

THE KELSEY PAPERS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

(a) *The Kelsey Papers*

In the year 1926 certain documents were presented to the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland by Major A. F. Dobbs, of Castle Dobbs, Carrickfergus. These had been collected by Arthur Dobbs, author and statesman, who in addition to displaying varied interests, and no small influence, in colonial affairs during the eighteenth century—he was Governor of North Carolina from 1754 until his death in 1765—distinguished himself as a critic of the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the Dobbs Collection were found *The Kelsey Papers*, now classified in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, as D.O.D. No. 162, and here published jointly by the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and the Public Archives of Canada. These papers—journals, letters and memoranda—are, it seems probable, in the handwriting of Henry Kelsey himself. A comparison with his signature attached to certain letters in Hudson's Bay House is, however, inconclusive. The text here used was transcribed from the original under the supervision of Dr. James F. Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada. Dr. Kenney has also seen the present volume through the press.

The Kelsey Papers are in one volume of 128 pages, in a coarse paper cover, probably the original binding. At the top of the first page, in the same handwriting as what follows, is the title "Henry Kelsey his Book being ye Gift of James Hubbud in the year of our Lord 1693." In that year Kelsey was in England—he had returned from Hudson Bay in 1692. Who James Hubbud was we do not know.¹ It seems probable that Kelsey's words record merely a gift of a blank copy-book from a friend. It is obvious that the majority of the texts which follow are

¹ There was an Isaac Hubbud in the service of the Company in Hudson Bay in 1689. See p. 31 *infra*.

transcripts, and the probable inference is that they were copied by Kelsey for his own private use, the originals going into the files of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first document in point of time is the Churchill *Journal* of 1689, but the rhymed introduction to that of 1691 has first place in the manuscript volume.

How *The Kelsey Papers* came into the possession of Arthur Dobbs is not now known, and it would be rash, perhaps, to conjecture. The last entry in them is of date 1722, and Dobbs's controversy with the Hudson's Bay Company began only after Kelsey's death. Internal evidence in Dobbs's own writings is fragmentary and almost altogether negative. In Dobbs's book of 1744—*An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*—there is no reference to Kelsey. It seems safe to say that he knew nothing of his papers at that time. By 1749, on the other hand, Dobbs had not only heard of Kelsey but was prepared to impugn the whole account of him which the Company had prepared for the Parliamentary Committee of that date. In the *Dobbs Collection* is a manuscript *Commentary on the Case of the Hudson's Bay Company as presented to the Committee of 1749*. This is in the handwriting of Arthur Dobbs himself, and it is followed so closely by Robson in his *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*, 1752, Appendix I, that a common origin seems self-evident. It is possible that Dobbs's *Commentary* is a paraphrase of Robson, made at some period between 1752, when Robson's book was published, and 1754, when Dobbs left for North Carolina. Internal evidence, on the other hand, indicates the reverse, for the Robson *Appendix* shows the marks of careful literary craftsmanship. Both agree, however, upon the story that appeared in print for the first time in Robson and formed the foundation, as we shall see, of a Kelsey tradition which has survived in one form or another for nearly 200 years. Impugning the Company's claim to have sent Kelsey to the prairies upon a journey of discovery, Dobbs charged that "Geyer [the Governor at York Fort] did not send him up, but that upon some Boyish misbehaviour he had been severely corrected by the Governrs. orders and being very great [*sic*] and Intimate with the Indians he took an opportunity of running away with them; so that Geyer finding the Company desirous

of sending up upon Discoveries made a Merit of his going up and said he sent him up." This story Robson claims to have heard during his stay of six years on Hudson Bay—a tradition which we must presently examine. It will be conceded that this story could scarcely have survived an honest examination of *The Kelsey Papers*. So too with other details of the *Commentary* which Dobbs must have added in good faith. He charges that Geyer "did not comply with their former Instructions" of 1688 to send Kelsey to the Churchill—"which was not Done [he adds] and no reason assigned for that neglect." *The Kelsey Papers* prove not only that the instructions were complied with but that the Churchill journey was made, and recorded in minute detail, by Kelsey himself. The meagre conclusion may perhaps be allowed that *The Kelsey Papers* came into Dobbs's possession only when his bitterest attacks upon the Company were being abandoned. Did they contribute in any degree to that result?

(b) *The Kelsey Tradition*

The true story of Henry Kelsey supplants a myth which has been in historical currency for nearly two hundred years—a curious instance of cumulative prejudice and inaccuracy.

Since Robson's *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*¹ the claim of the Hudson's Bay Company that Kelsey was sent by them "to travel and to penetrate into the Country," and that he "cheerfully undertook the Journey," has been met with incredulity. The tradition arose that Kelsey was "but a boy" who had run away from the harsh discipline of Governor Geyer at York Fort at the mouth of the Nelson; and that the Company "made a merit of Kelsey's going up" by fabricating the garbled pages of his *Journal* in order to conceal their failure to explore the vast regions claimed by their Charter. "From many circumstances mentioned in this journal," wrote Robson, "I no more believe that it is Kelsey's than it is mine."² This story has since been embellished with much ingenuity, both in fiction and in sober history. *The Kelsey Papers* now supply not only the truth about the journeys of 1690-2 but an outline, at

¹ Joseph Robson, London, 1752.

² *Id.*, p. 73.

times in great detail, of Kelsey's activities from the time he entered the service of the Company in 1684 to the year 1722, four years after he became Governor of York Fort.

The name of Henry Kelsey¹ appears for the first time in print in the *Report* of the British Parliamentary Committee (April 24, 1749) "Appointed to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay."² This enquiry was the outcome of one of the most determined attacks ever made upon the Hudson's Bay Company as to the validity of their Charter. After fourteen years of agitation, the voyage of the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California* had been, in 1746-7, undertaken by public subscription for the discovery of the North-West Passage. In this project Arthur Dobbs, in whose library at Castle Dobbs, Carrickfergus, were found *The Kelsey Papers*, was undoubtedly the moving spirit; and his own book, *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, published in 1744, sufficiently illustrates his motives. Another shareholder was Henry Ellis, afterwards Governor of Georgia, friend of William Knox the confidant of Grenville and Lord North, and for a time Governor of Nova Scotia (1761-3) after the death of Lawrence. Ellis's account in *A Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*,³ published in 1748, and two volumes published by William Drage, "Clerk of the California" in 1749,⁴ attest the public interest as well as the less disinterested motives of Dobbs and his associates in the contest against the Company. In 1748 a petition found its way to the law officers of the Crown, and to a Parliamentary Committee. The burden of the petition was for "the like Privileges and Royalties as were granted to the said Company"; and the main charge was that "they have not discovered, nor sufficiently attempted to discover, the North-west Passage into the *South Seas*."⁵ It was in rebuttal of this charge that the Company submitted what purported to be "A

¹ Journals, letters, etc., in *The Kelsey Papers* are uniformly signed "Kelsey." The *Journal* in the *Report* of 1749 is attributed to "Henry Kellsey," the spelling retained by Burpee in *The Search for the Western Sea*, pp. 96-113; the letters—no fewer than eight on pp. 254, 274-5 of the *Report*—uniformly use the form "Kelsey," and the same spelling is found in Kelsey's own letters in Hudson's Bay House.

² *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, vol. II (1803), pp. 213-286.

³ Ellis sailed with the expedition "in quality of Agent for the Committee." *Voyage*, p. 104.

⁴ *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, 2 Vols., Lond., 1748.

⁵ *Report*, 1749, p. 285.

JOURNAL of a Voyage and Journey undertaken by *Henry Kellsey*, to discover, and endeavour to bring to a Commerce, the *Naywatamee Poets*, 1691."¹

The *Journal* was accompanied by circumstantial evidence. Preceding it in the *Report* (Appendix No. XXVII) are excerpts from letters between the Company and various Governors on the Bay from May 9, 1676, to June 4, 1719.² As early as 1683 Governor Sargeant was instructed to "choose out from amongst our Servants such as are best qualified with Strength of Body and the Country Language, to travel and to penetrate into the Country." "For their Encouragement, we shall plentifully reward them." Nothing, however, could induce them to stir from the Bay. Sargeant reported in 1685 that neither the four men specifically chosen "nor any of your Servants will travel up the Country." Finally in June, 1688, the Company directed Governor Geyer to send "the Boy *Henry Kellsey* to *Churchill* River with *Thomas Savage*, because we are informed he is a very active Lad, delighting much in Indians Company, being never better pleased than when he is travelling amongst them." How did this "very active Lad" first attract the notice of the Company? Who was "Thomas Savage"? Was Kellsey sent to the Churchill? How did he come to undertake the journey to the prairies in search of the "Naywatamee Poets"? The answers to these questions, as we shall see, are to be found for the first time in *The Kellsey Papers*.

But there were several features of the *Journal* which invited suspicion, and the fact that the enemies of the Company were allowed to exploit these with impunity was taken in itself as *prima facie* evidence. The title of the *Journal* appears in triplicate and the text in duplicate in the *Report* of 1749. The first title in the *List of the Appendix* (p. 236) and in the text (Number XXVII, p. 273) was evidently intended to cover all the evidence submitted by the Company with regard to Kellsey. It reads: "A JOURNAL of *Henry Kellsey* in the Years 1691, and 1692,

¹ *Id.*, p. 276. "Poets" seems to have been a suffix attached to the names of several Indian tribes as these were written by the English in Hudson Bay. Kellsey speaks of the "Naywatame Poets" and the "Mountain Poets," and in the records of the Company are found also the designations "Assinae Poets" and "Kanebickapoets." Cf. Gideon D. Scull, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson* (Boston: The Prince Society, 1885) p. 345.

² *Id.*, pp. 273-6.

sent by the *Hudson's Bay* Company to make Discoveries, and increase their Trade Inland from the Bay." Number XXVIII is "A JOURNAL of a Voyage and Journey undertaken by *Henry Kellsey*, to discover, and endeavour to bring to a Commerce, the *Naywatamee* Poets, 1691." It is dated "July the 5th." Under the same number in the Appendix is a "Duplicate" dated "July 15th, 1692"—obviously the same journal with trifling variations in both title and text. The first closes with the words, "Sir, I remain, Your most Obedient, and Faithful Servant, Henry Kellsey"; the second, "I rest, Honourable Masters, Your most Obedient, and Faithful Servant, At Command, Henry Kellsey." Assuming that the Company and not the printer was responsible for these irregularities, Robson ingeniously implied an attempt to pass off the record as "two journals; one in 1691 in compliance with the governor, and the other in 1692 in obedience to the Company."¹

It is noteworthy that neither Arthur Dobbs, among whose papers at Carrickfergus *The Kelsey Papers* were found, nor Ellis and Drage, so far as we know, ever impugned the *Kelsey Journal* in print, though Dobbs in his *Commentary* (already noted) is as sceptical as Robson himself with regard to its authenticity. It is noteworthy, too, that Dobbs had no comment whatever to make on Kelsey before the Parliamentary Committee (p. 228). In 1752, however, Joseph Robson—also a witness in 1749—in his *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*, attacked not only the authenticity of the *Kelsey Journal* but the *bona-fides* of the Company's correspondence. Robson was a stone-mason—he built much of Fort Prince of Wales at Churchill—who wrote under the title of "Late Surveyor and Supervisor of the Buildings to the Hudson's-bay Company." How Umfreville, who wrote in 1790, could refer to him as "a candid, true, and impartial writer"² it is hard to understand. Both, however, had quarrelled with the Company. In truth, Robson's rancour against the "sea officers principles" in vogue at Hudson Bay is self-evident in his own scathing narrative, and he himself suggests that the Company induced

¹ Robson, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 23.

² *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*, Edward Umfreville, London, 1790, p. 4.

him to go to the Bay the second time (1744-7) "to keep me from Mr. Dobbs."¹

The account which Robson professed to have received from "the servants in the Bay" was as follows:

"Henry Kelsey, a little boy, used to take great delight in the Company of the natives, and in learning their language, for which, and some unlucky tricks that boys of spirit are always guilty of, the governor would often correct him with great severity. He resented this deeply; and when he was advanced a little in years and strength, he took an opportunity of going off with some distant Indians, to whom he had endeared himself by a long acquaintance and many little offices of kindness.

"A YEAR or two after, the governor received by an Indian a piece of birch-rind folded up, and written upon with charcoal. This was a letter from Kelsey; in which he intreated the governor to pardon him for running away, and to suffer him to return with favour and encouragement. Accordingly he came down with a party of Indians, dressed after their manner, and attended by a wife, who wanted to follow him into the factory. The governor opposed this; but upon Kelsey's telling him in English, that he would not go in himself if his wife was not suffered to go in, he knew him, and let them both enter. Many circumstances of his travels were related: that the Indians once left him asleep; and while he slept, his gun was burnt by the fire's spreading in the moss, which he afterwards stocked again with his knife: that he and an Indian were one day surprised by two grizzled bears, having but just time to take shelter, the Indian in a tree, and Kelsey among some high willows; the bears making directly to the tree, Kelsey fired and killed one of them; the other, observing from whence the fire came, ran towards the place; but not finding his prey, returned to the tree, which he had just reached when he dropped by Kelsey's second fire. This action obtained him the name of Miss-top-ashish, or Little Giant.

"WHEN Kelsey was afterwards made governor of Yorkfort, I was told that he wrote a vocabulary of the Indian language, and that the Company had ordered it to be suppressed."²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

² *Id.*, p. 72.

Robson's criticism of the correspondence in the *Report* of 1749, and of the *Journal* itself, it will be unnecessary to examine here.¹ "Sufficient to discredit the whole," he concluded, was Kelsey's claim to have followed a party of Indians over the prairies several days behind them: "computing, I suppose, the number of men, the weight of their bodies, the size of their feet, and the angle of each step."² It is but fair to add that many of the embellishments of the Kelsey myth have been added since the pages of Robson were written in 1752. Such is the havoc wrought by prejudice when unhampered by the discipline of historical evidence.

(c) *Kelsey's Own Story*

The Kelsey Papers supply for the first time a fairly comprehensive outline of Kelsey's activities from 1683 to 1722. Why they close in 1722 we shall, perhaps, be able to conjecture.

The eleven journals, letters, memoranda, etc., in the series cover a wide range of interest. They explain the Company's choice of Kelsey as early as 1688 for the task of inland discovery. It has been assumed that the Churchill project of that date was never undertaken. Kelsey's own journal of 1689 now supplies in detail the story of that ill-fated enterprise. The journal of 1691, too, is found here unabridged, with a rhymed introduction by Kelsey himself—perhaps the most valuable pages of the entire series, since they fix approximately the location of Deering's Point, whence the journeys of 1690 and 1691 began, and prove beyond reasonable doubt that Robson's story, impugning alike the good faith of the Company and the achievements of Kelsey himself, was a groundless fabrication. With the location of Deering's Point, the range of Kelsey's memorable travels—the preliminary journey of 1690 and the more ambitious project of 1691—is brought within the bounds of reasonable conjecture. The five closely packed pages of Kelsey's *Acco^t. of those Indians belief and Superstitions*, is the first outline, if we are not mistaken, of the life and customs of the plain Indians.³ Beyond a

¹ "I no more believe that it is Kelsey's, than it is mine." *Id.*, pp. 72-4, and Appendix, pp. 14-25.

² "I would not undertake to follow any track but a beaten one." *Id.*, p. 74.

³ "Having been amongst ye Stone Indians of late."

doubt Kelsey was the first white man to reach the Canadian prairies and to see the plain Indians hunt the buffalo.

The *Journal* of 1694 with the surrender of York Fort "to Mr. Diberveall" on October 4, and that of 1696-7 with the second surrender to Iberville on September 3, 1697, are of great historical interest. For sixteen years after the Treaty of Ryswick in that year the hold of the Company upon the Bay came almost to an end. For Kelsey himself the autobiographical notes at the close of *The Kelsey Papers*—"Memorandum of my abode in Hudsons bay from 1683 to 1722"—will explain many tantalizing problems raised by the vagaries of the Kelsey tradition, leaving others, however, still unsolved among the mysteries of those eventful years.

Why the *Memorandum* closes at August 16, 1722, it is possible, perhaps, to conjecture. Despite the prevalent tradition to the contrary, the decade following the Treaty of Utrecht, which re-established the Company's hold upon the Bay, were years of great activity. In 1719 Captain Knight with the *Albany* and the *Discovery* had sailed away to the northward, never to return. Nearly fifty years later a whaling-ship found the wreck upon the bleak rocks of Marble Island. For months, the Esquimaux said, the survivors, crazed with hunger and solitude, fought for their lives against the wolves and the cold, scanning the horizon in vain, day after day, for a sail.¹ On June 1, 1720, the Company had written to Kelsey, then Governor at York Fort, "to send us Copies of all those Journals that have been kept by yourself and others, and what Discoveries have been made in the Voyages to the Northward."² At the same time Kelsey was submitting to the Company his own "Design of Wintering to the Northward." The following year, as he notes in his *Journal*, he had "Intentions of going farther to ye Noward to look for ye place where ye albany sloop was lost we seeing things belonging to those vessels." The Company, however, countermanded Kelsey's design of "Wintering farther Northward [than Churchill], to the Hazard of your Life, and those with you,"³ but they despatched the *Whalebone Sloop*

¹ Samuel Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769-1772*, London, 1795.

² *Report*, 1749, p. 254.

to be "sent upon Discovery next Year [1722], as soon as the Season of the Year will permit," and to return by "the Beginning of September."¹ Kelsey's last memorandum is dated August 16, 1722, when the "*Whalebone* came in here from Churchill." It seems reasonable to suppose that the last date in *The Kelsey Papers* is related in some way to Kelsey's final project of northern discovery in 1722 and to the Company's request for "Copies of all those Journals that have been kept by yourself." Was the "Duplicate" *Journal* published in the *Report* of 1749 taken from these "Copies" of 1722?

But the problems at this point begin to multiply. The *Journal* of 1691 in *The Kelsey Papers*, with its rhymed introduction for the voyage of 1690, is from "Henry Kelsey his Book being ye gift of James Hubbud in the year of our Lord 1693." At this time Kelsey himself was in England.² How did *The Kelsey Papers*, here published, find their way into the possession of Arthur Dobbs? What happened to Kelsey after 1722? He must have been well over 50 years of age at that time, but gallant old Knight was over 70 when he undertook the ill-starred expedition which ended at Marble Island. Much, as we shall see, is to be found in the papers of Hudson's Bay House to supplement the meagre knowledge of Kelsey's movements after 1720. He was recalled in 1722, under certain charges that were never, it seems, pressed against him. He applied for another command in 1724 but the ship he applied for was not that year sent to the Bay. In 1730 Mrs. Kelsey was a widow applying for a pension. These details and many others are to be gleaned from the *Minute Books* and *Letter Books* of the Hudson's Bay Company. Under this category they will be noted presently in greater detail. But the whole story of Kelsey's closing years will perhaps be known only when the treasures of Hudson's Bay House can be systematically classified, and carefully searched for this purpose.

The chief revelations in *The Kelsey Papers* must be sought in detail in the papers themselves. A very brief summary must suffice here by way of introduction. Curiously enough the

¹ *Ibid.*

² See below, p. 112.

earliest detail fixed by Kelsey is found to be an error. "In 83," he writes, "I went out in ye ship *lucy* Jno. Outlaw commandr." We are indebted to Mr. Leveson-Gower of Hudson's Bay House for evidence that the *Lucy* came to Hudson's Bay only in 1684. How Kelsey attracted the notice of the Company is stated as follows: "In 88¹ after 3 indians being employ'd for great rewards to carry letters from hays river to new severn they return'd wthout performing ye business altho paid then was I sent wth an indian boy & in a month return'd wth answers." It was "ye same Indian boy" under the name of "Thomas Savage" who accompanied Kelsey on the ill-fated Churchill expedition of 1689, for on June 2, 1688, the Company had directed that "the Boy *Henry Kelsey* be sent to *Churchill* River with *Thomas Savage*, because we are informed he is a very active Lad, delighting much in Indians Company, being never better pleased than when he is travelling amongst them."

The *Churchill Journal* is a grim story of hardship and failure. Striking inland "about 20 Leagues from Churchill River," (June 27) Kelsey and his lone companion marched over barren lands with "abundance of Musketers" and with "no shelter but ye heavens for a Cannope." On July 9 he "spyed two Buffillō" (musk-oxen) with horns that "Joyn together upon their forehead & so come down ye side of their head & turn up till ye tips be Even with ye Buts their Hair is near a foot long." Thus Kelsey, it would seem, is the first white man to see the musk-ox. After 128 miles he found a decided "backwardness" in "Thomas Savage," who "told me," adds Kelsey, "I was a fool & yt he would go no further for I was not sensible of ye dangers." Returning to Churchill they found that the house then being built for the trade "was Reduced to ashes and yt most of ye things were Burnt." At York Fort, concludes Kelsey, "I went to ye Govern^r. taking ye Indian Boy wth me & acquainted him how I had been serv'd by him ye Governors reply was yt I had my labour for my travell since yt ye Governr. Never did Require any further acco^t. of me."

¹ Is this another error for "87"? The Company's letter about "the Boy Henry Kelsey" and "Thomas Savage" is dated, June 2, 1688 (*Report*, p. 274). It could scarcely have been written from London the same year as Kelsey's journey to New Severn.

The next year, however, (1690) Governor Geyer had a harder task for Kelsey. "This Summer," he wrote, "I sent up *Henry Kelsey* (who cheerfully undertook the Journey) up into the Country of the *Assinae Poets*, with the Captain of that Nation, to call, encourage, and invite, the remoter Indians to a Trade with us." In 1691 came "a Letter from *Henry Kelsey*, the young Man I sent up last Year with the *Assinae Poets*." The Governor had sent Kelsey "a Supply of those Things he wrote for," and had ordered him "to return the next Year, with as many Indians as he can." In September, 1692, Geyer wrote that Kelsey had come down "with a good Fleet of Indians." This is the record in the *Report* of 1749, and it is now corroborated in great detail by *The Kelsey Papers*.

"Ye Compy.", writes Kelsey, "employed 2 french men viz, Gooseberry [Groseilliers?] & Grammair to go amongst ye Natives to draw ym to a trade but they did not go 200 miles from ye factory upon w^{ch} I was sent away wt ye stone Indians in whose Country I remained 2 years." ¹ In the rhymed introduction to the *Journal* of 1691, Kelsey is still more explicit:

"In sixteen hundred & ninety'th year
I set forth as plainly may appear
And for my masters interest I did soon
Sett from ye house [York Fort] ye twealth of June
Then up ye River I with heavy heart
Did take my way & from all English part
To live amongst ye Natives of this place
If god permits me for one two years space
The Inland Country of Good report hath been
By Indians but by English yet not seen
Gott on ye borders of ye stone Indian Country
I took possession on ye tenth Instant July -
And for my masters I speaking for ym all
This neck of land I deerings point did call

¹ *Memorandum*, 1690, See below, p. 111. By "Gooseberry" and "Grammair" are designated Jean Baptiste, son of Médard Chouart des Groseilliers, and Elie Grimard, whose names, in various and curious spellings, are found several times in the *Minutes* of the Hudson's Bay Company. On March 13, 1685, they and two other Frenchmen were "entertained in the Company's service" for four years, Chouart at £100 per annum, Grimard at a salary rising from £30 to £45 per annum.

Distance from hence by Judgement at ye lest
From ye house six hundred miles southwest
Through Rivers wch run strong with falls
thirty three Carriages five lakes in all."

By September he had passed through wood of "small
nutts wth little cherries very good till you leave ye
woods behind:"

"And then you have beast of severall kind
The one is a black a Buffillo great
Another is an outgrown Bear wch. is good meat
He is mans food & he makes food of man
This plain affords nothing but Beast & grass
And over it in three days time we past
It being about forty six miles wide
At deerings point after the frost
I set up their a Certain Cross
In token of my being there
Cut out on it ye date of year
And Likewise for to veryfie the same
added to it my master sir Edward deerings name."

The second journey from Deering's Point (1691-2) is traced in detail in Kelsey's own *Journal*. After paddling for three days and a half from July 15—71 miles, the last day up a "Stream Running very strong"—Kelsey and his party left the river and followed "ye Stone Indians wch were gone ten days before." During a journey of 55 days, over more than 500 miles of swale and prairie, Kelsey describes how the Indians killed "great Store of Buffillo"; how the "Naywattamee poets," having killed three of the Nayhathaways, had "fled so far, that I should not see them"; how he met the Stone Indians from the south on August 25, so "in number we were 80 Tents"; how Kelsey at a feast on September 3 gave the Governor's message that he would not "trade with ym if they did not cease from warring"; how messengers came at last from the "Naywatamee poets"; how he made peace between them and the Stone Indians, and finally on September 12, after presents and an elaborate powwow, got a promise from the Naywatamee chief to come to the Bay. The variations between

the printed *Journals* of the Report of 1749 and the unabridged *Journal* of the Kelsey Papers are by no means slight, but there are no discrepancies that are not easily explained. Thus is Governor Geyer at last vindicated.

In the autumn of 1692 Kelsey returned to England. In 1694 he came back to Hudson Bay but "was taken by ye french and brought home." The story in detail appears in Kelsey's letter of August 8, 1694, and in his *Journal* from August 13 to October 4.¹ Iberville with two French ships arrived on September 14, landing 30 or 40 men, with "mortar pieces" and "Boom shels"; on October 3 came an ultimatum under a flag of truce, that they were "ready to Cannonade and Boombard ye fort & if we would not surrender it they would reduce it to ashes & give us no quarter." Next day the Governor decided to surrender, and with "14 more of us" was ordered to go up to Mr. Diberveall." Again Kelsey went to the Bay in 1696 for "ye retaking ye fort again"; but "Mr. Diberville . . . wth 3 Saile" was not to be caught. Next year came the famous actions between the *Pelican* and the *Hampshire*, *Hudson's Bay* and *Deering*. A second time Iberville landed with mortar and bomb. Three times his demands were "denyed"; but in the end, "finding such great force as nine hundred men and ye ill tidings of our own ships," the garrison "marcht out . . . & ye french took possession of ye fort this being ye end of a Tedious winter & tragical Journal by me Henry Kelsey."

A third time Kelsey returned to the Bay in 1698. In 1701 he is "master of ye ship and factory" at East Main; in 1703 he is in England again; in 1706 he comes out as "mate of ye perry frigte"—his taste for seamanship now dominant in his journals—and trader again to East Main. He is back in England in 1712; returns to the Bay when the French claims are forever set at rest in the Treaty of Utrecht; and in 1718, at last, becomes Governor of his old post at York Fort. He is busy with his projects for discovery and "Wintering to the Northward" when the curtain falls upon his adventurous career in *The Kelsey Papers* in 1722. The rest of his life must be pieced together from other sources. There seems to be no record of

¹ See below, pp. 33, 39-45.

his return to the Bay after his recall in 1722, and it seems safe to say that his bones rest in English soil.

Much that we should like to know about Kelsey is as elusive as the mist which he once described at York Fort. The precocious courage of "the Boy *Henry Kelsey*" is never belied during the forty years, nearly, of his recorded life. In his Churchill journey "Thomas Savage" called him a fool because he was "not sensible of ye dangers"; and when they had to build a raft, to cross the river for their return, "it would not Carry us & the goods," adds Kelsey, "so put ye Boy & things on it & swim'd over it my self being very cold." In his great venture of 1690 he "was resolved this same Country for to see"; though he added with the truthfulness of real courage, that he had "often been opprest":

— "Because I was alone & no friend could find
And once yt in my travels I was left behind
Which struck fear & terror into me."

Robson himself, as we have seen, passes on the tradition that he once killed two grizzly bears on this journey to the prairies, and that the Indians admiringly called him "Miss-top-ashish, or Little Giant"—almost the only note we have of his stature, or personal appearance. When the *Whalebone* and *Prosperous* "rid a very hard storm" in 1721, the captain "would have me taken charge of his vessel," and "thank god," adds Kelsey modestly, "we gott both very well in." It was Kelsey who salvaged the *Perry's* cargo and the "Seafords pinnace." His stout preparations during the "tedious winter" of 1696-7—the "palisadoes," the "brasspieces," the "big mortar," and the "flankers"—were in keeping with his bearing with "Mr. Dibberveal" as he closed his "tragical Journal" in the following September.

There is more of discretion than of humour in *The Kelsey Papers*; and that, perhaps, is to be expected. On the last day of the old year, 1696, he writes half a dozen lines of Indian dialect¹ in his *Journal*—as a "pleasant fancy of old time . . . because counsel is kept best in one single Breast. Vale." To keep the Stone Indians from the warpath, he notes, "all my

¹ Cree, or some related dialect, but the transliteration is so uncertain that translation cannot be attempted.

arguments prevailed nothing so I seeing it in vain held my peace." He has his jest, too, at the medicine-men who know what "ye firmament of heaven is made of," since they "have been there and seen it." Even the interminable monotony of "patridges," and "wooding" at "the Fourteens," and "goose tents" in the marshes, and "telling Beaver into ye warehouse" at York Fort, is not altogether unrelieved by the fortunes of "Whiskers" and his indigent progeny.

(d) *Kelsey and the Company*

The material relating to Henry Kelsey is so meagre that even the most commonplace fragments may be worthy of record. The details in the *Minute Books* and *Letter Books* of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in the *Journals* of the posts on Hudson Bay, are frequently prosaic—records of salary paid or agreed upon, appointments made, results commended or criticized. But many have an interest little anticipated when these formal entries were made, while some of them are fairly charged with history. It may be advisable to collect a few of these items here in chronological order for purposes of record.

