourth at Three several Instalments. The first One third on or before the Twenty fifth of October One thousand eight hundred and fourteen The Second One third on or before the Twenty fifth of November and the remaining One third on or before the Twenty fifth of December fol-

lowing, and further it is hereby understood, that should the party of the former part find it convenient to leave the amount of the several drafts after becoming payable as already specified in the hands of the party of the latter part or their Agents, that they the said party of the latter part or their Agents will allow Interest at Six per Cent until paid on demand, and as there are several monies the produce their wages due unto the people employed in the Service of the late Pacific Fur Company carrying on trade on the Columbia and Thompsons Rivers, the said party of the latter part namely John George MacTavish and John Stuart acting for themselves and the North West Company or their Agents do hereby bind and oblige themselves to pay or cause to be paid unto the several Individuals employed by the party of the former part, the amount of the balances due them according to the Statement that shall be delivered by the said Duncan MacDougall acting for himself and his Associates as before mentioned within One month after their arrival at Montreal in the Province of Lower Canada, the amount of which several sums so paid are to be considered as part, and deducted from the first Instalment to be paid unto the said Duncan MacDougall acting for himself and his associates as before mentioned his Attornies, Assigns or order on or before the Twenty fifth of October One Thousand Eight hundred and fourteen—

Article 3rd. And further the said John George MacTavish and John Stuart acting for themselves and the North West Company will be at liberty to make a Selection and take unto their Service such of the People in the employment of the party of the former part as they may think proper, In consideration of which the said party of the latter part bind and oblige themselves to pay or cause to be paid unto the said party of the former part the several sums due them by such as may enter into the service of the party of the latter part and the said party of the latter part further bind and oblige themselves to provide and ensure a safe passage to the said party of the former part and the remaining part that will not be taken into their Service to their respective homes.

Article 4th. And further it is hereby agreed and concluded upon by the said parties that the following are the rates at which the Establishments Furs and Stock on hand be valued at, as follows.

Dry Goods, Stationary, Gunpowder and Leaf Tobacco, fifty per Cent on the prime cost

Ships Chandlery Sixty per Cent

Shot ball lead Iron and Steel One hundred per Cent

Deduction on made up Iron works at Columbia River, Thirty three and One third per cent

Boats new each Ten Pounds Hx. Currency

ditto in use Five Pounds

Shallops with rigging complete One hundred pounds, Ten shilling

Two blksmiths forges complete Twenty five Pounds, Plug
 Tobacco one shilling and six pence per Pound
 do. manufactured at Columbia one shill and three pence per Pound
 Arms, Cannon &c [?] prime cost.
 Provisions at fixed prices
 Articles in use half inventory Prices
 Horses thirty shillings each
 Buildings Two hundred Pounds
 John Reids adventure and Freeman in the vicinity of Snake Country and
 Spanish River to deduct One hundred per cent Furs.
 Beaver Ten shillings per pound
 Beaver coating Eight and Four pence per pound
 Muskrats Seven pence halfpenny each
 Land Otters Two shillings and Sixpence each.
 Sea Otters large Sixty Shillings each.

And for the faithful performance of all and singular the said Covenants
 and agreements to be by them respectively kept and performed, all and every
 of the parties to these presents bind themselves separately and jointly for
 their several Associates firmly by these presents. In witness whereof the Par-
 ties to these Presents, have hereunto set their hands and Seals this Sixteenth
 day of October, One thousand eight hundred and thirteen at entrance of
 Columbia River North West Coast of America.

John Halsey	Witness	Duncan MacDougall
Gabriel Franchere	Witness	
Alfred Seton	Witness	John George MacTavish
William Wallace	Witness	
Angus Bethune	Witness	John Stuart
Jas. McMillan	Witness	
Joseph McGillivray	Witness	

For explanation of what is meant and intended by Inventory prices for
 articles in use and fixed prices for provisions it was mutually understood by
 both parties at the time, that the Inventory prices of said articles in use
 should be fixed at half prime cost, and that no charges at all were to be made
 for Provisions or Stores of any description, and to prevent any difference
 that might in future arise on the Subject. It is hereby mutually understood
 and agreed upon by the parties present, that the Inventory Prices of the
 said articles in use shall be fixed at half prime cost and no charges at all to
 be made for Provisions, which explanation is to be considered equally valid
 and binding as if inserted or so explained in the body of the Agreement
 itself.

		Duncan MacDougall
John C. Halsey	Witness	John George MacTavish
Angus Bethune	Witness	John Stuart

It is hereby agreed by and between the parties of these presents, that in consideration of the arrival of W. P. Hunt, the aforementioned Duncan MacDougall wishes to assign and hereby does assign to W. P. Hunt the part which he the said Duncan MacDougall held in acting for the party of the first part and for the Completion of the afore mentioned agreements the said W. P. Hunt holds himself equally bound with the said Duncan MacDougall. And further to render the article regarding John Reids adventure to the Snake Country more explicit, it is hereby further understood that Fifty per Cent was meant instead of One hundred per Cent expressed in the said aforementioned Article of Agreement to be deducted. Signed the Tenth day of March, One Thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

John C. Halsey	Witness	Duncan MacDougall
Angus Bethune	Witness	Wilson P. Hunt
		John Geo. McTavish
		John Stuart

[Endorsed]

Copy Bill of Sale Pacific Fur Company to North West Company. In Mr. Pelly's 9 Deer/25.

304

APPENDIX N

MEMORIAL OF THE FUR TRADERS IN REGARD TO THE AMERICAN BOUNDARY, 1814
F. O. 5, vol. 103.

Dear Hamilton—As I know your wish to have every information respecting the United States, I send you a memorial, which has been drawn up by the first house in the Canada trade in London by desire of Lord Bathurst—it is worth your attention—and perhaps the original has not yet reached you.

Yrs. sincerely

12 May 1814.

W. Burn.

[Enclosure]

To the Right Honorable Earl Bathurst His Majestys Principal Secretary of State for War and Colonies.

The Memorial of the undersigned Merchants on behalf of themselves and their correspondents in Canada carrying on the Fur Trade with the Indian Nations throughout the Continent of North America Humbly Sheweth

That your Memorialists have ever since the Conquest of Canada from France opened and maintained a constant intercourse and connection with the Indian Nations of North America which has closely cemented the Interests of those Nations with the Provinces of Canada and has upon all occasions secured to the Government of Great Britain the exclusive advantages of a valuable trade during Peace and the zealous assistance of brave and useful auxiliaries in time of War.

That Commissioners having been appointed by the American Government to sue for Peace with Great Britain, your Memorialists cannot refrain from laying the Claims of the Indians before your Lordship and expressing their anxious Hope that reparation may be obtained by His Majesty's Ministers for errors committed in the Treaties of 1783 and 1796 then solely occasioned by ignorance of the rights and Interests of the Indians and your Memorialists, and that these rights and interests may be duly considered and protected in any Treaty which may now be entered into with the United States.

Your Memorialists have had frequent occasion to represent to His Majesty's Ministers, to the different Governors in Canada and to the Envoys and Ministers of this Country to the United States the incessant violation of the Independance of the Indian Trade as established by those Treaties. The American Government jealous of the influence acquired by the British Government over the Indians partly by His Majesty's Bounty but principally by means of the Fur Traders and jealous of the advantages derived by this Country from the Trade have under every pretext harrassed and oppressed the Indians and the Traders by vexatious regulations and revenue Laws framed for the express purpose of dissolving their connection and latterly since the purchase of Louisiana from France by requiring all persons trading to the westward of the Mississippi within the supposed Boundaries of that Country to abjure their Allegiance to His Majesty or submit to the seizure or confiscation of their Property. Unfortunately these measures have been too successful and the Trade has in consequence gradually declined since the year 1803 'till in the year preceding the present War, the enormous losses inflicted on the Michillimackinac Company caused the dissolution of that Concern and with it the compleat abandonment of the Indian Trade to the south of Lake Superior.

That the ruin of the Trade of your Memorialists has borne doubly hard upon the Indians who have in consequence been deprived of those supplies from which their means of subsistence are principally derived, their wants and customs having changed with their intercourse of Trade and being now entirely dependant on the continuance of it.

The Indian Nations seeing daily proofs of the reduction to a system by the American Government of all these attemptys to destroy their Independance and existence embraced the opportunity which the War afforded them either of avenging their wrongs or of suffering in open Hostilities that extermination of their race which they are strongly impressed is the ultimate object of the neighboring States and by a simultaneous movement the different Nations appeared at once in Arms and came down to Upper Canada to make common Cause with His Majesty's Subjects in their defence against American aggression.

That the defence of Upper Canada in the early period of the War is greatly to be ascribed to the gallant Conduct of these Indians who required

no other Stipulation from the Officer commanding in Upper Canada than that in any future Treaty their Lands and Hunting Grounds should not again be placed at the mercy of the American Government; that such protection being promised them by General Brook [*sic*] they did not mistake to take an active part in the defence of our Colonies confiding their own Territories in the event of a successful War solely to the Guardianship of His Majesty's Government at a Peace.

That the different Tribes of Indians who aided in the defence of Upper Canada came partly from the Mississippi and Mississourie but principally from the Countries between the latter River and the Ohio.

Your Memorialists beg leave to impress on the attention of His Majesty's Ministers that a scrupulous performance of the promises made to the Indians will be hereafter the most effectual protection to the Interest and safety of both the Canadas and they earnestly hope that as in a revision and alteration of the boundaries between Upper Canada and the United States this can only be effected so that this object will meet with the most serious consideration in the approaching Negotiations with the American Commissioners.

That your Memorialists beg leave to suggest for this purpose four lines of boundary the former of which is the old boundary between the then French Province of Quebec and the British provinces in America and which should have been the boundary between Canada and the United States in the Treaties of 1783 and 1796 the second line is drawn so as to exclude all American Settlements on the Ohio and to include the Indian Tribes of the Wyandds [*sic*] Delawares Shawnese Kickapores Potowatomers and Otawas: the third will nearly divide the Territories and Hunting Grounds of these Nations. The fourth your Memorialists have been induced to point out in the event of such insuperable difficulties intervening as to render either of the others unattainable [*sic*] the two latter lines exclude all American Settlement of every description and the Territory included in them is solely inhabited by Indians. If either of these can only be obtained provision should be made in the Treaty for free intercourse with the Indians to the Eastward and Southward of them and especially by Sandusky and all the Communications between Lake Erie and the Ohio and that British Traders may carry on their Trade on all Waters flowing into the said Lake and River and be allowed ingress and egress without paying any Duty either upon their supplies to the Indians or on the return of Peltries. . . .

Your Memorialists beg leave to transmit herewith for the better information of your Lordship a Map with each of these Boundaries marked upon it viz.

First. The old Boundary between the Province of Quebec and the British American Provinces viz from Presqu' Isle on Lake Erie the line to take the Land in 80 West Longitude and 41.20 North Latitude from thence along the River Du Bauf French Creek and Alleghany River to Pittsburg thence

down the Ohio to its entrance into the Mississippi—thence up the Mississippi to the Mississourie thence up the Mississourie to its Southernmost course in the rocky Mountains [Marked in the Map with a Red Ink Line].

Second. From Maimi Bay on Lake Erie 83.25 West 42 North thence up the little Miami River to Fort Defiance branching off South on the Glaise River to its source, thence to the most northern branch of the Great Miami down that River past Fort Hamilton to the Ohio in 84.30 west and 38.40 North thence by the Mississippi and Missourie as in the preceding line to the Rocky Mountains [Marked in the Map black Ink].

Third. From Lake Erie up the Miami River to Fort Wayne from thence to the nearest Water communicating with the River Wabash down the Wabash to its confluence with the Ohio—thence down the Ohio to the Mississippi: thence by the Mississourie as in the preceding Lines to the Rocky Mountains [Marked on the Map].

Fourth. A line running due West in the parallel of 43 North Latitude from the River St. Clair to Lake Michigan thence along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan to the Mouth of the River Saint Joseph, up the River Saint Joseph to its source in the nearest direction to Fort Wayne: from thence to Fort Wayne and thence to the nearest Waters communicating with the Wabash down the Wabash to the Ohio and from thence as in the preceding line to the rocky Mountains [Marked in the Map].

Your Memorialists beg leave further to suggest that whenever an opportunity shall arise by Treaty with any other Power to which it shall be settled, Louisiana is to belong to the boundary of that Territory should be fixed by the River Mississourie and the rocky Mountains, with liberty to Traders of all Nations to trade freely with the Indians along the courses of the Mississippi and Mississourie and their tributary Streams without being subject to taxes or duties imposed by any party as the only Settlements on the Water communication between Detroit and the Countries bordering upon the Lakes to the Northward and Westward of it are those of His Majestys Subjects with the exception of the Military Post at Michillimackinac now in our possession and some American Custom Houses are the Communications intended solely to harrass the Trade your Memorialists trust that no territorial jurisdiction beyond Detroit will be ceded to the Americans which would render the proposed Boundaries for the independance of the Indians precarious and insecure.

Your Memorialists have hitherto principally endeavoured to draw your Lordships attention to the peculiar Interest of the Indian Tribes and they have now as far as commercial Advantages connected with the subject can give weight to a Case which seems so little to require it; to add the following details of the Trade carried on heretofore with the Indians in the proposed new Boundaries.

Your Memorialists have imported into Canada from the year 1770 to 1803

by the communications of the Lake Michigan principally from the Countries on the Mississippi and Missouri various Furs and Peltries to the value annually of about £150,000 from the Countries between the Illinois River the Wabash and the Ohio by the communication of Lake Erie 80 to £100,000 subsequently to 1803 these returns have been diminished by the establishment of American Custom Houses on the different Communications in that year under Pretence of levying Duties similar to those raised on the importation of Merchandise into the Atlantic Ports of the United States. To these Duties levied for some years on the property of your Memorialists at Michillimackinac and other Posts to the amount annually of 15 to £20000 were added other vexatious regulations under which seizures were made and other extortions required. It is needless to recapitulate all these grievances to your Lordship but full proof of them can be produced if required.

The whole Furs and Peltries obtained from the Indian Countries by this Trade were in return for British Manufactures imported from London into Canada and the Duties imposed on the Peltries in England yielded an annual revenue of from 40 to £50,000. This beneficial Trade which ceased entirely in 1812 can only be resumed and extended by the establishment of one of the proposed Boundaries between the Indians and the United States.

Your Memorialists cannot now conceive any possible emergency under which this Country can be compelled to sacrifice to America the blended Interests of His Majestys Canadian Subjects and His faithful Indian Allies in the approaching Negotiations with the Government of the United States provisions in Treaties relative to the Independance and Freedom of the Indians have been proverbially useless where Territory has been ceded and no Conditions of that nature can induce your Memorialists again to risk their Property in the prosecution of the Fur Trade from which it is now withdrawn. If it is found impossible or inexpedient to insist upon the Cession to His Majesty of the Sovereignty of the Countries within the proposed Boundary the Sovereignty of it should be left to the Indians who were originally entitled to it and your Memorialists have no hesitation in trusting that property with the Natives which they have so much reason to dread again placing under the power of their Oppressors.

Your Memorialists think it also necessary to state for the information of your Lordship the insecure grounds on which they can hope to retain the Trade from Lake Superior the only one now left to them in the event of the Americans being again permitted a footing on that Lake. The prosperity of that Trade has also attracted the jealousy of the American Government and the breaking out of the war alone prevented the establishment of Custom Houses which would have been equally destructive as in the former instances and for which the appointment had actually taken place.

Your Memorialists have only further to express their conviction that His Majesty's Ministers with a full knowledge of the rights of the Indians of the

wrongs and Injustice they have suffered from the Government of America and the fair Claims of the British Fur Traders will in return for that fidelity and attachment to His Majesty which has marked the conduct of both on the recent occasion of the War in Canada shield and protect them in the Conditions of a Peace against the Power of their Enemies. The Independance of the different Tribes and the future Security of the Canadas can solely be effected by the means which your Memorialists have herein ventured to suggest and they can only add their entire confidence in the known justice of your Lordship that your Lordship will be pleased to represent to the favorable Consideration of the other Members of His Majesty's Cabinet a case in which their valuable Interests are so intimately blended in the far more important ones of Humanity and Justice and good Faith to the Indians who have bled so freely in the Cause of Great Britain and committed their future existence as Free men upon the Faith of her Protection.

