

III.—*An Adventurer from Hudson Bay.*

JOURNAL OF MATTHEW COCKING, FROM YORK FACTORY TO THE  
BLACKFEET COUNTRY, 1772-73.

Edited with Introduction and Notes by LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

(Communicated by Dr. Wilfred Campbell and read May 26th, 1908.)

## MATTHEW COCKING'S JOURNAL.

BEING THE JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY PERFORMED BY MR. MATTHEW COCKING, SECOND FACTOR AT YORK FORT, IN ORDER TO TAKE A VIEW OF THE INLAND COUNTRY, AND TO PROMOTE THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S INTEREST, WHOSE TRADE IS DIMINISHING BY THE CANADIANS YEARLY INTERCEPTING NATIVES ON THEIR WAY TO THE SETTLEMENTS. 1772-1773.

## INTRODUCTION.

Matthew Cocking's narrative may properly be regarded as a companion document to the Journal of Anthony Hendry, edited for the Royal Society last year, and published in the Transactions for 1907. The two Journals are closely related, although the journeys they describe stand nearly twenty years apart. Not only were they both undertaken with the same objects—the exploration of the vast unknown region to the westward of Hudson Bay, and the persuading of the far western tribes to bring their furs down to the Bay; but they covered substantially the same ground. Both Hendry and Cocking started forth from York Fort, or York Factory as it is more familiarly known; both took the well-known Hayes route as far as Knee Lake, but from there struck off almost due west to Cross Lake on the Nelson, following a route evidently at that time familiar to the men of the Hudson's Bay Company, but afterward forgotten, so much so in fact that this strip of territory is to-day counted among the smaller unexplored areas of the country. From Cross Lake, both travellers followed the Minago River to Moose Lake, and thence smaller streams to the Saskatchewan. As a description of this portion of the route has already been given in connection with Hendry's Journal, it will not be necessary to repeat it here. Cocking, like Hendry, ascended the Saskatchewan to the mouth of the Pasquia—always an important point in the annals of the fur trade—and for a few miles farther their courses were identical, but at Saskeram Lake, to which Cocking applies the modest name of Manenesahsquatanan Sakahegan, the two travellers took different roads. Hendry, it will be remembered, ascended Carrot River and then struck overland between Carrot River and the Red Deer, working around to the South Saskatchewan, which he crossed somewhere about Clark Crossing, north of the present town of Saskatoon, thence to the Elbow of the North Saskatchewan, and then over the Great Plain to the Red Deer branch of the South Saskatchewan, which he crossed somewhere about Kneehill Creek. Cocking, on the other hand, after traversing Saskeram Lake, again entered the Saskatchewan, which he ascended to a point not many miles below the Forks. He notes in his Journal, "Formerly the French had a House here." He was evidently

about where the present H. B. post, Fort à la Corne, stands, and where the French fur-traders had a small establishment before the cession of Canada. From this place Cocking travelled overland, in a general south-westerly direction, crossing the South Saskatchewan somewhere below Clark Crossing, but striking Hendry's old trail once more at or about the Elbow of the North Saskatchewan. Following the southern bank of the North Saskatchewan, Cocking "put up at a shallow creek named Mikisew or little Eagle Creek," and then, leaving the river, he "came to some high land named Mikisew Wache, or Eagle hills." Eagle Hill Creek enters the North Saskatchewan some distance above the Elbow, and the Eagle Hills still bear the same name; so that Cocking's position can be accurately placed at this time. From the Eagle Hills, he journeyed out into the plains, following an erratic course, and constantly looking out for indications of the Archithinue Indians, or Blackfeet, as one of the main objects of his journey was to induce this important tribe or confederacy to trade their furs with the Hudson's Bay Company. He finally joined a considerable body of Blackfeet, and although he failed, as Hendry had done many years before, to persuade them to bring their furs down to the Bay, he spent some time among them, and has left us an exceedingly interesting and valuable account of their character, manners and customs at the time of his visit. Here, again, Cocking's narrative may profitably be compared with that of Hendry, who also has much to say about this remarkable tribe.