Henry Kelsey entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as an apprentice on April 14, 1684. He was at this date, it would seem, 14 years of age. In that case the year of his birth was the year of the Hudson's Bay Charter. His first engagement was for a period of four years, at the end of which he was to receive the sum of £8.0.0 "and two shutes of apparell."¹

On May 2, 1684, there is an entry in the *Minute Book*: "Paid to John Butlaw for disbursements for Henry Kesley as one of the Compa. apprentices £5 12.0."

Four years later, on June 2, 1688, the instructions, afterwards quoted in the *Report* of 1749, were issued to Governor Geyer: "That the Boy Henry Kelsey bee Sent to Churchill River with Thomas Savage because Wee are Informed hee is a very active Lad Delighting much in Indians Compa. being never better pleased then when he is Travelling amongst them."²

¹ H.B.C. *Minute Book*, April 14, 1684. Hudson's Bay House.

² H.B.C. *Letter Book* 602, p. 5. Hudson's Bay House.

Nothing further is noted of the Churchill journey, but when Geyer reported (September 8, 1690) "This summer I sent up Henry Kelsey (who chearfully undertook the Journey) up into the Country of the ASSINAEPOETS with the Captain of this Nation," the Company replied (May 21, 1691) that they were "glad you prevailed with Henry Kelsey to undertake a Journey with the Indians to those Remote parts hoping the Encouragemt. you have given him in yt advance of his Sallery will Instigate other young men in the factory to follow his Example."¹ This "advance of his Sallery" must refer to the new engagement at the end of Kelsey's four years of apprenticeship, in 1688, for the journey to the prairies in 1690-2 was to be rewarded by Governor Geyer at his discretion. "We are glad," the Company wrote on June 17, 1693, "that Henery Kelsey is safe returned and brought a good fleet of Indians downe with him and hope he has effected yt wch he was sent about in Keeping the Indians from warring one with another, that they may have the more time to look after theire trade. . . . As for the Service Henery Kelsey has done us in traveling up into the Country you being imediate Judges of his demerits we leave it to your discretion to gratifie him for the same."²

On April 25, 1694, Kelsey, who was then, as we have seen, in England, was engaged by the Company at a salary of £30 per annum. On May 30, 1694, there is a letter from the Company to Captain Knight: "Wee have delivered to Kelsey one gun made by Capt. Silke 4 foote long which he is to use in ye voyage and is to deliver into the ffactory at his arrivall."³ In 1698 Kelsey was re-engaged for a period of three years at a salary of £25 (£5 less than his previous salary) "But upon Gouvr. Knights recommendation of his Fidelity and diligence in all respects," adds the Company, "to have £5 per annum more advanced to him."⁴ It is fair to add that this was just after the disastrous Treaty of Ryswick when retrenchment was the order of the day. Kelsey's share in the recapture of York Fort in 1696, futile though it proved to be, was acknowledged.

¹ *Id.*, p. 43.

² *Id.*, p. 68.

³ *Id.*, p. 103.

⁴ *Minute Book*, May 25, 1698.

by the Hudson's Bay Committee "on Board the Dering friggt. at the Nore" on May 31, 1697. "We thanke God," they wrote, "for the success you had last yeare in Retakeing Yorke ffort."¹

During the lean years between the Treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht, 1697-1713, Kelsey's name appears frequently in the records of the Company. On June 23, 1702, the committee acknowledged Kelsey's "Letter of 5 Sept. last and are well Satisfied with Gouv'r. fullertines makeing you Master of the Knight and Sending you to the East Maine."² Three years later the *Minute Book* (November 28, 1705) contains the entry that "Mr. Henry Kelsey was now Entertained in ye Compies. Service Upon the following Agreemt. Vix [*sic*] to goe with ye Compies. shipp next Expedition for Hudsons Bay as Cheife Trader in the Country and to have ye Sallery of Deputy Gouv'r. Vix [*sic*] £100 p' Ann from his Arivall in ye Country and if Mr Bishop should be Dead, Then to Succeed Him as Deputy Gouv'r. but if Liyeing then Mr Kelsey to be Cheife Trader at Albany Fort."³ By a Minute of the Committee, duly signed by the Governor and Deputy Governor, Kelsey was made "Comdr. of ye Knight frigte as likewise cheife Factor at ye East Maine."⁴

In the year 1707 there are various references to Henry Kelsey in the *Journals* of Anthony Beale of Albany Fort; and a payment of £5 was made on May 14, 1707, to Henry Kelsey's wife.⁵ The *Knight*, on which Kelsey sailed in 1707, failed to reach East Maine "By Reason of Sundry accidents falling out," but the Company "Were glad to hear of your Safe arriveall there and also Recd. your Journall in your outward bound Voyage which wee approve well off."⁶ In the year 1709 there is a payment "to Mrs Eliz Kelsey, wife of Henry Kelsey" of £28.8.2, and in 1710 another of £30.⁷

¹ *Letter Book* 603, p. 59.

² "Wee hope and doe Expect you will be Industrious and faithfull in Dischargeing the Trust Reposed in you." *Id.*, p. 105.

³ *Minute Book*, 227.

⁴ *Id.*, 228, March 19, 1706.

⁵ *Albany Fort*, No. 2. A. 3, 1706-1707; *Minute Book*, 1707.

⁶ *Letter Book*, May 26, 1708.

⁷ *Minute Book*, March 25, 1709, and May 17, 1710.

A letter from the Governor in Committee on May 29, 1710, is of more than passing interest. Kelsey was advised to act solely under the direction of the Governor at Hudson Bay: "without his Consent you are not to act anything upon your owne head and must observe to allow him to have the casting voice You doe well to Educate the men in Literature but especially in the Language that in time wee may send them to travell If wee see it Convenient As for discoveries of mines etc it is noe time to thinke upon them now In times of Peace Something may be done We have sent you your dixonary Printed that you may the better Instruct the young Ladds with you, in ye Indian Language."¹ Is Kelsey's proposal "to Educate the men in Literature" the first note of a long tradition of good books at the Hudson's Bay posts? And is Kelsey's "dixonary Printed" the first indigenous literary product of Rupert's Land? This is evidently the "vocabulary of the Indian language" to which Robson characteristically refers in his *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*: "When Kelsey was afterwards made governor of York-fort, I was told that he wrote a vocabulary of the Indian language, and that the Company had ordered it to be suppressed."²

In 1711 there are casual references to Kelsey in Anthony Beale's *Factory Journal* at Albany Fort, and on August 1, 1712, the entry that "Capt Ward and Henry Kelsey sail on Board Knight bound for England."³

With the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, the fortunes of the Company were at last restored. Two entries of this period are of great interest. For May 20, 1713, the Company's *Minute Book* contains the following record:

"Mr. Henry Kelsey now gave in his Proposals to serve the Company as Deputy Governour at Port Nelson, under Capt. James Knight (viz): To be Deputy Govr. under Capt: James Knight at £100 pr Ann, & when he returns for England, or in Case of his Death, (which God forbid) I hope to succeed him.

¹ *Letter Book* 603, p. 199.

² P. 72.

³ Anthony Beale, *Factory Journal*, 3.A.3, 1711; 4.A.3, 1712.

"I hope the Company will consider & allow me something for my being left Governour by Mr Fullertine, and if my health should not permit me to stay, then I may have the Liberty to Return by the first opportunity, otherwise to give one Years Notice before I come Home, & the Company to allow me the Benefit of one Servant with me

"Which proposals of Mr. Henry Kelsey were likewise agreed to by the Committee & his Wages to Commence from his Arrival at Port Nelson."

The other item appears in the *Minute Book* for August 14, 1713. It proves, contrary to the Canadian contentions during the next century, that the rights of the Company were not held by the Crown to have lapsed (for all but Albany Fort and East Main) by virtue of the disastrous Treaty of Ryswick,¹ but that possession was taken by the Crown in 1713 "for Us and In Our Name for the use and benefitt of the Govr. & Compy of adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay & their Successors":

"Two Commissions from Her Majesty (viz) one to Captain James Knight to be Governour, & Mr. Hen. Kelsey to be D. Governour in Hudsons Bay which is to be sent by ye Compies Shipp all which were now Locked up in ye Iron Chest."

"Anne, by the Grace of God Queen of Great Britain France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To our Trusty and Well Beloved Captain James Knight and Henry Kelsey Esq Greeting To take possession for Us and In Our Name of the said Bay and Streights, Lands Seas, Sea Coasts, Rivers, Places, Fortresses and other Buildings for the use and benefitt of the Govr. & Compy of adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay & their Successors." ²

Kelsey was kept waiting in England for some time and it was not until May, 1714, that he received his Commission. For this and "the Former Services of Mr. Henry Kelsey," the Committee, "for his Encouragement Doe Agree to give him a

¹ See the evidence of Chief Justice Draper before the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, *Report*, p. 210.

² The Commission is dated July 21, 1713.

gratuity of £75 besides the £25 Lent him by the Compa in all £100.”¹ On May, 28, 1714, the Secretary is instructed to have the agreement “Engraved on Stamp Paper in order to be Signed” by the Committee.²

In the *York Fort Journal* (7. A. 3, 1714) is a copy of Governor Knight's letter describing how he and Kelsey took possession of Fort Nelson in the summer of 1714: “Found the Fort in a most miserable condition—all Rotten and ready to Fall One of the Indians came wn I hoisted ye Union fflag he told me he did not love to see yt he loved to See the White one So there is many of The Indians has Great Friendship for the french here.”

Certain charges were made against Kelsey at this time. They were either made by Captain Knight or were transmitted to the Company by him. The letter containing the charges is not in the records, but it would appear from a letter from Kelsey to Staunton that thefts by the Indians formed the basis of the charges. On June 14, 1719, the Company wrote a private letter to Kelsey as follows:

“Wee Cannot but Acquaint you what Accusations have been Laid Before us Concerning yr Conduct which wee hope you will Clear Your Self of and that you may be the better able to do it have Inclos'd Sent you a Copy thereof, that You may Know Both your Accusers, and what is charg'd against You to which we desire your Answer to Every Particul^r being very Unwilling to think that a Person wee had so Good an Opinion of as yourself should forfeit their Estimes who are Your Loving Friends”³

Though the “Accusations” against Kelsey must have been forwarded to London not later than 1718, he remained at Hudson Bay for four years during which he was Governor at York Fort and first in command of all the posts on the Bay. For the present, at least, the nature of the charges can only be surmised. In the *York Fort Factory Journal* (15. A. 3) for February 1, 1719, is the copy of a letter from Kelsey to Staunton, then at

¹ *Minute Book*, May 4, 1714.

² Kelsey's Commission as Deputy Governor at York Fort is in *Letter Book* 603, p. 250.

³ *Letter Book* 604, p. 59.

Churchill, referring to Captain Knight's voyage of discovery that was to end in disaster at Marble Island. "Be sure you follow ye Compies Order in that affair," writes Kelsey, "for I am very sure they have done me all the prejudice lies in their Power by fals asspersions concerning ye Indians and had it not bin for ym it would been very hard wth us this winter for they have killed near 100 Deer . . . in one Paragraph of my accusations you are brought in as a Wittness by Capt Knight about you telling him of seeing the Indians in Capt Baylies time carry several Bundles out of the Trading Roome in the Night but I looke on this and the rest as the efects of their Mallice to turn me out of my Employ for no other reason then their being afraid of being out done but be it as it will it shall not lessen my endeavours nor I hope yours of doing what wee can to promote their Trade and Intrest during our Servitude in this Country."

A year later Kelsey wrote to Staunton: "I doe asure you that I am noways offended wth you about what I writ concerning Cap Knight but you may believe it is a great Dolor to be represented so Odiously to Our Masters and tuched in ye most Sensable part yt is a mans reputation wch is more Valuable yn Life itselke for wch reason it ought to be very Cautiously Handled And if it please God I live to see ym shall Endeavour to make ym prove their Asertions."¹

During this entire period Kelsey's dominant interest in the cause of "discovery to ye Norward" is to be traced in many ways. A short voyage in the summer of 1719 had promising results. "I saw many Esquemoes," wrote Kelsey, "and gott some whalebone Oyle and Some Sea Horse teeth and changed two of ye Compies Slaves² for two of those Countrey Ladds and they are very agreeable and learn English apace by wch I hope to know wt ye Countrey will afford."³ Next year (June 1, 1720) the Company wrote to Kelsey as follows:

"Wee also Order you to send us Coppies of all those Journals that have been Kept by yourself & others, & what

¹ *York Fort Journal*, 15. A. 3, April 12, 1720.

² "Two Slave Boys," in the *York Fort Council Book*, 15. A. 3, June 10. 1719.

³ *York Fort Council Book*, 15. A. 3., Kelsey to Maclish, Jan. 18, 1720.

discoveries have been made in yr voyages to ye Northward, also what Numbers of People & what sort you have met wth, & what Quantity of Whales have been seen . . . likewise from whence ye flood Comes, & from what point of ye Compass, & how Much ye Tides have flow'd up and downe." ¹

This was followed by more stringent instructions in the following year. On May 26, 1721, the Governor and Committee wrote, evidently with some concern, of Kelsey's "designe of Wintering to the Northward." "Wee desier," they added, "to know whether you meane at Churchill River, for wee cannot Approve of your Wintering further Northward to the Hazard of yr Life and those with you wee Aprehending if you goe anytime in June you may make as much discovery both of whales & other Comodities as if you Wintered to ye Northward & Returned by the Latter End of August And hope you may give us better Incouragement as to discovering A Trade Either be getting of Copper or any other Vallueable Comodity then wey have hitherto met with." ²

When Kelsey was finally summoned home in 1722, therefore, it is hard to say whether the old charges about the Indians or the growing expenses from these years of fruitless "discovery to ye Norward" were uppermost in the minds of the Committee. Their letter to Kelsey (May 24, 1722) was as follows:

"Capt Kelsey, you having now been 8 years in our Service, 4 of which you were Dept Govr and 4 years Governor, at York Fort, Wee think it Convenient to Call you home & accordingly Expect you by ye Return of ye Mary Friggt Capt Jas Belcher Commandg. having appointed Mr Thos Maclish in your Stead, to whom you are to deliver possession of our Fort & Country, as soon as he shall arrive on Shoar, & Wee have order'd Mr Maclish, to Show you all possible Respect, untill ye Departure of our Ship for England." ³

From an entry in the *Minute Book* (October 31, 1722) it is clear that Kelsey was "Welcomed by the Committee on his

¹ *Letter Book* 604.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

return home." The old charges against him were never revived, or, if revived, were never proved. In the *Minute Book* of the following year (January 23, 1723) appears the following entry:

"This Comittee Takeing into Consideration the Skins Caught & Brought Home by Capt. Henry Kelsey & which were sold at the Comps Sale did Resolve to allow him the full Produce of his sd Skins amo to £22.13.2. The sd Capt Kelsey haveing served The Compa in Hudsons Bay as Govr & Deputy Govr for Eight Yeares Sucessively Last past which sum yr Secr is ordered to pay him."

In the following year, 1724, Kelsey himself appears for the last time. On January 29, 1724, the *Minute Book* records that "The Severall Petitions of Capt. Henry Kelsey & Capt Geo Keneday were deld in Desireing to be Comanders of ye Comps Shipp Hannah in ye Rome of Capt. Gaston Decd The Secr is ordered to Lay them by, the Comittee Intending to appoint A day to Consider of that Matter." On February 12, 1724, the Committee "resolved not to send the Hannah to Hudsons Bay this year."

It remains to record two brief entries which tell their own poignant story. Under date of January 28, 1730, appears the following note in the *Minute Book*:

"Eliz Kelsey Widow of Capt Heny Kelsey late Governor for the Compa at York Fort in Hudsons Bay having Petitioned the Comittee to Allow her something towards puting out her son apprentice; The Comittee takeing into consideration the former Service of her Husband the said Heny: Kelsey Ordered that the Secr do pay her ten Guineas as a Gratuity from the Compa for that purpose, £10.10.0".

And finally, on February 20, 1734, ten years after Kelsey had applied for the command of the *Hannah*, his name appears for the last time, it would seem, in the records of the Company: "Eliz. Kelsey Widow of Heny Kelsey formerly Govr for the Compa at York Fort in H. Bay haveing petitiond the Comittee to give her Something to buy her son John Kelsey Cloths She being wholly incapable to do it herself this Comittee considering the former Service of his Father the sd

Henry Kelsey Ordered the sum of £6.6.0 to be laid out for cloths for him & that ye Secr see the same laid out." ¹

Kelsey's death must have taken place between February, 1724, and January, 1730. The fact that his widow was constrained to ask of the Company "Something to buy her son John Kelsey Cloths She being wholly incapable to do it herself" is an apt commentary upon the vicissitudes of adventure and discovery in the fur trade.

(e) *Kelsey's Route in 1691*

The most interesting problem, perhaps, in *The Kelsey Papers* must be left, in the last resort, to the topographer with intimate first-hand knowledge of the northland. What was Kelsey's route in the journeys of 1690-1? How far south and west did he travel in his quest for the "Naywatamee Poets"? And, finally, where was Deering's Point,

"Distance from hence by Judgement at ye lest.
From ye house six hundred miles southwest
Through Rivers wch run strong with falls
thirty three Carriages five lakes in all"?

Kelsey left York Fort on "ye twealthe of June," 1690, and "took possession on ye tenth Instant July" of Deering's Point "on ye borders of ye stone Indian Country." Already, he notes, "the ground begins for to be dry with wood Poplo and birch with ash thats very good." Farther on there are "small nutts wth little cherries . . . till you leave ye woods behind," and find the "Buffillo great." A year later in the same region he notes "great store of Beast," where the Indians made "a great feast telling yt they were very glad yt I was returned according to my promise." ²

The *Journal* of this second voyage over the prairie (1691), unhampered by metre or rhyme, is more explicit. Kelsey's purpose, however, was not primarily to chart the country but to

¹ *Minute Book*. In an *Apprentice Book*, Inland I, Vol. 12, p. 171, Public Record Office, appears the following: [1731] June ye 16th [No.] 11 [Masters Names Place of Abode Trade] Thos: Fanner of Selbourn Southton Cordwainer [Apps. Names & Fathers & Abode] Will: Son of Eliz: Kelsey [Date of Inst.] 1 May [Memoriall of Articles & Indrs:] (Common Indenture & Count. pt.) Do. [Term of years] 8 ys fr Date 7.-.-.-.3.6.

² *Journal*, July 30.

bring the Indians "to a Commerce" at the Bay. The interminable pages of nautical observations in the *Journals* of 1698 prove alike Kelsey's seamanship and his skill with compass and chart; but in 1691 he is still a very "young Man." Three years before he had been "the boy *Henry Kelsey*." The absence of topographical detail, therefore, is easily understood. He had set forth for his "masters interest"—

"for to understand

The natives language & to see their land."

It is necessary, therefore, at the outset to stress three facts all of which are of prime importance in interpreting the evidence of Kelsey's *Journal* of 1691. (a) He left York Fort on June 12, 1690, and reached Deering's Point on July 10. For this, the first voyage of a white man by the waterways from the Bay to the Saskatchewan, Kelsey kept no journal, and the only record is the meagre rhymed introduction for the *Journal* of the following year. (b) After his arrival at Deering's Point in July, 1690, he followed the Indians to the plains for the winter and returned to Deering's Point in July of 1691, to meet the Indians returning from the Bay. For this, too, the first journey of a white man upon the Canadian prairies, Kelsey kept no journal, and the only record is the same rhymed introduction, together with a few fragments of internal evidence from the *Journal* of July 15—September 12, 1691. Thus the Indians on the plains, he notes on July 30, 1691, were "glad yt I was returned according to my promise." His first reference to the buffalo, too, for 1691 is the casual note (August 19) of "ye Indians having seen great store of Buffillo But kill'd none." He was evidently familiar with the buffalo from his previous visit, and his description of both the grizzly bear and the buffalo on the following day (August 20) has all the casualness of previous knowledge. These details are almost the only evidence we have to confirm the rhymed introduction and Governor Geyer's correspondence, that a white man had found his way to the Canadian prairies in 1690. (c) In the third place, the *Journal* of 1691, here published in full for the first time, is after all but the third stage of Kelsey's memorable expedition to the prairies. Returning to Deering's Point in

the summer of 1691, he had "Receivd those things in full wch ye Governour sent me," no doubt by the Indians returning from their annual journey to York Fort; and it was in order to follow these "Stone Indians wch were gone ten days" before him up the Saskatchewan that he began the journey with which his *Journal* opens—"taketh my depart from Deering's Point" on July 15, 1691.

Without forecasting at this juncture the location of Deering's Point, the subsequent journey may briefly be outlined from Kelsey's narrative in order to supply the necessary context. The third day after leaving Deering's Point, they decided (writes Kelsey) to "lay up our Cannoes" upon a "small arm of ye River"—a "Stream Running very strong"—and to "set forward into the woods." They travelled six days—nearly a hundred miles—before they had "very good going." That evening they overtook the Stone Indians—seven tents—who had left Deering's Point ten days before them. Three weeks from Deering's Point came messengers from "some stone Indians . . . to ye Southward of us." His rendezvous two days later is "at a place called Waskashreesebee," a shallow stream "not a hundred yards over" which "breants [branches?] away much to ye Southward & runneth through great part of the Cuntry & is fed by a lake wch feedeth another River wch runneth down to ye Southward of us . . . Now ye water wch runneth down this River is of a Blood red Colour by ye description of those Indians wch hath seen it." For 25 miles they took their "Course along the Riverside it Running or lying up between ye South South west but unnavigable for either boat or Canoe." In several places Kelsey "Saw slate mines along the side of this River." Here it was that the Indians, for the first time, "kill'd great store of Beast," leaving "the women to fetch home ye meat & Dress it ye Indians Likewise feasting & making of feasts all ye day." Seven weeks after leaving Deering's Point, the Stone and "Nayhaythaway" Indians came in touch with their enemies who "knew not ye use of Cannoes." The final powwow with the "Nawatamee" chief took place two weeks after crossing a great plain of 46 miles. In all Kelsey had travelled from Deering's Point for 59 days—an estimated distance of 585 miles. Passing the winter, no doubt, with the

Stone Indians, Kelsey, for the third time, "was at Deerings point in the spring," whence, as we have seen, he went "down with a good Fleet of Indians," to York Fort, and returned to England with the Hudson's Bay ships in the autumn.

It is clear that the vital factor for the geographer must be the location of Deering's Point. With the appearance of traders—French, and, after 1763, British—from Canada, the whole routine of the Hudson's Bay fur trade is revolutionized, and the historical data of that time with regard to Indian routes to the Bay would be of little value here. Fortunately, however, there is earlier evidence which is not only very nearly contemporary with Kelsey, but fairly conclusive, it would seem, with regard to the Indian routes to the Bay.

Deering's Point is called by Kelsey "ye place of resortance when they are coming down to trade." Arthur Dobbs is at pains to quote from La Potherie,¹ and from the account of Jérémie who was stationed at Ste. Theresa (York Fort) during the French occupation after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, being Governor there in 1713 when it was given up again to the British after the Treaty of Utrecht.² According to La Potherie, "these Nations, who come from a great Distance, assemble in *May* at a great Lake, sometimes 12 or 1500 together, to begin their Voyage in which Time they make their Canoes, which are of Birch Bark There comes down generally to Port Nelson 1000 Men, some Women, and about 600 Canoes." The Nelson (Bourbon), he adds, "takes its Source from a great Lake called Michinipi."³ According to Jérémie, the Nelson "by which the Natives come down to trade" is of "so great Extent, that it passes thro' many great Lakes," the greatest of which "they call *Michinipi*, or the *Great Water*, because in Effect it is the greatest and the deepest Lake, being 600 Leagues in Circumference About this Lake are great Numbers of Indians, who call themselves Assinibouels."⁴ Again, the great lake from which the "River Bourbon" (Nelson) flows is "called, the *Junction of the two Seas*, because the Land almost

¹ *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1722, 4 Vols.

² Bernard, *Recueil de Voiages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1724.

³ Dobbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 23.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 20.

meets in the middle of the Lake. The East Side of this Lake is a Country full of thick Forests, in which are great Numbers of Beaver and Elks. Here begins the Country of the *Christinaux* The West Side is full of fine Meadows, filled with wild Oxen; the Assinibouels live here."

It is reasonable to suppose that the "Michinipi" of both La Potherie and Jérémie is Lake Winnipeg, and that during the period of French occupation, less than ten years after Kelsey had gone inland from York Fort with the Stone Indians, they were following regularly the Nelson route (either down the Nelson to its mouth or across from Split Lake to Fox River and the Hayes) gathering each year in May at some "great Lake" for the purpose of making their canoes. Here, adds Jérémie, "Joy, Pleasure, and good Cheer reigns."

This account is curiously confirmed in great detail by the next available evidence after Kelsey's day—the story of Joseph La France, a French Indian who travelled in 1739-42 from the Great Lakes to Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay. Dobbs claims to have taken down La France's account "Word for Word"¹; and beyond a doubt his description of Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, the Winnipeg River, and "the great *Ouinipique* Lake," is a marvel of accuracy for such a time. "Upon the West Side of Lake Ouinipique," said La France, "are the Nation of the *Assinibouels* of the Meadows." After a winter of land travel, "in which Time he passed Northwards near 100 Leagues," he found himself (March, 1742) at Lake Cariboux which descends through marshes into Lake Pachegoia,² which is "the Lake where all the *Indians* assemble in the latter End of *March* every Year, to cut the Birch Trees and make their Canoes of the Bark in order to pass down the River to *York* Fort on *Nelson* River with their Furs; it is divided³ so as to make almost two Lakes; the West Side by which he pass'd was about 100 Leagues in Circuit; the other Side or Eastern Lake was much larger, as the *Indians* informed him.

¹ *Report*, 1749, p. 228.

² Moose Lake, north of the Saskatchewan, and Cedar Lake?

³ It would seem that Dobbs, in taking down La France's narrative, has confused Lake Pachegoia (Cedar Lake?) with Lake Winnipeg, the west side of which from the mouth of the Saskatchewan (La France's "*River De vieux Hommes*") to the outlet of the Lake by the Nelson River is here so clearly described by La France.

The River *De vieux Hommes* runs from the West for about 200 Leagues, and falls into this Lake it has a strong Current, and is always muddy They were three Weeks in passing along the West Side of the Lake before they came to the Place it is discharged by the River *Savanne* or *Epinette* The River was small where it came out of the Lake, for about six Leagues, it spreading through several little Passages through the Marshes, but farther down, when collected together, formed a large River." "The Banks were low, until they got to the great Fork, where the River is divided by a Rock, upon which a convenient Fort might be built, which might be cut off by bringing the Water around it." From "the Great Fork" La France descended by "the East Branch it being the shortest Passage; at the same time another Fleet of 100 Canoes went down the Western Branch." In this at least it is easy to recognize the Nelson and Hayes River routes to York Factory.¹

Such are a few of the historical details which the topographer must now reconcile in tracing the overland journeys of Henry Kelsey.²

¹ Dobbs *op. cit.*, pp. 29-45. La France's narrative is reprinted in *Report*, 1749, pp. 243-8.

² Since this was written, the above Introduction was presented in part (sections (b), (c), and (e)), together with an outline of this edition of *The Kelsey Papers*, at the opening annual meeting of the Manitoba Historical Society on February 14, 1928. Since that time Dr. C. N. Bell has prepared a paper, dealing chiefly with Kelsey's route in 1690-2, for the joint meeting of the Canadian Historical Association and the Manitoba Historical Society on May 24, 1928. This paper has since been published under the title *The Journal of Henry Kelsey, 1691-1692*, (Dawson Richardson Publications, Limited, Winnipeg) with valuable maps from Dr. Bell's own collection.

Dr. Bell's chief conclusions are (a) that the "Lake Cariboux" and "Lake Pachegoia" of La France are Moose Lake and Cedar Lake respectively (p. 12); (b) that Deering's Point must therefore be on Cedar Lake (p. 14); (c) that Kelsey paddled from Deering's Point up the Saskatchewan to the mouth of the Carrot River, and up the Carrot River for 28 miles before striking inland on July 18, 1691 (p. 21); (d) that the "Waskashree-seebee" (almost the only name mentioned by Kelsey) reached on August 1 was the Red Deer River of eastern Saskatchewan and western Manitoba, flowing into Lake Winnipegosis (p. 31); and (e) that Kelsey's route between Deering's Point and York Fort was by way of Moose Lake (the route of Hendry in 1754 and of Cocking in 1772) instead of the Saskatchewan to Lake Winnipeg and the Nelson as indicated so clearly from the narrative of La France.

With regard to the last, it seems remarkable that there should be no mention of the Moose Lake route for 64 years after Kelsey's journey, while the direct evidence of both Jérémie and La France seems so conclusive with regard to the other. La France indeed stated that Moose Lake (if this is "Lake Cariboux") runs northward "and then it spreads, and is wasted in a marshy Country, where there is no passing by Water, nor by Land in Summer." Hendry's purpose, 64 years after Kelsey's journey, and Cocking's also in 1772, was, of course, not only to bring the Indians to the Bay but to get them there by a route free from the French and Canadian posts on the Saskatchewan.

It is more difficult to reconcile Kelsey's departure for the prairie 28 miles up the Carrot River with the location of Deering's Point at Cedar Lake. In the *Journal* Kelsey estimates the distances travelled from Deering's Point as 18 miles the first day (July 15), 25 miles the next, 20 on July 17, and 8 on July 18—71 miles in all. If 28 of these were up the Carrot River, the distance from Cedar Lake to the mouth of the Carrot River would be only 43 miles by the winding Saskatchewan, whereas it would appear to be at least 50 miles as the crow flies. Hendry, who reached the Saskatchewan in 1754 from Moose Lake at a point almost half way from Cedar Lake to the Carrot River, estimated his distance to Carrot River, as 8, 14, 6, and 16 miles—44 miles in all. The total distance from Cedar Lake to the mouth of the Carrot River is estimated by Mr. Douglas, Secretary of the Geographic Board of Canada, at 71 miles.