And Your Memorialists as in Duty bound will ever pray &c &c.
London 7th May 1814. signed "Inglis Ellice Co."

APPENDIX O

EVENTS IN THE INTERIOR DURING THE WINTER OF 1820-1821

Copy in C. O. 42 vol. 367.

Copy. To the Agents and Proprietors of the North West Comp'.

Fort William 22^d April 1821.

Dear Sirs,

Our winter Express from the North reached this yesterday afternoon: from the backwardness of the Season hereabouts, apprehensive that the letters being detained longer than usual at this place, as I intend sending them by the Recovery to St. Maries, I give this hasty Sketch of the most interesting parts of their contents a chance of reaching you probably sooner by forwarding it upon the ice to the Pie, whence I desire Mr. Chisholm to dispatch it *en Canot* to Michipicotton. There are in all fourteen letters addressed to the Agents and Proprietors, and as I have classed them according to their dates, I shall begin with No. 1 from Mr. Keith, dated Fort Chip: 24 Oct 1820, the subject of which is of a most distressing nature, the Capture and forcible detention of our friend Mr. Sim. McGillivray by the H. B. people at Fort Wedderburn; this took place the day before the date of the letter. Mr. Simpson, who is at the head of the H. B. affairs in Athab: being present, Mr. Keith upon remonstrating with him on the Subject, was answered that Mr. McG. was arrested by a regular Constable from Lower Canada, who held a legal warrant for the purpose, and that the H. B. Servants were called upon the this Constable to assist him in the execution of his duty, when they *necessarily complied*, and refers Mr. Keith for any further

information to this constable; and from the tenor of the whole correspondence, it would appear that the H. B. are determined to endeavor to carry out Mr. McT. a prisoner. Mr. K's Letter is addressed to the Eng. R. Gent^m, & he calls upon them for aid. Mr. K. recommends in the strongest manner to the agents the absolute necessity of forwarding 7 or 8 Canoes of pork eaters Winterers as early as possible with full loadings.

No. 2. dated Green Lake 26 N^or 1820, is from Mr. Alex. McDonnell and contains much matter of Interest, but I cannot trust more than the following to this precarious route. The Eng. R. Brigade, owing to a 14 days passage thro' Lake Ouiniper were late in getting in. Mr. McD. got to Isle à la Crosse the 24th & Mr. Thompson with the Brigade the 30th. Clarke was before them some considerable time, and of course gained advantages which otherwise he could not. Mr. Thompson with young M'Leod, Livingston and Douglass winters at Isle à la Crosse in opposition to Clarke. Halero & S. Fraser at Lac La Cloche, La Rogne at Lac La Ronge, Heron at Lac Cariboux, and Mr. McDonnell at Green Lake. There has been a great deal of squabbling. Clarke and party are seemingly anxious to shed blood, there have been three duels fought within a month's time, one by Halero at Lac La Cloche with the famous John M'Leod (no blood) one at Isle à la Crosse between young Douglas and a Pat Cunningham (no blood) and the third can hardly be called a duel, it was rather an attempt at assassination. Mr. Heron and a Mr. Leslie had an altercation about an Indian, in which the latter was in the wrong evidently, but came upon the ground with a pistol in each hand, with the avowed determination of taking the Indian forcibly: after some words, Leslie seeing that Heron procured a pair of pocket pistols from some of his friends, turned off to return to his hut, but wheeling suddenly round, asked Heron to shake hands; poor Heron hesitated but afterwards thinking the fellow meant to terminate the quarrel amicably, he held out his hand, and the base villain fired instantly one his pistols at Heron's head, providentially without taking effect: Mr. H. seeing him have still another pistol in his hand, lost no time in firing one of his pocket-pops, and altho' from having been a length of time loaded, it hung fire, he succeeded in wounding the infamous Scoundrel in the groin; he dropped and was carried home by his people, and confined for twenty days, when he began to move about upon crutches. With regard to prospects Mr. McDonnell sums up his long and interesting letter by saying "Less than last years returns I do not expect, more I have very faint hopes of."

No. 3. is from Mr. Hallit [?] of Lower Fort des prairies of 3 Jany. 1821. he complains of a scarcity of provisions owing to the mildness of the Season, and does not expect to have more than 150 Bags pemican. Furs as usual.

No. 4. is from Mr. Leith, dated Dunvegan 4 Jany. 1821. He mentions the arrival there of Mr. Black on the 15 Nov: from New Caled:—Mr. Farries had got back from the Columbia, with his Supplies a few hours before

Black came away, and had not time to write. Mr. Black supposes they might consist of about 80 pieces of trading goods, exclusive of *douceurs* [?], a list from memory accompanies Mr. L's letter of the pieces. Mr. Black left Dunvegan for Fort Chipewyan the 23^d Nov: and Mr. Leith seems sanguine in his hopes from the measures adopting that Mr. S. McGillivray would soon be liberated. Mr. Leith wishes that at least the same number of Canoes should be forwarded next Spring (with full Loadings) as last year: returns of McKenzie's River are diminished, owing to want of ammunition during January 1819. The H. B. are settled near St. Johns and M'Intosh alongside of them. Rod^c M'Leod went to McKenzie's River with an additional Canoe; New Caledonia is threatened with an opposition next year, they want 12 men and a good Clerk to reinforce that depart^{mt}. No more Iroquois wanted in Athabasca. Summer returns at Dunvegan better than last years, expects usual winter returns, a Sickness general amongst the Natives of McKenzie's River & New Cal: which must affect the returns.

No. 5. dated Lesser Slave Lake 12 Jan^{ry} 1821 from Mr. Alex. Stewart, mentions that his expectations are that the returns will be better than last year.

No. 6. Cumberl. Ho: 18 Jan^{ry} 1821. Mr. Connolly writes that to that date every thing looked well in respect to returns: he draws off his Indians from the Rat River on a/c of the H. B. and they have made better hunts in the vicinity of Cumberl. Ho: than they would have done at Lac des Roseaux: the H.B. were of course obliged to draw off their people—mentions, that it is rumoured that the H.B. Gov. Williams (who winters at York) is to be at the Grand Rapid again next year, but expects our people will be amply prepared to meet him.

No. 7 Ft. Augustus 26 Jan^{ry} 21. Mr. McBean seems to think that provisions will be scarcer but does not mention the quantity he has, but as he must send a large proportion for the use of the Athabasca, Lesser Slave Lake and Columbia Canoes out coming, the quantity rendered at Cumb: Ho: may be short. From many of the freemen having left that part of the Country, and being otherwise scattered, does not expect the same returns in Beaver. Mr. Rowand winters at the Rocky Mount: Ho: the natives are disturbed as usual with war among themselves. Buffalo scarce owing to a mild winter.

No. 8. dated Swans River 30 Jan^{ry} 1821: from Mr. Allan McDonnell complains sadly of his prospects: a Company in Red River Pritchard & Co. Woolstaplers and Tanners, have started, who give such encouragement to the Indians for raw Hides, that there will be neither Buffalo Robes or dressed Skins from that dept. this year. Mentions also a report of Gov. Williams' intentions of proceeding to the Grand Rapid next Summer.

No. 9. Beaver Creek R.R. 9 febr. 1821. from Mr. Jno. M'Donald: F D Complains very much of the Summer arrangements in Upper Red R. owing to mismanagement, accidents &c. &c: Summer trade last expects to have 450

Bags Pemican, and the usual supply of Buff: Robes, but mentions also the annoyance from Pritchard & Co; no grease to take out; mentions a report of a large boat or scow being built at Jack River for the Grand Rapid covered over, Ball proof &c^a &c^a meant to blockade Gr. Rapid.

No. 10. Cumb: Ho: 1st March 21 is another letter from Mr. Connolly, merely passing a 2^d express from the N^o of which he complains: reiterates his hopes of good returns.

No. 11. March 11. Alexandria from Mr. Allan McDonnell: this is nearly a repetition of his first letter: states Pemican at 100 Bags & 100 Kegs Grease, expects few Robes & Skins.

No. 12. Beaver Creek March 19. 21. another letter from Mr. McDonald F D, who reduces now his expectation of provisions to 400 Bags—a little better than the half of what was expected last year, and recommends this particular to the Agents, as there are appearances of a failure of provisions all over.

No. 13. Pembina River 29 March 1821, a long letter from Mr. J. D. Cameron:—prospects poor—no provisions:—no appearance of a stir amongst the Meurons; does not think they would engage to go to the Gr. Rapid: mentions the Scow or boat, is 52 feet long, 16 Beam, 6 or 7 deep, square at both ends &c^a &c^a—old Laurent at B. de la Riv: was killed last Nov. by an Indian, whom he had brought up, and who was engaged as a servant of the Comp^y for refusing to give him his Grand daughter to wife.

No. 14. Lac La plue 9 April 1821. is from Mr. Harmon: expects a fair proportion of returns, procured enough of rice for the winter and part of next Summer. Indian Corn remains untouched which Mr. McLeod left there. Has been under the necessity of making free with the Athabasca Goods.

From the Ath: Riv: & Ro: mo: portage there are 5 letters. No. 1 of which dated Spokane Ho: 10 Sept. 1820 is from Mr. Haldane, and treats merely of arrangements of no Consequence.

No. 2. dated the same as last. He got to Ft. Geo: 9th May last with the returns in good order: on the 25th Same mo: the Levant sail'd with 13414 Beavers, 860 Otters, 266 B^r. Coatg, 6770 M. Rats, 259 Minks, 104 Foxes, 116 Fishers, & 37 Sea Otters.—On the boats getting back again to Nez-pereé Forks with the New Caledonia Goods &c^a (8th June) they were joined by Mr. D^a McKenzie & party from the Snake Country bringing between 2 & 3/m. Skins, having for the present abandoned that Country. Mr. Farries lost 2 men coming down Fraser's River in a Rapid, and was much annoyed by the natives, and was blockaded some days in Mr. La Rayne's old Fort at Kamloops, where they had nine dead the only summe [summer?] man (Chevette). Mr. Haldane had much trouble in equipping his Iroquois, a Band of 50 more got off towards the flat head lands, where [*sic*] I presume they will be disposed of to some advantage. Mr. H. does not like the idea of Jaques Finlay and the Fort des prairie freemen getting to the Columbia.

No. 3 is a letter from Mr. McMillan, dated Ro: Mo. Portage 30 Sept. where he had come to get Craft prepared for the inward bound, and to conduct a parcel of *Casts offs* who are sent to Lesser Slave Lake.

No. 4 & 5 both from Mr. John Stuart, dated 5 Oct. from West end of Ro. Mo. portage mentions having written a letter from Moose Lake, which has not come forward, expected the 12th to descend the Columbia.

It is reported that Mr. Jno. Stuart had 2 of his men killed in Beaver River by a party of the Lesser Slave Lake Indians, and I presume his letter from Moose Lake would have given some particulars: the murderers are said to be harboured by the H.B.—two of his followers also deserted him in the dunelée [?], but they are with Mr. Leith, who intends forwarding them to New Caled: indeed I have little doubt of their getting thru before Mr. Stuart.

I have now given you a hurried sketch of the whole Budget, and it remains to say a little about this place. I believe everything is as far as I can learn going on as usual. The winter has been severe, and we are likely to have a very late Spring, which may throw us back in farming. We have only been able to make 5 Canoes as yet, owing to the extreme Cold: as to the returns we have got hitherto the Hunts of all the *few* Indians remaining at this place, and the foot of Mille Laes will do the same as last year.

Begging your indulgence for the hurried manner in which this is thrown together, with the utmost regard I am

Dear Sirs,

Your obed't Servant

(signed)

J. G. McTavish—

APPENDIX P

DEED OF COVENANT EXECUTED BY THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE MCGILLIVRAYS AND ELLICE, 1821

C. O. 42, vol. 192.

Whereas His Majesty hath by an Instrument under the Hand and Seal of His Secretary of State The Right Honorable Earl Bathurst bearing even date herewith granted and given His Royal Licence to us the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay and William MacGillivray Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice for the exclusive privilege of Trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the Northward and to the Westward of the Lands and Territories belonging to the United States of America as shall not form part of any of His Majesty's Provinces in North America or of any Lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America or to any European Government State or Power and secured to us the said Governor and Company and William MacGillivray Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice the sole and exclusive privilege

for the full period of Twenty one years from the date of the said Grant of Trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as aforesaid (except as hereinafter excepted) And thereby declared that no Rent shall be required or demanded for or in respect of the said Grant and Licence or any privileges given thereby for the said period of Twenty one years We therefore the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay and the the said William MacGillivray Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice Do hereby Covenant and Bind ourselves successors heirs executors administrators and assigns that We and they shall during the period of the said Grant and Licence keep accurate Registers of all persons employed by us or our successors heirs executors administrators or assigns in any part of North America and shall once in each year return to the Secretary of State accurate Duplicates of such Registers and We the said Governor and Company and William MacGillivray Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice Do hereby Bind ourselves our successors heirs executors administrators and assigns in the penal sum of Five thousand pounds that We will as far as in us may lay ensure the due execution of all Criminal Processes and of any Civil Process in any Suit when the matter in dispute shall exceed Two hundred pounds by the Officers and Persons legally empowered to execute such process within all the Territories included in the said Grant and for the producing or delivering into safe custody for purpose of Trial of any persons in our employ or acting under our authority within the said Territories who may be charged with any Criminal offence And We do also hereby Covenant that we will as soon as the same can be conveniently done make and submit to the consideration and approval of His Majesty such rules and regulations for the management and carrying on the said Fur Trade with the Indians and the conduct of the persons employed by us therein as may appear to us to be most effectual for gradually diminishing and ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of Spirituous Liquors to the Indians and for promoting their moral and religious improvement PROVIDED nevertheless and it is hereby understood and declared and the covenant or covenants or other obligations hereinbefore made and entered into upon the express condition that the said Governor and Company and the said William MacGillivray Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice and their successors heirs executors administrators and assigns or any or either of them shall not be bound to plead or answer save and except as hereinafter mentioned in that behalf or be otherwise subject or liable to any Action or Actions Suit or Suits or other Proceedings which shall or may be brought sued instituted or prosecuted against them any or either of them for or by reason or in consequence of any breach or breaches of the said Covenant or Covenants on their or either of their part other than and except such Action or Actions Suit or Suits or other proceedings as shall be brought or prosecuted on that account against them any or either of them by His Majesty's Attorney General in

England or in his name and under his authority to be for that purpose given prior to the commencement of each and every such Action Suit or other Proceeding AND THAT it shall or may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company and their successors and the said William MacGillivray Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice their heirs executors administrators and assigns and each and every of them to plead and set forth this present provision and the same shall be held as operating in bar to all and every other the Action or Actions Suit or Suits or Suits or other proceedings which shall or may be brought or instituted against them any or either of them for or by reason or on account of any such breach or breaches of Covenant as aforesaid by any person or persons whomsoever other than and except His Majesty's said Attorney General and under his Name and Authority to be given as aforesaid. IN WITNESS whereof the said Governor and Company have caused their Common Seal to be hereunto affixed And the said William MacGillivray Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice have hereunto set their Hands and Seals the Fifth day of December in the second year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Fourth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith And in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty one

Sealed under the Common Seal of the abovementioned Governor and Company and delivered by William Smith their Secretary pursuant to their order and appointment (being first duly stamped) in the presence of	By order of the Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee Wm Smith Secy.	(Seal of) (H B Co.)
--	--	----------------------------

Thos. Crosse Threadneedle
Street London
sol to the Hudson's

Bay Co:—

W. McGillivray (Seal)

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the above named William MacGillivray, Simon MacGillivray and Edward Ellice in the presence of—	} Simon McGillivray (Seal)
--	-------------------------------

Thos Crosse

Edward Ellice (Seal)

The Covenant is stamped in upper left hand corner of front page with One Pound Fifteen Shillings on a shield. Below is 18-15. It is endorsed on the back:—Covenant by the Hudsons Bay Company and Messrs MacGillivrays and Ellice for performance of the Conditions contained in the Grant to them of the exclusive Trade with the Indians in certain part of North America to the Northward and Westward of the Territories of the United States.

APPENDIX Q

FUR TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1800

Extracted from C. H. 17. vol. 22 (Trade of Gt. Britain 5 Jan. 1800—5 Jan. 1801)

Customs and Drawbacks, 1801.

<i>Skins</i>	Great Britain Gross Receipts	Drawbacks	Net Produce
Bear black	£19208-12-11½	£4318-15-0	£14889-17-11½
Beaver	1497-12- 8¾		
Calf raw	3816-13- 0		
" tanned	15896- 7-11½		
Deer in hair.....	6926- 8- 7¾		
Fox	1041- 4- 8¾	329-13-4	711-11- 4¾
Kid drest	3395- 2- 1		
" undrest	4560- 1- ¾	4- 5-10½	4555-15- 2¼
Lamb in Wool.....	1520-19- 9½		
Martin	10759-12- 9¾	4035-17-9	6723-15- ¾
Mink	1300- 9-11	828-15-2	471-14- 9
Otter	3963-16-11¾	1718- 8-7	2245- 8- 4¾
Raccoon	1880- 1- 1½	981- 6-5	898-14- 8½
Seal	1695-10- 2½	61- 3-10	1634- 6- 4½
Wolf	8865-18- 3¾	5289-19-9	3575-18- 6¾

Of these the Receipts paid into Scotland were

Bear black	-12- 1
Calf raw	45- 1- 2
" tanned	16- 8- 2½
Deer in hair.....	- 8- 7½
Martin	2- 2- 4
Seal	51-10-11

No Drawbacks on Skins for Scotland

Imports into Great Britain 1800

	Amt	Value	Duty on Importation
Castoreum America	5535¾ lbs.	£ 1937-10- 3	Duty £ 608-18- 3
<i>Skins</i>			
Bear black Europe	601	198- 1- 6	
America	61886	20114-12- 0	
	62487	20312-13- 6	Duty 19201-17-10
Beaver America	325415	56947-12- 6	Duty 1497-12- 8

<i>Calf raw</i> Europe	33829-5	44194-11-11	
Africa	305-10	382- 5-10	
America	127-6	186- 2- 8	
	34262-9	44763- 0- 5	Duty 3805- 6- 0
	lbs.		
<i>Calf tanned</i> Europe	763305	19093-15-10	
America	312	7-16- 0	
	763617	19101-11-10	Duty 15770-13- 0
<i>Deer in hair</i> Europe	6561	802- 2- 6	
America	724197	90525- 4- 3	
	730758	91345- 6- 9	Duty 6918- 5- 5
<i>Fox</i> Europe	993	62- 1- 3	
Africa	1	- 1- 3	
America	45952	2872- 0- 0	
	46946	2934- 2- 6	Duty 1041- 4- 8
<i>Goat raw</i> Europe	45960-8	45929- 2- 8	
Africa	4645-0	4645- 0- 0	
America	465-8	465-13- 4	
	51071-4	51099-16- 0	Duty 311- 3- 0
	c. no.		
<i>Hare</i> Europe	1095-1-27	1616- 2- 5	
America	30-2-22	46- 0- 6	
	1126-0-19	1662- 2-11	Duty 56- 2- 4
<i>Kid in hair</i> Europe	560341	8695- 8- 4	Duty 4537-16- 2
	no.		
<i>Kid drest</i> Europe	250837	4515- 1- 0	Duty 3395- 2- 1
<i>Lamb undrest</i> Europe	10158-3-14	5079-10- 2	Duty 1521- 1- 0
<i>Martin</i> Europe	10	2-10- 0	
America	141937	35482-10- 0	
	141947	35485- 0- 0	Duty 10579-12-10
<i>Mink</i> Europe	7	-10- 6	
America	54418	4081- 7- 0	
	54425	4081-17- 6	Duty 1300- 9-11

<i>Musquash</i> America	 51777	1294- 8- 6	Duty 394-18- 7
<i>Otter</i> Europe	 403	70-10- 6	
America	 50062	8760-17- 0	
	50465	8831- 7- 6	Duty 3963-17- 0
<i>Raccoon</i> America	248571	6214- 5- 6	Duty 1880- 1- 1
<i>Seal</i> Europe	 67005	2783-11- 2	
America	173532	7179-11- 5	
	240537	9963- 2- 7	Duty 1695-10- 2
<i>Wolf</i> Europe	 1	- 5- 0	
America	 25442	6360-10- 0	
	25443	6360-15- 0	Duty 8865-18- 3
<i>Other Skins</i> Europe	 1747-18- 4		
Asia	 105- 2- 5		
Africa	 225- 0- 1		
America	 4146-12- 2		
		6224-13- 0	Duty 3226-19- 0

Of Imports from Europe Foreign note following items.

Skins

<i>Bear black</i> ..	455	from Germany	3 from Denmark	4 from Prussia (all)
<i>Calf raw</i> ...	7011-3	"	3317-4 from Holland	14201-5 from Prussia &c.
" tanned	36195 lbs	"	136387 from Holland	383079 from Flanders
<i>Deer in hair</i>			200141 from France &c	16 from Denmark
<i>Fox</i>	554	"	284 from Denmark	129 from Spain (all)
<i>Goat raw</i>	28540-9	"	4139-9 from Prussia,	5999-7 from Portugal
			3324-4 from Italy	1635-1 from Turkey, &c
<i>Hare</i>	429-3-6	"	498-0-0 from Russia,	160-0-0 from Prussia, &c
<i>Kid in hair</i> .	99048	"	34039 from France	52549 Spain
no.			373554 from Italy, &c.	
<i>Kid drest</i> ...	182137	"	55982 from France,	3168 from Holland
			1152 from Flanders (all)	
<i>Lamb undrest</i>	999-1-11	"	7902-2-11 Italy,	742-0-13 Spain, &c.

Martin		10 from Spain (all)
Mink		7 " " (all)
Otter 16	"	7 " " 4 from Denmark (all)
Seal 49155	"	5170 from Russia 3291 from Denmark 128 from Flanders (all)
Wolf		7 from Denmark (all)
Other Skins ...£650-12-0	"	298-9-2 from Holland 299-19-10 from Port., &c
Ireland sent 125 black Bear, 8642-3 raw Calf, 6351 Deer in hair, 26 Fox, 632-1 raw Goat, 11 Kid in hair, 2398 drest Kid, 0-0-9 undrest Lamb, 376 Otter, £45-5-10 Other Skins.		
Man sent 336-0 raw Calf £10-11-6 other Skins.		
Channel Islands sent 194 Deer in hair, 6000 drest Kid £9-1-6 Other Skins.		
Greenland sent 14 black bear 9261 Seal.		

Prize Goods into Great Britain 1800

	Amt	Value	Duty
Calf raw	75-0	£ 93-15- 0	£ 11- 6-10
" tanned	6097 lbs.	305-16-11	125-14-11
Deer in hair....	17	2- 2- 6	- 3- 2
Goat raw	41-1	41- 1- 8	6-19- 2
Hare	77-3-10	116-15- 0	3-18- 4
Kid in hair.....	2100	33-12- 0	22- 4- 8
Other Skins		26-11- 8	24- 9- 1
		Value	Duty
Total of all Prize Goods.....		683098- 6- 5	60493- 8- 9

Foreign Goods exported from Great Britain 1800

	Amt lbs	Value
Castoreum Europe	1055	2215-10-0
Asia	9½	19-19-0
America	28	58-16-0
	1092½	2294- 5-0

Excess of Imports 4443¼ value (Import less than Export) 356-14-9

<i>Skins</i>		
Bear black Europe.....	18705	7949-12-6
Excess of Imports 43782 value 12363-1-0		
Beaver Europe	18072	4292- 2-0
Asia	1247	296- 3-3
	19319	4588- 5-3

Subsidy collected on Exportation 708-7		
Excess of Imports 306096 value 52359-7-3.	lbs	
<i>Calf</i> tanned Europe.....	5651	211-18-3
Excess of Imports 757966 value 18889-13-7.		
<i>Deer in hair</i> Europe.....	215248	32287- 4-0
Excess of Imports 515510 value 59058-2-9.		

Foreign Goods exported from Great Britain 1800 (Contd).

	Amt	Value
<i>For</i> Europe	16571	£1311-17-5
Asia	3663	289-19-9
	20234	1601-17-2
Excess of Imports 26712 value 1332-5-4		
<i>Goat raw</i> Europe	11-8	9-18-4
Excess of Imports 51059-8 value 51089-17-8.		
	c. no.	
Hare Europe	28-3-0	35-18-9
Excess of Imports 1097-1-19 value 1626-4-2.		
<i>Kid drest</i> Europe.....	1453	90-16-3
Excess of Imports 249384 value 4424-4-9		
<i>Lamb</i> undrest Europe	15-0-19	12- 2-5
Excess of Imports 10143-2-25 value 5067-7-9.		
<i>Martin</i> Europe	72312	6628-12-0
Excess of Imports 69635 value 28856-8-0		
<i>Mink</i> Europe	47274	4333- 9-0
Excess of Imports 7151 value (Import less than Export) 251-11-6		
<i>Musquash</i> Europe	18010	187-12-1
Excess of Imports 33767 value 1106-16-5.		
<i>Otter</i> Europe	30555	9166-10-0
Asia	1518	455- 8-0
	32073	9621-18-0
Excess of Imports 18392 valued (Import less than Export) 790-10-6.		
<i>Raccoon</i> Europe	148951	£4965- 0-8
Asia	10	- 6-8
	148961	4965- 7-4
Excess of Imports 99610 value 1248-18-2.		
<i>Seal</i> Europe	6233	583- 3-5
Asia	7200	510- 0-0
	15433	1093- 3-5

Excess of Imports 225104 value 8869-19-2		
<i>Wolf</i> Europe.....	18671	5601- 6-0
Excess of Imports 6772 value 759-9-0		
<i>Other Skins</i> Europe.....		1944-16- 8
Asia		54-10-10
		1999- 7- 6

Excess of Imports value 4225-5-6

Of these Exports the following went to U. S. A.

Castoreum 7 lbs value 14-14-0 to S. Car. No Skins.

B. N. A. Colonies took nothing of these.

Castoreum 10 lbs. value 21-0-0 to Barbadoes 11 lbs. to Jamaica.

Of Exports to Europe Foreign note following

	lbs	
Castoreum 888 to Germany	30 lbs. to Denmark 101 Russia 10 Sweden 12	
Skins	Port. (all)	
Bear black 17216 "	100 to Denmark, 380 to Sweden 58 to Prussia	
	(all)	
Beaver 24 "	1794 to Russia 50 to Sweden 24 to Portugal (all)	
Deer in hair 200859 "	1086 to Prussia (all)	
Fox 16299 "	163 " " 20 to Italy (all)	
Goat raw 11-8 to Germany (all)		
	c no.	
Kid undrest 25-0-0 "	(all)	
	no	
" drest 1453 "	(all)	
Lamb undrest 15-0-19 "	(all)	
Martin 72312 "	(all)	
Mink 47274 "	(all)	
Musquash 18010 "	(all)	
Otter 24492 "	6063 to Russia (all)	
Raccoon 143023 "	4928 to Denmark 1000 to Sweden (all)	
Seal 8183 "	(all)	
Wolf 18417 "	230 to Sweden 18 to Prussia (all)	
Other Skins £1911-9-1 "	10-6-7 to Prussia, -5-8 to Port, -18-1 to Italy (all)	

*

*

Ireland took 14 lbs. Castoreum, 951 black Bear, 13303 Deer in hair 89 Fox, 3-3-0 undrest Hare, 50 Seal, 6 Wolf, £21-17-3. Other Skins (& 1893 lbs tanned Calf Prize Goods).

Channel Islands took 5651 lbs. tanned Calf.

*

*

Imports United States to Great Britain 1800

*No Castoreum**Skins*

<i>Bear Black</i>	Amt	Value
New England	647	210- 5- 6
New York	2035	661- 7- 6
Pennsylvania	8354	2715- 1- 0
Maryland	130	42- 5- 0
North Carolina	15	4-17- 6
South Carolina	659	214- 3- 6
	11840	3848- 0- 0

Beaver

New York	5	-17- 6
Pennsylvania	6	1- 1- 0
Maryland	663	116- 0- 6
South Carolina	42	7- 7- 0
Georgia	64	11- 4- 0
	780	136-10- 0

Calf raw

Pennsylvania	20-10	26- 0-10
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Calf tanned

	lbs	
Pennsylvania	312	7-16- 0

Deer in hair

New England	5565	695-12- 6
New York	83679	10460- 9- 3
Pennsylvania	58916	7364-10- 0
Maryland	13672	1709- 0- 0
North Carolina	6282	785- 5- 0
South Carolina	95365	11920-12- 6
Georgia	21643	2705- 7- 6

285122 35640-16- 9

For

New England	2671	166-18- 9
New York	14	-17- 6
Pennsylvania	254	15-17- 6
South Carolina	26	1-12- 6
Georgia	43	2-13- 9

3008 188- 0- 0

Martin

New England	3230	807-10- 0
New York	248	62- 0- 0
Pennsylvania	147	36-15- 0

	3625	906- 5- 0
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Mink

New England	29366	2202- 9- 0
New York	798	59-17- 0
Pennsylvania	1742	130-13- 0
North Carolina	1	- 1- 6
South Carolina	3	- 4- 6

	31910	2393- 5- 0
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Musquash

New York	4946	123-13- 0
Pennsylvania	4	- 2- 0
Georgia	5	- 2- 6

	4955	123-17- 6
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Otter

New England	1151	201- 8- 6
New York	732	128- 2- 0
Pennsylvania	2191	383- 8- 6
North Carolina	37	6- 9- 6
South Carolina	379	66- 6- 6
Georgia	38	6-13- 0

	4528	792- 8- 0
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Raccoon

North Carolina	1	0- 0- 6
South Carolina	187	4-13- 6
Georgia	287	7- 3- 6

	475	11-17- 6
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Scal

New York	402	15-18- 2
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Wolf

New England	9	2- 5- 0
New York	2	-10- 0
Pennsylvania	87	21-15- 0
South Carolina	8	2- 0- 0
Georgia	6	1-10- 0

	112	28- 0- 0
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Other Skins

New England	186-11- 5
New York	104-12-10
Pennsylvania	358-15- 9
South Carolina ...	4-14- 7
Georgia	6- 2- 0
	660-16- 7

Total Imports United States to Great Britain £2357923-10-9

Exports Great Britain to United States

Foreign Goods	£179385- 5-0
Prize Goods	16654-18-0
British Goods	6689467-19-9

Imports British North American Colonies to Great Britain 1800

<i>Castoreum</i>	Amt	Value
Hudson Bay	1895	663- 5- 0
Newfoundland	4¾	1-13- 3
Canada	3636	1272-12- 0
	5535¾	1937-10- 3

*Skins**Bear black*

Hudson Bay	1160	377- 0- 0
Newfoundland	31	10- 1- 6
Canada	48290	15695- 7- 0
New Brunswick	205	67- 3- 6
Nova Scotia	103	33- 9- 6
Bahama	42	13-13- 0
	49831	16196-14- 6

Beaver

Hudson Bay	77150	13501- 5- 0
Newfoundland	1562	273- 7- 0
Canada	245321	42931- 3- 6
New Brunswick	138	24- 3- 0
Nova Scotia	124	21-14- 0
Bahama	259	45- 6- 6
	324554	56796-16- 0

Calf raw

Newfoundland	33-9	68-18-11
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Nova Scotia	12-7	15-14- 7
	46-4	84-13- 6
<i>Skins</i>		
<i>Deer in hair</i>		
Hudson Bay	8966	1120-15- 0
Newfoundland ..	4	-10- 0
Canada	369327	46165-17- 6
New Brunswick	5	-12- 6
Nova Scotia	34	4- 5- 0
Bahama	4995	624- 7- 6
	383331	47916- 7- 6
<i>For</i>		
Hudson Bay	17214	1075-17- 6
Newfoundland	1817	113-11- 3
Canada	21052	1315-15- 0
New Brunswick	1090	68- 2- 6
Nova Scotia ...	1219	76- 3- 9
	42392	2649-10- 0
<i>Hare</i>	c no.	
Newfoundland	0-3-17	1- 6- 9
Canada	29-3- 5	44-13- 9
	30-2-22	46- 0- 6
<i>Martin</i>		
Hudson Bay	54509	13627- 5- 0
Newfoundland	1656	414- 0- 0
Canada	74912	18726- 5- 0
New Brunswick	3579	894-15- 0
Nova Scotia	3656	914- 0- 0
	138312	34576- 5- 0
<i>Mink</i>		
Hudson Bay	2586	193-19- 0
Newfoundland	23	1-14- 6
Canada	16694	1252- 1- 0
New Brunswick	987	74- 0- 6
Nova Scotia	2218	166- 7- 0
	22508	1688- 2- 0

Musquash

Hudson Bay	25849	646- 4- 6
Newfoundland	36	-18- 0
Canada	20341	508-10- 6
New Brunswick	300	7-10- 0
Nova Scotia	296	7- 8- 0

Otter

	46822	1170-11- 0
Hudson Bay	7691	1345-18- 6
Newfoundland	1491	260-18- 6
Canada	34952	6116-12- 0
New Brunswick	288	50- 8- 0
Nova Scotia	304	53- 4- 0
Bahama	50	8-15- 0

Raccoon

	44776	7835-16- 0
Hudson Bay	4187	104-13- 6
Canada	243310	6082-15- 0
Nova Scotia	9	- 4- 6

Seal

	247506	6187-13- 0
Newfoundland	62819	£2586-19- 9
Canada	8652	345-17- 2
Nova Scotia	1332	50-10- 6

Wolf

	72803	2983- 7- 5
Hudson Bay	17091	4272-15- 0
Newfoundland	2	-10- 0
Canada	8232	2058- 0- 0
New Brunswick	4	1- 0- 0
Nova Scotia	1	- 5- 0

Other Skins

	25330	6332-10- 0
Hudson Bay		685- 3- 5
Newfoundland		1- 3- 2
Canada		1827- 4- 7
New Brunswick		41-11- 7
Nova Scotia		47- 7- 5
Bahama		717-15- 0
		3320- 5- 2

Besides Castoreum & Skins there were imported from Hudson Bay

	c. lb.	
Isinglass	0-0-7	-15-0
Feathers for Beds	89-3-0	287- 4-0
Fish (not Cod or Herrings)		3- 9-9
	T H G	
Oil Train	9-1-0	120- 5-0
Quills Goose	245700	36-17-0
	c. lb.	
Whalefins	41-0-24	329-14-3
Wood (nor Fir or Oak)		9- 0-0
Misc. Articles		62- 1-8
Total Imports from Hudson Bay were	£38463-	8-1.
" " " Canada	" 231394-	14-2.