Mr. Hugh Conn of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose first-hand knowledge of the northland is intimate and precise, has long held that Deering's Point was at the Pas, the only high and safe ground on the Saskatchewan in this neighbourhood. This too, however, is based upon the later data of the Moose Lake route rather than the more clearly contemporary evidence of Jérémie and La France.

Where geographers differ so widely no positive conclusion is, perhaps, possible. Will there ever be convincing direct evidence bearing upon Kelsey's route? When he left the stream on July 18, 1691, he took "ye Rundlett wch ye Governor had sent me full of powder & emptied part of it into a leather Bagge so I put one hatchet 2 fathom of Black Tobacco 6 Knives 2 Skains of twine two nettlines one tin show [*sic*] & other small moveables into ye rundlett & headed it up again so we made a hole in the ground & put that & other things into it . . . so made of it our storehouse untill we came yt way ye next spring." Next morning Kelsey "set forward into the woods." There is every likelihood that Kelsey came back during "ye next spring," for his "Rundlett," and for his canoe if nothing else; though abandoned canoes must have been no uncommon sight at this time on the Saskatchewan or Carrot Rivers. With birch bark, cedar, and watape one of these light canoes could be built in two or three days. But the "Rundlett" may never have been reclaimed. Will Kelsey's hatchet, 6 knives "and other small moveables" ever be found, like the La Vérendrye lead plate on the banks of the Missouri, to confirm or confound the theories of geographers and historians?

NOTE

The text is reproduced verbatim and literatim, in as close an approximation to the original as was found possible. Occasionally in the manuscript a suprascript letter is separated from that below by a short line; these lines are omitted in the print. Letters or words which have been cancelled are here heavily underlined; letters so blotted as to be illegible are indicated by asterisks. Ends of lines are indicated thus, / ; and of pages thus, / / . The pagination numbers have been added to the original by the Record Office of Northern Ireland, and are here enclosed in square brackets.

1690*

Henry Kelsey his Book being y^e Gift of James / Hubbud
in the year of our Lord 1693 /

Now Reader Read for I am well assur'd /
Thou dost not know the hardships I endur'd /
In this same desert where Ever y^t I have been /
Nor wilt thou me believe without y^t thou had seen /
The Emynent Dangers that did often me attend /
But still I lived in hopes y^t once it would amend /
And makes me free from hunger & from Cold /
Likewise many other things w^{ch} I cannot here unfold /
For many times I have often been opprest /
With fears & Cares y^t I could not take my rest /
Because I was alone & no friend could find /
And once y^t in my travels I was left behind /
Which struck fear & terror into me /
But still I was resolved this same Country for to see /
Although through many dangers I did pass /
Hoped still to undergo^m y^t, at the Last /
Now Considering y^t it was my dismal fate /
for to repent I thought it now to late /
Trusting still unto my masters Consideration /
Hoping they will Except of this my small Relation /
Which here I have pend & still will Justife /
Concerning of those Indians & their Country /
If this wont do farewell to all as I may say / /

[2]

And for my living i'll seek some other way /
In sixteen hundred & ninety'th year /

*In the present edition the date of year has been placed at the top of
each page for the convenience of the reader.

I set forth as plainly may appear /
 Through Gods assistance for to understand /
 The natives language & to see their land /
 And for my masters interest I did soon /
 Sett from y^e house y^e twealth of June /
 Then up y^e River I with heavy heart /
 Did take my way & from all English part /
 To live amongst y^e ^{Natives} of this place /
 If god permits me for one two years space /
 The Inland Country of Good report hath been /
 By Indians but by English yet not seen /
 Therefore I on my Journey did not stay /
 But making all y^e hast I could upon our way /
 Gott on y^e borders of y^e stone Indian Country /
 I took possession on y^e tenth Instant July /
 And for my masters I speaking for y^m, all /
 This neck of land I deerings point did call /
 Distance from hence by Judgement at y^e lest /
 From y^e house six hundred miles southwest /
 Through Rivers w^{ch} run strong with falls /
 thirty three Carriages five lakes in all /
 The ground begins for to be dry with wood /
 Poplo & birch with ash thats very good /
 For the Natives of that place w^{ch}, knows /
 No use of Better than their wooden Bows /
 According to y^e use & custom of this place /
 In September I brought those Natives to a peace /
 But I had no sooner from those Natives turnd my back /
 Some of the home Indians came upon their track /

And for old grudges & their minds to fill //

[3]

Came up with them Six tents of w^{ch}, they kill'd /
 This ill news kept secrett was from me /
 Nor none of those home Indians did I see /
 Untill that they their murder all had done /
 And the Chief acter was he y^{ts} called y^e Sun /
 So far I have spoken concerning of the spoil /
 And now will give acco.^t of that same Country soile /
 Which hither part is very thick of wood /
 Affords small nutts wth little cherries very good /
 Thus it continues till you leave y^e woods behind /
 And then you have beast of severall kind /
 The one is a black a Buffillo great /
 Another is an outgrown Bear w^{ch}, is good meat /
 His skin to gett I have used all y^e ^{ways} means I can /
 He is mans food & he makes food of man /
 His hide they would not me it preserve /
 But said it was a god & they should Starve /
 This plain affords nothing but Beast & grass /
 And over it in three days time we past /
 getting unto y^e woods on the other side /
 It being about forty sixe miles wide /
 This wood is poplo ridges with small ponds of water /
 there is beavour in abundance but no Otter /
 with plains & ridges in the Country throughout /
 Their Enemies many whom they cannot rout /
 But now of late they hunt their Enemies /

And with our English guns do make y^m, flie /
 At deerings point after the frost /
 I set up their a Certain Cross /
 In token of my being their there /
 Cut out on it y^c date of year /
 And Likewise for to veryfie the same /
 added to it my master sir Edward deerings name /
 So having not* more to trouble you wth all I am /
 Sir your most obedient & faithfull Serv^t. at Command /
 HENRY KELSEY / /

*The "t" has been partially deleted.

1691

[4]

A Journal of a voyage & Journey undertaken / by
henry Kelsey through Gods assistance / to discover
& bring to a Commerce the / Naywatame poets in
Anno 1691 /

July
y 15th Now having Received those things in full / w^{ch} y^e
Governour sent me taketh my depart / from Deerings
Point to seek for y^e Stone / Indians w^{ch} were gone ten
days before we having / but very little victuals
paddled about 18 Miles / & Came too /

July
y 16th Today setting forward again we went through / a
little creek were we were forc'd to track / our Cannoes
into an Island within w^{ch} is great ponds of water &
so paddling from one to another / ^{sometimes running} from one to another

through long high grass / w^{ch} grows in near 2 foot water
this grass hath / an Ear like our English Oats Distance
today 25 / Miles & came to in a small poplo Island /
July
y 17th We put on our way again paddling still in y^e / same as
before untill about 3 a Clock in y^e afternoon / & then
coming to a Carriage near half a Mile / long w^{ch} came
out at y^e Riverside again y^e Stream / Running very
strong & having no Sustenance / Whereby to follow
our Chase we concluded for / to take our Course into
y^e woods on y^e morrow / having gott about 20 Miles
today /

July
y 18th Today we paddled up y^e Rivers untill about / noon &
then we came to a small arm of y^e / River side so we
concluded to sett our netts / & lay up our Cannoes &
Rest y^e remaining / part of the day there w^{ch} accordingly

we did / so I tooked ^ey Rundlett w^{ch} ^ey Governor
 had / / [5] sent me full of powder & emptied part of
 it into a / leather Bagg so I put one hatchet 2 fathom
 of Blag / Black Tobacco 6 Knives 2 Skains of twine
 two / nettlines one tin show & other small mov^eables /
 into ^ey rundlett & headed it up again so we made / a
 hole in the ground & put that & other things / into it
 & put into it so made of it our storehouse / untill we
 came ^ty way ^ey next spring dist: 8 / miles 3 pikes today /
 This morning we set forward into the woods / & having
 travelled about 10 Miles pitcht a place / for the tent
 & went out a hunting all Returning / in the Evening
 having kill'd nothing but 2 wood / pattridges & one
 Sq^uirrell /

July
y 19th

July
y 20th

So setting forward again we had not gone / above
 9 Miles but came on ^ey track of Indians / w^{ch} we Judged
 had past four Days before so we / went on till we
 came up with their old tents so we / seeing they had
 kill two Beast I thought they / might have had good
 store of victuals & not have / been farr before us I
 sent an Indian before & fitted / him out wth my pipe
 & some tobacco & bid him tell / them to send me some
 relief & likewise for to stay / for me this day we
 travelled about 18 Miles /

July
y 21st

This morning Setting forward again about / 11 a Clock
 I met with ^ty same Indian w^{ch} I had / sent away
 yesterday he telling me he had / seen no Indians so
 I caused another hand / to go away Immediately
 because I was so / heavy Loaded my self ^ty I could

not go having / travelled to day near 16 Miles /

July
y 22^d This morning it Rained very hard but hunger / forcing
me to leave my Company I sett forward / with 2
Indians to seek for those Indians w^{ch} were / / [6] gone
before hoping for to gett some relief of them / by
Estimation 25 Miles /

July
y 23^d Now about
Now about noon one Indian return'd back / fearing
lest y^c women would starve w^{ch} were behind / so I gave
him some powder & an Order to receive / some shott
of such a woman so I proceeded / forward along wth a
little slave Boy & toward / night we came to good
footing for all y^t we had / passed before was heavy
mossy going so in the / Evening wee came too dist
30 Mile & nothing to eat / but one wood patridge /

July
y 24th To day we had very good going & about noon we /
came up wth their tents they had left to day they
having / increas'd from 2 to 7 & their fire not being
quite / out we sat down & roasted 3 Pigeons w^{ch} I
had kill'd / y^t morning & so went along again till
about six in y^e / afternoon we came to their tents
they having / nothing but grass & Berryes to eat
part of w^{ch} they / gave to me but at night they're
people returning / from hunting one had kill'd 2
Swans & another had / kill'd a Buck Muse but did
not come home till in / y^e Night so I being asleep he
sent his son to call me / & when he came he told me
y^t his father wanted me / to come & smoke a pipe
with him so I went & when / I came he gave me a
pipe to light & then presented / me wth the great gut

of y^e Beast afore, so when I had / Eaten I returned to
 my rest having travelled to day / 20 Miles /
 July y^e 25th This morning I made a speech desireing y^m for to /
 stay for our people w^{ch} was behind but an Old / man
 came to me & told me y^t it would signify nothing /
 for to lye still seeing y^t there was no victuals to /
 Relieve y^m when they came up so desired leave of / me
 to pitch a little way y^t y^e women might fetch / home
 y^e Beast w^{ch} was kill'd y^e day before y^t they / might
 have wherewithall to relieve y^m when they / came so
 I sent two women back for to help our / women along
 wth their their things so we pitched / about 10 Miles &
 came too // [7]

July y^e 26th To day I bid y^m lie still & go a hunting w^{ch} accordingly /
 they did & those w^{ch} was behind came up wth us in y^e /
 Evening our hunters Likewise coming hhome they /
 having kill'd five Beast /

July the 27th Now we pitcht ag ain & about 10 o Clock came to
 where / one Beast lay to suffice our Hungry Bellies
 & / about 2 o Clock five Indian strangers in y^e
 Afternoon / their came five Indian strangers to our
 tents our / Journey not Extending 7 Miles /

July y^e 28th This Instant y^{ch} Indians having told us their news /
 w^t was y^e they desired of us for to meet y^m at a place
 called / Waskashreesebee so I told y^m y^t we would
 make as much / hast as we could Conveniently so
 in y^e Evening the / strangers returned to their tents
 we lying still this / day & some of our men went a
 hunting /

July
y 29th To day we pitched again having no want of / victuals
our hunters yesterday having kill'd some / Beast
to day our Journey not Extending 12 Miles /

July
y 30th Now we pitched again about ten Miles & came to /
our Indians making a great feast telling y^t they /
were very glad y^t I was returned according to my /
promise for if I should be wanting they should / be
greatly afraid y^t y^e Nayhaythaways Indians / would
murder y & so made me master of y^e feast /

July
y 31st This morning it Rained very hard so y^e same / Indian
w made y^{ch} feast last nigh presented / me wth 17 Beavour
skins & it clearing up in y^e / afternoon we pitched
about 9 Miles & came too /

August
y 1st Wee pitched again & Gott to the River Afore. / where^{sd}
they appointed to meet us but they being / gone
before we followed their track we travelled / to day
about 15 Miles & came too /

August
y 2^d Now we followed there track & in the Evening / came
up to y^m they being in number 26 tents & / these
Indians are called Eagles brich Indians / our Journey
not Extending 18 Miles // [8]

August
y 3^d So Being all together we pitched again by reason /
they had no great store of victuals went to day / by
Estimation 15 Miles /

August
y 4th To day we lay still having strangers come to / our
tents from some stone Indians w^{ch} was to y^e / Southward
of us so we made a tent for our / strangers & provided
them something to Eat & / some Tobacco for to smoak
it so they told us / their news w^{ch} was y^t y^e Nayhaythaways

1691

had / lost 3 of their women w^{ch} y^c Naywattame poets
 had / killed^y last spring & withall they appointed
 where / they themselves would meet us but as for
 y^c Naywattame / poets they were fled so far y^t they
 thought I should / not see them— /

August
 y 5th

Now we pitched again our strangers Likewise /
 Return^g to their tents I telling y^m if by any means /
 they could come to a speech of those Naywattame
poets / Indians for to give y^m all y^c Encouragements /
 Imaginable for to come to me & not to fear y^t /
 any one should do y^m any harm so I gave two / pieces
 of tobacco y^e one for their guang y^c other / for y^c
 Naywatame poet if they did see any / of y^m our to day
 12 Miles /

August
 y 6th

To day we pitcht to y^t River w^{ch} I have spoken of /
 before w^{ch} is not a hundred yards over & but very /
 shoal water this River breants* away much to y^c /
 Southward & runneth through great part / of the
 Cuntry & is fed by a lake w^{ch} feedeth / another River
 w^{ch} runneth down to y^c Southw / ard of us and is called
Mith**** / Now y^e water w^{ch} runneth down this /
 River is of a Blood red Colour by y^c descripti / on //
 [9] of those Indians w^{ch} hath seen it w^{ch} makes me to
 think / y^t it may run through some mine or other /
 our Journey this day by Estimation 10 Miles /

August
 the 7th

This Instant pitched up the side of this River /
 afores. & in my Journey to day in Several places I /
 Saw slate mines along the side of this River by /
Estimation dist; 10 Miles /

*Possibly "treants."

- August
the 8th Now lying still I fitted out two Indians for to go /
see If they could find out y^c mountain poets so if /
they found y^m for to tell y^{m t} y I would meet y^m at a place /
w^{ch} was about 40 Miles a head of us & so they departed /
- August
the 9th To day we pitched again still shaping our Course /
along the Riverside it Running or lying up between /
y^c South South west but unnavigable for either boat
or / Cannoe y^c Extent of our Journey not Exceeding
16 Miles /
- August
the 10th We pitcht again y^c Indians having kill'd great / store
of Beast today yesterday so where they lay / thickest
we came too dist: 8 Miles /
- August
the 11th This day we lay still for the women to fetch home /
y^e meat & Dress it y^e Indians Likewise feasting & /
making of feasts all y^e day /
- August
y 12th Now we pitcht again & about noon y^c ground / begins
to grow barren heathy & barren in fields of about /
half a Mile over Just as if they had been Artificially /
made with fine groves of Poplo growing round y^m we /
went to day by Estimation 10 Miles /
- August
y 13th It Raining very hard caused us to lye still to day /
August
y 14th This day we pitched again y^c Ground Continuing /
as before But no fir growing the wood being for y^e /
most part poplo & Birch having travelled to day
12 / Miles came too // [10]
- August
y 15th This Instant one Indian Lying a dying & withall /
a murmuring w^{ch} was amongst the Indians Because /
I would not agree for y^m to go to warrs so I taking it /
into Consideration cut some tobacco & call'd all y^e /

Old dons to my tent telling ^{m t} y y it was not ^e y way /
 for ^m y to have the use of English guns & other things /
 & ^t y I nor they should not go near ^e y Govern^r unless /
 they ceast from warring so lay still to day /

August ^{ch} Now not knowing w would Conquer life or Death /
^y 16th lay still to day our people going a hunting but / had
 small success /

August Last night death ceased & this morning his body /
^y 17th was burned according to their way they making A /
 great feast for him ^t y did it now after ^{t e} y y flesh / was
 burned his Bones were taken & buried w Loggs / set
 up rouⁿΛd of about ten foot Long so we pitcht to /
 day near 14 Miles & came to they holding it not good /
 to stay by ^e y Dead /

August This day I sent two Indians for to seek for those /
^y 18th ^{ch} w I had sent before to see for ^e y Mountain poets /
 fearing lest they should have come to any damage /
 being so long absent so we pitched ^e y ground /
 Continuing as formerly dist 8 Miles /

August Now we sett forward again ^e y ground being more /
^y 19th Barren then it use to be ^e y Indians having seen /
 great store of Buffillo But kill'd none by Estim^tat / ion
 12 Miles /

August To day we pitcht to ^e y outtermost Edge of ^e y woods /
^y 20th this plain affords Nothing but short Round / sticky
 grass & Buffillo & a great ^{sort} s_Λor of a Bear ^{ch} w / is Bigger
 then any white Bear & is Neither White / nor Black
 But silver hair'd like our English / Rabbit ^e y Buffillo
 Likewise is not like those to ^e y / Northward their

Horns growing like an English / Ox but Black &
short dist: 6 Miles / / [11]

August This day we lay Expecting a post from y^e mountaine /
y^e 21st poets but none came /

August Now we pitched into the barren ground it being very /
y^e 22^d dry heathy land & no water but here & there a small /
pond so we came to but could not see y^e woods on
y^e / other side dist 16 Miles /

August This Instant y^e Indians going a hunting Kill'd / great
y^e 23^d store of Buffillo Now y^e manner of their hunting /
these Beast on y^e Barren ground is when they see a
great / parcel of them together they surround them
wth men w^{ch} done / they gather themselves into a smaller
Compass Keeping / y^e Beast still in y^e middle & so
shooting y^m till they / break out at some place or other
& so gett away from / y^m our women Likewise pitching
according to order / dist 12 Miles /

August This day lay still waiting for a post w^{ch} came in y^e
y^e 24th afternoon / from y^e Capt: of the Mountain Poets
Named Washa / so y^e Substance of their news was
y^t he desired we would / meet him when we pitcht
again so I told y^m I would /

August So pitching again we came to altogether & in number
y^e 25th we / were 80 Tents we having travelled to day by
Estimation / 12 Miles yet not reacht y^e woods on y^e
other side this plain / running through great part of
y^e Country & lyeth along / near East & west /

August Now we are altogether they made a feast y^e which
y^e 26th they / Invited me to so they desired leave of me for

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^my to go to wars but / I told ^{m t}y y I could not grant ^my
their request for y^e Govern^r. would / not allow me so
to do so we lay still to day /

August
y^e 27th To day we pitched again & got to y^e woods on y^e other
side y^e / Plain being about 46 miles over our Journey
not Extending / 6 miles /

August
y^e 28th This day we lay still y^e Indians being willing for to go
hunt / Buffillo because there is none of these Beast
in y^e woods so / I condescended to it so I called six
Indians & fitted y^m out wth tobacco & powder & shott
& bid y^m go seek for some Naywatame / poets & if so
be y^t they found y^m I would Reward y^m sufficiently / / [12]

August
y^e 29th This Instant we lay still for y^e women to fetch home /
Meat & dress it our Indians Likewise going a Beavour /
hunting for in these woods there is abundance of
small / ponds of water of which there is hardly one
Escapes without / a Beavour house or two our people
having kill'd great store / to day /

August
y^e 30th Now we pitched again directing our Course into the
woods it / being all poplo & birch & high Champion
land wth ponds / as afore. our Indians dispercing
themselves some ahunt / ing of beast & some of
beavour Dist 8 Miles /

August
y^e 31st This day y^e Indians made a feast desireing of me to
be a post / to a parcel of Indians w^{ch} was to y^e Northward
of us to desire y^m / to stay for us telling me y^t my word
would be taken before / an Indians although he went
so we lay still to day /

September
y^e 1st Now being in their Enemies Country I had eight

Indians / for my conduct one of w^{ch} Could speak both
 Languages for to / be my interpreter so set forward
 & having travelled to day / near 30 miles in y^e Evening
 came to in a small poplo Island / w^{ch} standeth out
 from y^e main Ridge of woods because these / Indians
 are greatly afraid of their Enemies /

Sept^r. This morning Setting forward again it Proved very /
 y^e 2^d bad weather & by reason of so many beaten paths
 w^{ch} y^e Buffillo makes we lost y^e track so I filled two
 pipes / of Tobacco according to their way so I
 speaking to / two young men to go seek for y^e track
 & when I h** / had Ended my speech I gave Each
 of y^m a pipe to light / so they departed & it being cold
 we made a fire but a / great parcel of Buffillo appearing
 in sight we / gave y^m Chase & by y^e way found y^e track
 & in y^e Eveni^{ng} came up wth y^m we travelled to day
 by Estimation 25 Miles /

September This morning they provided a feast for me to hear /
 y^e 3^d w^t I had to say so told y^m, my message w^{ch} was to stay /
 for those w^{ch} I came from now I understanding their /
 drift was to come altogether for to go to wars so I told /
 y^m y^t they must not go to wars for it will not be liked /
 by y^e governor neither would he trade with y^m if they /
 did not cease from warring / / [13]

Sept^r. To day I sent two Indians back for to tell our people
 the 4th for / to make w^t hast they could to me I tarrying
 for to there my / self for to hear w^t News some
some young men brought w^{ch} went / from thence
 three days before I came for to look for their Enemies /

Sept^r. About ten o Clock this morning y^e young men appearing
 the 5th in sight & / crying out^{Just} like a Crane w^{ch} gave a sign
 y^t they had discovered their / Enemies & as soon as
 they came within one hundred yards of y^e tent they /
Enem
 sat all down in a Row upon the grass not speaking
 one word so y^e old / Men lighting their pipes went to
 y^m & served y^m round Crying as / if they had been stob'd
 for Joy they had found their enemies y^e / young men
 having brought some old arrows to verifie w^t they /
 had been about /

Sept^r. This Instant I unclosed y^e pipe w^{ch} y^e governour had
 y^e 6th sent me / telling y^m y^t they must Employ their time in
 Catching of beav / our for y^t will be better liked on
 then their killing their 'Enem / ies when they come
 to y^e factory neither was I sent there for / to kill
 any Indians but to make peace wth as many as I could /
 but all my arguments prevailed nothing wth y^m for they
 told me / w^t signified a peace wth those Indians considering
 they knew not / y^e use of Cannoes & were resolved to go
 to wars so I seeing it in vain I / held my peace /

Sept^r. This day we pitcht again & got through y^e woods this
 y^e 7th ledge not / being above 30 Miles through but we made
 it a great deal more by reason / we kept in it for to
 hunt beavour & to come altogether / this plain being
 in y^e same Nature of y^e other w^{ch} we had past before /
 our Journey not Extending 10 Miles /

Sept^r. Now likewise we pitched again & by y^e way met wth
 y^e 8th those Indians w^{ch} / I came post from & so came
 too altogether this afternoon came four / Indian

strangers from those w^{ch} are called Naywatame po^ets
 y w^{e ch} / I receiv'd very kindly & made much of y^m
 Likewise our own people / returning w^{th m} y so I inquired
 where there Cap.^t was they giving me / an acco.^{t t} y he
 was two days Journey behind our Journey to day /
 not Extending 8 Miles /

Sept^r. This morning I went to y^e Cap.^t of y^e stone Indians
 y⁹ tent carry / ing wth me a piece of tobacco I telling him
 to make a speech to all / his Country men & tell y^m
 not to disturbe nor meddle w^{th e} y / Naywattame poets
 for I was going back to Invite & incourage / y^m to a
 peace once more so they all gave their Consent &
 told me / y^t they were very free to have y^m to be their
 friends so I took my / way back along wth those w^{ch}
 came yesterday having 12 tents along / wth me our
 Journey to day 18 Miles / / [14]

Sept^r. This day setting out again my strangers told me they
 y¹⁰ would / go before & give an acco.^{t t} y I was coming
 because they could make / better way to their tents
 then I could so we travell'd till night & / came to
 dist 20 Miles /

Sept^r. Now setting forward again about noon came up wth
 y¹¹ their track / & in y^e Evening came too altogether they
 being in number 11 tents / our Journey not Extending
 16 Miles /

Sept^r. This morning having no victuals to invite y^e cap.^t to
 y¹² so I filled / y^t pipe w^{ch e} y Govern.^r had sent me w^r tobacco
 & then sent for y^e Cap.^t / So then I made a speech to
 him & told him y^t he should not mind / w^t had passed

formerly as concerning y^e nayhaythaways killing / Six
 tents of his Country men & for y^e future we English
 will / seek for to prevent it going any further for if
 so be they / did so any more y^e Govern.^r says he will
 not trade wth y^m / if they did not cease from killing his
 friends & when I / had done I presented him wth a
 present coat & sash Cup & / one of my guns wth knives
 awls & tobacco wth small quantities / of powder &
 shott & part of all such things as y^e Govern.^r / had
 sent me so he seemed to be very well pleased & told
 me / he had forgott^t w^h had past although they had
 kill'd most of / his kindred & relations & likewise
 told me he was sorry he / had not wherewithall for
 to make me Restitution for w^h / I^t had given him but
 he would meet me at Deerings point / y^e next spring
 & go wth me to y^e factory but it happened in / the winter
 after I had parted wth them y^e Nayhaythaways / came
 up wth y^m & killed two of y^m w^{ch} struck a new fear into /
 y^m y^t they would not venture down fearing lest y^e home /
 Indians would not let y^m up again into their own
 Country so / when I was at Deerings point in the spring
 w^{ch} is y^e place / of resortance when they are coming
 down to trade upon / y^e arrival of some indians I had
 news brought me y^t y^e Cap^t. r^d / afores. had sent me
 a pipe & steam of his own making & withall /
 y^e news of their being kill'd as I have spoken of before /
 yet if so be I would send him a piece of tobacco from
 y^e factory / upon y^e return of y^e same indians he would
 certainly come / down y^e next year But if not y^e

beavour in their Cuntry are / unnumerable & will
certainly be brought down every year / so having not
to enlarge sir I remain your obedient / & faithfull
Serv.^t /

HENRY KELSEY / / [15]

Now I shall according to y^e best of my knowledge
give / an Acco.^t of those Indians belief & Superstitions
in their / ways & how they make use of them - - - - - /
Their first & Chiefest point is A piece of Birch / rine
full of Feathers of Divers sorts put on a piece / of
Leather w^{ch} is broad at one End for to tie about their /
head at such a sort y^t y^e remaining part shall hang /
down over their back this they put to use when their /
Enemies are in sight believing y^t it will save y^m from /
being kill'd, It being not y^e work of their own hands /
But of their father or some other old man near kin to /
y^m This thing is called by their name Wessguaniconan /
w^{ch} in time of use is accompaniedth w^e songs made by y^e /
same man w^{ch} made y^e other w^{ch} songs are Called Wonny /
seewahiggins so much for the first point /

Their second point is Concerning A pipe steam / done
wth feathers of Divers sorts & near y^t end w^{ch} goeth /
into y^e mouth is three vouter or Eagles feathers split
& / lay'd on like y^e feathers of an arrow Now every
one of / these & all things Else belonging to the steam
Afore.^{sd} / hath a speech belongs to every one of y^m as y^e
makers / fancy leads him Now there is but very few
Indians / but w^t are beading Indians y^t can get one of

these pipes / & when he hath a mind to go to warrs or
any other / way he calls all of y^m together & tells y^m
his mind so / then he Lights his pipe & serveth y^m
Round Crying / Now their Custom is to take but four
Whiffs of / those pipes & if any one hath not a mind
to go wth him / nor answer his request he will Likewise
refuse to / smoke out of his pipe & again if any man
hath made / use of a woman y^e last night or his wife
be wth Child / he will pass by the pipe & give thanks
if he has a / Mind to go wth him for they think they shall
adulter / ate y^e pipe if they should smoke out of it at
such / a time Likewise they will send these pipes out
upon / any expedition as when they go for to seek out
their / Enemies tracks or when y^t they are in want of /
victuals they will fitt a young man out wth a pipe /
steam & if it happens y^t it fulfills w^t they design then /
it doth pass for a true god Ever afterwards although
it / hath been never so false before / / [16]