Exports from Great Britain to Hudson Bay were

Foreign Goods	1837-11-6
British Goods	36223- 9-3

Exports from Great Britain to Canada were

Foreign Goods	67603-19-5
Prize Goods	6557-14-6
British Goods	385993-19-4

Exports Great Britain to Hudson Bay 1800

<i>Foreign Goods</i>	Amt	Value
Bugle Great	1790 lb.	£104- 8- 4
Groceries	{ Cinnamon	2 lb. -10- 0
	{ Cloves	2¼ lb. -16-10
	{ Coffee, East India	1-2-26 25- 2- 3
	{ Currants	1-3-2 3- 5- 4
	{ Mace	2¼ lb 2- 2- 9
	{ Nutmegs	2¼ -17-10
	c lb	
	{ Prunes	40-1-27 35- 6- 9
	{ Raisins Solis	39-3-24 44-18-11
	c lb	
Rice	5-2-16	5-13-10
	Sugar B. Plantn.	41-1-11 103- 7- 4
	T H G	
Oil Ordinary	0-1-44	9-11-10
" Salad	10 Galls.	2- 0- 0
Rum	1346 Galls.	403-16- 0

Tobacco Manfd.	14097 lbs.	264- 6- 4
	T H G	
Wine Portugal	1-2-16	53- 3- 0
Misc. Articles		778- 4- 2
	Total	1837-11- 6

<i>British Goods</i>		Amt	Value
		e lb	
	Apothecary Ware	55-0-0	110- 0- 0
		T H G	
	Beer	150-0-0	750- 0- 0
		no.	
	Bricks	14000	7- 0- 0
		e lb	
	Brass Wro ^t	65-0-0	292-10- 0
		doz lb	
	Candles Tallow	300-0	67-10- 0
		Cha. Bu.	
	Coals, Winton Meas.	45-0	54- 0- 0
	Copper Wro ^t	105-0-0	556-10- 0
		Qr Bu	
Corn	Barley	7-0	4-11- 0
	Beans	2-0	1- 6- 0
	Malt	45-0	39- 7- 6
	Oats	8-0	4- 4- 0
		e lb	
	Oatmeal	432-0-0	64-16- 0
		Qr Bu	
	Pease	60-0	72- 0- 0
		e lb	
	Wheat Flour	1158-0-0	579- 0- 0
		Pieces	
	Glass & Earthenware	206000	515- 0- 0
		Cha. Bu.	
	Grindlestones	11-0	16-10- 0
		lbs	
	Gunpowder	17500	528-12-11
	Haberdashery	70-0-0	140- 3- 7
		doz no	
	Hats Beaver	60-0	240- 0- 0
	" Felt	60-0	67-10- 0

	c lb	
Iron Wro ^t	420-0-0	1155- 0- 0
	T. c lb	
Lead	15-4-0-0	159-12- 0
Leather Wro ^t	1300 lb	146- 5- 0
	c lb	
Molasses	280-0-0	315- 0- 0
Pewter	135-0-0	472-10- 0
	c lb	
Bacon & Hams	640-0-0	2016- 0- 0
Beef & Pork	900 Bbls.	2475- 0- 0
	c lbs	
Bread & Biscuit	3560 0	267- 0- 0
Butter	258 Firkins	251-11- 0
	c lb	
Cheese	270-0-0	324- 0- 0
Salt White	232 bush.	7-14- 8
	lb oz	
Silk in Pieces	17-14	31- 5- 7
	c lb	
Sugar Refined	68-2-9	188-11-11
Bays Double	1400 Pieces	5250- 0- 0
" Single	1400 "	2765- 0- 0
Flannel	2700 Yds.	146- 5- 0
	doz pr	
Stockgs. Worsted	55-0	93-10- 0
Stuffs	26000 lbs.	3250- 0- 0
	lb, oz	
" with Silk & Inele	31-8	4- 6- 7
Misc Articles		12794- 6- 6
		36223- 9- 3

Imports West Indies, Honduras Bay, Florida, and Southern

<i>Skins</i>	Fishery to Great Britain 1800.	
<i>Bear black</i>	Amt	Value
Florida	215	69-17-6
<i>Beaver</i>		
Florida	81	14- 3-6
<i>Calf raw</i>	doz no	
Barbadoes	15-4	19- 3-4
Jamaica	42-0	52-10-0
Total British W. Indies	57-4	71-13-4

Florida	3-0	3-15-0
<i>Deer in hair</i>		
Jamaica	374	46-15-0
Florida	55370	6921-15-0
<i>Fox</i>		
Florida	552	34-10-0
<i>Goat raw</i>		
Barbadoes	22-10	22-16-8
Grenada	3-9	3-15-0
Jamaica	439-0	439- 0-0
Total B. W. Indies.....	465-7	465-11-8
<i>Goat raw</i>		
Martinico	0-1	0- 1-8
<i>Otter</i>		
Jamaica	84	14-14-0
Florida	674	117-19-0
<i>Raccoon</i>		
Florida	590	14-15-0
<i>Seal</i>		
Southern Fishery	100327	4180- 5-10
<i>Other Skins</i>		
Barbadoes		11- 6- 2
Jamaica		7- 5- 8
Total British West Indies		18-11-10
Demerara		1- 0- 0
Martinico		29- 0- 3
Surinam		2- 7-11
Trinidad		12- 0- 0
Total Conq'l. Islands		44- 8- 2
For ⁿ West Indies		75-10- 0
Florida		3-15- 5
Southern Fishery		23- 5- 0
Exports, Great Britain to Nootka Sound 1800		
	c lb	
Coffee B. Plant ^a	1-1-22	20-19- 4
Sugar B. Plant ^a	6-0-16	15- 7- 1
Tea	374 lbs	54- 0- 8

		T		
Iron Bar	.....	1-4-2-9 lb	15-19- 5	
Linen Cambricks	.....	74 pieces	90-13- 0	
Piece Goods Muslins	.....	25 pieces	98-10- 0	
Rum	.....	1031 Galls.	309- 6- 0	
		T. H G		
Wine Port	.....	0-1-57	16- 3- 8	
" Spanish	.....	0-0-7	-19- 5	
		Total	644- 8-11	
No Prize Goods				
British Goods				
Cottons 6 ^d to 18 ^d before Printed 2400 Yds. 250-0-0				
<i>British Goods</i>		Amt	Value	
Cottons Manufactures	.....	.....	12000- 0-0	
		Pieces		
Glass & Eathernware	.....	200000	500- 0-0	
		doz		
" Bottles	.....	6-0	-12-0	
		c lb		
Sugar refined	.....	4-3-0	13- 1-3	
		no.		
Watches Silver	.....	120	450- 0-0	
Wollens {	Bays Single		100 pieces	197-10-0
	Cloths Long.		200 pieces	1550- 0-0
	Flannel		5000 yds.	270-16-8
			lbs	
	Kerseymere			200- 0-0
	Perpets & Serges		500	81- 5-0
			doz no	
	Stocks Worsted		100-0	170- 0-0
Wollens {	Stuffs		4000	500- 0-0
	Misc. Articles			20,000- 0-0
		Total	£36,853- 9-5	

Prize Goods exported from Great Britain

	Amt	Value
<i>Calf tanned, Europe</i>	1893 lbs	70-19-9
Excess of Imports 4204 value 234-17-2		
Abstract of Trade 1800		

Hudsons Bay

Imports to England value 38463-8-1

Exports from England value

British Manfs. 36223- 9-3

For^a Merchandize 1837-11-6

 Total 38061- 0-9

Balance in favor of Imports 402- 7-4

Gross Duties Collected

on Importation12896- 0-11

" Exportation 72-18- 3

 Total 12968-19- 2

Navigation

Ships entering Inward—3 ships 770 tons 87 men

" clearing Outwards 4 " 881 " 142 men

Nootka Sound

Value of Exports

British Manufactures36853-9- 5

Foreign Goods 644-8-11

 Total 37497-18-4 All from England

No duties collected

Navigation

Ships cleared outwards 1 ship 149 tons 25 men

APPENDIX R

LIST OF SHIPS CLEARING FROM QUEBEC WITH FURS, 1786-1813.

Compiled from C. O. 47 vol. 80-83 and B. T. 5 vol. 8

1786. June-July. None.
 July-September. Fame, Elizabeth (Queens Ferry, N. B.) Friendship.
1787. 1 April-1 July. None.
 1 July-1 October. Samuel & Jane.
 October-November. Limniade, Everetta, William, Integrity, Sussanna, Liberty, Carleton.
1788. 5 July-5 October. Queen, Adventure, Seipio.
 5 October-5 January 1789. Silver Eel, Integrity, Everetta, Mentor, Carleton, Sally, Maxwell, Bellasarius.

1789. 5 April-5 July. Maxwell, Mary Ann.
 5 July-5 October. Carleton, London, Fame, Adventure, Adventure, Montreal.
1790. 5 October-5 January, 1791. Caroline, Everetta, Integrity, General Wolfe, Liberty, Ardeer, Nautilus, Mary Ann, Atlas.
1792. 5 April-5 July. Caroline, Nancy.
1800. 10 October-5 January 1801. Montreal, Adeona, Reliance, Everetta, Adriatic, Firm, Brickwood.
1801. 5 April-5 July. Atlas, Atlas.
 5 July-10 October. Montreal, Crescent.
 10 October-5 January 1802. Adeona, Reliance, Quebec, Everetta, Dasher.
1802. 5 April-5 July, Britannia.
 5 July-10 October. Adeona, Ocean, Peggy, Mineral Spring, Adriatic, Aid.
 10 October-5 January 1803. Eagle (Ayr), Everetta, Quebec, Frederick, City of London, Caldicott Castle (Greenock), Arcade, Teresa (Belfast).
1804. 5 April-5 July. None.
 5 July-10 October. Montreal, City of Edinburgh, Harmony (Cork).
 1 October-5 January 1805. Quebec, Everetta, Adeona, Hope, British King.
1805. 5 April-5 July. None.
 5 July-10 October. Ann, Betsey.
1806. 5 April-5 July. Gosport (Newfoundland).
 5 July-5 October. Edlystone.
1807. 5 July-10 October. Quebec, Desire, Duncan (Liverpool).
 13 October-5 January 1808. Magdalen, Mary, Everetta, Aurora (Liverpool), Quebec, Two Sisters, Elizabeth (Liverpool), Adelaide, Winchester (Liverpool), General Craig.
1808. 5 January-5 April. None.
 5 April-5 July. None.
 5 July-10 October. Bee (Liverpool), Industry, Jane, Jane & Elizabeth, Danzig, Oxenhope.
 10 October-5 January 1809. Watt (Liverpool), Leipzig, Everetta, Mary, Good Intent (St. Johns, Newfoundland), Reliance, Esther (Liverpool).
1809. 5 January-5 April. None.
 5 April-5 July. None.
 5 July-10 October. Hope (Greenock), Mary, Brothers, Anna, William & Ann.

- 10 October-5 January 1810. Surry, Alfred, Everetta, Brother's Adventure (Halifax), Brown, Valentine, Hero, Olive Branch, Sampson, Magdalene, Hercules.
1810. 5 January-5 April. None.
 5 April-5 July. None.
 5 April-5 July. Caroline (Halifax), Sarah.
 5 July-10 October. Sampson, Mary, Triton, Prevoyante (Halifax).
 10 October-5 January 1811. Everetta, Sarah, Humber, Magdalen, Andersons.
1811. 5 April-5 July. None.
 5 July-10 October. Malvina (Aberdeen), Barbara (Aberdeen), Margaret.
- 10 October-5 January 1812. Everetta, Isaac Todd, Concord (Kirkaldy), Danube, Shaw, William Henry.
1812. 5 January-5 April. None.
 5 April-5 July. Dolphin.
 5 July-10 October. Kangaroo, Lord Wellington, Xenophon, Isaac Todd, Success (St. George's Bay, Newfoundland).
 10 October-5 January 1813. Everetta, Magdalen.
1813. 5 April-5 July. Magdalen.
 5 July-10 October. Cossack (?).
 10 October-5 January 1814. Wolfe's Cove, Everetta, Rising Hope.

[NOTE.—The above list is compiled from shipping returns. Unless otherwise indicated in a bracket following its name, each ship cleared for London].

APPENDIX S

OFFICIAL VALUES OF THE TRADE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY WITH GREAT BRITAIN 1772-1837.

Extracted from C. H. 4. vol. 5-32; C. H. 8. vol. 1-46; C. H. 10. vol. 1-28; C. H. 17. vol. 1-30.