The next point being their third is when they are in
want / of any thing but victuals especially in y^e night
they will / cause y^e tent to be made Close & y^e fire to
throw out of / doors Likewise y^e women must be
absent so all things / being dark & husht one of y^e
Indians will begin to make / a speech w^{ch} Endeded he
will fall a singing till such / time he thinks he has
pleasured y^e Company & then / will begin for to
Whistle Making his fellows / believe y^t he hath a
familiar they believing it to / be so to so by y^t means
he will answer y^m to any ques / tion they shall ask

him & will tell y^{m ch} w way they sha / shall go to look for
 victuals or 'to find other india^{ns} / & this y^c Natives
 holds for truth but I have found it / often to be lyes /
 Now their fourth point is if any of y^m be sick they /
 use no other means nor know no other help but to /
 sing to y^c sick for w^{ch} purpose they hire a man & he /
 calls together some men more or less for to accompa /
 nie him in his singing so all of y^m getting a piece / of
 birch Rine & a little stick goes to the sick mans tent /
 then he y^{ts} hired begins to sing & y^c Rest Beats upon
 y^c / Rine y^e same stroke he uses wth his rattle w^{ch} is made
 of / Birch rine hallow within having some stones or /
 Beads Inclosed in it so when he has sat & sung a /
 while to his patient he y^{ts} hired will rise up stark /
 naked making a hideous noise & having there / ready
 a Dish of Cold water takes a mouthfull / of it & spurts
 on y^e sick person so following / it Close wth his mouth
 sucks at his skin & / Rising from him again halls
 drugs or something / out of his mouth so makes his
 fellows believe he / suckt it out of y^c sick person, &
 indeed is hard to be / perceiv'd to y^c Contrary Now
 in such times they / will take y^e best things they have
 & hang upon / / [17] Poles as an offering to him^{ch} w
 was y^e cause of his sickness / Likewise making along
 speech desiring of him to send him / his health again
 Now as for a woman they do not so much / mind her
 for they reckon she is like a Slead dog or / Bitch
 when she is living & when she dies they think / she
 dyes to Eternity but aman they think departs / into

another world & lives again./

Then their fifth point is this If at any time they are /
in want of victuals they will fitt a young man out w /
something of their own making as it may be half a /
dozen peruant stones w they have gott from y factory /
or Else a pipe steam now these pruant stones they /
scrape smooth & burn spots, or y shape of any thing /
as their fancy leads y now if happens y this young
man / w is fitted out should kill a Beast y day then
they / will impute it to y things he carried about him
& / so it passes for a God Ever afterwards But now
no / Beast they kill but some part or other is allotted /
for mans meat w y women are not to tast of upon no /
acco, but more especially at this time then others by /
reason they think it will be a hindrance to their /
Killing any more Beast nay if a woman should eat /
any of this mans mans meat w is called in their Langu /
age Crett * * tgh Cuttawatchetaugun & fall sick in a /
year or 2 afterwards & dye they will not stick to say /
it was y kill'd her for all it was so long ago she eat it /
Their sixth point I shall relate is concerning / their
singing of their songs & from whence they think /
they have y those that they reckon Chiefly for gods
are / Beast & fowl But of all Beast y Buffillo & of all
fowls / y voulder & y Eagle w they say they dream of
in their / sleep & it relates to y w they shall say when
they sing / & By y means whatsoever they ask or
require will be gran / ted or given y w by often making
use of it sometimes happe / ns to fall out Right as

they say & for y^t one time it will / pass for a truth y^t
 he hath a familiiar although he / hath told never so
 many lies before & so by their / / [18] singing will
 pretend to know w^w y^e firmament of heaven is m /
 made of nay some Indians w^{ch} I have discoursed wth has
 told me they / have been there & seen it so likewise
 another has told me y^t he / had been so near to y^e sun
 at y^e going down y^t he had been so could / take hold
 of it when it Cut y^e Horrizon Likewise they would /
 pretend to tell me by their singing how things stood
 at y^e / factory when I was many hundred miles of along
 w^{th m} y^e but / I found it not true ————— /
 Now there is a Difference between y^e stone Indians &
 y^e / Nayhaythaways although y^e principles of their
 belief is / all one & y^e same But I mean as to passages
 in their tents / w^{ch} I shall give some small relation of
 I having been amongst / y^e stone Indians of late will
 begin w^{th m} y^e first Now if they / have a mind for to make
 a feast they will pitch a tent / on purpose & after
 y^{t e} y^e tent is made & fixt then no woman / Kind y^t hath
 a husband or is known to have been concern'd / wth a
 man must not come within the door of y^e tent afore. /
 so then y^e master of y^e tent & one or two more goeth
 in & Cutteth / out a place for y^e fire about three foot
 square in y^e middle / of y^e tent & then y^e fire being
 made they take a little / sweet grass & lay at every
 corner of y^e said square & / then putting fire to it they
 perfume the tent so / making along speech wishing all
 health & / happiness both to founders & confounders

this / being done y^e master burning a little more sweet /
 grass then taketh a pipe fill'd wth tobacco & perfum / eth
 it so giveth it to another Indian telling him / who he
 shall call to y^e feast so then he goeth / out of doors &
 those w^{ch} are appointed he calls by name / two or 3
 times over & then returning into y^e tent / again lights
 the pipe w^{ch} was given him y^e pipe being / lighted he
 turneth y^t end w^{ch} goeth into y^e mouth / to w^t place y^e
 master of y^e feast shall direct him w^{ch} / generally first
 towards our English house & from / thence moving it
 round gradually towards y^e sun / rising & so about
 to *** where y^e sun is at noon / still keeping in
 motion to where y^e sun goeth down / & then turneth
 y^t end w^{ch} goeth into y^e mouth toward / y^e ground so
 lighting it y^e second time handeth it / round to his
 companions & as they receive it they // [19] give
 thanks so when they are all gathered together / y^e
 master will have some victuals & some tobacco ready /
 cut wth w^{ch} they will sing & be merry as we do over a
 Cup / of good liquor now they have but two or three
 Words in / a song & they observe to keep time along
 wth him y^t is / y^e leader of y^e song for Every man maketh
 his own songs / by vertue of w^t he dreams of as I have
 said before & / at y^e Conclusion of every song they
 give thanks all / in general to him y^t y^e song belongs
 too So likewise if / any one hath crost or vext them
 y^t they owe him / any grudge they will pretend to set
 w^t they dream / of to work & it shall kill the offender
 at his pleasure /

Torn out*

nor step over a man boy nor Child for if at any time /
 they should happen to stride over any one & y^e /
 person fall sick at any time after they will impute /
 it to be y^e reason of it & likewise when they are / sick
 they will call themselves to remembrance / to see if
 y^t they have eat any thing w^{ch} has been forbid / den
 y^m to eat & if it happened by force of hunger / they
 have eat w^t has been forbidden y^m then presently / y^t is
 y^e cause of their sickness & if they should dye / y^t fitt
 they still think that is the cause of it /

A Journal of a voyage & Journey undertaken / by
 Henry Kelsey to discover & Endeavour to bring / to
 a Commerce y^e nothern Indians Inhabiting to y^e /
 Northward of Churchill River & also y^e dogside
 Nation /

June y^e 17th 1689 /

June
 y^e 17th
 Munday
 1689

I took my depart^r. from Churchill River in y^e Hopewell /
 shallop Commanded by Capt: James young & my
 Companion / w^{ch} was appointed by my Governor y^e
 wind being at south /

Torn out till the 26th /

Leagues before we was forc'd ashore by y^e Ice now /
 we Judged our selves to be about 20 Leagues from /
 Churchill River /

y^e 26th
 Munday

This morning y^e Ice being nearer than before I told /
 y^e Cap. y^t tediousness of getting along shore wth y^e /
 boat troubled me & I thought I could make better /
 way by land so desired leave y^e Cap. to let me go / / [20]

*This and other similar entries are in the original hand.

†Possibly "y".

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w^{ch} he Consented I should sett forward on y^e morrow
upon / this gave me my Instructions w^{ch} he had from
my Govern^r / Govern^r. at Hays river /

June
y^e 27th
Tuesday

This day by gods assistance set forward by land so /
desired Cap. young to let 2 of his hands go to carry
some / things till I could hide y^m because we carry y^m all
accord / ingly they did this done we parted & in our
Journey we / found five targets Made of Boards six
Inches wide / & Sowed together till they were about
2 foot over & then / cut round like y^e head of a Cask
so wth a string in y^e middle / to hang over their arm
distance 12 Miles to day /

y^e 28th
Wednesday

This morning set forward but my dog^t run back to /
cap. youngs tent so bid my Companion stay till I
went / back to fetch him when I came I left y^t & took
y^e other / w^{ch} my Governour had appointed me & when
I was at y^e tent / Satisfied y^e Cap. concerning y^e smoke
we made y^e day / before because it was to be a sign
we found a River so / returned to my Companion /

y^e 29th
Thursday

This days Journey most part ponds & hills we being /
near 8 Miles from y^e seaside about ten o'Clock found /
an old Cannoe of those nothern Indians abundance /
of Musketers & at night could not gett wood Enough
for to / make a smoke to Clear y^m came to dist
23 Miles no sight /
13 ^ Miles woods in sig /

y^e 30th
friday

To day we travelled all within Land it being all hills /
& more barren then before y^e hills being all stones
wth a coat of moss over y^m came to dist 18 Miles /

July
y^e 1st
Saturday

This morning set forward it being hills & ponds w^{ch} /

would put us out of our way 2 or 3 Miles although /
we went good days Journey it did not seem so dist
18 / Miles /

•
y 2^d
Sunday

The same going as before at noon it Rained hard /
having no shelter but y^e heavens for a Canope / nor
no wood to make a fire came dist 12 Miles /

•
y 3^d
Monday

This day setting forward more hilly then before & /
more Rocky than before came to one y^e top of one
where / we could see y^e sea dist 16 Mile & from y^e
sea 6 Miles /

•
y 4th
Tuesday

To day set forward till about noon it Rained very
hard / caused us to come to dist 8 Miles / / [21]

•
y 5th
Wednesday

Now we intended to go to y^e sea side for better going
but / found y^e same & foggy by reason of y^e Ice toward
night / came to y^e Boy not suffering me to speak aloud
in pretence / y^e Eskemoes would hear us dist 16 Miles /

•
y 6th
Thursday

To day continued foggy & Could not gett my
Companion / to go further w^{ch} was y^e first I perceived
of his backward / ness so came to dist 5 Mile /

•
y 7th
Friday

To day had very good going till about noon coming /
to an outlet & trying to get over at several places but /
could not so tarried there y^e night dist 10 Miles /

•
y 8th
Saturday

This morning got over y^e River 3 Mile up this River /
is a high round hummock being y^e best landmark we /
have seen /

•
y 9th
Sunday

Setting forward good weather & going as it were on /
a Bowling green in y^e Evening spyed two Buffillo /
left our things & pursued y^m we Kill'd one they are
ill / shapen beast their Body being bigger than an

ox leg / & foot like y^e same but not half so long a long neck & / head a hog their Horns not growing like other Beast / but Joyn together upon their forehead & so come down / y^e side of their head & turn up till y^e tips be Even wth y^e / Buts their Hair is near a foot long this being y^e first / Killing of Beast since we left Cap. young so went / back to our things our Journey not Extending 10 / Miles /

July
y^e 10th
Munday

To day carried our things to where y^e Beast lay / & to argue why he would go no further he answer'd / y^e Summer was to far spent & y^t his Country people was / gone to far to y^e northward for fear of y^e southern / Indians y^t it would be hard finding of y^m but if y^t Cap. / young could have carryed him to y^t River w^{ch} they call / Buffillo River he did not question finding of y^m dist / 3 Mile /

y^e 11th
Tuesday

This day through many perswasions gott him to / go ten Miles & then he told me I was a fool & y^t he woul / would go no further for I was not sensible of y^e dangers / we had to go through so came to dist 10 Miles /

y^e 12th
Wednesday

This morning he told me he would go no further so I / thought it needless to spend my time in vain resolv'd to / make y^e best of my way to Churchill River to give a* / acco.^t of it & to do something more servicable for m* / Masters so Returned back dist: 21 Miles / / [22]

y^e 13th
Thursday

This day finding our Burdens heavy concluded to leave / some things for a mark so left 1 Bottle of Powder & / some shott 2 Ice Chizzels 4 hatchets on

^e
y top of a flatt / stone so setting forward saw two
Buffillo & kill'd one / dist 17 Miles /

^{y 14th}
Friday To day we had level going till four in ^ey afternoon /
it began to grow hilly & Rain'd very hard so came to /
& made a tent of moss dist 19 Miles /

^{y 15th}
Saturday It Rained hard most part of ^ey day yet travelled ^ey /
Hills trent to ^ey sea side & makes it bold to for it /
flowes 5 fathom steep up & down dist 17* Miles /

^{y 16th}
Sunday Now setting forward we found it hilly & more / barren
then within land dist 22 Miles /

^{y 17th}
Monday To day at noon Came to for to kill deer my partner /
kill'd five & I four dist 18 Miles /

^{y 18th}
Tuesday This day we gott to ^ey place where cap. young put ^t /
us ashore at four this afternoon broke open our store /
house & went to carry ^ey things over ^ey River having /
made a Raft of all ^ey wood we could gett but it would /
not Carry us & the things goods so put ^ey Boy & things /
on it & swim'd over it my my self being very cold /
came to dist 24 Miles /

^{y 19th}
Wednesday To day ^ey woods appear in sight about ten o Clock /
it Rain'd hard w ththunder & Lightening so we came /
to being ^ey first place of shelter we had found / since
we left Cap. young ^t dist 5 Miles /

July
^{y 20th}
Thursday This day very bad going on great pibble stones /
w great ponds of water three or four Mile over /
toward evening good going came too dist 14 Miles /

^{y 21st}
friday This morning had very good going on hard mud /
w great stones at three this afternoon came too / an
outlett & came too dist 16 Miles /

• y 22^d
Saturday

This morning tryed to gett over y^e mouth of it but /
could not so left our things there & went up y^e river /
to Raft our selves over & to fetch y^{m th} w a Boat from /
Churchill River so finding a good place of wood /
came too dist 15 Miles / / [23]

the 23^d
Sunday

To day it Rain'd hard & we had forgott our lines / so
I went to fetch y^m & Returned to him in y^e Evening /

• y 24th
Monday

This morning made a Raft & got over to an / Island
w we thought had been y^{ch} south shore but / had not
gone a Mile before we came to another / Channel
w seemed to be worse then y^e first so made / a Raft
against next morning /

• y 25th
Tuesday

To day put from y^e shore it being dreadfull to behold /
y^e falls we had to pass Considering we had nothing to /
tye our Raft but small Logline & were forct to / shoot
3 Desperate falls y^e Raft struck upon two / of y^m but
gott safely over dist $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile /

• y 26th
Wednesday

Now setting forward went by y^e hummock w Cap.^t /
Young was speaking of w stands on y^{ch} south side /
of y^e River travelled to day till we raised y^e high land /
of Churchill river & y^e woods being Near y^e water /
side came too dist 20 Miles /

• y 27th
Thursday

This morning went on our way but meeting wth /
many small creeks hindred us greatly at tide time /
gott to day 9 Mile /

• y 28th
Friday

To day at noon being upon y^e high rocks of Chur /
chill River saw y^e ship so went against her & made /
a smoke but it being low water they could not come /
to me so they put one hand ashore who told me there /

was a house a Building & at tide time went on /
board wth him dist 14 Miles /

yth 29
Saturday

To day I Rested on Board /

yth 30
Sunday

This day I went up wth a Boat to y^e house & / thomas
savage told me y^t y^e Governer had order'd / me to
tarry there w^{ch} I Refused by Reason I had a / mind
to go for England I spoke to Thomas / savage
Concerning those things w^{ch} I had left / & desired him
to speak to some to go wth me to fetch / y^m but he
answered he would not so I asked who / would go so
Edw. Pratt Edw.^d Bull Isaac hubbud / Ely gramer &
Tho.^s Harris would go wth me /

July

yth 31st
Monday

This noon tide we set from y^e ship to fetch y^e things /
so Rowed & sailed all night y^e wind being between /
y^e south & y^e East / / [24]

August

yth 1st
Tuesday

This morning att day saw y^e hummock about two /
Leagues from us so getting to y^e place where y^e things /
could not find a place to leave y^e Boat while we /
fetcht y^m but was forct to ride her of wth one hand / till
we fetcht y^m so put y^m in y^e Boat & put away / but had
not gott three Leagues f * * before it Blow'd / hard &
Night coming on put ashore seeing some / Deer I
kill'd one & fetcht it to y^e tent this Evening /

yth 2^d
Wednesday

To day y^e weather Continuing y^e same we put / away
& Rowed to windward all day & at night / came to
anchor near y^e shore wth y^e high Land of / Churchill
River in sight /

yth 3^d
Thursday

This day Rowed across y^e Bay & saved y^e afternoon /
tide to y^e ship & y^e first news we heard was y^t y^e / house

^e th
y 4
Friday

was Reduced to ashes & y^t most of y^e things / were
Burnt so I took my things & put y^m in my Chest /
This day y^e rest of y^e things were fetcht on / board
from y^e house /

^e th
y 5
Saturday

This day broke ground from Churchill River / Intending
by gods assistance for Hays River y^e / wind being at
North Turn it out & sailed all night /

^e th
y 6
Sunday

This morning left of ~~Raining~~ & came on / foggy & we
saw breakers both within & without / us but Edging
towards y^e outtermost gott clear / & in y^e afternoon
came to anchor in y^e mouth of / Portnelson & Rid
y^e night /

^e th
y 7
Monday

To day y^e wind dullered & at tide time stood for /
Hayes River & at Night came to anchor in y^e mouth /
of it /

^e th
y 8
Tuesday

To day got to y^e house & as soon as I could get a /
shore I went to y^e Govern.^r taking y^e Indian Boy /
wth me & acquainted him how I had been serv'd by /
him y^e Governors reply was y^t I had my labour / for
my travell since y^t y^e Govern.^r Never did Require /
any further acco. of me /

HENRY KELSEY // [25]

1694-1696

York fort hayes River August y^e 8th 1694 /
M^r Smith /

This is to satisfie you y^t we are safe arived praised
be / god for it I understand y^e albemarle was sent for /
Churchill river but meeting wth much ice was drove /
to y^e southward of this place had like to have been
lost / but by providence was saved arrived some small
time / before us as for other things all is very well &
a good trade / y^e w^{ch} I hope will continue likewise hoping
your / honour will not forgett him who hath
Endeavour'd / for it Tho.^s Hart hath been guilty of
a private / trade w^{ch} you will have a larger acco.^t from
y^e gover / govern.^r & as for my own part I shall neither
do nor / act on any discovery untill I receive further /
orders from my masters in England then shall be /
very free to use y^e utmost endeavours for as much /
as I find no alterations yet but shall be more / able to
give you a larger Epistle y^e next Return / hoping to
receive a line or two from your honour / by y^e next
as for my keeping a Journal I cannot by / Reason I
am lik^ely to abroad as much as at home so / having
not to enlarge I Rest /

your obedient & fath /

faithfull Serv.^t / HERNRY KELSEY /

If you please to inquire of y^e / Bearer he can better
Inform / you of anything than I can at present / / [26]

Memmorandum in y^e hudsons bay frigatt /

Being tuesday we weigh'd from gravesend & fell down /

June
y^d 2^d
1696

1696

June^e
y^e 7th
Sunday

to y^e lower end of y^e hope & came to anchor /
Weigh'd from y^e lower end of y^e hope & about 7 in y^e
Evening / going by y^e man of war Rideing at y^e nore
having / taken in our pendants & lower'd our topsailes
he / fired six guns at us & sent his boat on board
cap. / Bayley to dem. money for his shot so in y^e
mouth / of y^e swin came to anchor Cap. Bayley Sent
his / Boat to fetch M. Man wth y^{ch} man of wars boat
had / carryed away wth y^m it Blowing very hard y^e
deerings / Boat could not gett aboard again /

June^e
y^e 8th
Monday

Our Boat went aboard y^e man of war to gett news / of
y^e Deerings Boat y^e ships weighed Likewise & bore /
up to y^e man of war till high water so turn'd to /
windward seeing y^e Deerings Boat coming of shore /
& about half tide came a ground on us* and called
y^e / mouse at 11 att night being a quarter flood gott /
into y^e Channel & came to anchor /

June^e
y^e 9th
Tuesday

This morning set saile & in y^e Evening came to y^e /
Men of war at albourough so came to anchor /

June^e
y^e 13th
Saturday

This afternoon sailed from alborough & in y^e / Evening
came to y^e other Man of war of Låstaf / & came to
anchor /

June^e
y^e 14th
Sunday

About four this morning weighed again & in y^e /
afternoon came to anchor in y^e offing to y^e northward /
about an hours time /

June^e
y^e 15th
Monday

This day y^e Commodore gave our Cap.^t Instructions /
for making of signes /

June^e
y^e 16th
Tuesday

This day it Blowed hard we saw two saile but / did
not speak wth y^m /

June
y 17th
Wednesday

This morning saw two sail & in y^e afternoon one / sail
more to w y^{ch e} seaford gave Chase but soon left / of &
in y^e Evening saw y^e land of aberdeen / / [27]

June
y 18th
Thursday

This morning stood Close to y^e land y^e fishing boats /
came of to us of we bought some parcels of fish sm* /
brease of wind stood of & on all day here came a
master / of a new England Briggantine who told us he
was / chast in there by three french privateers two
of abo / about 30 guns y^e other a small vessell /

June
y 18th 19th
Thursday
Friday

This morning was of Backeness & about noon our /
3 Cap. met on board y^e Deering & in y^e Evening came /
aboard again /

June
y 20th
Saturday

To day Cap. Bayley Invited all y^e Command.^{rs} /
aboard to dinner where they remained till Evening /
calm w small breezes this two days past /

June
y 21st
Sunday

This morning was of Canards head w small / bre^ezes
of wind att North & N N W till Evening & / then
came up a fresh gale northerly we reefed / three
topsails /

June
y 22^d
Monday

To day y^e Deering left of towing y^e knight & / y^e
Bonadventure took her in a tow y^e Deering / Likewise
unbent their main topsail foresaile & / foretopsail &
brought others too y^e yards it continued / northerly
wind a Moderate gale /

June
y 23^d
Tuesday

This morning A little wind northerly we / stood into
y^e firth Close under an Island called / sweatah where
we turned to & fro to spend / y^e flood /

June
y 24th
Wednesday

This morning turned away for † S. Margarets / hope
& about six o Clock y^e Bon†adventure / came aground

*Edge of paper frayed.

†Read by piecing together some loose scraps of paper.

1696

& lay till 10^e y fore*noon young flood / gott of & sent
hasser aboard of us & heaved into / deep water so rid
all night /

June
yth 25
Thursday This morning weigh'd & stood for Caston proving /
calm gott not there till y^e afternoon tide /

June
yth 26
Friday To day our ships watered & in y^e Evening y^e / wind
came up southerly /

June
yth 27
Saturday About 4 this morning weighed from Caston & / just
out of hoyhead y^e pilot went ashore y^e wind / at S S W
about noon y^e wind veared forward in y^e // [28]
Afternoon y^e Bonadventure took us in a tow & y^e /
seaford took y^e knight in a tow towards night / a fresh
gale at W S W Reeft topsailes & handed main /
topsailes & mizzen topsailes & 12 at night saw a st^t /
saile bearing down upon us after making w^t we / was
went away before y^e wind /

June
yth 28
Sunday To day it Blew hard put us by our topsail y^e / wind
at W b S & W S W about two this afternoon / our
tow rope broke & at four y^e knights broke also / so
y^e men of war wen w an Easy sail /

June
yth 29
Monday This day it continued a fresh gale this afternoon /
y^e Deering bore away & took y^e knight in tow / having
as much wind as could carry our topsails /

June
yth 30
Tuesday This afternoon it blowing very hard y^e knight / broak
her tow handed our topsails & at 12 M N / Lay a try /

July
yth 1st
Wednesd This morning bore away to y^e knight & about / two
this afternoon set our foresaile y^e wind being / at
W b N & W N W a hard gale /

July
yth 2^d
Thursday This morning ^{four o Clock y^e wind dullered we} bore away to y^e Knight set out /

1696

topsails & about ten ^ey bonadventure bore away & /
took ^ey * knight in a tow about 3 this afternoon /
came down in a * squall in w ^{ch e}y deering lost her foretop /
mast & mizzen * top mast so we Reeft our topsails /
& bore down to him & askt him if he wanted any /
thing from us now being an easy gale /

July
y 3^d
Friday

This morning ^{8 a Clock} fine weather saw a sail w ^{ch e}y / Bonadvent.
bore away to & took her in a tow ^ey wind / springing
up att East brough her away w thhim & / kept all day
^ey hoy in a tow w 2 hassers & a fine / fresh gale
Easterly /

July
y 4th
Saturday

This morning fair weath. ^{r e}y wind took us short /
about ten a Clock ^ey Comlodore turn'd ^ey sweed away /
who had given him an acco. ^{t t}y one of his men was
gone / along w th / [29] gone along w ^{th r}M Diberville &
^ty he was gone w th3 / Saile /

July
y 5th
Sunday

To day ^ey winds are Variable Continuing westerly
smat / breezes this four & twenty hours reeft topsails
a little / before night /

July
y 6th
Monday

This day ^ey winds are Variable from y ^{e o}S. West / to
^{e o}y N. West fine Easy gales /

July
y 7th
Tuesday

This day squally Weather till about 2 this after / noon
^ey wind dullered & veared about to y ^eN N E / a fine
gale & our ship making more water then / Usual since
this Last hard gale /

July
y 8th
Wednesday

This morning Calm till eight & then small / Breezes
from N. to y ^eW all day /

July
y 9th
Thursday

This morning four o Clock fine Easy breeze / Notherly
Continuing till towards y ^eClose of y / Evening growing

*Read by piecing together some loose scraps of paper.
†Edge of paper frayed.

- calm we steered West a little North / erly all day /
- July yth 10 Friday To day steered west B N^o. small breezes from y^e / South to y^e East towards Evening fell calm again /
- July yth 11 Saturday This day small breezes Mixt w Calmes about / ten this forenoon y^e Commodores Boat came on board / us inviting our Cap. thither to dinner w y^e Rest / of y^e Command. Except Cap. Bayley being indisposed / did not go y^e rest tarrying there till Evening /
- July yth 12 Sunday Calm this morning ^{fair weather} ^ & so Continuing ^{till about} west^{erly} two / this afternoon y^e wind sprung up at N^o west at / seven reef topsails /
- July yth 13 Munday This morning fair Weather y^e wind Continueing / westerly tackt at four this morning this afternoon / y^e Deering brought to another Main top sail /
- July yth 14 Tuesday This morning fine weather till about noon it blo / blowing fresh Reefed our topsails at two y^e afternoon / in y^e Evening handed our maintopsail to day brou / brought to a Mainsail Maintop^rsail & Mizzen / / [30]
- July yth 15 Wednes This morning Tack^t y^e wind Northe^rly & about eight / this forenoon lay our Course W b N & a little / afternoon Lett out our Reefes of topsails y^e wind / coming about N^o. Easterly wth fair weather /
- July yth 16 Thursd To day y^e wind continuing y^e same about N^o. E^t. / fair weather we loosed our topgallentsails & this / Evening it proved very calm Latt. ^{de} 58° 17 /
- July yth 17 friday This morning a fine Breeze at W S W & / continued a fresh gale about ten reef topsails / now reckoning our selves about 50 Leagues of / cape farewell variation 18° 00 this Evening y^e / Deering carry away his

1696-1694

Mizzen yard /

July
y^e 18th
Saturday

This morning it Blowed hard at W S W till / about Evening it grew calm y^e wind came up at / N^o by E we steered away W N W Latt. 59^{de} 47 /

July
y^e 19th
Sunday

To day fine weather wth small Breezes at / N^o N E till toward night it proved foggy about noon / y^e commodore seaford & deerings boats came on / board y^e seaford for some things they wanted / / [31]

A Journal of our wintering by gods assistance / at hayes River in y^e year of our Lord 1694 /

August
y^e 13th
being
Munday

This day about noon y^e ships weighed from y^e / rivers mouth it being $\frac{3}{4}$ flood & at high water / y^e wind being at S E y^e albermarle broke her fast / & drove upon y^e ship but we gott her of again at / 2 this afternoon our shallop came ashore y^e ships / being out of sight having two hands in y^e / marsh to look out /

y^e 14th
Tuesday

To day 3 of us was sent over y^e River about 7 miles / from y^e house to keep an Eye abroad our people / wen a rafting also /

y^e 22^d
Wednesday

This day y^e gove^rno^r sent a Boat to me wth 4^{lb} of powder / & 20 of shott & 10 flints /

y^e 27th
Munday

This Evening y^e Governour sent an Indian over to / me wth four 4^{lb} of Powder & 20 lb of shott wth 10 flints /

y^e 28th
Tuesday

To day about noon I went home wth y^e Indian y^e came / last night & carryed wth us 19 geese /

y^e 29th
Wednesday

This morning I was sett over y^e river in order to / return to y^e tent /

- Sept^r This morning ^ey Blowed hard at N.^o W thw squals of /
^y 1st snow being ^ey first we had this fall /
 Saturday
- ^y 2^d To day another Boat from ^ey factory w thfour ^{lb}4 / of
 Sunday Powder & 16 of shott thw 10 flints by w I sent / 17
 Geese /
- ^y 4th This morning came a boat from ^ey house w thy sam^e* /
 Tuesday quantity of powder & shott by which I sent / 40 ge^ease /
- ^y 5th I sent two hands w thour broken guns to be mended /
 Wednes ^{ch}w they did & returned in ^ey Evening / / [32]
- ^y 11th To day ^ey wind blowed very hard at N. W thw squals /
 Tuesday of snow /
- ^y 12th Last night it froze very hard & this morning much /
 Wednesday Ice lay along shore ^ey wind shifting from ^ey N.^o W / to
 ^ey S^o W & fair weather /
- ^y 13th To day ^ey Govern^r: sent two hands to relieve us / in
 Thursday ^ey afternoon but we tarried this night /
- ^y 14th This morning we set forth for ^ey house it / blowing
 Friday very hard northerly likewise snowing / hard about
 noon gott to ^ey fort in ^ey Evening / clearing up &
 indians being^t in ^ey marsh a / hunting ^{brought} us news of
 two ships being arrived / at Portnelson our people
 ^ty were in ^ey marsh / returning w thy same news & one
 hand getting / up ^ey flag stafe could disc^ray ^my from
 ^ey house / this night watcht halfwatch /
- Sept^r This morning ^ey Govern^r. sent two Indians / over ^ey
^y 15th thriver w a note for those two men w ^{ch}/ was there
 Saturday Likewise another party of indians / into ^ey marsh to
 make w ^tdiscovery they could of / ^ey french in ^ey
 afternoon they brought us / news there was * 11 ^{ch}w

they saw but they told y^m y^t there was forty of y^m
landed so we broke / open small arms & gott our
selves provided / for y^m /

y^h 16
Sunday

To day about noon y^e french came to y^e woods / Edge
& fired some guns at us & so went away we / have a
discription y^t they have brought mohocks / we fired
some guns into y^e woods /

y^h 17
Monday

This morning ten a Clock one of y^e ships / weighed
from Portnelson & stood for our / River in y^e Evening
came to anchor fair in / sight last night we fired
several guns to / scail y^e woods / / [33] York fort Hay /

y^h 18
Tuesday

Last night y^e wind blowing northerly it snowed / very
hard about 11 a Clock we saw several men in y^e / woods
Edge firing at our people & they at y^m & one / great
gun Likewise their boat came from / portnelson wth
about 30 men great part of y^m landed / below y^e fort
& y^e rest went aboard y^e ship after w^{ch} / they went a
sounding y^e river this Evening y^e ship / came into y^e
river & came to anchor 3 miles below y^e / house &
landed some bundles on this side but could / not
dicern w^t they were their people coming often / to
alarum us /

y^h 19
Wednesday

This morning there Indians came within 2 miles / of
y^e fort there pitcht their tent at noon a Cannoe /
arrived here Informing us y^t y^e french had mortar /
pieces on board & y^t they had seen y^m & y^t y^e french
Gover / ner told y^m y^t y^e great should winter on y^e north
side / of portnelson they continue to alarum us this /
Evening their ship weighed but soon after came

aground / lying there y^t tide by reason their Boat was
up y^e river /

y^e 20th
Thursday

This morning their long boat went ashore some /
Indians coming from y^e other side y^e river told us /
she was loaden wth Boom shels & was going / to fetch
y^e mortar Likewise some men went / along y^e woods
to guard y^m & in y^e Evening y^e boat / went ashore
again loaden a w^{ch} we fired several / great guns they
keeping a Party always to / alarm us /

y^e 21st
Friday

About noon their cannoes went a Boying & / sounding
y^e south Chanel at six this Evening almost / high
water y^e ship weighed & went up y^e south chanel /
at w^{ch} we fired 4 Great guns she got above y^e fort /
distance one mile & half & came aground much snow /
last night & Ice drove in y^e river / / [34]

Sept.^r
y^e 22^d
Saturday

To day y^e ship continued aground y^e Ice growing /
thicker they lightened their ship wth y^e long boat they /
Keeping hands always to alarm us /

y^e 23^d
Sunday

This morning they gott of their ship & stood for y^e /
north shoar but being hindered by y^e Ice came /
aground again but seeing our people fetching of /
wood came & shott at y^m but did no hurt /

y^e 24th
Munday

Last night gott their ship of & warpt ashore / about
a mile & half above y^e fort to day at low / water we
see y^m hand deal Boards & other goods / ashore their
people still alarm us /

y^e 25th
Tuesday

To day we could discry nothing but their / securing
their ship /

y^e 26th
Wednesd

To day at noon our ^{Yacht drove} people ^ said away to y^e other /

side of y^e river much Ice being in y^e other chanel /
drove to sea out of sight /

yth 27
thursday

Last night our people said they saw some / french
men so fired some guns this morning / saw one more
plain fired one gun at him /

yth 28
friday

This day we saw y^e french gett their goods / ashore /

yth 29
Saturday

This morning they came so near us y^t we saw y^m / fall
trees & at noon came to y^e woods edge. & fired at /
our people all y^e afternoon we firing now & then /
again when we could see y^m /

yth 30
Sunday

Last night our people saw a man & fired at him / this
afternoon happened an Imbroile in y^e fort / Joseph
stays more being y^e cause thereof y^e french / came to
y^e woods Edge our people shott at y^m / / [35]

October
yth 1
Munday

About ten oClock this morning came an Indian who /
told us y^t he came from above y^e french but meeting /
wth one of y^m in y^e woods carryed him to y^e ship he said /
y^t morning they gott ashore their Boom & was /
Intended to play it shortly & this Evening fired /
their Boom but it fell three or four hundred yards /
short we seeing y^m in y^e woods edge fired 2 muskets /
at y^m so gave y^e Indian some Oatmeal & sent him away /

y^d 2
Tuesday

Last night they made great fires near us about / five
hundred yards to day came to y^e woods Edge / &
fired 3 guns at us & this Evening they put up / flag
staves at y^e mast head of y^e ship & kept their / fire day
& night /

Oct^r
y^d 3
Wednesday

To day about noon came one french man & a mohaw /
mohawk Indian wth a flag of truce wth a summons to /

our governour w^{ch} spacefied y^t they was ready to /
 Cannonade & Boombard y^e fort & if we would / not
 surrender it they would reduce it to ashes & / give us
 no quarter so desired our answer by / Eight a Clock
 y^e next morning so y^e Govern.^r / desired longer time to
 Consider of it but they / would not so he sent y^m word
 he would /

y^e 4th
 Thursday

This morning M.^r Matthew & I went wth a flag / of truce
 & carryed our articles w^{ch} their cheif / perrused then
 those w^{ch} he did not like he altered so / demanded
 y^e governour to surrender it up at / 4 a Clock in^t
 y^e afternoon forasmuch a he would / not alter* his
 Resolution but would begin to / play when y^e time
 was Expired Likewise he allotted / us y^e house called
 foxhall to put all our things / in so we returned at
 ten & gott our things in / order & at 12 he sent two
 men to hear our ans / wer so y^e Govern.^r told y^m since
 he could have no // [36] longer time would make
 ready for his Entrance / so accordingly they came &
 took possession of y^e / fort our Govern.^r & 14 more of
 us was ordered to go / up to M.^r Diberveall house in
 order to pass y^e / night /

To Clark.....	1 /
To bennet.....	1 /
To Witham.....	1 /
To Young.....	1 /
To Pratt.....	1 /
To Moor.....	1 /
To Dix.....	1 /

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To Paul.....	1 /
To Pitts.....	1 /
	£ /
To Candles.....	22 /
To Cheese.....	28 /
To soap.....	120 /
To Sugar.....	28 /
To Brandy 6 gallons /	
To Cardymum & Carnaway waters 4 Gallons /	
To 2 Ounces of sowing silk 2 ounces stitching /	
sweet herbs & spices black silk & ¹²⁴ buttons	144 //
SW	

[37]

A Journal of wintering by gods assistance / at Hayes
river in ^ey year one Thousand / six hundred Ninety
Six Sept ^{r e}y th18 /

friday Sept ^{r e}y th18 this morning dispatcht ^ey / Hudsonsbay
& about 10 this forenoon she sailed / from before ^ey
factory & went down to lower five / fathom hole ^ey
govern. sent a boat aboard w^{ch} / returned about nine
this Even^g: told us ^ty at low water / she grounded &
sued about 2 foot ^ey wind being / ^Notherly & thick
weather could not see where to / come to anchor we
have had no news from ^ey ships / lowest down since
they went out this night / watcht quarter watch ^ey
th16 Instant Bowatter / lost his thumb /
Saturday Sept. ^{r e}y th19 to day about ten this forenoon /
^ey Hudsonsbay weighed & went out to ^ey other ships /

Likewise cap.^t Grimmington came up wth a boat / to
 sattisfie y^e Govern.^r w^t he had put aboard y^e knig^{ht} / to
 go down into y^e Bay & Likewise told y^e Govern.^r y^e /
 reason of his going out without orders was y^e y^e /
 Commodore Command.^d him to goe out & y^e his orders /
 was to take him along wth him therefore bid him /
 not stay behind at his perril so y^e Gov.^r desired /
 him to sail as soon as possible he went from / us about
 noon we have had Indians here this / two days past
 sent one cannoe up y^e river to see if / deer had crost
 & y^e rest to portnelson to see w^t news / there our ships
 remained at anchor all day y^e wind / S^otherly /
Sunday y^e 20th this morning all y^e ships sailed / Except
 y^e knight & she sailed about ten this forenoon / / [38]
 y^e wind being W^terly a fresh gale this afternoon /
 y^e Cannoe I sent up y^e river came back & said y^e / deer
 had done passing this river some time since / to day
 was found some catridges of Powder but / it was wet /
 Munday y^e 21st this morn.^g y^e Gov.^r send 2 hands / over
 y^e river to y^e albemarle to unbend her sails / & to see
 w^t Condition she is in about noon came / some Indians
 out of portnelson wth whom I / traded some beavour
 today we got all y^e old cask / & placed round y^e foundation
 of y^e lower platform / & filled y^e wth stones & this Even^g.
 y^e Indians went all / away Except Guyers Child w^{ch} we
 kept y^e wind / N^otherly & freezing hard /
 Tuesday y^e 22 fair weath.^r frosty this morn.^g M^r / Kelsey
 wth 2 hands went up y^e river in a Cannoe / to try to
 take some fish sent some hands up also to / make a

Raft of of firewood who return'd being / near in y^e
 Evening our people shot 2 Geese near / y^e plantation
 y^e wind continues in y^e N W / Quadr^t. /

Wednesday 23 wind & Weath^r. continuing some of our /
 men went up to work on y^e raft firewood y^e gov^r. / sent
 away two hands to Portnelson river we / are now
 fixing up at home our Lodging /

Thursday 24th Moderate frost little wind to / day about
 nine forenoon came to y^e fort having / had no success
 M^r Newton & another hand / being gone over y^e river
 to a smoke w^{ch} was seen all / night when returning again
 brought news y^t y^e / seafords pinnace wth nine men was
 drove from y^e / ships y^e 19 day at night & gott ashore
 on y^e south / / [39] shore five of y^m being come wth our
 people y^t went to y^e / albamarle M^r Newton brought
 our two men over at in / flood y^e Canoe so sent y^e
 pinnace over at flood for / those' men likewise sent
 our two men away wth provision / to see for y^e other
 four this afternoon came one Indian / from portnelson
 who said there was more a coming / this evening he
 went back to his canoe to day we / begun to set up
 palesadoes round y^e gov^{rs}. house took / acco of y^e trading
 room /

friday y^e 25th y^e weath^r. continuing this morn^g. sent five /
 hands into y^e marsh to y^e Indian y^t was here last / night
 to help bring his deers flesh & at y^e same time / came
 two indians out of y^e woods loaden wth meat & at /
 11 a Clock traded their meat & Beayour this afternoon /
 our pinnace went down where y^e ships rid & brought /

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^{th m}w y a hasser & anchor & said there was y^e Commodores /
small bower & a hasser remaining our people at /
work still to set up palesadoes /

Saturday y^e 26th this morn.^g hard frost ice drove in y^e /
river y^e indians y^t came yesterday went away about /
ten this forenoon our pinnace went down again & /
brought w y^{th m} an anchor & piece of hasser w^{ch} we Judged /
to be y^e deerings likewise our shallop went a / creeping
for an anchor against y^e fort hooked but / hauling it up
brake y^e creeper to day buried 6 Barrels / Barrels of
Beer our people continues about y^e / palasadeos this
afternoon y^e wind came about / Easterly a moderate
Gale no news from y^e other / side /

Sunday y^e 27th Cloudy weath.^{r th} w small ^{snow y^o} breezes / wind
N^otherly this afternoon was found 9 / / [40] Catridges
of powder & one sack of wheat no news from / y^e other
side /

Munday y^e 28th it snowed hard last night so this / Morn.^g
our hands went to setting up y^e wood into a pile /
about noon our pinnace went down to where we /
played y^e mortar & fetcht one ^{anchor} morator & hasser w^{ch} /
y^e seaford left y^e anchor y^e Hudsons bay /

Tuesday y^e 29th this morning y^e Ice was very thick in
y^e / River got up y^e rest of our wood & likewise haul'd
up / our Boats & got all y^e anchors up to high water /
mark this afternoon our 2 men returned from y^e / other
side w^{th e} yaul bringing news y^t they found / no men
but Judged y^m to be dead by reason they / found a
bone & sleave of a shirt all bloody y^e / bone they

^r b^rought w^{th m} y^e our Chururgeon said he / thought it
 to be y^e bone of a mans arm moderate / weath. y^{r e} wind
 S^otherly gave our men out Indian / shoes /
 Wednesday y^{e th} 30 Last night it snowed hard y^e / wind
 E^terly this morn.^g sent our people to cut / wood & pile
 it up near y^e bank side in case we / should want in
 y^e winter about nine this / forenoon they came home
 it continuing snow / ing hard went no more but went
 to pointing our / Houses & altering their lodgings // [41]
 Thursday Octob. y^{r e st e} 1 y^r weath. continues w^{th e} y^e wind /
 between y^{e o} N. & y^e East a hard gale, to day gott up
 our / other boat & y^e men kept pointing y^e houses /
 Friday y^{e d} 2 to day made an end of pointing y^e / houses
 y^{e ri} weather continuing blowing & snowing / the wind
 coming to y^e westward of y^e north /
 saturday y^{e d} 3 moderate weather little wind / our people
 took up stockings and shoe / clouts /
 Sunday y^{e th} 4 f^{air} weather the wind between / the south
 & y^e East a strong gale froze very / hard last night /
 Munday y^{e th} 5 fair weather some of our people / went
 out ahunting & saw some Deers tracks / & found y^e
 legs of one which the wolves had / kill'd but discover'd
 nothing at port / nelson /
 Tuesday y^{e th} 6 fresh gales of wind from y^e west / N^{o t} W^t to
 y^{e o t} N.W^t this morning I & 3 of our men / went 9 miles
 up y^e river to see for fish y^e rest of / our hands went
 to cut wood near y^e house /
 Wednesday y^{e th} 7 to day strong gales of wind at / N^{o t} W^t
 wth small snow our people continue to cut / wood /

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Thursday y^e 8th wind & weather continue & / our men
wooding as formerly /

Friday y^e 9th fine weather y^e wind Ditto this day / y^e
south Channel stopt wth Ice & y^e River froze over / at
Gooseberrys house where I was so I sent 2 men down /
to y^e fort wth 2 / / [42]

Saturday y^e 10th Moderate Weath. y^r e winds D. to day / y^e
2 men returned to me & brought wth m y one more /

Sunday y^e 11th fair weather y^e wind between the / south
& the west some small snow fell this morn.^g /

Munday the 12th the wind variable from the S. / W. to
y^e S.E. snowing weather 10 of our men went ouat /

the river to y^e
ahunting fourteens to hunt & fish & 3 of our men /
went out ahunting returned in y^e Even. bringing /
7 patridges /

Tuesday y^e 13th this morning snowed y^e wind W. sterly /
3 of our people went out a hunting brought home one /
patridge we Likewise discovered some deer tracks & /
our people shott at some one martin catcht to day /
being y^e first /

Wednesday y^e 14th fresh gales of wind from y^e N. to /
y^e W. st to day 5 of our men went a hunting but caught /
nothing Likewise we all went a hunting & I kill'd 2 /
deer /

Thursday y^e 15th Cloudy weath. y^r e wind between / y^e
S. & y^e E wth snow to day some of our people / going
a hunting came up wth some deer & shott / at y^m but
did not kill Likewise we went out / & one of y^m kill'd
a deer 2 of our men was lost / from y^e factory /

friday y^e 16th the weather Ditto some of our men went
 a / hunting & withall to look for the men w^{ch} was lost /
 Saturday y^e 17th Clear weather y^e wind from y^e S.^o to /
 y^e W.st some of our men went a hunting & brought /
 home 4 patridges & some came home from y^e fourteens /
 & brought 20 trouts I sent 3 men home wth 2 Deers
 heads / & some deers flesh / / [43]

Sunday y^e 18th moderate weath. y^e wind ditto to day y^e
 men / returned wth more men to fetch y^e remaining
 part of y^e deer & / 2 Indians came to y^e factory from
 up portnelson River /

Munday y^e 19th to day I sent y^e men home wth y^e deer some
 of our / men went a hunting one of y^e Indians returned
 having / traded y^e other y^e other remained at y^e factory
 y^e former lay / at myth tent wth me /

Tuesday y^e 20th y^e wind S.^o the^rly some of our men & y^e
 Indian / went a hunting but returned having seen no
 game / but one man lost himself /

Wednesday y^e 21st y^e winds & weath. variable from y^e /
 N.^o W.^t to y^e N.^o E.^t some snow to day some of our people /
 & y^e Indian went out to look for y^e lost he & they /
 returned wth 5 patridges to day I removed our selves
 to / ten shilling river Creek /

Thursday y^e 22^d y^e weather ditto y^e wind from y^e S^o W^t /
 to y^e N.^o E.^t N. therly to day some men & Y^e Indian /
 went a hunting returned wth out game only y^e Indian /
 Kill'd one Rabbit & a patridge to day set 21 hooks /
 for, fish /

friday y^e 23^d fair weather nothing remarkable /

Saturday y^e 24th this morning took up all y^e hooks / & went all home to the factory snowing squally / weath.
y^e wind S^otherly y^e Indian being out return'd / in y^e afternoon wth 3 patridges / / [44] .

Sunday y^e 25th strong gales of wind at N^o. with / snow sent y^e Indian over to our people at y^e fourteens / to hear w^t news & in y^e Even. y^e gunner another hand / & y^e Indian returned they brought with them / 10 trout /

Munday y^e 26th Clear weather y^e wind ditto 3 of / our men came from y^e fourteens for provision / and brought with them one fish to day the / S^o. Channel fastened again with Ice /

Tuesday the 27th moderate gales the weather / Ditto this day I and those men which came / from the fourteens and 3 more men which / stayed at the french Creek to fish the rest / returned to the fourteens four more going / Likewise up the River to hunt and / fish /

Wednesday the 28th fine weather the wind / S^o. E^t. to day one of our men went a hunt / ing but caught nothing / Thursday the 29th Variable winds from / the S^o. E^t. to the N^o. W^t. with much snow / to day shot 5 wood patridges in the plan /

friday the 30th strong gales of wind with / small snow. one of our men went a hunting. / no success / / [45]
Saturday y^e 31st fair weather the wind S^o. W^t. / I and some of the men from the fourteens / came home bringing 10 fish and 19 patridges / and one hand

from the house 2 more ditto / Likewise 2 hands ^{came} ^
 from above having nothing / this week /

Sunday november y ^e 1st moderate weather / the wind
 S^o W^t. this day came 3 men from / the french Creek
 and in y ^e afternoon came / two hands from y ^e fourteens
 bringing / with them two mohawks who said they
 left / some Indians six days since that wanted /
 victuals and were coming towards the / fort /

Munday the 2^d fair weather the wind / S^o therly to
 day some of our men and one / of the Mohawks with
 the Indian went / returned to the fourteens one of
 our men / went a hunting and Killed six / patridges /
 Tuesday the 3^d strong gales of wind S^o therly / Clear
 weather to day the rest of our men / returned to the
 fourteens and one came / from thence another went
 up the River to / see for the 2 men y^t is there some of
 our men / went a hunting but caught nothing // [46]

Wednesday the 4th fair weather the winds / variable
 from the S^o W^t to the N^o E^t to day / our men that
 was up the river came home / having caught nothing
 and one hand / went to the fourteens and some went
 a / hunting brought home about 10 patrid^{ges} /

Thursday the 5th strong gales of wind / from the S^o
 to the E^t Cloudy weath. /

friday the 6th Clear weather the wind / ditto two of
 our men went a hunting towards / the fourteens and
 some on this side / which brought about 12 patridgès /
 Saturday the 7th some snow last night / the wind
 N^o.therly some of our men / came from the fourteens

and brought / with them 98 patridges some men went /
 a hunting brought one ditto and one new / gun broak /
 Sunday the 8th fair weather 2 of the / Indians went a
 hunting and brought / 14 patridges this morning 8
 a Clock Matthew Vickary died /

Munday the 9th thick weather this / morning at noon
 Cleared up two / hands came from y^e french Creek / the
 Indians went a hunting brought / / [47] home 2
 patridges and one Rabbit this / afternoon buried our
 man /

Tuesday the 10th Moderate gales between / the N.^o and
 the W^t with small snow to / day the two men returned
 to the french / Creek and I with one of our men and /
 2 Indians Went a Beavour hunting / 2 of our men
 went from the fort a hunting but caught nothing /

Wednesday the 11th Wind and weather / Ditto our men
 went to fetch home / wood and one hand went a /
 hunting brought home 2 patridges /

Thursday the 12th clear weather / wind ditto our people
 Continue to / fetch wood and one of our men went /
 a hunting kill'd 2 patridges /

Friday the 13th wind ditto some / snow nothing
 remarkable but one of / our men went a hunting out
 and / kil'd 5 patridges / / [48]

Saturday the 14th moderate gales west / erly some snow
 to day 5 of of our men / came from the fourteens
 which brought / 7 Jacks and 20 patridges likewise /
 two from the french Creek with 2 / Jack and two
 trout /

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Sunday the 15th fine clear weath.^r / with little wind ditto
our men returned / from beavour hunting having
caught / one and 8 patridges this morning between /
12 & 1 Daniel Hardy died /

Munday the 16th fair weather to / day our men returned
to the fourteens / and likewise to the french creek
this / afternoon buried our man /

Tuesday the 17th Moderate / weather the wind N^otherly
this / morning came 2 Indians starved / to the fort
having left their family's / 2 days Journey of Likewise
2 of / our men went to the fourteens one / of which
returned again in the / Evening and one hand went
a hunting / brought home 6 patridges / / [49]

Wednesday the 18th last night some / snow the wind
N^otherly to day the / Indian returned to his family
with / some Indian corn the other and / one of our
men went a hunting brought / home 13 patridges
likewise one / Indian came from our people at the /
fourteens /

Thursday the 19th Last night / Edward Harrington dyed
to day we / Buried him 2 Indians went a hunting /
brought 22 patridges moderate weath / er little wind /
Friday the 20th Last night 11 a / Clock came 2 Indians
to the fort / from the other side the river one being /
the same that went away to meet / the family and to
day the rest / came to y^e factory 2 Indians and one /
of our men went a hunting / brought home 24 patridges
this / Evening some snow wind N^otherly /

Saturday the 21st Last night / the River fastened against

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the / fort to day some of our people / came from the
fourteens and / Likewise some from the french / / [50]
Creek brought with them 6 patridges / and four fish
some of our men went / a hunting brought 20 patridges/
clear weather little wind between / the N.^o & y^e west /
Sunday the 22^d some snow the / Wind N^otherly to day
came 3 Indians / from between portnelson and / this
River 2 days Journey brought / some Beaver /
Munday the 23^d moderate gales at / W N W weather
ditto to day our men / returned to the fourteens and
french / Creek and 3 or 4 of our men went / with
them to fall timber and to / hunt beavour 2 Indians
and one / of our men went a hunting brought / 15
patridges /

Tuesday the 24th this day wind / S W^t the Indians went
from the / fort and carryed with them those / that
came here starved to day two / of our men went to
the fourteens / one of which tarryed there Likewise /
3 indians came to the fort one of / which was the
french Captain they / brought nothing but 2 white
fox skins / / [51]

Wednesday the 25th strong gales at / N N W^t to day
the french Captain / and the Indians went from the
fort / 2 of our men went a hunting brought / 15
patridges /

Thursday the 26^t moderate gales / W N W^t to day our
men fetcht home / wood from the Creek above the /
house and the indian went a / hunting kill'd 5
patridges /

Friday the 27th cloudy weath.^r / the wind W^t to day I
came home / with an Indian having set our / people
about the timber but / caught no beaver /

Saturday the 28th Clear weath.^r / the wind S^otherly
to day some / of our people came from the / fourteens
for our and the french / creek brought 2 patridges /

Sunday y^e 29th some snow last night / the wind came
about N^otherly to day / sent one Indian to y^e fourteens
for our / beaver nets & ice Chizzels / / [52]

Munday the 30th Moderate weath / er our people
returned to the four / teens and the french Creek our /
men went a hunting brought 7 / patridges /

Tuesday the December the 1st / this morning I and
M^r Newtⁿ / went toward portnelson to see / what we
could discover but it / came on snowy and thick
weather / so we returned gott home at / night the
wind between the S^o / and the East our people kill'd /
7 patridges /

Wednesday the 2^d some small / snow the wind between
the / S^o and the W^t this morning 2 / hands went to
the fourteens / our people went a hunting kill'd /
16 patridges /

Thursday the 3^d Cloudy / weather wind W^t this
Morning / 2 hands went came from the four / teens
saying they began sawing / / [53] yesterday Likewise
our people went / a hunting and killed ^{about} 16 patridges /
Friday the 4th the wind between / the S^o and the E.
weather Ditto our / people went a hunting brought /
8 patridges and one Rabbit this / Evening the same

Indian that / was here starved¹ that weht away / came
again having left his family / this morning and some
other / Indians a thursday /

Saturday the 5th strong gales of / wind N^o.therly to day
some of / our people came from the fourteens / and
french Creek /

Sunday the 6 Clear weather / the wind variable from
the / N^o. to the S^o W^t /

Munday the 7th weather ditto / the wind West to day
our / people returned to the fourteens / and french
creek Likewise here / / [54] came 3 Indians starved to
the fort / our people went a hunting brought / 29
patridges saw a smoke on the / south side sent a hand
to know / the reason proved to be the / mohaw^rks /
Tuesday the 8th wind and weath^r. / the same our hunters
kill'd 7 / patridges and one white fox the / rest of our
people fetcht home wood /

Wednesday the 9th Clear weath^r. / the wind between the
N^o. and / the W^t. to day those Indians that / came last
went away and the / other Indians that came a
friday / last his family gott hither our / people continue
to fetch wood /

Thursday the 10th fresh gales / N^o.therly thick weather
our / people still fetch wood our / hunters kill'd to
day 13 / patridges /

Friday the 11th fresh gales at / N W wth drift / / [55]

Saturday the 12th Clear weather the / wind west our
people some from the / french creek and the fourteens /
brought 41 patridges our hunters / Likewise killed 38 /

Sunday the 13th fair weather / the wind ditto to day
 saw one man / cross the river above the fort 2 / mile
 sent two indians to discover the / track returning told
 us it was a / man without snow shoes here came / also
 an indian woman with 2 / children for relief having
 left 5 more / Indians that was coming also the /
 12 Instant /

Munday the 14th fair weather / little wind to day our
 people / returned to the fourteens and / french Creek
 our hunters kill'd / 29 patridges /

Tuesday the 15th Moderate / weather the wind Easterly /
 I and one Mohawk went over / the River to set a nett
 the same / day came 8 Indians to the / fort 3 of which
 had been here / before / / [56]

Wednesday the 16th Cloudy weather / the wind North
 West returned to / the house having catcht one Jack /
 to day our hunters kill'd 30 / patridges and 3 Rabbits /
 Thursday the 17th fair weath.^r / little wind our hunters
 kill'd 30 / 17 patridges & one rabbit /

Friday the 18th thick weath.^r / the wind S.^otherly our
 hunters / kill'd 30 patridges and found / one wolf /
 Saturday the 19th wind and / Weather ditto to day our
 people / came all home from the / fourteens and french
 Creek / Likewise 6 indians went away / our people
 brought 93 patridges / our hunters kill'd 34 and 3 /
 rabbits /

Sunday the 20th some snow / the wind N.^o this morning /
 came 3 indians starved / likewise sent two up the /
 river to fish & hunt / / [57]

Munday the 21st Wind and weath.^r / Ditto our hunters
kill'd 21 patridges / & one Rabbit /

Tuesday the 22^d strong gales / of wind N.^otherly and
much / Drift /

Wednesday the 23^d Clear weath.^r / the wind W.^t our
hunters kill'd / 25 patridges /

Thursday the 24th fair weath.^r / the wind W.st to day our
hunters / kill'd 9 patridges one Indian / dyed fetcht
wood home /

Friday the 25th Wind & / weather Ditto last night they /
burnt the Corps to day came y^e / black boy and his
wife to the fort / Likewise whiskers came from his /
family an returned in the even / ing black boy brought
our gun / splitt- /

Saturday the 26th fine weather / the wind W.^terly this
morning / came all whiskers family to / the fort /

Sunday the 27th fresh gales at S^o / W.^t wth drift / / [58]

Munday the 28th fine gales ditto / Clear to day made
a search found / some trading goods in the mens /
chest of which the governer took ^{an} ^tacco. / this Evening
some difference fell / between the governer and M^r
Newton / upon which the Governer turned / him out
of place and his house /

Arrabeck or indian language of hudsons / bay /
* Cakiththa keeshquebbaujwahtchee j. ^{bay} aihttee
naunneewee Ne wee No tee / Squea wan Kescot
nee Kiththee Chua quoaming Pee lanée ma Newa
Wha / pimmok Kagi a Nee pa autta Meshshee woan

*The Indian words which follow are written with a finer pen,
but perhaps by the same hand, as the remainder of the text.
The transcription here given is in many places uncertain.