	Imported to Great Britain from Hudson's Bay	Exported from Great Britain to Hudson Bay	
		Goods Foreign	Manufactures British
1772	£ 8005-17- 1	£1311- 6-10	£ 5069-15-11
1773	8943- 4- 2	1328- 7-11	5139- 1-10
1774	13440-12- 1	1284-12- 2	3676-12- 3
1775	7412- 0- 0	929- 8- 0	424- 9- 6
1776	6634-12- 3	922-19-11	4855- 2- 6

	Imported to Great Britain from Hudson's Bay	Exported from Great Britain to Hudson Bay	
		Goods Foreign	Manufactures British
1777	£ 8243- 4- 4	£ 839-18- 4	£ 5208- 5- 8
1778	6589-10- 1	1246-10- 0	6950- 3-11
1779	5116-15- 7	1288- 0- 6	4194-14- 6
1780	15017-10- 4	644-17-11	2977-12- 5
1781	14763-17-10	427- 4- 0	5800-19- 5
1782	6801-18- 8	not totalled.	not totalled.
1783	7554-19- 1	3125-18-11	3972-19- 1
1784	7683- 9- 5	2048- 8- 7	6888-19- 6
1785	11270- 5- 2	909- 0- 4	4216-10- 0
1786	12975-12- 3	1477- 6- 4	3329- 5- 5
1787	16465-16- 6	740- 5- 5	7419- 9- 0
1788	13702-11- 2	824-16- 7	8916-17-10
1789	15102- 7- 6	951-12- 0	8938-11- 8
1790	14089- 1- 8	2698- 3- 5	726-19-10
1791	18368-11- 7	1072-16- 0	18790-18- 4
1792	18492- 9- 0	4894- 4- 5	44940-18- 5
1793	16291- 6- 3	3469-13- 2	22724-19- 0
1794	15452- 2- 9	1100- 6- 5	82138- 9- 4
1795	7936- 9- 3	1089- 9- 6	31500-17-11
1796*	29775- 1- 2	560- 2- 0	11017- 8- 3
1797	20731-18- 4	2056- 8- 1	31275-10- 9
1798*	14-10- 0	816-17- 0	32383- 3- 6
1799	18242- 0- 3	1347-17- 2	24367- 6- 0
1800	38463- 8- 1	1837-11- 6	36223- 9- 3
1801	17022-15- 9	739-17-11	3391- 1- 0
1802	16018- 6- 8	983-12- 8	30684-18- 0
1803	10951-18- 4	915- 9- 0	29647- 6- 1
1804	15671- 5- 3	698-13-11	4140- 7- 8
1805	15087-13- 9	706- 4- 1	19554- 2- 9
1806	18878-15- 8	903-11- 5	12205-12- 1
1807	20911- 7-11	1431- 0- 7	19288-17-11
1808	8-10- 0	1613- 3- 2	23944- 8- 1
1809*	20876- 9- 6	983- 1- 2	.....
1810*	8776- 8- 1	2035- 1-10	.....
1811*	28768- 1- 7	4561- 9- 6	.....
1812	29062-11- 0	2945-15- 0	9537- 5- 0
1813	no volume	no volume	no volume

	Imported to Great Britain from Hudson's Bay	Exported from Great Britain to Hudson Bay	
		Goods Foreign	Manufactures British
1814	£15826- 0- 5	£3105- 4- 9	£ 9006- 6-11
1815	13010- 8- 4	3682- 8- 7	15654- 7- 1
1816	8124- 3- 7	4827- 4- 6	18292-13- 9
1817	28098-15- 7	3595- 3- 5	11117- 5-10
1818	27418- 0- 2	6519- 4- 3	30894- 1- 2
1819	24210- 7- 4	5727-19- 4	23725- 9- 2
1820	22468-16- 6	5888- 6- 5	24884- 8- 2
1821	27521-13-10	3823- 0- 2	29511- 1- 9
1822	39144- 6- 2	3924-18- 0	20775-19-11
1823	34356- 2- 7	3097- 8- 2	22171- 2- 2
1824	35471-16- 3	2473- 9- 9	12480-11- 5
1825	32057- 5- 4	2213- 7-11	9557-17- 6
1826	40742- 4- 5	1874-18- 7	14799-16- 8
1827	51171- 6- 6	4188- 2- 6	23149-11- 4
1828	54960-19- 1	4932-16- 8	35110-11- 2
1829	60522- 3-10	7815- 2- 5	60036- 9- 3
1830	32857- 3- 3	8244- 8- 1	81899-10- 7
1831	66672- 3-11	6207-10- 4	49653- 0- 8
1832	39378-16-10	4144- 5- 0	36326- 9- 4
1833	7173- 1-11	8206- 4- 4	31890- 5- 5
1834	64221- 4-10	6058-16- 5	48209- 9-10
1835	65082- 4- 5	7282-14- 5	53582-11- 5
1836	26312-12- 0	5761- 8-11	35619-18-11
1837	88385- 7- 0	6246- 0- 2	43229-15-19
Trade of the Columbia River and North West Coast			
1821 .....	.....	279- 2- 3	12247-10-10
1822 .....	.....	49- 4- 0	442-19- 7
1823 .....	.....	.....	7968-12- 7
1824 .....	.....	.....	2080- 8- 9
1825 .....	.....	.....	1736-19- 7
1826 .....	.....	.....	3621-15- 0

NOTES.

* The exports of Prize Goods to Hudson's Bay in 1793 was £148-10-0, in 1798 was £26-5-0, in 1809 was £146-6-3, in 1810 was £30-0-0, in 1811 was £29-7-6. These amounts are in addition to what has been listed.

Before 1791 all the trade was to or from England. From 1791 on this is not specified, but was probably equally true. From 1827 on the heading be-

comes "Settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company" where previously it had been "Hudson's Bay." From 1830 on the imports are listed to the United Kingdom.

Complete figures for the Columbia River and North West Coast are not in my possession. The same applies to exports of British Manufactures in 1809, 1810 and 1811.

Preceding 1809 the figures are compiled from C. H. 17, vol. 1-30. From 1809 on the imports from Hudson's Bay are compiled from C. H. 4, vol. 5-32. From 1809 on the exports of Foreign Goods are compiled from C. H. 10, vol. 1-28. From 1812 on the exports of British Manufactures are compiled from C. H. 8, vol. 1-46.

GENERAL INDEX

- Act of 43 George III, c. 138, 80, 178.
- Act of 1803, not applicable within territories of Hudson's Bay Company, 144.
- Act of 1821, 177-178; covenant in connection with, 178-179.
- Act, Canada Jurisdiction, 151.
- Agreement of 1795, 73.
- Agreement of 1802, 73, 175, 197, 198, 203, 205, 226.
- Agreement of 1804, 175, 198, 201, 202, 203, 205, 214-215, 232.
- Agriculture, at fur-trading posts, 240.
- Allen, 152.
- America, discovery of, bearing on fur trade, 1. *See also* Fur trade; United States.
- American Fur Company, charter obtained, 133; merged into South West Company, 133; business dealings with North West Company, 174. *See also* Astor, J. J.; Pacific Fur Company; South West Company.
- A M K Co. Men & Co., 88.
- Askin, director of Miamis Company, 26; magistrate of Sault Ste. Marie and Drummond Island, 149.
- Astor, J. J., 100, 133, 137; organization of Pacific Fur Company, 100, 134; land and sea expeditions, 134-135. *See also* American Fur Company; Astoria (*in* Index of Geographical Names); Pacific Fur Company.
- Acheson, N., efforts of to obtain chartered rights for North West Company, 122, 124, 126, 129.
- Auld, superintendent of Northern Department of Hudson's Bay Company, 170.
- Baltic ports, centers of distribution for fur trade, 1.
- Barrieau, F., 53.
- Barter, as practised in the fur trade, 21, 241-242.
- Bathurst, government official, 126, 129, 136, 141, 143, 161, 162, 178, 183.
- Battoche, 148.
- Beaubien, licensed fur trader, 26.
- Beauchamp, J., 64.
- Beaulieux, F., 64.
- Beaver Club, 244.
- Bell, J., 143.
- Belleau, 93.
- Bennerman, H., 154.
- Bennett, Master of the "Otto," 213.
- Berens, 141.
- Bethune, A., 138, 139, 175.
- Bird, 121.
- Bisson, B., 64.
- Black, Captain, 137, 139.
- Black, of North West Company, 158, 161.
- Blue Book of 1819*, 154.
- Boiské, 94.
- Boucher, F. F., 153.
- Bouremont, 32.
- Boyer, 46, 49, 53, 63.
- British, *see* Great Britain.
- British Museum, Thompson's manuscript maps in, 103.
- British North American Colonies, 167.
- Brown, P., 153.
- Bruce, 46.
- Bulger, 140.
- Cadot, J. B., 24, 26.
- Cadotte, J. G., 34, 37, 94.
- Cameron, D., 69, 146, 147.
- Campbell, J. D., 159, 160, 161.
- Canada, *see* Index of Geographical Names.
- Canoemen (*voyageurs, engagés*), grades of, wages, etc., 229-232; method of payment to, 234-235.
- Canoes, description, 216-218; used in the fur trade, 218-220; system of canoe expresses, 219-220.
- Cardin, 47.
- Castlereagh, 128.

General Index

- Chaboillez, C., 24, 26, 81, 82, 94, 109, 227.
 Chetwynd, 124.
 China, *see* Index of Geographical Names.
 Clarke, J., 137, 138; expedition to Athabasca, 156, 158.
 Clause, 35, 69.
 Coltman, W. B., 79, 150, 151, 152, 161.
 Congress map, 41, 45.
 Connolly, 163.
 Constitutional Act, dividing Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, 7.
 Convention of 1818, 178.
 Cook, 43.
 Cooke, 121, 122.
 Cooper, J., 154.
Coureurs du bois, character and influence, 2.
 Courtois, F., 64.
 Courts, jurisdiction of, 79, 80, 179; administration of justice, 5, 178.
 Crooks, 134.
 Crown lands, provision of, for use of Indians, 4; regulation regarding, 4.
 Cruise, 143.
 Curry, T., 34-35.
 Dalhousie, governor of Lower Canada, 7, 162.
 Day, 134.
Décharge, definition of, 210.
 Decoigne, 158.
 Dejarlais, J., 23.
 De Meuron settlers, 149, 159.
 De Rocheblave, 82, 227, 243.
 Desrivières, H., 24, 26.
 Dorchester, governor of Lower and Upper Canada, 7; report of A. Mackenzie to, 59; report on jurisdiction of courts, 79.
 Ducette, C., 53, 64.
 Dunbar, explorations of, 91.
 Dunn, receiver-general of Upper Canada, 186.
 Dutch East India Company, 68, 75, 123, 164; establishment of fur trade by, at New Amsterdam, 1; trouble with the Northwest Company, 165.
 East India Company, *see* Dutch East India Company; French East India Company.
 Ellice, A., 83, 141, 198, 208.
 Ellice, E., 176-179, 180, 186, 188, 242.
 "English Chief," Chipewyan Indian, 50, 53, 57, 58.
 Ermatinger, 149.
 Erskine, 79.
 Europe, furs peculiar to, 1.
 Expeditions, early French and English, 32-33; To: Assiniboine district, 46; Athabasca, 11, 61, 156-161; Columbia River, 134; Fraser River, 110, 113, 115, 116; Mackenzie River, 44, 53-61; Mississippi River, 11; Missouri River, 63-67; Pacific Coast, 63-67, 136-138; Snake country, 167. By: Astor, J. J., 134; Finlay, J., 113; Fraser, S., 110, 113, 115, 116; Harmon, D. W., 98, 108; Henry the younger, A., 92, 106-108; Hudson's Bay Company (Athabasca), 156-161, (Lake Nipigon route), 48; Larocque, 81; Lewis and Clark, 81, 91, 109, 123; Livingston (to the Esquimaux), 78; McDougall, J., 113; Mackenzie, A., 51-68; McKenzie, J., 78; McMillan, 116; McTavish, J., 111; Northwest Company, 78, 81, 136-138; Stuart, J., 111, 112, 114; Sutherland, J., 50; Thompson, D., 47, 70, 92-100; Umfreville, E., 31, 48-49, 105.
 Fawkener, 124.
 Finlay, J., 25, 34, 35, 39, 63; explorations, 113.
 Fletcher, Major, 150.
 Florida, East, and West, establishment of province, 4; character of government, 4.
 Forsyth, J., 208.
 Forsyth, James, 26, 83, 198.
 Forsyth, John, 26, 83, 84, 201.
 Forsyth, T., 26, 83, 201.
 Forsyth, Richardson and Company, 73-74, 83, 86, 198, 199, 200, 202, 244; competitor of North West Company, 200-201; member of

General Index

- New North West Company, 201-202.
- Franklin, description of his North canoe, 217.
- Fraser, James, 208.
- Fraser, John, 208.
- Fraser, S., 65, explorer of Fraser River, 103, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 122, 153.
- French Canadians, social status in the fur-trading companies, 245-246.
- French East India Company, monopoly of export of beaver, 2.
- Frobisher, 73, 198, 199, 201, 244; estimate of cost of transportation of supplies to Indians, 212.
- Frobisher, Benjamin, and Joseph, 11, 12, 17, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 48, 73, 159, 160, 198, 199.
- Frobisher, B. J., 202.
- Frobisher, T., 36, 39.
- Fur trade, bearing of discovery of America on, 1; sources of furs, 1; centers of distribution, Baltic ports, 1, New Amsterdam, 1, Montreal and Quebec, (*which see*), 1, St. Lawrence Valley, 1; effect on New France, 2; affected by changes in government, 3, 8; by Napoleonic wars, 171.
- Competition, 14, 26, 47, 71, 73, 74, 76, 78-79, 89-91, 98, 121, 164, 197; influence on wages, 168; on union of Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company, 168.
- Pacific, 68; Mackenzie's proposed trans-continental and trans-Pacific combination, 68. *See also* Astor, J. J.; American Fur Company; North West Company; Pacific Fur Company.
- Regulation: attempts at, 12; tax on, 5; in Quebec, 6, 27; made common property by agreement, 9; between United States and Canada, 7, 133; trade passes, 23; right to trade open to any British subject save in chartered territory, 247-248.
- Routes: 48, 49, 52, 53, 68, 104, 105, 112, 131, 132, 135, 140, 215, 216; through Canada, 21, via Michilimackinac, 22, down the Mississippi, 22, via St. Louis, 22; Hearne's, 44; Fort Williams, Grand Portage, 231; Hudson's Bay, 68; Ottawa, 22; Pond's, 43, 44.
- Value, 3, 17-20, 88, 119, 166, 170, 209.
- See also* Barter; Canoes; Canoe-men; Indians; Mackenzie, A.; Michilimackinac Company; Hudson's Bay Company; Northwest Company; United States, etc.
- Fur traders, regulations concerning drawn up by Hillsborough, 5; description of their life, 232, 233-234.
- "General Store" company, 21. *See also* Michilimackinac Company.
- Gerrard, S., 186.
- Gibbs, 79.
- Grant, 62, 200.
- Grant, Charles, 19, 23, 161.
- Grant, Cuthbert, 49, 73, 93, 153.
- Grant, Peter, 218.
- Grant, R., 46, 50, 148.
- Grant and Blackwood, 197.
- Great Britain, fur trade in Canada handled by Hudson's Bay Company, 3; scheme of government for North America, 4-5; Plan of 1764 for management of Indian affairs, and of the fur trade, 5, 6, 7; export of furs from Quebec to foreign countries prohibited, 27; policy regarding, and regulations of, fur trade, 28; government posts established, 28; ships maintained on lakes Erie and Ontario, 28; dealings of government with North West Company, 29; formal claim made to northwest country, 100. *See also* Fur Trade; Hudson's Bay Company; North West Company;

General Index

- Quebec; Treaties; Seven Years' War; War of 1812, etc.
- Gregory, John, 14, 17, 24, 25, 62, 73, 83, 200.
- Gregory & McLeod, (Gregory, McLeod and Company), 200; competitors of North West Company, 25-26, 47.
- Habitant*, character and influence, 2.
- Haldane, 166.
- Haldimand, governor of Quebec, 7, 19, 23, 31, 34, 48, 197.
- Halifax, Lord, 5.
- Hallowell, W., 83, 202.
- Halsey, 137, 139.
- Hamilton, 30.
- Harmon, D. W., 92, expeditions, 98, 108-112; enters North West Company, 198; headquarters on Stuart's Lake, 111; study of Indian tribes, 111; trip to Babine Indians, 111; final leaving of the interior, 112.
- Harrowby, Lord, 136.
- Hay, A., 19.
- Hay, Lt. Governor, 30.
- Head, 215, 216.
- Hearne, S., 44, 69; early trader, and governor, 36.
- Heden, M., 154.
- Henry, A., 33, 35, 39, 82, 88, 90, 214.
- Henry the younger, A., expeditions, 92, 106-108; journals, 106; enters North West Company, 106; death, 108, 112.
- Hillsborough, Lord, 5.
- Hobart, colonial secretary, 76.
- Holmes, 62, 200.
- Holmes, Major, 140.
- Holmes and Grant, 23.
- Holroyd, 143.
- Howard, J., 25.
- Howse, 99.
- Hudson's Bay Company, formation of, 3; early members, 3; charter, 3, 141, 143, 144, 178, 248; building of Cumberland House, 36; some expeditions, 47, 69-71, 116, 156-157; Chipewyan Indians partial to, 52-53; extension of trade, 69-72; good character of *voyageurs*, 72; territory, boundaries of, encroachment on, etc., 79, 130-132, 142; value of fur trade, 119-121, 169-174; relations with North West Company, 141-142, 163, 169, Union of 1821 with, 168, 175, 176-177, 183, reasons for, 180; provisions of Act of 1821, 177-179; petitions to Privy Council in 1820, 181, 182; wages paid clerks, 228. *See also* Courts; North West Company, etc.
- Hunt, W. P., 134, 135, 138, 139.
- Indian Tribes: Achinrow, 115; Asketih, 114, 115; Assiniboine, 46, 50; Atnah, 114; Atsina (Rapid), 109, 110; Babine (Nâte-oté-tain), 111; Beaver, 54, 58; Blackfeet, 99; Carrier, 65; Cheyenne, 82; Chilk-hodin, 114; Chipewyan, 34, 39, 50, 52, 53, 56; Cree (Knisteneaux), 238; Crow, 82; Deguthee Dinees (Quarreller), 55; Dog-rib, 55, 57; Esquimaux, 57, 78; Flathead, 99; Gros Ventre, 70, 82; Hare, 55, 57; Iroquois, 87, 168; Kootenay, 96; Lillooet, 114; Mandan, 46, 47, 70, 82, 93, 109; Meti, 148; Nipissing, 99; Ochipoins (Orchipoins), 45; Piegan, 99; Quarreller (Deguthee Dinees Loucheux), 55, 239; Rapid (Atsina), 109, 110; Red Knife, 45, 53, 54; Sicanni, 64; Sioux, 47; Slave, 53, 55, 58; Snake, 167; Tahowtin, 114; Yellow Knife, 53.
- Indians: organization of British Indian Department, 5-6; crown lands reserve for, 4; regulations regarding trade with, 4; value of trade, 19; goods used in, 220-225; outbreak of, 46; population in 1805, 88; hostility to fur traders, 110; used in fur trade competition, 146, 147, 158, 160, 168; high prices charged to, by fur traders, 235; women taken as wives by fur traders, 232-233. *See also* Liquor; Fur trade.
- Inglis, J., 83, 198, 208.