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poos co Tabbiscanura^d /

Tuesday the 29th small snow / the wind N^otherly our
indians / and one English man went a / hunting kill'd
10 patridges and / 4 rabbits to day the governer took /
from Andrew Johnson all his / beaver by reason he
traded some / of it with an indian called whiskers /
Likewise some small matter of / Beaver stones that is
about 6 / Beaver and as many stones one indian / &
one English man went to y^e fourteens / / [59]

Wednesday the 30th Clear weather / the wind ditto our
indians went a / hunting and kill'd 11 patridges /
Thursday the 31st strong gales / of wind N^otherly with
drift / to day our man and the indian / returned from
the fourteens but y^e had no success /

A pleasant fancy of old time / which made me write
in an unknown / tongue because counsel is kept best
in / one single Breast* /

1697⁶ Friday January the 1st clear / weather the wind
W^eerly this / morning 2 mohawks and one / other
indian set out for the nort / North side of portnelson
to hunt / patridges and 2 more Ditto to / hunting
about the fort the latter / brought 3 patridges to day
was / found 3 cask of beaver shott knives / and flints
awls and steels that the / french had hid under the
floor / of one of the cabbins and over the / Ceiling//[60]
Saturday the 2^d Gloomy weather / the westerly one
English man and / 1 Indian went a hunting had no /
success to day our people fetcht home / all the fire

*In the original this passage is opposite
the Indian words on page 58.

wood we had cut in y^e / woods /
 Sunday the 3^d fair weath.^r / the wind W.^t this morning /
 black boy and his wife went / to lye out two or 3
 nights one / Indian went a hunting had / no game /
 Munday the 4th wind & / weather ditto to day 8 of our /
 ma^ean went to the fourteens / to saw and hunt sent
 over / another saw to keep two saws / going /
 Tuesday the 5th Clear / Weather wind between the /
 S.^o and the W.^t this morning / our men went about
 cleaning / the yard afternoon our 3 / Indians returned
 from the N.^o / side of portnelson brought / about 15
 patridges one indian / went a hunting near home but
 had / no success / / [61]

Wednesday the 6th Clear weather / wind S.^otherly we
 made an End / of cleaning the yard 2 English / men
 went a hunting kill'd one / patridge /

Thursday the 7th thick weath.^r / wind Easterly this
 morning / went to the fourteens took 2 hands / along
 with mee to try to draw / home plank but could not
 so came / with one upon the dogs slead to the / Rivers
 side the wind being about / N.^otherly advised them to /
 return to the fourteens told / them they would not
 hold it over / it drift so hard they said they could /
 gott in sight of the north shore / one began to faint
 I ordered the / other to stay with him till I / went to
 the house and sent relief / but before our people gott
 to them / it being almost dark Rich.^d bean / was almost
 dead and W.^m Howard / destracted so was forc'd to
 sent many / men to fetch them both home / having

left the plank about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a / Mile of Rich.^d beans hands
was / / [62] froze much his face Likewise could / not
speak when brought home the / others face a little

1 English man / and 2 Indians went a hunting / Kill
17 patridges /

Friday the 8th fair weather / the wind between the N.^o
and / the W.^t to day 4 Indiahs and / one English man
went a hunting / kill'd 15 patridges and 2 rabbits /

Saturday the 9th thick weath.^r / the wind N.^otherly
small / snow to day 3 hands came / from the fourteens

one English / man and five Indians went / a hunting
kill'd 29 patridges / & 1 Rabbit /

Sunday the 10th fair weath.^r / wind W.^t /

Munday the 11th Clear / weather the wind W.^t 4 /
Indians & one English man went / a hunting kill'd
7 patridges to day / our people returned to y^e
fourteens / / [63]

Tuesday the 12th Wind and weath.^r / Ditto 2 Indians
went a hunting / kill'd 5 patridges /

Wednesday the 13th small snow / the wind between the
N.^o and the / E.^t with drift one English man / and
5 Indians went a hunting / Killd 9 rabbits and 3
patridges / one of the Indians went to lye / out a
night or two to make snow shoes /

Thursday the 14th fresh gales / at N.^o W.^t Clear weath.^r /

Friday the 15th fresh gales / at N.^o W.^t 2 English men /
and 4 indians Likewise the / other returned from
Lying / out brought home in all 35 / patridges & one
Rabbitt /

Saturday the 16th Clear / weather the wind Ditto
to day / came 5 hands from the fourteens / 4 Indians
went a hunting kill'd / 9 patridges this morning
2 a Clock / Died Rich. Beaver our Chirur / geon
opened his breast found / Several of his Ribs broak
w^{ch} Edw. Harrington / did while Living / / [64]

Sunday the 17th snowy weath. / the wind between the
S.^o and / the W.^t till Evening wind N.^o / blew hard /
Munday the 18th much wind / N.^otherly and drift
insomuch / that our people could not return / to y^e
fourteens /

Tuesday the 19th thick / weather the wind from / the
S.^o E.^t to the W.^t this morning / our people returned to
the / fourteens at noon fitted 17 / indians with 10 days
provisions / and sent them away to look / for deer
this afternoon buried / Rich. Beaver one English man /
and one Indian went to lye / out at ten shilling Creek
a night / or two to kill patridges two / indians went
likewise to the / fourteens to do the same and / one
Indian went from the / house Kill'd 6 patridges /
Wednesday the 20th a storm of / wind N.^otherly with
much / drift / / [65]

Thursday the 21st fresh gale / of wind Ditto and drift
our / English man and Indian return'd / this afternoon
had no success /

Friday the 22^d fair weather / the wind W.^t 2 Indians
went / a hunting 2 of the 17 Indians / returned one
English man went / to see if y^e Rest were gone another /
went with a note to the fourteens / returned in the

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Evening /

Saturday the 23^d Cloudy weath / er wind E.sterly 5
hands came / from the fourteens brought 22 / patridges
2 Indians went a / hunting kill'd 1 patridge /

Sunday the 24th thick weath / weather wind S.^otherly
our 2 / Indians came from the four / teens brought
14 patridges /

Munday the 25th Clear / weather the wind ditto to /
day our people and the 2 indians / returned to y^e
fourteens 2 indians / went a hunting from y^e fort /
kill'd 4 patridges / / [66]

Tuesday the 26 Hazy warm / weather the wind strong
S.^otherly / the 2 Indians that came back / the other
day set out this morn^g / to follow the Rest one of our /
Indians went to lye out and / one English man went
a hunt / ing kill'd 2 patridges /

Wednesday the 27th wind / from the S.^o to the W.^t
weath.^r / ditto to day came one Indian / came from the
fourteens brought / 20 patridges one English and /
2 Indians went a hunting / kill'd 5 patridges the
Indian / getting what he came for / return'd to the
fourteens our / people heaving the snow / of all the
flankers /

Thursday the 28th last / night strong gales N.^otherly /
with snow and so remained / all day / / [67]

Friday the 29th Moderate / weather wind Easterly with /
small snow our people went to / cleaning the yard but
left when / snowed 2 indians went to hunt / kill'd
4 patridges /

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Saturday the 30th Clear / weather wind S^o E^t 3 English /
and 2 Indians came from the / fourteens brought with
them / 47 patridges and 4 Rabbits / one English and
2 Indians / to hunt from the fort kill'd / 17 patridges
& Rabbits 2 our / men cleaned the yard /

Sunday the 31st strong / gales at N.E.^o and East / with
snow /

Munday the February / the 1st wind Ditto much /
drift our people returned to / the fourteens & 3 Indians
went / there also to hunt a deer w^{ch} was seen / Saturday
last / / [68]

Tuesday the 2^d wind and / weather Ditto one English
went / a hunting had no success /

Wednesday the 3^d fresh gales / Ditto Clear sent one
hand / to the fourteens to hear what news / and one
Indian kill'd 2 patridges /

Thursday the 4th wind / West our man returned from /
the fourteens and one Indian / which brought 2
patridges / and one Rabbit one Indian a / hunting
kill'd 2 Rabbit & / one patridge /

Friday the 5th Clear / wind S^o W.^t 2 Indians went a /
hunting kill'd 8 patridges Tho. Dutton / went out
Likewise splitt his piece & / hurt his hand & froze
it also /

Saturday the 6^t wind & / weather ditto our men came
all / home from the fourteens one indian / came round
a hunting kill'd 7 / patridges 2 indians out a hunting /
had no success / / [69]

Sunday the 7th weather Ditto little wind / W.^terly /

Munday the 8th weather Ditto wind N.^o / W.^t I and 2
Indians went to lie out / one the North side of
portnelson to / kill^c patridges y^c 2 Mohawks likewise /
on y^c same acco. to ten shilling Creek /

Tuesday the 9th wind N.^o W.^t snow / & drift /

Wednesday the 10th moderate gales / W.^t N.^o W.^t w small
snow till noon / then Clear /

Thursday y^c 11th wind & weather ditto / Clear this
morn.^g whiskers came to the / factory starved gives a
very lamentable / relation of those indians y^c went
hence / wth him Likewise an upland Indian & / his wife
came to y^c fort from up this / river w^{ch} traded some
beaver our mohawks / returned wth 23 patridges our
men / cleaned y^c yard /

friday y^c 12th little wind S.^o W.^t & smal / snow our men
continue at y^c same about / y^c pallasadoes our hunters
kill'd 10 / patridges & 1 Rabbit & we returned in /
Evening brought 69 patridges y^c uplander / & his wife
went away / / [70]

Saturday the 13th fair weath.^r / wind N.^o W.^t /

Sunday y^c 14th wind N.^o E.^t snow & / drift whiskers
returned to his / family wth oatmeal & pease not / to
bring y^m to y^c fort /

Munday y^c 15th weath. Clear / wind N.^o therly 2 English
& 4 / Indians went to y^c N.^o side of / portnelson y^c
rest of our men / went to cut wood & fetcht it home /
for the fire from the back / of the house /

Tuesday y^c 16th Little wind / weath.^r ditto one hand
went to y^c / french creek returned at Even.^g / y^c Gov.^r

& M.^r Newton having words / turn'd him out of ^{his} \wedge house & took / from him the keys of y^e Warehouse / from him having not been / himself since sunday night & / not without Just cause // [71]

Wednesday y^e 17th thick wind between / y^e S^o & y^e E.^t our men fetching fire wood / home this Even.^g came one Indian to / y^e fort being y^e french cap. son little / nest who said his wife was coming- / wth-whiskers family hither /

Thursday y^e 18th Clear weath.^r ditto ^{wind} \wedge our / W^terly / friday y^e 19th wind & weath.^r ditto our / fetcht home wood & those w^{ch} went to / y^e other side of portnelson return'd / brought 86 patridges this Even.^g / whiskers & his \wedge family came to y^e fort y^e / Gov.^r beat him & turn'd him out / for abusing us in giving a token / sent to me he giving it to one of / our men & likewise has been a / plague to us all this winter in / being lazy 2 English men out to / day caught nothing /

Saturday the 20th wind & weather / Ditto 2 indians a hunting kill'd / 9 patridges /

Sunday y^e 21st wind N^o W.^t & / Clear // [72]

Munday the 22^d fair weath. wind / ditto 4 hands went to y^e N.^o side of / portnelson & 4 more to y^e fourteens / to fish & hunt y^e rest went to / fetch wood /

Tuesday the 23^d to day I & / another English wth four indians / set out for y^e N.^o side of portnelson / to hunt deer /

Wednesday the 24th wind & / weath.^r ditto /

Thursday y^e 25th little wind / fine weather our men

went / to wood & y^e french Cap.^{ts} son & / his wife
went from the factory / this Even.^g /

friday the 26 moderate / weath.^r wind ditto our men /
went a hunting wooding /

Saturday y^e 27th wind S^o W.^t / this Day & yesterday the
snow / gave about the house our / men went a wooding
& those / men returned from the french / Creek but
caught no fish & our / hunters from portnelson brought /
80 patridges / / [73]

Sunday y^e 28th moderate gales W.^t / N.^o W.^t the snow
melted about y^e / factory &c /

Munday the 29th 1st of March / little wind S^o therly it
continues / thawing this Evening 2 indians / came to
y^e factory and the french / cap.^{ts} son that went away
thursday / night returned with them they / all say it
has been a very hard / winter however they presented /
the Gov.^r with some tongues / & heads &c /

Tuesday the 2^d snow & drift / wind N.^o W.^t the 3 Indians
went / from the factory but the french / cap.^{ts} sons
wife stayed here being / lame /

Wednesday the 3^d moderate gales / ditto^{to} ^ day our
^{men} ^ went to woods this / Evening the dog slouch came
up / with 2 wolves on the river fought / them both
half an hour but / our men not coming to his /
assistance they left him he not / being able to fight
them any^{longer} ^ / / [74] to day 2 men returned from the /

^{longer} being
deer hunters ^ not able to perform /

Thursday the 4th wind S^o therly / thawy to day our men
heaved y^e / snow out of y^e palasadoes /

Friday the 5th wind N.^oW.^t / blowed hard last night and /
to day Drift & snowed exceedingly / this day 3 indians
came to y^c / factory and traded some skins / and went
away in the Even.^g /

Saturday the 6th wind N.^otherly / hard gales with snow
and / drift /

Sunday the 7th wind N.^oW.^t / hard gales and drift fine /
weath.^r in y^c afternoon /

Munday the 8th fresh gales / Ditto clear and drift 12
of / our went to cut next winters / fireing at ten
shilling creek / the rest of our hands cleaned y^c / house
& platform of snow / / [75]

Tuesday the 9th moderate gales / N.^o W.^t clear weather
our men / worked y^c same the mohawk went / a hunting
kill'd 1 patridge /

Wednesday the 10th little wind / clear & sharp our men
at home went / a wooding & one man came from ten /
shilling creek to grind broken hatchets /

Thursday y^c 11th wind W.^t weather / ditto our men
worked ditto & y^c man / returned to ten shilling creek
y^c mohawk / went a hunting did not return at night /

we supposed he is gone to look for y^c deer / hunters /
Friday y^c 12th little wind between y^c / S.^o & y^c E.^t cloudy
to day our men did y^c / same and y^c mohawk return'd
brought 3 / patridges hard gales in y^c Even.^g snow & /
drift & c /

Saturday y^c 13th wind variable from y^c S.^o / E.^t to y^c
N.^o W.^t W.^terly some of our men / came from tenshilling
creek for provision / our hunters kill'd 7 patridges /

Sunday y^e 14th wind from west to north / weath.^r
ditto / / [76]

Munday y^e 15th fresh. gales at N^o E.^t w / snow y^e men
returned to ten shilling / creek our men at home
pull'd down y^e / Crest work y^e french had put upon
y^e / cook r^oom &c /

Tuesday y^e 16th wind & weath.^r Ditto &c /

Wednesday y^e 17th wind & weath.^r y^e same /

Thursday y^e 18th little wind E.st w snow till / noon it
cleared up our men hove y^e snow / of y^e flankers /

Friday y^e 19th small winds E.^terly clear^r / weath.^r our men
went a wooding in y^e / plantation y^e mohawk & indian
boy went a / hunting kill'd 13 patridges to day
whiskers / went from y^e fort with his family &c /

Saturday y^e 20th wind ditto & thaw / this day our men
returned from / cutting y^e next winters wood our /
hunters kill'd 12 patridges our men at / home clean
y^e platform /

Sunday y^e 21st small wind y^e same / thaughed to day
3 indians came / from M.^r kelsey they having kill'd /
no deer as yet but brought some dried / flesh four
moose tongues & 3 noses ditto / &c / / [77]

Munday y^e 22^d wind & weath.^r ditto y^e 3 / indians & y^e
old womans boy return'd / y^e gov.^r began to overhaul
y^e stores our / hunters kill'd 9 patridges &c /

Tuesday y^e 23^d wind & weath.^r y^e same / our people
continue to work in y^e ware / house y^e mohawk kill'd
4 patridges &c /

Wednesday y^e 24th wind ditto w snow our / men went to

woods in y morn.^g in y / aftern.ⁿ got y great mortar of
y platform / to y E.^t end of y Gov.^{rs} house without y /
fortification to day came in four indians / from y
S.^oward /

Thursday y 25th strong gales N.^otherly w / small snow
& drift y indians presented / y gov.^r w some tongues
heads & flesh & / traded some skins at Even.^g left
y / fort our hunters kill'd 12 patridges 2 / strangers
indians came in from M.^r / kelsey no deer as yet /

Friday y 26th moderate gales between / y N.^o & y E.^t
cloudy this day y Indians / wife & y french Capt. son
came to y / fort to day y Indians traded he his / son
& wife went away y french Cap.^{ts} / son & wife went to
lye at their tent / 13 patridges killd to day / / [78]

Saturday y 27th fresh gales S.^otherly / to day y Gov.^r
turn'd y french cap. / son & wife from y fort but
they went / & lay at y tent in y woods not / following
y other indians & 8 / patridges kill'd &c /

Sunday y 28th wind & weath. ditto / thawing /

Munday y 29th variable winds for / y most part E.sterly
thawy to day / our men went to woods our hunters /
kill'd 29 patridges snowed this / morn.^g /

Tuesday y 30th thick weath. wind / N.^otherly to day I
came to y fort / brought 20 Deers tongues & & / deer
sides there being no Deer those / Indians I had seen
being 5 tents / came to y factory also this Even.^g /
fired the great mortar twice / our hunters kill'd 31
patridges / &c Batt Entertain'd /

Wednesday y 31st wind variable / small snow our men

went^d to woods / & our hunters kill'd -7 patridges
Rich. / stanton broke his gun &c // [79]

Thursday y^e april yst 1 wind and weath^r / weath.^r ditto
to day digged 2 barrels of / beer out buried last fall
made a feast / for the indians told them they must /
goe out of our way y^t our people might / hunt which
they agreed too our hunt / ers kill'd 30 patridges /
Friday the 2^d wind and weather / ditto our hunters
kill'd 19 patridges / fired one of the Brass pieces
3 times / one tent of the Indians went over the / river
pointed some palasadoes to / day &c /

Saturday the 3^d fine weather wind / S^otherly thawed
our hunters kill'd 84⁺ / patridges and 2 Rabbits some
of the / indians went away likewise 3 came / from
those indians to the Southward / which say there is
no deer &c /

Sunday the 4th strong gales at / N.^oE.^t close weather
more indians / went away and having left but / one
tent which removed into the / plantation &c // [80]

Munday the 5th wind N.^oE.^t with / snow sleet and rain
thawed much / the 3 indians that came a / saturday
last went away and / another with them /

Tuesday the 6^t much snow / last night wind N.^otherly
our / hunters kill'd 55 patridges and / one indian came
from the / fourteens brought 8 rabbits traded / them
for 5 pints of oatmeal / turn'd one indians out of the /
fort /

Wednesday the 7th wind ditto / with small snow our
hunters / kill'd 82 patridges and 11 / rabbits and the

indians_u return'd / to his tent at the fourteens /
 Thursday the 8th strong / gales ditto clear our hunters /
 kill'd 57 patridges /

friday the 9th fine weath^r wind S^otherly / thawed our
 hunters killd 59 / patridges and one rabbit one indian
 & / his wife came to y^e fort from up the river who / says
 there is no deer / / [81]

Saturday the 10th wind and weather ditto / our hunters
 kill'd 78 patridges those / at home hove snow out of
 the yard to / day came 2 indians from the Islands /
 that brou^{gh}t 6 rabbits so traded and / went away /

Sunday the 11th wind and weath^r / ditto 2 indians came
 in from the / south side of the river one of which /
 traded and went away the other / stayed here thawed
 very much / to day /

Munday the 12th fine weath^r / wind N^otherly small frost
 last / night to day came 7 indians from / the south
 shore who traded and / went away gave us acco^t. some
 deer / had past yesterday another said / he saw two
 geese our hunters / kill'd 11 patridges clear'd the /
 platform of water / / [82]

Tuesday the 13th wind and weather / variable our
 hunters kill'd 10 patridges / clear'd part of the trading
 room / here came tents of indians to y^e / fort /

Wednesday the 14th thick / weather ^{wind variable} ^ this morning
 made an / end clearing the trading room / and told
 delivered into y^e warehouse / whole parchment beaver
 158 / coat ditto 208 half ditto 110 / otter 10 and
 muse skins 9 receivd / some goods into y^e trading

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room / &c told into the warehouse 38 / coat beaver
26 half and 12 whole / parchment fired the mortar /
twice / .

Thursday the 15th cold snowy / Blowing weather wind
N^o E.^t / to day our people went to carry / y^e things
over y^e river for goose hunting / Likewise to carry
y^e sawed plank to y^e / fourteen house / / [83]

friday the 16th Clear weath^r wind / N^o therly to day our
people returned from / the other side having help the
goose / hunters to their place and removed / the plank
the indians likewise traded / to day 3 patridges kill'd
and 3 hundred / of musket shott cast into pistol /
buttertooth kept /

Saturday the 17th wind and weath.^r / ditto some of the
indians went away / and our indians returned from /
up the river who says he saw / some geese but no deer
one hand / came from the goose tent for / provision
6 patridges kill'd to day / and one Rabbit our men
Clipt shot / for trading /

Sunday the 18th wind W.erly / cold more indians went
away / guyers clild went from the factory /

Munday y^e 19th moderate weath.^r wind N.^o / W.^t our men
went to woods for firing some / indians went away
to y^e south side & our / hunters killd 24 patridges &
said saw one goose / / [84]

Tuesday the 20th fair weather wind / ditto thawed a
little our men / continue wooding sawed some / board
att the fort our hunters kill'd / 19 patridges /

Wednesday the 21st thawy / wind E^t erly one hand went

to / the goose tent one ^ey south side / the ramaing
part of those indians / that came from the southward /
went away from the fort and / in the evening our hand
returned / brought 24 patridges run more / shott our
hunters kill'd kill'd ^d10 / patridges /

Thursday the 22^d wind / and weather ditto our men
work / heaving the snow out of the garden / and some
a clipping the shott some / more indians went away
our / hunters kill'd 24 patridges / / [85]

Friday the 23^d Clear wind ^oS therly / much thaw our
men made an end / of clearing the garden the
remaining / part of the indians went away / except
those belonged to the fort / one English and one
mohawk / came from the tent on the other / side
brought 91 patridges fired / the mortar twice this
even. one break ^g / factory went away also /

Saturday the 24th wind and / weath. ^rditto to day gott
six minnion / minnion guns of the flankers / our man
returned to his tent saw four / geese one tent of
Indians came starv'd / from the south side /

Sunday the 25th fair weath. / wind ditto saw several
geese the / Indians went a hunting one of whi / which
killd 4 & brought ^my to ^ey / Govern. ^rtraded 3 of ^my for
oatmeal / / [86]

Munday the 26th fog, this morn. ^g / till nine it cleared &
thawed / much our hunters kill'd 2 geese / one of
which kitt spencer killd / and one indian came from
the / tent on the south side who / say'd they had
kill'd no geese / but had 4 which indians kil'd /

Likewise another indian and / his wife came from
 this side of / portnelson saying he has / seen no geese
 yet our people at / home went to woods removed /
 the plank and hove away / the snow from the N^o E^t
 corner / of the house toward Evening / it rain'd wind
 N E. strong / gales /

Tuesday the 27th wind ditto frost / last night & snowed
 to day one indian / came from y^e french creek return'd
 in / the Even^g. to his tent our men hove y^e / snow from
 about y^e pinnacle / / [87]

Wednesday the 28th wind and / weath^r. ditto the tent of
 Indians that / was in the plantation went away to go /
 up the river to hunt geese for a night / or two but
 finding the river broak / up aloft returned Likewise
 another / tent which was on the south side / of
 portnelson came hither having / seen no geese and
 the Indian w^{ch} / came from our people on the south /
 shore returned /

Thursday the 29th thick weath^r. / wind ditto went a
 hunting had no / success our men at home work a /
 doubling the E^t. side of the cook / room one indian
 came from the / south side y^e river out of y^e plains /
 who says there is many geese and / brough 4 with him

4 of our men / went into the marsh with a / tent /
 Friday the 30th weath^r. clear / wind ditto this morn^g.
 M^r Bishop / came to the fort brought nothing / by
 reason of bad weath^r we continue / about the cook
 room y^e indian return'd / y^t brought y^e 4 geese & 2 more
 wth him / / [88]

Saturday the 1st of may this morn.^g / M.^r Bishop returned
being fine / weather little wind S.^otherly went / a
hunting kill'd one goose also / came one hand from
the tent / in the marsh for provision / they having
but few ^gese our / people continue about the / cook
room /

Sunday the 2^d snow'd last / night continues the same
to / day with strong gales at N.^o / E.^terly one of our
indians went / over the river yesterday Even.^g / to lye
there likewise those / belonging to the tents in the /
plantation returned from y^e / other side brought 2
geese /

Munday the 3^d wind & weath.^r ditto / till ten this
morn.^g clearing up & strong / gales at E.^t our indian
returned from / tother side no success went a hunting
but / no game but batt kill'd 9 patridges & 1 Rabbit
our man likewise return'd to y^e tent / in the marsh
our men hove y^e snow of y^e / flankers & out of the
yard / / [89]

Tuesday the 4th rain'd har'd last night / wind S.^otherly
cleared this morning went / a hunting kill'd 9 Geese
had storms for / this 2 days past /

Wednesday the 5 little wind variable / went a hunting
no game one hand / went to y^e tent in the marsh
brought / one goose /

Thursday the 6th fair weath.^r wind ditto / went a hunting
kill'd 2 geese sent one / hand to the tent on the south
side / but the creeks running came back / M.^r Newton
came from y^t tent brought / 10 geese /

friday the 7th Cloudy fresh gales / S^otherly went a hunting kill'd 12 geese / our man return'd to the tent on tother / side and some indians that was at y^e french / creek came over with their tents to y^e / fort /

Saturday y^e 8th clear wind ditto went a hunting / kill'd 10 geese one indian came from y^e french / creek brought 11 geese who return'd in y^e Even^g. to / day was finished a frame for a cook room & / smith shop / / [90]

Sunday the 9th wind from the E^t to / S^oE^t fine weath.^r
with

^ some rain in the / Evening 2 hands with one mohawk / came from the goose tent on the S^o / side this morning brought 39 geese / likewise 1 hand from the tent in the / marsh brought 1 ditto our hunters / kill'd 7 geese & some /

Munday the 10th wind & weath^r / variable went a hunting kill'd 2 / geese and some ducks our people / repack the salt meat and the men / return'd to their tent in the marsh / took our 2 indians with him and / the carpenters a refitting the / boats /

Tuesday the 11th Cloudy wind N.E. / went a hunting kill'd one goose / & some ducks the carpenters / remain doing the boats /

Wednesday the 12th one hand came from / y^e tent in y^e marsh brought 3 geese & 1 swan / y^e carpenters ^{continue} are ^{to work} working upon y^e boats y^e / hunters kill'd 2 geese & some ducks wind / E^terly clear weath.^r / / [91].

Thursday the 13th wind S^otherly / weather ditto the hand return'd to the / tent this morn.^g our carpenters are working / upon the boats about 2 afternoon one

hand / came from y^e tent in y^e marsh who brought /
 6 geese & a Gun to be mended w^{ch} being done / he
 returned to the tent our hunters kill'd / 7 geese this
 night M^r Kelsey & M^r spencer / lay at the tent in
 y^e marsh till y^e / & to lye out till y^e govern^r. made a
 signal / for their return /

Friday y^e 14th an indian traded 4 / geese wth the gov^r.
 for powder & shott one / hand came from the goose
 tent in y^e marsh / for powder & shott he brought
 4 geese / he return'd to y^e tent at again our / hunters
 kill'd 18 geese one swan & / some ducks likewise
 3 hands went / from the fort to y^e tent at marsh / &
 brought from thence 18 geese our / Carpenters are
 working upon y^e boats / little wind E^{rly} wth rain in
 y^e aftern. / / [92]

Saturday the 15th wind N^otherly thick / weath^r. our
 carpenters a fixing y^e boats / & making Oars our
 hunters kill'd 5 / geese & 1 duck some hands went to
 y^e / tent in y^e marsh & brought from thence / 13 geese
 some indians came from y^e S^o / side one of w^{ch} traded
 13 geese wth y^e govern^r / for powder & shott one hand
 came from / y^e tent in y^e marsh for flower /

Sunday y^e 16th hard gales E^{rly} wth rain / hail thunder
 & snow this morn^g. about / 4 y^e river broke up /

Munday y^e 17th little winds N^otherly clear / weath^r. in
 y^e aftern. y^e hand y^e came for / flower returned to y^e
 tent y^e indian y^e / traded y^e geese on saturday Inform'd
 y^e / gov^r. y^e there was some carpenters tools in / a boat
 w^{ch} was upon the South side / w^{ch} we suppose to be the

deerings long / boat which drove from the ship in /
 bad weath.^r so the gov.^r sent 2 hands / in the yaul &
 the indian but they / could not come near the boat
 for ice // [93] the yaul returned wth the 2 hands & /
 brought 2 corking irons a hamer & auger^g / which they
 had from the indians tent / which he gott out of her
 before this / Evening 4 cannoes of indians came /
 down the river to the fort upon w^{ch} / the governer made
 the signal for / M^r kelsey's return to the fort who /
 returned to with another hand that / came for powder
 & shott /

Tuesday the 18th fresh gales N^o E.^t sent / four hands to
 the tent in y^e marsh who / brought from thence forty
 geese traded / with those indians that came /
 yesterday /

Wednesday the 19th wind & weath.^r / ditto this morning
 gott some timber to / the E^t End of the governors
 house & / some hands went into the marsh / who
 returned with small game told / beav.^r into y^e
 warehouse // [94]

Thursday the 20th fair weath^r wind / ditto this morning
 came six cannoes / which traded and went away
 about / noon in the Evening came an / indian from
 the french creek / brought 2 geese traded & went /
 away our hunters killd 6 geese / & some small fowls
 &c /

Friday the 21st wind and weath^r / ditto this morning
 the four cannoes / that came first went away I and
 3 / I and 3 hands went with a boat / to ten shilling

creek another boat / went likewise to the tent on the /
South side and 2 hands went / into the marsh to fetch
geese / brought 20 we gott four / trout our hunters
kill'd / one goose and some small / fowls / / [95]

Saturday the 22^d fair weather wind / ditto went again
to ten shilling / creek caught nine fish our boat /
return'd from tother side brought / 80 geese and one
of their hands / for things they want who says / they
have about four hundred / geese at their tent our
hunters / kill'd 2 geese /

Sunday the 23^d fresh gales at / S^o E^t one hand came from
the / tent in the marsh brought 1 / goose the indians
brought 15 / geese and traded /

Munday the 24th fine weath.^r / little wind S^o therly one
boat / went to the S^o side with our / man which came
from thence / and another went to ten shilling / creek
w^{ch} brought some fish three / cannoes came down this
afternoon who / says there is more a coming our boat
came / from tother side & a cannoe wth 3 indians who
brought / brought from our tent 25 geese likewise 25
geese / Likewise 24 from our marsh &c lancht our
boats / afloat told beaver into the warehouse / / [96]
Tuesday the 25th thick weath.^r / wind N^o therly this
morning the / indians traded and went away & / one
cannoe came to the fort our / boat went to ten shilling
creek / caught some fish to day pull'd / down part of
the palasadoes on / the E.^t side of the governer's /
house and batt came from / the tent in the marsh
who / says but few geese there / Likewise some indians

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from / tother side ^{that} ^ says the same / told beaver into
the warehouse /

Wednesday the 26 rainy weath.^r / wind S^otherly the
canoe that / came yesterday traded this / morning
began to raise a work / on the W.^t side of y^e gov.^{rs} house
bat / returned to y^e tent in y^e marsh / / [97]

Thursday the 27th fine weath.^r / till about noon wind
came E^terly / with rain two boats went to the / goose
tent on the south side / return'd in the Evening
brought / 125 geese I likewise went to ten / shilling
creek caught some fish / one hand^e came from the tent /
in the marsh and says the geese / are gone work'd to
day fortification / the S^o side of the Governors house /
the canoe that traded / yesterday went away /

Friday the 28th fresh gales at / E^terly with fog and rain
19 canoes / came to the fort our 2 boats went again /
to tother side to fetch the men the & / their things
Likewise our hunters / came home from the marsh
continue / to on the Gov.^{rs} house / / [98]

Saturday the 29th snowed hard wind / ditto traded
those canoes that came / yesterday 18 more came
to day & our / boats return'd from tother side & /
brought all the men & 19 geese /

Sunday the 30th fresh gales S^otherly / Cloudy with rain
traded those indians / that came yesterday 21 canoes /
to day /

Munday the 31st wind N^o E^t Cloudy / our carpenters &
hands continue / working upon the governors house /
to day 3 canoes came to the fort / and some sayled

having traded / told Beaver into the warehouse /
 Tuesday the 1st June wind / S^otherly with some rain
 about 16 / or 17 cannoes came to day / likewise I traded
 those came / yesterday part of w^{ch} went away / / [99]
 Wednesday June the 2^d thick / weath^r. wind N^otherly
 the indians / that came yesterday traded & / went
 away 3 of our indians sent / over the river to hunt
 deer gott 2 / guns mounted in the governors / house &
 took up part of the platform / being decayed told
 Beaver into the / warehouse /

Thursday the 3^d wind E^terly fresh / gales to day pull'd
 down the breast / work of the E^t and south flankers
 & / laid part of the platform several / cannoes came
 down this afternoon / amongst which came one of
 the / french men /

friday the 4th strong gales S^otherly / with rain here
 came a large fleet / of cannoes to the fort likewise a /
 small parcel came from portnelson / by land traded
 some to day our men / took up more of the platform /
 being defective / / [100]

Saturday the 5th fair weath^r / wind S^otherly with
some cannoes came to
rain here day / our people made an end of
 the / platform & gott our guns in their / places we
 have now about 50 / cannoes at the fort /

Sunday the 6th wind N^otherly / weather ditto some
 came to day / & others went away our frenchman /
 and bat went up the river to / hunt deer /

Munday the 7th fair weath^r / wind ditto some cannoes /
 came to day & others went / away we begun to lay

the / foundation of a platform / at the East end of
the / Governors house and some / hands went to the /
fourteens to gett the plank / down the river / / [101]

Tuesday the 8th some rain and / snow last night came
N^otherly / to day / fair weather to day some cannoes / came to

day traded all the rest / and told the Beaver out of
the / trading room into the warehouse / melted more
small shott to make / caliver /

Wednesday the 9th rainy weath. / wind S^otherly about
20 cannoes / came to day and some went / away /

Thursday the 10th thick weath. / wind N^otherly all the
indians / traded and went away 27 cannoes / of stone
indians came this / Evening /

Friday the 11th wind & weath. / Ditto to day came 14
cannoos / likewise 3 indians from tother / side we gott
the 2 guns of the / lower platform up on the new /
platform at the E^t end of the / / [102]

Saturday the 12 clear weather wind / N^otherly W^t our
people returned from / the fourteens having gott the
plank / to the rivers mouth to day the stone / Indians
traded and went away four / cannoes came down the
river and / some indians from portnelson / cast more
shott /

Sunday the 13th wind and weath. / ditto traded to day
part of the / Indians went away others stayed / for
want of caliver shott /

Munday the 14th Clear wind / E^terly 3 boats went to
the fourteens / to fetch boards and to secure the /
albemarle with an anchor and / hasser which they

carried with / them one boat came with a raft / to
 the rivers mouth and to the / fort in the night all the
 Indians / traded & went away four cannoes / came
 to day told the beaver out of / y^e trading room into
 y^e warehouse / / [103]

Tuesday the 15th wind and weath.^r / ditto our tother
 boat came to the fort / about noon with the quantitie
 of boards / being sixty eight two cannoes came to /
 day traded and went away at Ebb our / pinnice went
 for the remainder of the / boards one canoe came
 down this / Evening /

Wednesday the 16th wind and / weather the same the
 indians traded / and went away Likewise an indian /
 came from tother side we begun to / raise the Bullwark
 of the platform / at the East end of the Governors
 house / some indians came from portnelson / saying
 they are 19 cannoes all of stone / indians /

Thursday the 17th fair weather / wind variable to day
 came the / french man from tother side brought /
 some fish Likewise some indians / with deers flesh
 and the indians / that came down portnelson came /
 all to the fort & traded part of / their Beaver last
 night our pinnace / / [104] return'd with the rest of
 the / plank /

friday the 18th wind E^terly / weath.^r ditto to day came
 3 / cannoes to the for with deers / flesh best part of
 those indians / that had traded went away our /
 people set up palasadoes to secure / the bank and the
 french man / went over the river to fish & hunt /

Likewise those indians that / came from tother side
went over / with them /

Saturday the 19th fine weath.^r / wind S^o therly traded the
deers / flesh that came yesterday four / cannoes came
to day that went / from hence 2 days ago continue /
securing the bank and told / the Beaver into the /
warehouse / / [105]

Sunday the 20th wind S^o therly / some rain this morning
the french / man came over brought some fish / and
fowl likewise came 3 cannoes of / Indians that went
from hence / sometime since having seen no / deer and
those indians stayed / behind the rest went away this /
morning being six cannoes /

Munday the 21st fair weath.^r / wind E^t erly 2 boats went
this / morning to ten shilling creek to / raft Likewise
the frenchman / went over to the nets 2 cannoes / of
indians came to the fort / from tother side brought
nothing / our boats return'd at Evening / having made
the rafts but / could gett them home / tide being
spent /

Torn out till July the 2^d / / [106]
friday the 2^d wind S^o W hott weath.^r / several indians
came from the S^o Side of / the river to the fort our
Carpenters / and hands are working as yesterday /
Saturday the 3^d fair weath.^r wind / between the N^o and
E^t small gales / I returned to the fort about 4 this /
Evening afternoon gott to the / seafords pinnace
yesterdáy about / the same time corkt her and launcht /
her being about 45 miles from / the fort came away

this morn.^g / about four a clock some plain / indians
arrived att the fort / since I went away and remain /
here still /

Sunday the 4th much rain / last night with strong gales /
variable from the S W to the N^o / E^t the indians
brought some / deers flesh and tongues & had / given
y^e Gov.^r 2 young foxes & one / young martin / / [107]
Munday the 5th fresh gales at N^o E^t / sent 2 boats to the
albemarle to see / to get her of continue at home to
pack / beaver and fill cannon baskets & to / secure
the bank /

Tuesday the 6th moderate gales / variable 2 hands came
from y^e abbemarle / who went to help them with the
boats / & brought news of a white whale drove /
a shore which I brought shott last / saturday comeing
up^e with y^e seafords / pinnice our people continue to
work / as formerly & y^e gov.^r went with y^e / yaul to
sound y^e channels /

Wednesday y^e 7th small winds N^o / therly I went with our
pinnace to / fetch y^e whale one indian came / from
portnelson brought 2 young / foxes & some tongues
bat went / away to day with indians upon / acco.^t of
making a peace wth his / country people y^e w^{ch} we
incouraged as / much as possible much rain to day
return'd / at even to his y^e fort^r / / [108]

Thursday y^e 8th wind & weath. ditto / dried up y^e whale
& continue to work / as formerly the carpenters
raising / the uper work of the cook / room /

Friday the 9th fair weath. wind / E^t erly to day y^e gov.^r

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went at high / water w^{th e} y^e yoall to y^e albemarle / in
hopes to get her of continue at / home to work as P
yesterday / &c /

Saturday the 10th fair weath^r / wind ditto this afternoon
the / Governer came home said had / moyed the
albemarle a small / matter but could not gett her off /
continue to work as formerly about / the fort /

Sunday the 11th last night much / rain wind between
the S.^o & y^e W^t / & so about to y^c N^o E^t this morn.^g / &
cleared up / / [109]

Munday the 12th cloudy wind E^terly wth / rain this
morn.^g went to y^e albemarle / with a cannoe they
having hove / her off about her lenght^t returned in /
y^e aftern. they having workt at / home a putting of
pieces of old / boats & filling y^{m th} wth stones to secure /
y^c banks & pulling down y^e chimney / y^e Gov.^{rs} house &
y^e french man went / up y^e river to see if deer crost /
Tuesday y^c 13th wind & weath.^r ditto set / up palasadoes
to secure y^e bank y^e / carpenters continue to work as
formerl / formerly /

Wednesday y^e 14th wind W^terly clear this / morn.^g workt
as yesterday till / about noon sent our pinnace to /
ten shilling creek for a raft & I went / over y^e river
to a smoak w^{ch} proved to be / Indians who said our
people were / coming from y^e albemarle by land / so
stay'd & brought 4 of y^m in y^e cannoe / to y^e fort in y^e
even.^g &c said they had / hove y^e vessel of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cable
&c / / [110]

Thursday y^e 15th wind & weath.^r ditto more / Indians

came over to day one of w^{ch} inform'd us / y^e Gov.^r of a
boat half way between this & / severn upon w^{ch} I &
9 hands wth y^e indian set / out to fetch her, in a Shallop
our hands return'd / wth a raft from tenshilling creek
our carpenters / & hands working as formerly /

Friday y^e 16th wind E^terly weath^r ditto y^e indians /
Traded some dryed flesh & tongues y^e boy Jack / &
tom y^e mohawk went to y^e nets at y^e / fourteen river &
brought some fish work / ditto /

Saturday y^e 17th wind W^terly weath^r. hott y^e boy / Jack
& Tom y^e mohawk went to y^e nets again / brought some
fish & small fowl our hands work / ditto likewise
2 indians brought 100 or 200 small / fowl /

Sunday y^e 18th wind & weath^r. ditto thunder light / ning
& rain last night and some to / day /

Munday y^e 19th wind E^terly moderate weath^r. some /
hands went over to y^e S^o shore to raft some drift / wood
but return'd without it they having not made / it near
Enough to low water mark so y^t it did not / float at
high water our hands are working upon y^e / Palasadoes
& our carpenters as formerly // [111]

Tuesday y^e 20th winds S W hot weath^r. some / hands went
again to y^e S^o shore to raft more drift / wood^{ch} w^{ch} they
brought at high water 2 hands went to / lye out in y^e
marsh to look out for ships y^e rest / workt as yesterday
fired the great mortar / twice /

Wednesday y^e 21st little winds W^terly weath^r. ditto this
even.^g / saw 2 vessels in y^e offn^{ch} w^{ch} we could not make
so prepared / for an enemy & divided our hand into

3 watches /

Thursday y^e 22^d wind N^o E^t wth fog this morn.^g gott to y^e
fort / wth y^e long boat & shallop found y^e long boat
about 33 / leagues from hence being y^e same y^e hudsons
bay lost / years since & little y^e worse upon my arrival /
some hands went to y^e albemarle to get her off y^e /
indian y^t went wth me for y^e boat is entertained in y^e /
fort to hunt /

friday y^e 23^d wind S^otherly wth rain our boat went to
y^e french / creek for a raft our carpenters work as
formerly some of / y^e indians went away at high for
portnelson at high ^{our boat} return'd / at high water wth y^e raft /

Saturday y^e 24th wind N^otherly a hard gale thick weath.
to day / y^e french man return'd from up y^e river by
himself brought / wth him some fresh deers flesh & a
young live deer w^{ch} / died soon after by reason being
tyed so long in y^e / canoe 2 hands likewise came from
y^e albemarle / saying they had gott her a good distance
of & had broke / their anchor so sent another away
immediately & y^e indians / y^t were about y^e house went
away up y^e river &c / / [112]

Sunday y^e 25th wind between y^e N^o & y^e W^t fresh gales /
this morn.^g I went aboard y^e ship wth our pinnace / at
 $\frac{3}{4}$ flood floated & stood of when had 2 fathom water /
came away wth y^e boat to y^e fort y^e ship at high water /
came to anchor in y^e mouth of y^e river & about 6 this /
Even.^g weighed & y^e gott to y^e fort about 9 /

Munday y^e 26th wind W^terly fair weath. to day repaired
y^e / slip & secured y^e bank y^e french man went up y^e river

to / see for more deer & one hand came from y^e tent
in y^e marsh / brought some small fowls at Even' Even.^g
y^e wind came / E^terly & blowed fresh /

Tuesday y^e 27th little wind variable fine weath.^r to day /
brought 2 long boats of stones to secure y^e bank y^e
carpenters / continue to work as formerly /

Wednesday y^e 28th wind & weath.^r D^o our cannoe return'd /
from y^e french creek brought some fish & fowl our /
boats continue to fetch stones in y^e even.^g 2 cannoes
came / down y^e river wth deers flesh y^e w^{ch} I traded &
our yaul / went to tenshilling creek for charcoal 2
cannoos / went over y^e river to fish & hunt sett one
net at y^e / point of y^e marsh /

Thursday y^e 29th wind & weath.^r D^o to ^{this} ^ day morn.^g four /
a clock came one cannoe from up y^e river wth deers /
flesh traded it & all 3 went away together, our boats /
went gathering of stones to do as formerly some /
hands a hunting kill'd small fowls heard a noise / like
a great gun at 11 a clock /

Friday y^e 30th wind N^otherly squally weath.^r continue
to / fetch stones our carpenters work as formerly &
y^e / 2 cannoes return'd from toqther side brought some /
small fowl some hands hunted in marsh did y^e same /

Saturday y^e 31st wind & weath.^r D^o today pulld down y^e
E / flanker y^e Joyned to y^e warehouse likewise took part
of y^e / powder out of y^e powder room it being moist

without / side to sort it out hunters kill'd some small
fowl / this evening came an Indian girl to y^e fort who
said / there was a woman coming also / / [113]

Sunday august y^e 1 fair weath^r wind W^terly our indian went a / hunting but had no success y^e woman I mentioned yesterday / came here to day being left behind by those y^e went over / portnelson & almost starved y^e Gov. gave her a quart of oatmea / oatmeal & at Even^g. wind came about E^terly hawld y^e albemarle / ashore to dry at low water /

Munday y^e 2 Cloudy a strong gales at E^t. this morn^g: gott y^e / powder into y^e trading room & stowed it in y^e beav^r. wth 2 bundles / all round it & 4 bundles on y^e top & gott our muskets all / loaded & put in y^e armoury w^{ch} is on y^e top of y^e Gov. house / where y^e chimney was pull'd down took up some of y^e / platform before y^e door of y^e same house to new lay it & 2 / hands went a hunting kill'd some small fowl one / hand came from y^e look out tent brought some likewise / made wads for y^e great guns /

Tuesday y^e 3 fair weath^r. wind variable from W^t. to y^e E^t. N^otherly / to day fetcht 4 boats of stones. **** ^
y^e bank

*** went & unhung y^e / albemarles rather to mend it likewise kept a day watch of / one hand on y^e house & laid part of y^e platform by y^e great / gate 2 hands went a hunting in y^e marsh killd some small / fowl &c burt match all night /

Wednesday y^e 4 wind between y^e S. & y^e E^t hazzy to day fetcht 4 / boats of stones & 2 canoes went over y^e river one hand a / hunting in y^e marsh had small game one of y^m came from y^e / tent wth a broken gun gott another & return'd our carpenters / made an end of

laying y^e platform one of y^m to making a new / ruther
 for y^e albemarle of plank y^e old one being of no use /
 Thursday y^e 5th strong gales at E. w^t much rain our
 carpent^{rs} / ers work in y^e Gov. house this Even^g. one
 cannoe return'd from / tother side brought home y^e
 nets & 5 ducks /

friday y^e 6th fair weath^r. little wind E^terly this morn^g.
 put up / orders of quartering y^e men & fetcht 2 boats
 of stones one hand / went hunting in y^e marsh brought
 some fish & fowl to day / pact some beaver /

Saturday y^e 7th wind & weath^r. ditto to day fetcht 2
 boats of stones / & pulld down y^e french battery pact
 y^e rest of y^e beav. our / hunters killd some small fowl
 in y^e Even^g. our indian / returnd^r from tother side
 brought best part of a deer & about 2 / dozen of
 ducks /

Sunday y^e 8th wind between y^e N^o & y^e E^t. moderate gales
 cleay one / hand y^t came from y^e tent in y^e marsh
 yesterday return'd this / morn^g. & one hand went to
 y^e nets in y^e marsh brought some / fish & small fowl /

Munday y^e 9th fine weath^r. wind ditto to day 11 a clock
^{sent} 3 boats a rafting / wth seven men in each our carpenters
 cut out loop holes in y^e N^o. / & W^t. flankers & mended
 y^e steps Gov^{rs}. slip our hunters kill'd some / small
 fowl / / [114]

Tuesday y^e 10th this morn^g. at 3 our boats return'd
 having / brought their rafts to y^e Creeks mouth &
 went / for y^e rafts & brought y^m to y^e fort at 3 in y^e even^g.
 our carpenters / work upon y^e ruther our hunters

kill'd some fowl & brought some / fish /
 Wednesday y^e 11th wind E^rly fair weath. at 11 y^e morn.^g
 our 3 boats / went again a rafting to tenshilling creek.
 a tent of plain / indians y^e came munday last went
 hence to y^e S^oward to day / our hunters kill'd some
 fowl & some fish caught in y^e nets in y^e / marsh /
 Thursday y^e 12th fine weath. wind between y^e N^o & y^e W.^t
 to day / about noon I brought our rafts to y^e creeks
 mouth so left y^e & / came home w y^e boats & out hunters
 kill'd some small fowl & / caught some fish /
 Friday y^e 13th thick fog wind N^otherly at noon went for
 our / rafts at four this Even. gott y^e to y^e fort one
 indian came fro / from portnelson who says y^e rest of
 his family is there / being y^e french Cap. our hunters
 kill'd some small fowl & one / goose also some fish/
 Saturday y^e 14th Cloudy wind S^otherly last night one
 of y^e rafts / broak away it being very thick I sent 2
 hands wth a yaul but / could not find it this morn.^g
 clear'd a little could see it from / y^e fort our people
 carryed 3 rafts up y^e bank at high water / fetcht y^e
 raft y^e drove away last night our hunters kill'd / some
 small fowl & one goose y^e french man told me he found /
 a dead man in y^e marsh so sent 4 hands to see it proved
 to / be Tho^s. Bullears boy & y^e died of y^e rivers mouth
 last fall / french Cap. came 3 cannoes /
 Sunday y^e 15th fair weath. wind S^otherly one hand went
 to y^e net / caught some fish /
 Munday y^e 16th little wind ditto this morn.^g 2 o Clock
 our 3 / boats went to ten shilling creek to rafting

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& in y^e Even^g / they all return'd two of y^m brought
their rafts w y^{th m e} y other / came aground being y^e last
of w^t was cut in y^e spring /

Tuesday y^e 17th strong gales from y^e E^t to y^e N^{o th}. w rain
this / even^g. 8 a Clock saw a fire made at y^e french
Creek /

Wednesday y^e 18th fresh gales N^otherly to day carryed
3 rafts / of wood up y^e bank y^e indians y^t made y^e fire
at y^e french creek / last night came to y^e fort reporting
they heard great guns / a sunday last our hunters
kill'd some fowl & fish caught / some fish /

Thursday y^e 19th fair weath. wind S^rtherly this morn^g.
four a / clock our 3 boats went up y^e river a rafting
w 23 men to / day all y^e indians went over y^e river &
in y^e afternⁿ. we saw / a smoak w^{ch} was to be a signal
they saw ships our hunters / kill'd some fowl &
fish / / [115]

friday y^e 20th wind W^terly weath. ditto this Even^g.
11 a clock our / boats came down w their rafts /

Saturday y^e 21st fresh gales N^otherly cloudy w squalls
of / rain our hunters killd some small fowl & fish /
Sunday y^e 22^d clear wind more W^terly one hand went
to y^e nett / caught some fish fresh gales /

Munday y^e 23^d white frost wind S^r W^t clear this morn^g.
four a / clock M^r Bishop w six hands went w y^{th e} shallop
to y^e fourteens / to lye out a goose hunting our men
at home carryed 4 / rafts of wood up y^e bank /

Tuesday y^e 24th wind & weath. ditto our hands carryed
up 2 / rafts more they being y^e last /

Wednesday y^e 25th wind W^terly Blowing rainy weath.^r /
 last night clear to day more hands went to lye out^e
 in our / marsh in 2 tents a goose hunting & some hands
 went up / y^e river to make charcoal but seeing a ship^g
 at 10 in y^e morn.^g / all y^e hands return'd home y^e gov.^r
 sent me & eight / hands to y^e marsh to lye till we knew^t
 w^t y^e ship was or / untill further orders /

Thursday y^e 26th Clear weath.^r wind ditto this morn^g
 4 a / Clock our 2 pinnaces man'd went to see to make^e
 y^e ship / he hoisting a red Ensign at his maintopmast
 head but / showed no other colours our boats returnd
 we seeing 3 / ships more in the offn I sent one handth
 to y^e fort to give / y^e gov.^r notice so came away wth y^e
 shallop along wth y^e / pinnaces meeting y^e hand I had
 sent who brought orders / for him & 2 more to return^e
 to y^e marsh & I wth y^e others / to go home had not been
 long there but saw a boat come / from y^e french creek
 so man'd y^e 2 pinnaces went after her / I likewise running
 down along shore she put back again / our boats
 could not come up wth them it being almost high /
 water & a fresh gale left their chase & return'd I also
 ***** / meeting those 3 men y^t was in y^e marsh who
 said they saw / men landed in y^e marsh so we return'd
 wth y^m all except one / hand^{ch} w^{ch} parted from y^m into y^e
 woods when y^e french boats^{ch} was near this side who
 came home after us & y^e ship w^{ch} / rid of y^e river wheiged
 & run of to sea after w^{ch} we heard / several great guns
 at four afternoon M^r bishop wth / 10 men more went to
 y^e point of y^e marsh to / y^e shore // [116]

friday y^e 27th fresh gales N^otherly Cloudy this morn.^g
 2 / clock saw a cannoe at w^{ch} fired some muskets our
 people / say'd they saw a fire at y^e back of y^e fort to
 day at 10 / y^e ships weig^hed from y^e mouth of portnelson
 & stood for this / river being only two at one a clock
 one came to anchor / of our rivers mouth & fired
 2 guns his boat came of / from y^e fourteens & went
 aboard we fired one gun / by consent for our men
 to come home w^{ch} they did about five / afternoon y^e other
 ship came to anchor of y^e point of / y^e marsh to day
 broke up 2 chest of guns & loaded y^m / & those remaining
 in y^e trading room in all about a / hundred last night
 watcht 5 & 6 men in a watch 2 / hours /

Saturday y^e 28th fresh gales N^o E. last night watcht 10 /
 in a watch 3 hours each about one this morn.^g our /
 men said they saw men near y^e palasadoes at w^{ch} they /
 fired some small arms about noon it blowed very /
 hard D. w. rain hail & snow in so much y^e y^e albem / arle
 drove & our deerings pinnace sunk at her / moorings
 ores & all things went a drift could not / launch a
 boat to fetch y^m /

Sunday y^e 29th fresh gale N^otherly this morn.^g half / foot
 snow on y^e ground saw one of y^e ships drove a / shore
 in y^e marsh y^e other not in sight our people / went
 down along shore to see for our pinnaces / ores found
 6 of y^e frenches ores & some rack att 11 / forenoon
 man'd y^e seafords pinnace M^r Bishop & / 9 more in
 her went to look on y^e ship but 2 boats / coming round
 y^e point before he gott down they sent to / y^e ship &

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fetcht more men so he lay a considerable / time
afterwards returnd said they were loadenth w goods
his spritsail has been loose all day one hand came to
y^e / woods Edge & fir'd 3 times at which we fired
small arms /

Munday y^e 30th moderate gales between y^e N.^o & y^e W.^t
frost / this morn.^g 5 a clock their boat went from y^e
place / where they landed there goods round to y^e
ships about 9 / forenoon saw 3 ships more in sight at
half Eb a boat / came from y^e ships in y^e offing to
sheaground one / cannoe came down y^e river /

Tuesday y^e 31st fair weath.^r wind ditto this morn.^g they
landed / many men & came nearer y^e fort at w^{ch} we
fired several / great guns & y^e great mortar twice
once about 9 / forenoon a cannoe came from tother
side wth cap.^t / smithson who gave an acco.^t of 16 or 18
men of his / / [117] on tother side so went w a pinnaceth
& 2 cannoes M^r Newton / in one & I in y^e other in
coming back M^r Newton was shott in / y^e belly from

y^e woods Edge & kept fireing at their small / arms at
y^e fort & weat then now & then a great gun / rewarded
y^e Indians for Bringing cap.^t smithson traded y^e /
others Beav.^r & sent y^m away watcht half watch this
Even.^g / y^e 2 ships came in to lower five fathom hole /
Wednesday y^e 1 Sept. fair weath. wind Werly / several
small arms fired on both sides to day came / 2 french
men w a flag of truce to demand y^e 3 prison / ers w^{ch} we
would not grant M^r newton dyed at 4 morn.^g /

Thursday y^e 2 fine weath. small Breezes S W they /

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begun to play their mortar hove 4 shells then / came
wth a flag of truce to demand y^e fort being denyed / went
their way & fired again till they had hove 15 / & we
fourteen then came again telling us we / should have
no quarters we told y^m if they would / not allow us
time to consider we would have none / so y^e Gov.^r
drew up a paper & brought on y^e platform / to satisfie
y^e men they should have every one a / years pay gratis
if they would sign y^e ^{same} paper & we / kept y^e fort some
did signe others not & said would / not sell their lives
for a little money so sent / our articles & in y^e Even.^g
I M^r Bishop M^r Clark / went to their camp to hear
their final ans^r so / dibervcal writt his resolution
demanded y^e fort / by one a clock y^e next day & our
answer by 8 in / y^e morn.^g /-

friday y^e 3^d fair weath.^r wind ditto finding such great
force / as nine hundred men & y^e ill tidings of our own^e
ships / concluded could not keep it & so agreed to y^e
articles aforesign'd / by monseir & y^e Gov.^r & marcht
out by one a clock & y^e french / took possession of
y^e fort this being y^e end of a / Tedious winter & tragical
Journal by / me Henry Kelsey // [118]

A Journal of a Voyage by Gods permission / in y^e
deering frigott from England to hudsons / bay P^r
Cap. crimmington Comm. &c In / 1698 kept by me
henry kelsey /

Munday June y^e 13th having sett our Pilot on shoar /
this Even.^g & hoisted our Boats in 8 a Clock took our
depart / ure from thorpness lying in y^e latitude of 52 : 30^m

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N^o / sent y^e Perry a head went wth Easy sail till 8 this morn. / we went a head saw several sail about us this last 16 / hours thick weath. w^r some rain have made my course / N^o 38 : 8 E^t diff: of latt. 60 Dep. 32 : 8 Dist 68 & at / 12 noon had 15 fathom thorpness bore N.N W dist 3 / mile /

Tuesday June y^e 14 Clear weath. w^r moderate gales between / y^e S^o W^t & W N W this afternoon / spoke wth a ship called y^e / frienly society of London came from Norway soon after / took y^e perry in a tow about midnight reefed maintopsail / this morn. fair weath. let out reef soundings att 2 / this morn. 40 fath. at 4 : 18 at 6 : 20 at 8 : 17 at 10 : 11 at / 12 : 15 my diff Latt. 92 : 6 Dep. 17 : 2 Dist 93 my true / course this 24 hours is N. 05 : 37 W. /

Wednesday y^e 15 Clear wth fine Breezes between y^e S^o W / & N^o W^t at 5 this Even. y^e Perry lying a stern we lay by & / try'd for fish at 6 made sail soon after saw a dogger att / anchor right a head when we came up wth her our / pinnace went on board & bought some cods & $\frac{1}{2}$ an / hour past 3 reefed both topsails & between 8 & 12 we / hand y^e both my diff of Latt. is 93 Dep. 55. dist / 108 my course made good this 24 hours is N. 30 : 56 W^t / Thorpness bears of me this 16 day at noon S 9 : 35 / E^t dist 248 I being in y^e Latt of 56 : 35 N^o / Thursday y^e 16 fresh gales from y^e W^t to y^e N. W^t at 6 this / Even. set maintopsail & at half past 8 took it in again at / one after midnight hawl'd up foresail at 3 this morn. set him / again having laid a try 2 hours