General Index

- Inglis and Company, 208.
 Inglis, Ellise and Company, 124, 127, 128, 162, 163, 182, 184, 186, 196, 198, 199.
 Jay's Treaty, 197.
 Jurisdiction, questions of, 79, 88, 179.
 Jussome, R., 47, 93.
 Kaye, Freshfield & Kaye, 182-183.
 Keith, G., 161; charge of coastal department of North West Company, 167.
 Keveny, O., 152.
 King, death of, 89.
 King's Domains, 78.
 King's Posts, 87.
 Laek, 122.
 La France, 81.
 La Gardeur de St. Pierre, 32.
 La Harp, 32.
 La Jonquière, 32.
 Lakes, navigation of the, 30.
 La Mothe, killer of King, 89.
 Landmann, Colonel, 216, 217, 218, 219.
 Landry, J., 53, 64.
 Larocque, F. A., expedition to the Missouri, 81-82.
 Larocque, J., 111, 112, 137.
 La Vérendrye, 32, 104.
 Law in the Northwest, 79, 80.
 Leich, 26.
 Leith, J., 161.
 Leith, Jamison and Company, 83.
 Lemoine, 94.
 Leroux, L., exploration work, 49, 50, 53, 54, 58.
 Lesieur & Fraser, 62.
 Leslie, 163.
 Lewis and Clark expedition, 81, 91, 109, 123.
 Liquor, prohibition of sale of to Indians, 2 footnote 3; in fur trade, 71, 76, 86, 91, 121, 168, 179, 203, 223-225, 234, 242; high price charged, 235.
 Little Company, The, *see* XY Company.
 Livingston, 162; expedition to the Esquimaux, 78.
 Lorme, P. de, 53.
 McAuley, 158.
 McBeath, 62, 200.
 McBeath & Pond, 24.
 M'Cargo, 214.
 McCracken, H., 93.
 Macdonald, A., 161.
 McDonald, F., 98.
 McDonald, J., of Garth, 89, 137, 214.
 Macdonell, A., 82, 146, 147.
 Macdonell, M., 145, 146, 147.
 McDonnell, J., 93.
 McDougall, D., 138, 139.
 McDougall, J., explorations, 113.
 McGill, J., 24, 25, 26.
 McGill and Company, 199.
 McGillis, H., 92.
 McGillivray, 62.
 McGillivray, D., 83, 85, 89, 96, 191, 202; discoverer of Howse Pass, 96.
 McGillivray, S., 130, 162, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 199, 200; sketch of his career, 191-193; social status, 242.
 McGillivray, S., and Company, 208.
 McGillivray, W., 73, 79, 83, 110, 162, 176, 177, 178, 179, 184, 185, 186, 189, 190, 191, 202, 216; social status, 243.
 McGillivrays, Thain and Company, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 192; managers of Hudson's Bay Company affairs, 191.
 McIntosh, A., 26, 86.
 McIntosh, W., 159, 160.
 MacKay, A., 64.
 McKay, D., 25, 70.
 McKay & Shaw, 26.
 Mackenzie, A., 11, 14, 43, 44, 49, 74, 77, 83, 174, 181, 196, 197, 199, 200, 203, 205, 206; trips to England, 62, 67; publication of book on explorations, 67, 75, 118; knighted, 67, 75; loyalty to North West Company, 73; resignation, 74; scheme for combining fur trade and fisheries of America, 75-76, 197; efforts to establish fur trade on Pacific Coast, 121-127; accused of murder of Semple, 153; cited on fur trade data, 210-212, 220, 229;

General Index

- social status, 242, 243; member of Quebec legislature, 244.
- Explorations, 51-68; the Mackenzie River, 44, 53-58; map and manuscript chart, 59-60; discussion of Mackenzie's findings, 59-61; Athabasca and Grand Portage, 61; to Pacific Ocean, 63-67.
- Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, and Company, 187, 189, 202; *see also* X Y Company.
- Mackenzie, C., 81, 82, 89.
- Mackenzie, H., 161, 175, 179, 187-190, 199.
- Mackenzie, Oldham and Company of Terrebonne, 187.
- McKenzie, J., 78, 89, 225.
- McKenzie, salary, 229.
- McKenzie, D., 135, 137, 138, 166, 167, 214.
- McKenzie, R., 44, 62, 63, 67, 73, 74, 75, 83, 200, 202, 218; exploration work, 52, 61, 104, 105; social status, 243.
- McLaughlin, Dr., 175.
- McLellan, 152.
- McLeod, 188, 200.
- McLeod, A., 73.
- McLeod, A. N., 84, 85, 157, 189.
- McLeod, Major, 160.
- McLeod, N., 14, 24, 25, 62, 118.
- McMillan, explorer of lower part of Fraser River, 116.
- McTavish, A., 232.
- McTavish, D., 11, 108, 112, 135, 137.
- McTavish, J. G., 110, 135, 137, 138, 139, 150; explorations, 111, 160, 161, 162.
- McTavish, J., 189, 208.
- McTavish, Simon, 11, 12, 17, 23, 31, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80, 85, 105, 198, 199, 208, 209, 214, 219, 244.
- McTavish, Fraser and Company, 124, 127, 128, 182, 184, 186, 187, 191, 196, 198, 199.
- McTavish, Frobisher and Company, 62, 73, 86, 87, 187, 191, 198, 200, 201; connected with North West Company, 77, 83, 184.
- McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, 130, 175, 176, 179, 184, 187, 188, 189, 199, 201, 202; organization, and members, 189; expiration, and reunion, 191; members of, in 1802, 202.
- Malhiot, 90, 245.
- Mallets, 32.
- Maps: Pond's, 40-45, 46; in Public Record Office, 41, Congress, 41, 45; in Colonial Office Library, London, 43; manuscript maps in British Museum, 103-104; Mackenzie's, A., 59; Thompson's, D., of the West, 100-103; Turner, the astronomer's, 101.
- Miamis Company, directors, 26.
- Michilimackinac Company, 21, 127, 17; merged into Astor's South West Company, 133; London firms interested in, 199.
- Monin, D., 47.
- Montgomery, J., 154.
- Montour, 62, 200.
- Montreal, *see* Index of Geographical Names.
- Morgan, 47.
- Mure, J., 84.
- Murray, governor of Quebec, 6.
- Napoleonic wars, effect on fur trade, 171.
- Nelson, 213.
- New France, effect of fur trade on, 1, 2; value of furs from, 3.
- New North West Co., *see* X Y Company.
- Northwest passage, bearing of Mackenzie's explorations on, 67.
- North West Company:
- Origin, in agreement of 1779, 9; formation under name of North West Company, 11, 196; principle of organization and leading members, 11.
 - Organization, nature of, 12, 13, 246; trading organization, 226-248; costs of operation, 233-234; division of stock (shares), 12, in the reorganization of 1789, 61-62; efforts to secure charter, 124-130; merged with Hudson's Bay

General Index

- Company, 168, 175, 183, reasons for, 180, explanations of S. McGillivray, 185, 186, statement of H. Mackenzie, 187; terms of agreement of sale, 176-177; act of Parliament secured, 177; formal agreement (Deed Poll), 179; arrangement between certain partners, 179-180; petition to Privy Council, 182, 183; conclusion of business affairs, 183-193; agreement of 1804 not superseded, 205; method of operations, 15-17; system of large trapping parties, 167, free trappers, and free men, 232.
- Agents, London, 31, 184, 196, 199, Montreal, 198, 199, 203-206; business transacted at Montreal annual meeting, 204-205; annual report, 205; powers of, 205.
- Employees, policy toward, wages, duties, opportunity for advancement, etc., 16-17, 235, (partners) 226-227, (clerks) 227-229, (guides) 229, (canoe-men) 229-232, 235; social status, 242-246.
- Departments (Columbia River, Mackenzie, etc.), creation of, 148, 167; various headquarters, 70, 71, 97, 105, 112, 113; posts as located on Thompson's map, 101-104.
- Fur trade:
Volume, personnel and character, 23-26, 242-246; geographical extent, 194-196; value, 20, 166, 171-174, 193, 209.
- Difficulties: government requirements, 29; lack of ships, 29-30; getting men of suitable character, 72; dissension among members, 72; losses due to War of 1812, 142-143; the Red River agricultural settlement, 143-155.
- Competition: violent character of, 14, 47, 121; efforts to secure monopoly, 31, 48, 116-117, 121-155; aggressive expansion under McTavish, and the effect on jurisdiction of Canadian courts, 78-80; the X Y Company, 83-86, 113, 199-200; proposal to establish fur trade boundaries, 130-132; attack on Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly, 141; struggle over Athabasca trade, 156-160, at Grand Rapid, 160-163; dealings with American Fur Company, 174; refusal of interest in Pacific Fur Company, 134, purchase of, 112, 138, 163.
- Goods used in: British, 220-223, annual value of, 221-222; other goods, 222-224, 225; liquor, 223-225, 234.
- Mandan trade, 47; China trade, 111, 112, 165, 196-197; value of, 166; Columbia River and west of the Rocky Mountains trade, 163-164; vessel asked for protection of, 136.
- Trading rights, 246-247.
- Property, permanent, 236-239; description of: in Grand Portage, 237; at Fort William, 238; forts of the interior, 238; Cumberland House, 238, 241; on the Saskatchewan, 238; at Ile à la Crosse, 239; Fort Chipewean, 239; Fort Providence, 239, Fort Good Hope, 239; purchase of Ossinihoia, 145; value, 23.
- Transportation of goods: number of men employed, 22; method followed, 22-23; cost, 127; arrangement with Boston firm, 165-166; routes, 22, 31, 210-212; ships employed, 164-165, 207-209, 212-215; use of King's ships, 29; system of canoe expresses, 216-220, canoe-men, 229-232, 234.

General Index

- See also* Barter; Canoe-men; Canoes; Dutch East India Company; Hudson's Bay Company; Michilimackinac Company; United States; War of 1812, etc.
- Ogden, D., 43.
- Ogden, I., 43, 44.
- Ogilvie, J., 84, 86.
- Old North West Company, 83; agreement with X Y Company, 84-86; relative importance of the two companies, 87-91.
- Orders-in-Council, April 8, 1785-7.
- Pacific Fur Company, 100; purchased by North West Company, 112, 138, 163; founder of, 133; formation of, 134; its competition felt by North West Company, 135.
- Pacific Ocean, *see* Index of Geographical Names.
- Pangman, Peter, 13, 14, 25, 62, 108, 200.
- Parker, Gerrard, Ogilvy and Company, 199.
- Passes, Trade, illustrative of volume, personnel and character of fur trade, 23-26.
- Pelham, secretary of Home Department, England, 118.
- "Peltry Trade," 7. *See* Fur trade.
- Perianger* (*perrianger*), 31.
- Perkins, J. & J. N., Canton, China, 166.
- Perkins & Co., Boston, 166.
- Perry, Admiral, 141.
- Phyn, J., 208.
- Phyn, James, (Jas.) and Company, 208.
- Phyn, Ellice and Company, 208.
- Phyn, Inglis and Company of London, 83, 196, 198, 208.
- Plan of 1764, 6, 7.
- Plante, B., 23.
- Pond, Peter, 13, 14, 24, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 62; maps of, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46; murder of Ross by, 41; theories on Athabasca drainage system, 43.
- Pontiac's War, 34.
- Population of the Northwest, 1805, 88.
- Portage, definition of, 210.
- Powell, Chief Justice, 152.
- Prevost, 143.
- Pritchard, J., 146.
- Proclamation of 1817, Prince Regent's, 160, 161, 162.
- Proclamation of October 7, 1863, 4, 7.
- Quebec, *see* Index of Geographical Names.
- Quesnel, J. M., 98, 114.
- Red River Valley Agricultural Settlement, 118, 119, 143-155; extent of, 145; name of colony, 145; governor, 145-146; struggle with the North West Company, 144-155, 180; influence on fur trade route, 215; commissioners sent to investigate, 150-151; legal struggle, 151-155; *Blue Book of 1819*, 154. *See also* Selkirk, Lord.
- Reid, 104.
- Reinhard, C., 152.
- Richardson, J., 83, 88, 201, 244.
- Richmond, 160.
- Roberts, Captain, 140, 142.
- Robertson, A., 26.
- Robertson, C., 147, 152, 162; expedition to Athabasca, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161.
- Robertson, Captain, 215.
- Romilly, 143.
- Ross, 25, 220; murder of, 14, 41, 49, 200.
- Russian settlers and settlements on the Pacific Coast and their relation to the fur trade, 136, 163.
- St. Denis, 32.
- St. Germain, L., 26.
- St. Leger, B., 30.
- Saxton, C., 160.
- Sayer, J., 94.
- Searlett, 143.
- Selkirk, Thomas (Earl of), 159, 174, 214; colonization experiences, 118-119; publication of book on emigration, 118; his Red River agricultural colony, 118, 119, 143-155, 180; representative of

General Index

- Hudson's Bay Company, 132;
treaties with the Indians, 150;
legal charges against, 150-153;
arrangement of Hudson's Bay
Company with heirs of, 177;
death of, 181; petition of heirs
to Privy Council, 182; cited on
ships of North West Company,
209; cited on value of British
goods used by North West Com-
pany, 221; denunciation of pol-
icy of North West Company to-
ward employees, 235.
- Semple, R., 147, 148; murder of,
153.
- Seven Oaks (Frog Plains) skir-
mish of June, 1816, 148.
- Seven Years' War, problem of
Great Britain at close of, 4;
situation of fur trade at out-
break of, 33.
- Shaw, A., 26, 50, 69, 73, 107, 159,
160.
- Sherbrooke, governor-general of
Canada, 149, 150.
- Ships mentioned: Adeona, 208;
Adriatic, 208; Albatross, 135,
138; Athabasca (Arabasca),
213; Beaver, 79, 134, 135, 209, 213,
214; Caledonia, 142, 215; Carle-
ton, 208; Detroit, 142; Cherub,
137; Colonel Allan, 165; Eddy-
stone, 79; Eureka, 207; Everet-
ta, 208; Harvey (Hervev), 207;
Integrity, 207; Invincible, 107,
214; Isaac Todd, 108, 130, 135,
136, 137, 138, 164, 206, 208; Lark,
135; Levant, 166; Maria, 207;
Mary, 208; Mary Ann, 208;
Mink, 142, 143, 215; Montreal,
208; Nanav, 86, 142, 143, 207,
214, 215; Otter, 107, 213, 214;
Pedler, 135; Perseverance, 142,
143, 215; Phoebe, 137; Polly,
207; Raccoon, 137, 139; Recov-
ery, 214; Reliance, 208; Scor-
pion, armed American vessel,
140; Tigress, armed American
vessel, 140; Tonquin, 134.
- Sibley, 91.
- Simeoe, 68.
- Simpson, G., 160.
- Small, 62, 200.
- Smith, 153.
- Smuggling, 27.
- South Sea Company, 75, 123.
- South West Company, 133-134.
- Sowle, Captain, 135.
- Spaniards, fur trade controlled by,
22.
- Spence, 161.
- Steinbruck, J., 53.
- Strettell, J., 31.
- Stuart, D., 137, 138.
- Stuart, J., 111, 112, 114, 115, 122,
134, 139.
- Sullivan, 76.
- Sutherland, 62, 70, 200.
- Sutherland, D., 25.
- Sutherland, J., expedition to Slave
Lake, 50, 62.
- Sydney, 20, 48.
- Thain, T., 84, 86, 187, 188, 189,
190, 191, 192, 202.
- Thomas, T., 170.
- Thompson, D., expeditions, 47, 70,
92-100, 107, 115; joined North
West Company, 92; survey of
the upper Mississippi, 94; mar-
riage, 95; journals, 93, 95, 96;
reaches Columbia River, 98, 99;
in Montana, 99; at Athabasca
Pass, 99; to the Snake River,
100; survey of the Columbia,
100, 122, 134, 135; settled at
Terrebonne, 100; his great map
of the West, 100; *Henry-Thomp-
son Journals*, 100; death, 100;
manuscript maps, 103-104.
- Thorn, Captain, 134.
- Thornburn, W., 73, 93.
- Thwaytes, T., 145.
- Todd, I., 34, 161.
- Tomison, 69.
- Toussant Le Sieur, 41.
- Trade passes, illustrative of vol-
ume, personnel and character of
fur trade, 23-26.
- Trappers, free, 232.
- Treaty of Utrecht, 48.
- Treaty of Ghent, 164.
- Tureot, 69.
- Turner, the astronomer and survey-
or, 62; map, 101.

General Index

- Umfreville, E., exploration of Lake Nipigon and Lac Seul route, 31, 48-49, 105.
- Union of 1821. *See* Hudson's Bay Company.
- United States, fur trade relations with Canada, 132, 165, 178; prohibited by Great Britain, 71; duties and customs collected from British fur traders, 105; permitted in Agreement of 1802, 203; furs from, sent to Europe through Canada, 21-22; smuggling from Canada, 27, 29; changes in territory due to treaties, expeditions, etc., 48-49, 123-124, 164; competition with North West Company, 127-128; furs of North West Company handled by, in 1789, 197. *See also* American Fur Company; Michilimackinac Company; Pacific Fur Company.
- Vaudrenil, 53, 63.
- Waden, J. E., 41.
- Wallace, 137.
- War of 1812, 133, 135, 137, 139, 140; American control of Lake Erie, 141; losses caused by to North West Company, 142.
- Wentzel, 158, 228.
- Williams, governor, 159, 160, 162.
- Worsley, 140.
- X Y Company, 69-91; founding of, 76; date, 77; agreement with Old North West Company, 83-86, 199-200; relative importance and competition of the two companies, 87-91; competition intensified, 118; Phyn, Inglis and Company, interested in, 198; Forsyth, Richardson and Forsyth, members of, 201-202.

INDEX OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

- Abbittibi, 130.
 Aberdeen, 207.
 Achinrow village, 115.
 Albany, 33, 150.
 Albany River, 36.
 Alexandria, 90.
 Alleghany River, 298.
 Anticosti, 4.
 Arabasca, 259.
 Arabosca, 259, 260, 261, 264, 265, 266.
 Arctic Ocean, 43, 44, 59, 60, 87, 101.
 Arctic Sea. *See* Arctic Ocean.
 Arkansas River, 32.
 Arrow Lakes, 100.
 Ash House, 93.
 Ashley Creek, 99.
 Ashwapmuchiuan River, 78.
 Askettih village, 115.
 Assiniboine district, first location of English in, 46.
 Assiniboine River, 45, 46, 47, 70, 71, 81, 82, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 95, 107, 109, 131, 240, 280.
 Astoria, 104, 108, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 164, 252, 293; building of, 134; passes from American ownership, 138, 139; restoration claimed by United States, 164; Fort, 100.
 Athabasca, 11, 40, 44, 49, 51, 53, 61, 62, 65, 88, 89, 110, 131, 132, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 169, 173, 174, 204, 225, 233, 276, 280, 303; Pond's theories on drainage system, 43; struggle for fur trade of, 156-163.
 Athabasca House, 97.
 Athabasca Lake, 39, 42, 43, 45, 52, 54, 63, 71-101, 157, 239.
 Athabasca Pass, 99, 100.
 Athabasca River, 40, 53, 61, 95, 146, 304; Upper, 88, 280.
 Bad River, 65, 114.
 Bahama, 316, 317, 318.
 Baker's Bay, 137.
 Baldoon Settlement, 119.
 Barbadoes, 321, 322.
 Bas de la Rivière Fort, 151.
 Bear Lake River, 239.
 Beaver Creek, 303, 304.
 Beaver Lake, 38, 39, 238.
 Beaver River, 50, 95, 100, 131, 305.
 Bedford House, 71.
 Belhoullay Couin, 58.
 Belhoullay Toe (White Man's Lake), 56, 57.
 Bella Coola River, 66.
 Belle Rivière, 33.
 Bentinck Arm, 66.
 Big Lake, 69.
 Birch Point, 78.
 Black Lake, 131.
 Black River, 78.
 Black Rock, 142.
 Blackwater River, 66.
 Blueberry River, 98, 108.
 Boat Encampment, 100.
 Boston, 165.
 Bow River, 78, 96, 131.
 Brandon House, 148.
 Buffalo Lake, 40.
 Cabinet Range, 99.
 Cadodachos, 32.
 California, 261.
 Campion, E., 33.
 Canada, 63, 66, 76, 88, 95, 105, 124, 125, 133, 146, 149, 158, 159, 160, 171, 184, 186, 187, 191, 194, 199, 206, 223, 225, 233, 234, 237, 247, 250, 252, 253, 254, 257, 270, 271, 272, 273, 277, 278, 279, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 292, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 316, 317, 318, 319; value of fur trade, 17-20, 156; Jurisdiction Act, 151.
 Canada, Lower, 7, 80, 119, 132, 149, 150, 154, 244, 251, 254, 298, 301; powers of law courts, 151-152.
 Canada, Upper, 7, 80, 119, 132, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 186, 216, 252, 254, 277, 278, 297, 298, 301; powers of law courts, 151-152.
 Canoe River, 100.

Index of Geographical Names

- Canton, China, 75, 112, 135, 164, 165, 166, 206; value of fur trade with, 166.
Cape Blanco, 125, 285.
Cape Menzies, 66.
Carleton Island, 19, 24.
Carlton House, 178, 238.
Carriers Lake, 113.
Cataraqui, 19, 26.
Cedar Lake, 131.
Chagonamigon, 33.
Chaleur Bay, 267.
Charlton Island, 79, 98.
Chequago, 273.
Chilcotin River, 114.
China, early use of furs in, 1; shipping of furs to across Pacific Ocean, 111, 112, 123, 128, 130, 133, 164, through United States territory, 196-197; value of fur trade with, 166.
Chippewa, 216.
Churchill, 259, 262, 266.
Churchill River, 35, 39, 40, 45, 46, 71, 88, 95, 97, 110, 131, 159.
Clearwater River, 40, 61, 95.
Colonial office, 177, 182.
Columbia Department, 112.
Columbia Lake, Upper, 98.
Columbia (Taconthe Tesse) River, 66, 75, 98, 99, 100, 103, 111, 112, 115, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 163, 165, 166, 167, 192, 220, 221, 222, 223, 229, 251, 254, 285, 288, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 302, 303, 304, 305, 328.
Columbia Valley, 117.
Connecticut, 259, 261, 263.
Cook's River, 58, 61, 275, 276.
Coppermine River, 44, 45.
Cumberland, 36, 303, 304.
Cumberland House, 36, 37, 39, 97, 98, 109, 110, 131, 162, 238, 240, 241.
Dauphin River, 93, 109.
Deer's Lake, 92.
Detroit, 267.
Detroit, 79, 203, 213, 214, 257, 258, 267, 272, 273, 278, 279, 299.
Detroit de Bearing, 259, 266.
Dog Lake, 104.
Dover, 160.
Drummond Island, 149, 160.
Du Quesne, 32.
Dunvegan, 110, 112, 302, 303.
Edinburgh, 252.
Edmonton, 50.
English River, 39, 49, 88, 146, 159, 226, 280, 281.
Esquimaux Lake, 56.
Fairford House, 71.
Finlay River branch, 64, 113.
Florida, 321, 322.
Fond du Lac, 22, 74, 88, 149, 150, 240, 280.
Fond du Lac Post, 151.
Footprint River, 36.
Forks, 45, 107, 109, 110; Fort of the, 96.
Forts: Alexandria, 109, 240.
Assiniboine, 81.
Astoria, 100.
Augustus, 89, 95, 99, 107, 303.
aux Trembles, 46.
Bourbon, 35.
Charlotte, 108.
Chip, 301.
Chipewean, 52, 53, 58, 61, 63, 64, 67, 89, 110, 111, 158, 217, 219, 220, 239.
Chipewyan, 303.
Churchill, 261, 265, 266.
Cumberland, 69.
Daer, 146, 147.
Dauphin, 37, 40, 87, 88, 131, 280, 281.
Defiance, 299.
de Traite, 131.
des Prairies, 33, 37, 39, 44, 88, 98, 108, 157, 304; Lower, 302.
Detroit, 273.
Douglas, 147, 148, 149.
Epinett, 45.
Erie, 30, 132, 142.
Espérance, 46, 47, 50.
Eturgeon, 45.
Fraser, 110, 114.
Frontenac, 33.
George, 50, 95, 107, 108, 112, 114, 115, 116, 139, 164, 165, 166, 220, 304.
Gibraltar, 147, 148, 152.
Good Hope, 239.

Index of Geographical Names

- Hamilton, 299.
 Ile à la Crosse, 39, 40, 95.
 Kamloops, 304.
 Lacorne, 35.
 La Traite, 36.
 Mackinac, 252.
 Maurepas, 33.
 McLeod, 113.
 McLeod's Lake, 110, 111.
 Montagne à la Basse, 109.
 Montagne d'Aigle, 107.
 Nelson, 36, 174.
 Nez Percé, 167.
 Okanagan, 134.
 Old Establishment (Old Pond),
 40, 52, 63.
 Osnaburg, 69.
 Pine, 47.
 Poskoyac, 35.
 Providence, 49, 53, 107, 239.
 Reid's, 194.
 Resolution, 49.
 Rocky Mountain, 113, 114, 303.
 Rocky Mountain Portage, 110.
 St. James, 110, 114.
 St. John's, 110, 207.
 St. Joseph, 140.
 Souris River, 47.
 South Branch, 109, 110.
 Stuart's Lake, 112.
 Swan River, 109.
 Traite, 45.
 Unalaska, 58.
 Vermillion, 107, 110, 121, 158.
 Wayne, 299.
 Wedderburn, 157, 158, 161, 163,
 301.
 White Man's, 56, 57.
 William, 98, 100, 104, 106, 107, 108,
 110, 112, 135, 140, 144, 146, 148,
 149, 150, 151, 153, 156, 159, 160,
 161, 175, 188, 204, 214, 216, 220,
 228, 231, 238, 301.
 Fraser's Lake, 112, 114.
 Fraser River, 65, 66, 101, 103,
 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 304.
 Fraser River Valley, 113.
 Fraser Valley, 122.
 French Creek, 298.
 French River, 140, 141, 211.
 Frog Plains, 148.
 Frog Portage, 97, 110, 131.
 Frozen Ocean, 125, 253, 285, 287.
 Gamanistigonia, 33.
 Gap, 96.
 Gaspee, 267.
 Georgia, 314, 315, 316.
 Georgian Bay, 132, 211, 212, 215,
 216.
 Glaise River, 299.
 Giscome Portage, 64, 114.
 Grand Portage, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22,
 23, 24, 25, 28, 31, 35, 36, 39,
 41, 44, 48, 49, 52, 53, 61, 67,
 71, 73, 75, 77, 84, 87, 90, 92,
 95, 97, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108,
 203, 204, 205, 206, 212, 213,
 216, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231,
 232, 237, 257, 258, 260, 266,
 278, 279, 280, 281; transferred
 to United States territory by
 treaty, 48.
 Grand Rapid, 159, 160, 161, 162,
 163, 303, 304.
 Grand Rapids, 131, 161.
 Grand River, 18, 44, 61, 257, 258,
 272, 273, 280.
 Great Bear Lake, 44, 220.
 Great Bear River, 55, 58.
 Great Lakes, the, 223.
 Great Slave Lake, 42, 43, 44, 46,
 49, 50, 53, 54, 58, 59, 61, 158,
 239.
 Green Bay, 273.
 Green Lake, 44, 95, 157, 158, 302.
 Green River, 95.
 Greenock, 207.
 Greenwich, 61, 275, 276.
 Grenada, 322; establishment of
 province, 4.
 Guillimsbury, 132.
 Halifax, 207.
 Height of Land, 69, 105, 132, 169.
 Henley House, 36.
 Holland River, 216.
 Horn Mountain, 54.
 Horse Shoe House, 97.
 Howse Pass, 99; discovered by Mc-
 Gillivray, 96.
 Hudson Bay, 33, 36, 48, 52, 53, 71,
 79, 85, 87, 88, 102, 119, 120, 141,
 142, 144, 156, 159, 160, 169, 170,
 209, 223, 251, 255, 262, 266, 272,
 280, 281, 305, 306, 316, 317, 318,
 319, 320, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329.

Index of Geographical Names

- Hudson House, 107.
 Hudson's River, 268.
 Hudson's Straights, 181.
 Hyperborean Sea, 56.
 Ile à la Crosse Fort, 36, 95, 97, 157, 163, 239, 302.
 Ile à la Crosse House, 40.
 Ile à la Crosse Lake, 39, 40, 95.
 Illinois, 33, 273.
 Illinois River, 22, 26, 32.
 Illinois River, 300.
 Indian territories, 80, 149, 152.
 Isle à l'Outard, 157.
 Isle de Middelbourg, 264.
 Jack River, 159, 304.
 Jamaica, 321, 322.
 Kamanistignia (Kamanistiquia), 280, 281.
 Kaministikwia (Kaministiquia), 34, 35, 49, 87, 88, 90, 105, 214.
 Kaministikwia River, 104, 107, 109.
 Kamloops Fort, 304.
 Kamoënim River, 104.
 Kansas River, 32.
 Kaskasia, 32.
 Kempenfeldt Bay, 132, 215, 216.
 Kettle Falls, 99.
 King's Domains, 78.
 King's Posts, 78, 87, 209.
 Kingston, 86, 212.
 Kirkaldy, 207.
 Kootenay, 98.
 Kootenay Falls, 98.
 Kootenay Lake, 98.
 Kootenay River, 98, 99.
 Kullyspell House, 99.
 Kullyspell Lake, 103.
 La Bay, 257, 273.
 La Baye, 18, 33.
 Labrador, 260, 263.
 La Chine (Lachine), 19, 156, 210, 216.
 Lakes (Laes):
 à la Martre, 44, 50, 53, 58.
 Arabosea, 264.
 Athabasca, 39, 43, 45, 52, 54, 63, 71, 157, 239.
 Big, 69.
 Black, 131.
 Bourbon, 110.
 Buffalo, 40.
 Carriers, 113.
 Cedar, 131.
 Champlain, 268.
 Clair, 53.
 Clear, 40.
 Columbia (Upper), 98.
 de la Pluie, 280.
 d'Original Fort, 50.
 des Chiens (Dog), 88, 104.
 des Roseaux, 303.
 du Flambeau, 90, 245.
 du Pichou, 69.
 Erie, 18, 28, 86, 141, 212, 213, 258, 263, 298, 299, 300; American control of, 141.
 Esquimaux, 56.
 Fraser's, 112, 114.
 Great Slave, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 53, 54, 58, 59, 61, 158, 239.
 Green, 44, 95, 157, 158, 302.
 Huron, 18, 19, 33, 86, 140, 142, 212, 213, 214, 215, 219, 257, 263, 272, 273.
 Ile à la Crosse, 44, 53.
 Kootenay, 98.
 Kullyspell, 103.
 La Biche, 95.
 La Cloche, 163, 302.
 La Croix, 97, 105.
 La Loche, 40.
 La Pêche, 90.
 La Pluie, 62, 88, 304.
 La Rouge, 41, 302.
 Lake of the Woods, 36, 70, 97, 131, 273.
 Lesser Slave, 64, 95, 96, 112, 157, 303, 305.
 Little Winnipeg, 45.
 McGillivray's, 103.
 McLeod's, 64, 113, 114.
 Methve, 239.
 Michigan, 300.
 Michigan, 18, 257, 263, 273, 299.
 Mille Laes, 97.
 Mistassini, 78, 79.
 Nipigon, 31, 48, 69, 87, 105, 131, 280.
 Nipissing, 4, 211.
 Okanagan, 111.
 Ontario, 18, 28, 132, 213, 215, 258, 272.
 Ouiniper, 302.