& at 6 this morn.^g set fore / topsail this morn.^g saw a
 dogger dist 4 miles my Diff of / latt.^{de} is 63.2° Dep.^{tr}
 $42^{\circ} 3'$ dist 76 from y 16 noon to y 17 / noon my true
 course is $N^{\circ} 33 : 45^{\circ}$ W^t from thorpness bearing /
 S 308° miles I am in y Latt.^{de} of $57 : 38^{\circ}$ N. // [119]
 friday y 17 thick weath.^r w moderate gales between
 N N W / & W N W^t at 6 this Even.^g set maintopsaile
 & at 4 this morn.^g / tackt & bore up to y perry weath.^r
 very uncertain at / forenoon took down our maintop
 gallant mast from y 17 / noon to y 18 noon my diff
 Latt.^{de} is $18^{\circ} 2'$ dep. $11 : 4'$ dist 21 / my true course
made good is $N^{\circ} 33 : 45^{\circ}$ W. thorness bears S / $2 : 49'$
 E Dist 330 miles I am in y latt of $57 : 56'$ /
 Saturday y 18 Clear w Easy gales between y N N W^r
 & S W / this Even.^g at 6 very fair weath^r & at midnight
 tackt & saw 12 or / 13 sail of duch fishing busses sent
 our pinnace aboard they / sent our cap. some cod
 then our boat went on board again w a / small present
 they sent us more cod & some herrings at 9 this /
 forenoon tackt from y 18 noon to y 19 noon my course
 made / good is W 32 miles diff latt oo thorpness bears
 S $8 : 26'$ E / dist 333 miles I am in y Latt.^{de} of $57 : 56'$ /
 Sunday y 19 fair weath.^r little wind between y W^t
 S^otherly / at 4 this mor.* aftern.ⁿ went w y pinnace a
 fishing caught 3 / cod Cap. Bayley came on board
 tarryed some time & / returnd to his ship at 6 this
 morn.^g saw y Land from y 19 / noon to y 20 noon
 my course made good is W $8 : 26'$ N^o diff / of Latt.^{de}
 $12 : 4'$ Dist 89 thorpness bears S $22.30'$ E dist / 366

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mile W^ting 132 mile I am in y^e Latt^{de} of 58.8 N^o /

Munday y^e 20th fine gales between y^e E^t & W^t S^otherly /
at 3 this afternoon Dunkins' head bore N^o N^o E Dist /
3 leagues at 2 this morn^g. reefed topsails & at 4 came to
an / anchor in castin road in 6 fath.^m wind W^t. N^o W^t
this 24 / hours have had y^e weath.^r very uncertain wth
squall / & rain / /

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month day	Lat ^{do} P D D M D M	Easting in miles	Wing in miles	Course corrected from hoy head	Dist in \overline{m} miles	West Longitude in D. miles	E ^t Longitude in miles	variation	Course from day to day ^r
Thursday June y 23 ^o	$\overset{d}{m}$ 59 : 36		75 : 2	$\overset{d}{m}$ N ^o 13 N ^o 73 : 08 W ^t	79	$\overset{d}{m}$ 15 : 50		$\overset{d}{m}$ 16 : 52	$\overset{d}{m}$ N ^o 73 : 8 W ^t
Friday June y 24 ^o to y 25 ^o noon	59 : 39		101	$\overset{d}{m}$ N ^o 78 : 45 W ^t	105	$\overset{d}{m}$ 16 : 40		$\overset{d}{m}$ 20 : 00	87 : 12 W ^t
Saturday June y 25 ^o noon to y 26 ^o noon	60 : 03		133	$\overset{d}{m}$ N ^o 56 : 17 W ^t	162	$\overset{d}{m}$ 17 : 44		20 : 00	$\overset{d}{m}$ N ^o 47 : 47 W ^t
from y 26 ^o noon to y 27 ^o noon	60 : 40		185	$\overset{d}{m}$ N ^o 64 : 43 W ^t	205	19 : 28			$\overset{d}{m}$ N ^o 56 : 15 W ^t

Monday June y 27 th noon to y 20 noon	60 : 03		222	N ^o d ^m 75 : 52 Wt	228	20 : 42		d ^m 20 : 30	S ^o d ^m 45 : 00 Wt
Tuesday June y 28 th noon to y 29 noon	58 : 43		284	S ^o d ^m 84 : 23 Wt	288	22 : 46			S ^o d ^m 51 : 37 Wt
Wednesday June y 29 th noon to y 30 noon	58 : 49		332	S ^o d ^m 87 : 13 Wt	336	24 : 22			N ^o m ^m 81 : 32 Wt
from y 30 noon to y 1 July ditto	57 : 49		378	S ^o d ^m 75 : 58 Wt	384	25 : 54			S ^o d ^m 36 : 30 Wt
from y 1 noon to y 2 ditto	57 : 03		414	S ^o d ^m 74 : 08 Wt	438	27 : 06			S ^o 39 Wt
from y 2 noon to y 3 Ditto	57 : 39		446	S ^o d ^m 75 : 58 Wt	462	28 : 10			N ^o d ^m 50 : 3 Wt

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	Wednesday august y ^e 10 th fresh gales between y ^e / N ^o E ^t & S ^o E ^t Erly some times fog & rain we have / sailed this 24 hours through shat- tered broken ledges / of ice at noon saw a white Bear from y ^e 10 th noon to / y ^e 11 th ditto my course made good is W ^t 25 : 17 S ^o diff / Latt 46 : 01* Dep. 98 : 6 dist 111 miles & I find / cape diggs to bear of me E ^t 21 : 30 N ^o Dist 31 leagu /	westing long miles 85 : 3 : 07
Latt ^{de} P D D 62 : 34	Thursday y ^e 11 th fresh gales between y ^e N ^o W ^t & y ^e S ^o E ^t / S ^o therly about 6 this Even. gott clear wath foggy from / y ^e 11 th noon to y ^e 12 th ditto my course made good is S ^o / 25 : 17 W ^t diff Latt 46 3 ^{de} dep 25 : 9 dist 53 miles / Digs bears E ^t 39 : 38 N ^o Dist 46 Leagues /	110 : 4 : 02
D D 61 : 48	Friday y ^e 12 th moderate gales from y ^e S ^o B ^t E ^t / to y ^e S ^o W ^t S ^o therly weath. very uncertain my / course made good is S ^o 42 : 13 W ^t diff Latt 48 : 1 / dep. 43 : 0 dist 65 miles Digs bears E ^t 39 : 22 N ^o / dist 67 Leagues from y ^e 12 noon to y ^e 13 th ditto /	153 : 5 : 51
Latt ^{de} P D D 61 : 00	Saturday y ^e 13 th fine gales from y ^e S ^o E ^t to y ^e S ^o W ^t / S ^o therly at this Even ^g had an amplicate found y ^e / variation to be 33 : 15 at 6 this morn. reeft both / topsails at 11 handed maintopsails at 12 / handed foretopsails from y ^e 13 th noon to y ^e 14 th / ditto my course made good is S ^o 22 : 30 W ^t / diff Latt 70 Dep. 29 : 8 dist 67 miles diggs / bears N ^o 42 : 13 E ^t Dist	183 : 6 : 51
P D D 59 : 50		

1698

91 Leagues /

P D D
 $\frac{d}{m}$
 61 : 00
 $\frac{d}{m}$
 58 : 50
 $\frac{d}{m}$
 58 : 48

Sunday y^e 14 fresh gales from y^e E^t S^o E^t to y^e W^t / So W^t S^o therly at 7 this Even^g. handed main / topsails at 8 handed foretopsaille at 9 sett y^e / latter from y^e 14 noon to y^e 15 ditto my course / made good is S^o 11 : 15 E^t diff Latt^{de m} 62 : 4 dep.^{tr m} / 12 : 9 dist 64 miles digs bears N^o 33 : 15 E^t dist / 104 Leagues /

W^t miles
 miles Long

171 : 6 : 28^m

P observ
 $\frac{d}{m}$
 58 : 20
 *** **

Munday y^e 15 hard gales from about S^o W^t / at 3 afternⁿ handed foretopsail at 10 this / morn^g set both topsails sailing by a ledge of / broaken ice from y^e 15 noon to y^e 16 ditto my / course made good is E^t 22 : 30 S^o diff Latt^{de m} 30 / Dep.^{tr m} 70 : 9 dist 78 miles digs bears N^o / bears N^o 18 : 50 E^t dist 104 Leagues / / [122] day y^e 16 s

vari
 30 : 38
 100 4 : 15^m

Latt^{de}
 P D D
 $\frac{d}{m}$
 57 : 51

Tuesday y^e 16 small gales from y^e S^o E^t to S Wⁿ at 2 / afternⁿ. sounded had 65 fathom at 4 62 fath. / at 63 fath. at 4 morn^g. had 75 fath. some / shattered Ice from y^e 16 noon to y^e 17 noonth ditto / my course made good is S^o 22 : 30 W^t. diff Latt^{de m} / 29 : 5 Depart.^{r m} 11 : 8 dist 32 miles Diggs bears N^o / 19 : 53 E^t dist 114 Leagues /

112 : 4 : 37^m

Latt^{de}
 P D D
 $\frac{d}{m}$
 57 : 42

Wednesday aug y^{st e th} 17 fine gales from S^o to S E / till midnight it began to blow & rain at 7 Even^g made / fast fog at noon saw a seel on y^e ice sent a boat / wth 3 hands but could not get him from y^e 17 noon / to y^e 18 ditto

$\frac{20}{20}$ $\frac{4}{4}$ $\frac{52}{52}$
 $\frac{d}{m}$
 $\frac{d}{m}$

my course made good is S^o 43^d W^t diff / Latt^{de}
 8 : 9 Dep. 8 : 3 dist 12 miles diggs bears /
 N^o 20 : 50 E^m dist 118 Leagues /
 Thursday y^e 18 small gales from S^o E to / W^t miles Long
 N^o E at 4 afternoon rained at 8 Even made
 y / fast at 4 morn. loosed from y^e 18 noon to 124 : 4^d 59^m
 y^e 19 ditto / my course made good is S^o 19^d * 50^m
 W Diff latt^{de} / 20^m Dep^{tr} 4 : 6 Dist 12 miles
 diggs bears N^o 19^d 43^m / E^t Dist 120 Leagues /
 Friday y^e 19 Easy winds between y^e W^t & y^e varia
 N^o at 8 Even^g / sounded had 97 fath. at 7 28 : 07^d
 morn. made fast at 10 / sounded had 87 125^d 5 : 01^m
 fath. all oose had P amplitude / Even. 28 : 7^g d^d m^m
 variation from y^e 19th noon to y^e 20 ditto / my
 course made good is S^o 2 : 37^d W diff Latt^{de}
 11 : 5 / Dep. 1 Dist 12 miles diggs bears
 N^o 19 : 57 E^m dist / 124 Leagues /
 Saturday y^e 20 fog fallin* at 2 aftern. Loosed
 at / 4 made fast at 8 Loosed wind between
 y^e N & y^e E at / one morn^g made fast at four
 loosed y^e ice a little / open from y^e 20 noon 1301
 to y^e 21 ditto my course made / is S^o 15 : 15^d m^m
 west diff Latt^{de} 25 : 4 Dep. 5 : 1 Dist 26 /
 miles Diggs bears N^o 19 : 57 E^t dist 134
 Leagues /
 Sunday y^e 21st fine gales at N^o b E Clear at varia
 2 afternⁿ gott out of ice / at 10 night had 36 26 : 00
 fath at 12 : 28 at 2 morn^g 22 at 4 : 18 / fath. 95 : 4 : 07^d
 at 6 : 16 fath^m at 8 : 22 fath. at 10 : 13 at 12 :

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13 / fath.^m Saw y^e land bearing S^o W B W dist
7 leagues from / y^e 21st noon to y^e 22^d ditto my
course made good is S^o 25 / 17 E^t diff latt^{de}
77 : 5 dep^{tr} 35 : 9 Dist 83 miles digs / bears
N^o 12 : 30 E^m dist 154 leagues / / [123]

Latt^{de}
P observ^t
54 : 30

Munday y^e 22 fine gales from N^o to S W
Werly / from 12 to 2 had from 11 to 18
fath. from 2 to 4 / had 18 & 2 from 4 to 6
had 22 from 6 to 2 morn.^g / had y^e same from
2 to 4 had 30 fath. from 4 to 6 / had 34 from
6 to 8 had 33 from 8 to ten had 30 from /
10 to 12 had 25 fath. y^m Body of y^e bears
Islands / bore N^o N E dist 6 Leagues from
y^e 22 noon to y^e / 23 ditto had my course
made good is S^o 22 : 30 E^t / diff Latt^{de} 64 : 7
Dep. 26 : 8 dist 70 miles digs / Bears N.
7 : 30 E^m dist 174 Leagues /

W^t Long vari
miles
22 : 30

68 : 3 : 17

P observ

53 : 31

Tuesday y^e 23 moderate gales from S^o to
N^o Werly / from 12 to 2 had from 14 to 10
fath. from 2 to 4 had / 25 fath^m from 4 to 6
had 22 & 14 from 6 to 8 had 22 / & 23 from
8 to ten had 23 & 21 from 10 to 12 had 19 & /
18 from 12 to 2 had 22 & 25 from 2 to 4 had
25 & 23 / from 4 to 6 had 20 from 6 to 8
had 20 & 15 from 8 / to 10 had 14 & 11
from 10 to 12 had 10 fath. a 3 / aftern.ⁿ took
y^e perry in a tow at 6 Broke their / tow lineth
at 8 this morn.^g took her in a tow w our /
tow line from the 23 noon to y^e 24th ditto my

68 : 3 : 17

1698-1701

course / made good is S^o diff latt^{de m} 57 dep^{tr} o
digs bears / N^{o d} 7 : 00 E^{m t} dist 194 leagues bears
Islands bears / N^{o D} 8 : 22 E^{m t} dist 25 Leagues / /
[124]

Albany fort Sep^{tr e th} y 5 1701 /

Hon.^{ble} /
S.^{rs} /

I return you humble thanks for y^e Lett^r you sent me
subscrib'd / y^e 28 of may & having this oppertunity
send this to acquaint / you y^{t e} y^r Gov has used all means
y^t may be to encourage / y^e ottaways & oth^r. Indians
to come down & has caused / me to make speeches to
y^m all y^t here would come / brandy & oth^r goods plenty
this against their / coming & do not doubt but here
may be a good / trade next year if y^e french setting at
severn / this sumer does not hinder it y^e Gov^r also has /
sent to y^{e t} E^{mr} main this sum but great part / of y^e Indians
were gone before we came by / reason y^e breaking up
of y^e river hove our ship / on y^e bank of bayleys Iland
so y^t great part / of y^e summ. was spent in getting her
of & now / is sending me to y^{e t} E^{ch}main master of y^e ship
& / factory w^{ch} trust I shall discharge to y^e utmost / of
my Endeav.^{rs} to increase y^e trade of small furs or or /
any oth^r Commoditie y^t may ad to your interest & /
Likewise to y^e saving of w^t provision I can Hon.^{ble} /
Sirs; I was desirous to winter at Slude river but y^e /
Gov^r & council did not think it fitting by reason / none

1701-1683-1690

is acquainted wth y^e breaking up so it is defer'd till / next
year by w^{ch} time I shall be able to give your / Hon.^{rs} a
bett.^r acco.^t & hope you will be please to / consider my
supplying of 2 mens place to ad ten / pound to my^e
sala^ry as a gratitude if I do well & do / believe y^e
want of a Continual settlement is y^e / loss of y^t trade / /
[125]

Memorandum of my abode in hudsons bay from 1683
to / 1722

In 83 I went out in y^e ship Lucy Jn.^o outlaw command^r /
In 88 after 3 indians being employ'd for great rewards
to carry / letters from hays river to new severn they
return'd wth out / performing y^e business altho paid then
I was sent wth an indian boy / & in a month return'd
wth answers /

In 89 Cap. James young put me & y^e same Indian boy
ashore / to y^e N^oward of Churchill river in order to
bring to a commerce / y^e N^othern indians but we saw
none altho we travell'd above / 200 miles in search of
y^m & when we came back to churchill / y^e house was
burnt y^t was building for y^t trade /

In 90 y^e Comp.^y employed 2 french men viz Gooseberry
& Gramm / Grammair y^e former at 80 £ P^m ann.^e y^m
latter at 40 to go amongst / y^e natives to draw y^e to
a trade but they did not go 200 miles from / y^e factory
upon w^{ch} I was sent away wth y^e stone Indians in whose /
Country I remaind 2 years Enduring much hardships

1692-1711

& did increase / y^e trade considerably as may be
perceiv'd by their acco. books / & I return'd to y^e
factory in 92 /

In 92 I came to England /

In 94 I went again & was taken by y^e french & brought
home /

In 96 was at y^e retaking y^e fort again /

In 97 was taken again when y^e hampshire was^{*} lost /

In 98 went for albany fort wth cap^t James knight /

In 1701 I was ordain'd master of y^e knight frig.^{te} &
chief at y^e Eastmain / formerly y^e master of a vessel
had 40£ P ann.^m & y^e trader 40 d.^o / all w^{ch} I dischar'd
for 50£ P ann.^m /

In 1703 I return'd for Eng.^d /

In 1706 I went out mate of y^e perry frig^{te} Jo.^s davis
Com.^{dr} in ord* / upon my arrival to be chief trader at
albany fort or Elsewhere / however I was kept out
of my Imploy a year by Gov^r Beal / who y^e following
summ.^r sent me in y^e Perry knight frig^{te} to / y^e E^t main
to gath. y^r trade wth I did /

In 1708 I receiv'd P Cap^t fullartun y^r commission to
be / deputy under him & he sent me Chief to y^e E^t main
y^e same fall / & when we returnd y^e next spring found
by he they had been / assaulted by y^e french /

In 1711 Cap^t Jn^o fullartun gave me a Commission
bearing date / y^e 31st July & y^e 21st Sep.^{tr} following y^e
indians brough me word they / saw a ship to y^e N^o ward
of y^e river I sent boats out to look but did / not see
y^e ship till y^e 25th in y^e aftern. y^e 26 sent 10 men in y^e sloop /

1711-1718

well arm'd likewise 2 indians & their Canoe on board to be sent / on board y^e strange ship when y^e sloop gott wth out y^e sands into / 3 fath.^m water I also sent 2 indians in anoth.^r Canoe who / gott on board as soon as appear'd by Gov^r Beals coming to / / [126] y^e fort in a canoe I sent in y^e sloop who told me it was y^e / Perry frig.^{te} who in coming into y^e river run a ground & / y^e sloop laid her on board & loaded wth goods to lighter y^e / perry y^e 27 y^e sloop came to y^e fort & Cap.^t Beale read / his commission & I gave him possession of y^e fort y^e 29 Cap.^t / ward & some of his men came wth y^e ill news of y^e perrys being / bilg'd & sunk so y^e sloop went down to her y^e same Even.^g / the 30th this morn. Gov^r Beale Desired me to take charge / of y^e knight to go down to y^e Perry to save what could / be of y^e Cargo accordingly I did & we met y^e sloop against / y^e lower end of Bayleys Isleand y^e river being frose / full of ice they were forced to anchor & we gott y^e / knight aboard y^e Perry / Octo^{br} y^e 2^d we gott y^e sloop & knight both to y^e fort / & took out both their loadings /

In 1712 I came to England. /

In 1714 I went out in y^e union Cap.^t B Harle Comm^r / wth your commission to be deputy 4 years under him / Cap^t James young knight wth y^e benefit of a serv^{rs} & if / your hon. please to peruse those Journals you will / find Exerted my utmost to gett a new fort & when you / ordered me gov^r 1718 I had gott my things on board / y^e Prosperous hoy in order to winter at

1718-1720

churchill to / Endeav.^r bringing^e y^e nothern trade but
this was / hindred by ^{misfortune} reason^e y^e hudsonsbay loosing
her gripe* /

In 1719 June 22^d the trade being ov^r I sailed w^{th e} y^{rs} prosp. /
for churchill ariv'd y^e 30 y^{th e d} 2 July I sailed w^{t e} y^e success
in / comp.^{ny} Jn^o Handcock master y^e 5th traded two of
your / slaves for 2 Eskemoes wth Eskemoes y^e 20th I
changed two of / your slaves for 2 Eskemoes in order
to gett interpeters of / their Language & to know w^t
their Cuntry afforded so I / proceeded to y^e N^o ward
seeing & trading wth several / parcels of Eskemoes till
y^e 28th then I return'd / & y^e 9th of aug. gott to york fort /
1719 Aug. y^{st e} 24 y^{th e} hudsons bay frigg. was lost where /
I had a narrow escape for my life & If I had not staid /
till y^{e d} 2 of Sep. to get y^{tr} cargo out on shore their would /
have been little of it sav'd but as I did little of it /
was lost except y^e provissions w^{ch} was hard upon / me
having all y^e ships comp.^y & passengers be // [127]
sides those I had before to maintain y^e 18th fitted y^e† /
Prosp.^s hoy for England & all I put on board was
not† / seven tuns weight & but 34 men & their
provision / altho they said I loaded her deep & they
return'd y^e / next day after they went out being
y^{e st} 21 & y^{e d th} 22 w a / great deal to do I sent her wth 25
men to churchill / y^{e th} 7 of march had nine men came
from churchill / by my orders for to Ease y^t place of
provisions /

1720 July y^{e d} 2 M^r handcock saild w^{th e} y^s success for
churchill / & their to shift into y^e Prosp. & to proceed

*This reading is not certain.

†So the copyist. When collated this upper
corner of the page had frayed away.

on discovery to / y^e N^oward having y^e 2 Eskemoes
wth him to deliver to / their friends & to bring your
2 slaves back but they / was dead 22^d July the success
arriv'd from Churchill y^e / 23^d sent M^r Lucas in y^e
success to y^e H Bay for goods / y^e 27th y^e Succ. came here
y^e 28 I sent her again for goods / & both times gave
orders if Cap.^t ward wanted her to have / y^e hudsons
bay down to make use of her but not to run / any
risque of Loosing her agust y^e 1st y^e success came / here
y^e 2 sent her again for ^{all y^e heavy} goods y^e 6 y^e success came /
here y^e 9 y^e prosp. came her from her nothern discovery /
& M^r handcock told me y^e albany sloop had winter'd /
where he had been last year but he could not / reach
y^e place y^e 10 sent y^e success to Churchill to / wait
y^e arrival of a ship till y^e 20 & y^e prosp. saild / to y^e
H bay to bring all things of value y^e 13 y^e pros. /
came here withall things except y^e bricks & can* /
balls y^e 14 sent y^e prosp. for y^e rest of y^e things y^e 21 y^e /
Prosp. came here for y^e standing rigging & all /
moveables y^e 22 y^e succ. came from Churchill y^e / 26
gave cap^t ward an ord. to comm. y^e Prosp. & / gett
ready to sail by y^e last of this month Sept. / y^e 1 y^e
prosp. saild for Engl. y^e 2 saw two sail in / the offin
y^e 3 y^e hannah & prosp. anchor'd against / y^e fort y^e 7 y^e
prosp. saild for churchill wth those / goods consign'd
to y^e place y^e 13 I Pilloted y^e hannah / to y^e lower hole
where she continued till y^e 18 & then / sail'd for Engl.
y^e wind presenting /
Sept. y^e 25 y^e Prosp. return'd from Churchill †bran 10

*Edge of paper frayed.

†Ink of remainder of line is faded.

1721

gall. /

1721 July y^c 26 I saild in y^c prosp^{s th c} w y^s Succ^s in comp.
James / wapper mast for churchill y^{c th} 30 lost y^c success / /
[128]

July* y^{c th} 8 took on board y^c red & white Earth y^{c th} 10 gott.
to / Churchill* the 13th saild for y^c Eskemoes cuntry
having / Rich.^d Norton & an N^othern indian on board
to show / me y^e copper y^{c st} 21 saw Eskemoes y^{c d} 23 saw
more Augst. y^c / † 1 saw more y^{c th} 9 I bore away because
y^c winds did not / favour my Intentions of going
farther to y^c N^oward / to look for y^c place where y^c
albany sloop was lost / we seeing things belonging to
those vessels y^{c th} 16 I gott to churchill where we lay
wind bound till / y^{c th} 28 & I had promised M^r Staunton
I would come / back & winter in order to look for
y^e Copp^r to keep / y^c N^othern indians till I return'd
to give y^m orders / Sept. y^c 1 I saw a sloop w^{ch} prov'd
to be y^c whalebone / Jn^o Senog Mast^r arriv'd from
England & Cap^t / Gofton on board so I went on board
to hear w^t news / & we rid a very hard storm & they
strong gale
had never an / anchor to trust to but y^t on y^e ground
& he would / have me taken charge of his vessel
but I / understood you had ordered me y^c contrary /
however I told him if he would turn her adrift / I
would Endeav^r to save our lives & ship & goods† /
wth much ado he slipt y^c cable w a buoy as did / also
y^e prosp^{rs} & thank god we gott both very / well in y^c
10 gave all y^c 3 Cap^{ts} their sailing / orders y^{c th} 12 all
saild & Gofton had a Clause in / his orders to touch

*So the copyist. When collated the edge
here had frayed away.
†Edge of paper frayed.

1721-1722

at Churchill to take in M.^r / Staunton if he could do
it by y^e 16th /

1722 august y^e 7th y^e mary arriv'd & run aground / on
y^e cross bar sand & Cap.^t maclish came / ashore y^e.
16th y^e hannah & whalebone came / in here from
Churchill————//



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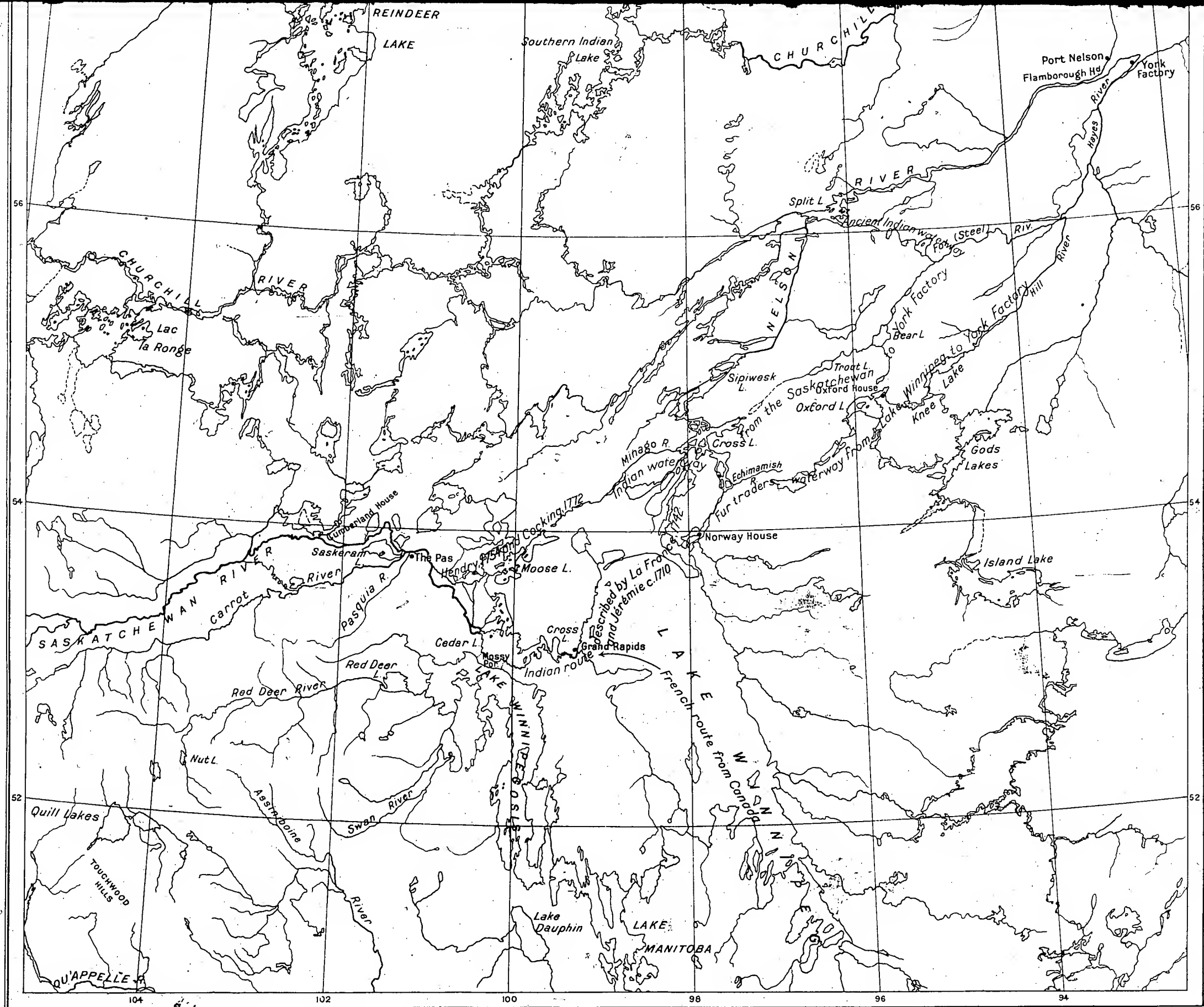
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This map illustrates the Hudson Bay region, showing the Churchill River, Nelson River, and Saskatchewan River. Key lakes include Wollaston Lake, Reindeer Lake, Southern Indian Lake, Split Lake, Sipiwe Lake, Trout Lake, Oxford Lake, Cross Lake, Moose Lake, Cedar Lake, Red Deer Lake, and Island Lake. Settlements and historical sites marked include Churchill, Port Nelson, York Factory, Sipiwe, Trout, Oxford, Cross, Moose, Cedar, Red Deer, and Island. The map also shows the 'Ancient Indian waterway (Steel Riv.)' and the 'French route from N.W.'.



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