Index of Geographical Names

- Quinipique, 280, 281.
 Pepin, 32.
 Red, 45, 90, 94, 131, 149.
 Reindeer, 131.
 St. John, 78, 79.
 St. Joseph, 69.
 Seul, on trade route, 31, 105.
 Simcoe, 215, 216.
 Slave, 39, 44, 50, 52, 61, 101, 125, 220, 276, 285.
 Stuart's, 11, 112, 114.
 Sturgeon, 40, 110.
 Superior, 22, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 45, 73, 86, 87, 88, 90, 94, 95, 97, 102, 104, 105, 107, 110, 118, 140, 142, 150, 169, 212, 213, 214, 215, 238, 263, 272, 273, 279, 280, 281, 297, 300.
 Temiscaminique, 281.
 Temiskaming, 211.
 Turtle, 94.
 Upper Columbia, 98.
 White Man's, 56, 57.
 Windemere, 98, 103.
 Winnipeg, 34, 45, 87, 88, 92, 93, 106, 131, 149, 156.
 Winnipic, 287.
 Winnipegosis, 93.
 Wollaston, 131.
 La Montée, 238, 239.
 La Presentation, 33.
 Le Boeuf, 32.
 Leroux's establishment, 54.
 Lesser Slave Lake, 64, 95, 96, 112, 157, 303, 305.
 Little Fish River, 53.
 Little Winnipeg Lake, 45.
 Liverpool, 207.
 London, 17, 75, 85, 88, 120, 130, 133, 136, 141, 162, 163, 166, 175, 177, 180, 185, 186, 187, 188, 192, 194, 197, 198, 206, 207, 208, 209, 225, 236, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 275, 278, 283, 293, 296, 300.
 Longueil, 100.
 Louisiana, 81, 289, 290, 297, 299.
 Lower Fort des Prairies, 302.
 Lower White Earth House, 108.
 Lower Red River, 88.
 Mackenzie Bay, 59.
 Mackenzie River, 43, 44, 45, 52, 55, 56, 57, 87, 89, 101, 125, 163, 174, 192, 219, 220, 276, 277, 285; early exploration of, with comments on findings, 53-61. *See also* Mackenzie, A., *in* General Index.
 Mackenzie River basin, 117, 121, 124, 253.
 Mackenzie River Department, 158.
 McDonnell's House, 109.
 McGillivray's Lake, 103.
 McKenzie's River, 61, 281, 303.
 McLeod's Lake, 64, 113, 114.
 McLeod's Lake Fort, 110, 111.
 Madison, 251.
 Magdalen Islands, 4.
 Maimi Bay, 299.
 Maligne River, 37, 131.
 Martin Lake, 239.
 Maryland, 314.
 Maskegan, 131.
 Mattawa, 211.
 Mer du Ouest, 33.
 Mer du Sud, 264.
 Methye Lake, 239.
 Methye Portage, 40, 53, 95.
 Miami River, 299.
 Miamis, 33, 273.
 Micabinishi, 130.
 Michilimaekinae, 3, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 79, 140, 142, 171, 203, 212, 213, 214, 215, 257, 258, 278, 279, 289, 290. *See also following entries.*
 Michilimakinae, 267.
 Michillimackinae, 299, 300.
 Michlimacinae, 273.
 Michlimackinae, 272, 273.
 Michipicoton (Michipicotton), 24, 26, 33, 87, 130, 159, 280, 301.
 Middlesex County, 180.
 Middlebourg, 262.
 Mille Laes, 87, 88, 280, 305.
 Milwaki, 273.
 Mingan (seignory), 79.
 Missinipe River, 281. *See also following entry.*
 Missinipi River, 11, 35, 131.
 Mississippi River, 299, 300.
 Mississippi River, 298, 299. *See also following entries.*

Index of Geographical Names

- Mississippi River, 32, 86, 94, 95, 263, 273, 278, 280, 281, 289, 297.
 Mississourie River, 298, 299. *See also following entries.*
 Missouri Portage, 305.
 Missouri River, 22, 47, 70, 78, 81, 82, 92, 93, 95, 102, 107, 289, 290.
 Missouri River, 299, 300.
 Mithy Quinigam (Portage La Loche), 11.
 Monontague, 131.
 Montagne à la Basse, 90.
 Montreal, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 30, 33, 34, 39, 61, 73, 75, 80, 83, 100, 106, 119, 132, 133, 136, 139, 140, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 159, 161, 162, 169, 175, 180, 188, 189, 190, 191, 196, 199, 201, 203, 205, 206, 209, 210, 212, 213, 219, 220, 225, 226, 229, 230, 231, 234, 235, 236, 237, 243, 244, 245, 251, 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 272, 274, 276, 278, 281, 287, 294.
 Moose (Moos) River, 79, 88, 98, 280.
 Moose Lake Post, 160, 305.
 Mount Royal Cemetery, 100.
 Mouse Rivulet, 103.
 Moyie River, 98.
 Murray Bay, 78.
 Natchitoches, 32.
 Nechaco River, 65, 114.
 Nelson River, 36.
 New Amsterdam, 1.
 New Brunswick, 316, 317, 318.
 New Caledonia, 110, 112, 113, 163, 302, 303, 304, 305.
 New Fort, 97, 106, 110, 204, 214.
 Newfoundland, 207, 268, 272, 316, 317, 318.
 Newmarket, 216.
 New Orleans, 32.
 New Westminster, 116.
 New York, 126, 128, 133, 191, 193, 251, 252, 255, 268, 290, 314, 315, 316.
 Nez Percé Forks, 166, 304.
 Niagara, 19, 24, 26, 33, 34, 79, 86, 212, 216, 253, 257, 258, 272, 279.
 Nid du Corbeau, 69.
 Nipawee, 35.
 Nipawi House, 39.
 Nipigon, 24, 33, 35, 69, 87, 88, 130, 280, 281.
 Nipigon Department, 69, 90, 110.
 Nootka, 75, 324.
 North Arm, 54.
 North Carolina, 314, 315.
 North Dakota, 106.
 North Saskatchewan, 45, 89, 95, 96, 107.
 North Sea, 281.
 Northern Ocean, 59, 125.
 Northwest Coast, 134, 223, 252, 291, 295.
 Northwest Sea, 45.
 North West Territory, 101.
 Norton Sound, 58.
 Norway House, 147.
 Nottawasaga Creek, 142.
 Nottawasaga River, 215, 216.
 Nova Scotia, 272, 316, 317, 318.
 Ohio River, 32, 298, 299, 300.
 Okanagan, 137.
 Old Establishment, 40, 52, 63.
 Old Pond Fort, 40.
 Ontario, 253, 254.
 Oregon River, 125, 285.
 Oregon River, 254.
 Oregon Territory, 101.
 Osage River, 32.
 Ossinihoia, 145.
 Ottawa, 190, 249, 250, 251, 254.
 Ottawa River, 19, 20, 22, 87, 88, 210, 211, 212, 280, 281.
 Oujas, 33.
 Pacific Coast, 122, 123, 128, 136, 206.
 Pacific Ocean, 44, 48, 61, 63, 75, 101, 111, 122, 124, 125, 253, 262, 263, 284, 285, 288, 290; Mackenzie's expedition to, 63-67.
 Pacific Slope, 117, 121, 124.
 Pack River, 64, 65.
 Park River, 106.
 Parsnip River branch, 64, 65, 66, 113, 114.
 Pascoya, 32.
 Pays d'En Haut, 244.
 Peace (Unjigah) River, 39, 43, 49, 52, 53, 54, 63, 64, 67, 89, 96, 97, 98, 110, 113, 158, 239, 276.
 Pembina, 146.
 Pembina House, 147.

Index of Geographical Names

- Pembina River, 71, 89, 90, 95, 106, 107, 304.
 Pend d'Oreille Lake, 99.
 Pentanginshene Bay, 132.
 Pennsylvania, 314, 315, 316.
 Petersbourg, 259, 266.
 Pie, 87, 88, 90, 131, 280, 301.
 Pierre aux Calumets, 157.
 Pigeon River, 48.
 Pin Portage, 162.
 Pine Fort, 47.
 Pine Island, 36.
 Pittsburg, 298.
 Point aux Pins, 213.
 Point Douglas, 146.
 Pointe à la Framboise, 237.
 Pointe aux Chapeaux, 237.
 Polar Sea, 252.
 Portage de l'Isle, 70.
 Portage du Bonnet, 211.
 Portage La Loche, 11, 40, 53, 110.
 Portage la Prairie, 106.
 Portsmouth, 137.
 Prairie du Chien, 32, 71.
 Presqu'île, 32.
 Presqu'île, 298.
 Prince Albert, 107.
 Prince Edward Island, 118, 119.
 Prince of Wales Fort, 36.
 Province of Canada, 101, 277, 296.
 Province of Lower Canada, 294.
 Province of Quebec, 268, 272, 298.
 Put-in Bay, 141.
 Qu'Appelle, 148.
 Qu'Appelle River, 45, 46, 50, 90, 146.
 Quebec, 43, 48, 79, 80, 86, 88, 141, 152, 171, 206, 207, 209, 210, 244, 251, 253, 256, 259, 267, 269, 274, 279, 281, 283, 324; establishment of province, 4; extent of territory, 4; boundaries, 6; divided into Upper and Lower Canada, 7; relation of government to fur trade and Indians, 7-8; jurisdiction of courts, 79, 88; value of fur trade, 18, 27, 88; fur transportation center, 206.
 Queenston, 216.
 Quesnel River, 114.
 Rainy Lake, 3, 34, 45, 51, 87, 97, 99, 108, 112, 131, 158, 164, 204, 219, 229, 230, 231.
 Rainy Lake House, 98.
 Rainy River, 93.
 Rainy River Fort, 151.
 Rat River, 88, 93, 131, 163, 303.
 Red Cedar Lake post, 94.
 Red Deer River, 96, 112.
 Red Lake, 45, 90, 94, 131, 149.
 Red River, 32, 45, 69, 70, 71, 87, 90, 91, 94, 106, 107, 118, 119, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 156, 180, 206, 215, 232, 240, 250, 254, 303; upper, 88, 109, 303.
 Red River Department, 131.
 Red River Settlement, 253, 254. *See also* Red River Valley Agricultural Settlement in General Index.
 Red River Valley, 143.
 Reid's Fort, 104.
 Reindeer Lake, 131.
 Rio, 137.
 River Cormorant, 78.
 River Du Bauf, 298.
 River La Biche, 131.
 River La Loche, 40.
 River of the Mountain, 54, 58.
 River of the West, 66.
 Rivière des Kikapoux, 33.
 Rivière Rouge, 280, 281.
 Rivière Terre Blanche, 106.
 Rocky Mountains, 43, 45, 54, 96, 98, 114, 121, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 144, 163, 169, 178, 226, 252, 276, 284, 285, 287, 290, 299.
 Rocky Mountain Fort, 113, 114, 303.
 Rocky Mountain House, 95, 96, 98, 108.
 Rocky Mountain Portage Fort, 110.
 St. Clair River, 299.
 St. John's Fort, 110, 207.
 St. Josephs, 33, 216, 219, 273.
 St. Josephs River, 32, 299.
 St. Lawrence River, 78, 87, 169, 171, 207, 209, 210, 253, 278, 281.
 St. Lawrence Valley, fur trade in, 1.
 St. Louis, 22, 150.
 St. Louis River, 86, 94.

Index of Geographical Names

- St. Maries, 279, 280, 281, 301.
 St. Marys, 15, 29, 30, 31, 87, 203, 213, 214.
 St. Maurice, 26, 87, 88, 209, 280, 281.
 St. Peter's River, 37.
 Saguenay River, 78.
 Saleesh House, 99.
 Saleesh River, 104.
 Salt River, 90.
 Sand Lake Post, 94.
 Sand Lake River, 94.
 Sandusky, 273.
 Sandwich, 86, 152, 232.
 Sandwich Islands, 134, 135, 165.
 Saskatchewan River, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 46, 50, 69, 70, 82, 87, 93, 95, 97, 107, 109, 131, 159, 161, 206, 239, 240; fur trading posts on, 3. *See also* North Saskatchewan River; Shuskatchivan River; South Saskatchewan.
 Sault Ste. Marie, 24, 26, 34, 36, 95, 133, 140, 142, 149, 151, 212, 214, 215, 219.
 Seratching River, 90.
 Sea Otter Harbor, 75.
 Segana, 273.
 Seven Islands, 78.
 Seven Oaks, 148, 149.
 Shahaptan River, 135.
 Shaskatchiwan River, 281. *See also* Saskatchewan.
 Shuskatchivan River, 280. *See also* Saskatchewan.
 Skeena, 111.
 Skeetsho River, 104.
 Slave Lake, 39, 44, 50, 52, 61, 101, 125, 220, 276, 285.
 Slave River, 39, 42, 49, 53, 54, 101, 239.
 Smoky River, 63, 89, 97.
 Snake country, 166, 295, 296, 304; expeditions to, 167.
 Snake River, 100, 104.
 Souris River, 46, 70, 90, 93, 107, 146; five opposition parties at, 71.
 Souris River Fort, 47.
 South Branch Fort, 109, 110.
 South Carolina, 314, 315, 316.
 South Saskatchewan, 45, 78, 89, 96, 109, 131.
 Spanish River, 295.
 Spithead, 141.
 Split Lake House, 36.
 Spokane House, 99, 100, 104.
 Spokane post, 135.
 Spokane River, 99, 100, 135, 137.
 Stone Indian River, 93.
 Stuart's Lake, 111, 112, 114.
 Stuart's Lake Fort, 112.
 Sturgeon Lake, 40, 110.
 Sturgeon Weir, 131.
 Swan River, 71, 93, 131.
 Swan River Department, 109, 131.
 Swan River Fort, 109.
 Swan River House, 93.
 Swans River, 303.
 Tacoutehe Tesse (Columbia) River, 66, 114.
 Taovayas, 32.
 Temiscaming (Temiskaming), 88, 130, 159, 205. *See also following entries.*
 Temiscamingue, 24, 26, 33, 280.
 Temiscamingue Lake, 281.
 Terrebonne, 100, 156, 187, 214.
 Thompson River, 115, 138, 293, 294.
 Three Rivers, 208.
 Toronto, 33, 100, 179, 250, 252, 253, 254.
 Turtle Lake, 94.
 Umpqua River, 167.
 Unalaska, 44.
 Unalaska Fort, 58.
 Unjigah (Peace) River, 65.
 Upper Athabasca River, 88, 280.
 Upper Columbia Lake, 98.
 Upper Country, 51.
 Upper Red River, 88, 109, 303.
 Venango, 32.
 Vermont, 268.
 Wabach Country, 273.
 Wabash River, 32, 299, 300.
 Washington, 150, 251.
 West Road River, 66.
 Western Sea, 251.
 Whale Island, 56, 58, 59.
 White Earth River, 107.
 White Man's Fort, 58.
 White Man's Lake (Belhoually Toe), 56, 57.

Index of Geographical Names

Wilarbut River, 104.	Wisconsin River, 22, 32, 90, 245.
Wilamut River, 104.	Witney, 221.
Willamette River, 167.	Wollaston Lake, 131.
Windemere Lake, 98, 103.	York, 151, 153, 154, 215, 216, 262,
Winnipeg River, 36, 70, 93, 97, 102,	266, 303.
105, 109, 131, 150, 152, 240.	York Factory, 69, 160.
Wisconsin, 32.	