It may be noted that in both Hendry's and Cocking's cases, one of the main incentives to their expeditions inland was the increasing pressure of the rival fur-traders from Canada, a pressure which eventually was to thoroughly awaken the Hudson's Bay Company from the dream of a peaceful and comfortable monopoly of the fur trade, and convince them that if they would hold their own they must no longer rest content with a string of posts around the shores of Hudson Bay, but must strike boldly inland and meet the enterprising and very energetic Canadian traders on their own ground. In Hendry's day the Canadian fur-traders whose competition was beginning to arouse the alarm of the Hudson's Bay Company were French. When Cocking went inland, a couple of decades later, Canada had changed hands; but although the traders who now roamed far and wide throughout the immense fur country west of the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay were British, like the Hudson's Bay men themselves, the competition was much more bitter and strenuous than it had ever been before—which was, of course, entirely in keeping with the whole history of mankind.

Although the Hudson's Bay men contemptuously styled the Canadian traders "pedlers," they were too shrewd to ignore the strength of

their competition, and it was no doubt a direct result of this journey of Cocking's that the year after his return to York Factory he was sent inland again by Chief Factor Andrew Graham, with Samuel Hearne, to build Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan. When Alexander Henry visited Cumberland House, in October, 1775, he found it "garrisoned by Highlanders, from the Orkney Islands, and under the command of a Mr. Cockings, by whom, though unwelcome guests, we were treated with much civility." How long thereafter Cocking remained in charge of Cumberland House, or what his subsequent history may have been, there is no present means of knowing, nor is any information available as to his life previous to his remarkable journey from York Factory to the Blackfeet country.<sup>1</sup>

It may not be without interest to give two practically contemporary descriptions of the famous trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company which was the starting-point of Cocking's expedition, as of so many other remarkable journeys in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first of these is taken from Drage's "Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Straights, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America, performed in the Year 1746 and 1747;" and the second from Andrew Graham's account of the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1771, as given in Dr. George Bryce's "Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company," Chapter xiii.

"The situation of the Factory," says Drage, "is a clear Space made in the Woods, which surround it on three Sides, the Factory having an open Front to the Water, from which it stands a small Distance within the Bank; to the North and Eastward covered with a good Battery, and to the South-East is a Dock for building or repairing either Sloops or Boats; behind the Battery, and between that and the Dock, there is a Space of land which they call the Plantation, and here the Indians who come to the Factory pitch their Tents; and there is generally a Tent or two of old and infirm Indians, both Men and Wemen, who get their Maintenance from the Factory. This Part, which is on the Back of the Battery and Dock, and called the Plantation, is separated from the Factory by two Rows of high Palissades, between the first of which and the second are Store-houses, the Cookery and some Workshops, low built, and so placed as they would be of little Service to an Enemy to cover an Attack of the Place. Within the inner Palissades are small Spots of Turnips, Collards, Sallads, and other Garden Stuff, belonging

<sup>1</sup> Some further particulars as to Cocking and his expedition inland with Hearne, will be found in Agnes Laut's *Conquest of the Great Northwest*—published since the above was written.

to the Governor and Officers. From the Plantation, or from the first Entering of the Palissades to the Factory, you walk on a wooden Platform. The Factory itself is a square Fort, having four Bastions, two Stories high, with a Platform on the Top leaded, and a Parapet, where they have some Cannon. The Factory is of Wood, built of large Logs of Trees, plained on three Sides, laid one on the other, and pegg'd together with large wooden Pins; to the Front they put a plain Side of the Logs, and the Front is painted white. In the Center of each Curtain there projects in the second Story a close Lantern, a half Circle; in which nor in any Part of the Bastions are there any Ports for Cannon, but Loops for small Arms. When you go into the Factory there is a handsome Area; the Factory is much handsomer within than on the Outside."

Andrew Graham's description of York Factory is even more interesting, so far as the present narrative is concerned, as it gives us the fort as it appeared the year before Cocking's journey.—"On the north bank of the Hayes River," writes Graham, "three miles from the entrance. Famous River Nelson, three miles north, makes the land between an island. Well-built fort of wood, log on log. Four bastions with sheds between, and a breastwork with twelve small carriage guns. Good class of quarters, with double row of strong palisades. On the bank's edge, before the fort, is a half-moon battery, of turf and earth, with fifteen cannon, nine-pounders. Two miles below the fort, same side, is a battery of ten twelve-pounders, with lodge-house and powder magazine. These two batteries command the river, but the shoals and sand-banks across the mouth defend us more. No ship comes higher than five miles below the fort. Governed like Prince of Wales Fort. Complement of men: forty-two. The natives come down Nelson River to trade. If weather calm, they paddle round the point. If not, they carry their furs across. This fort sends home from 7000 to 33,000 made beaver in furs, &c., and a small quantity of white whale oil." To complete the description, the following is taken from his account of Prince of Wales Fort, as Andrew Graham says York Factory was governed similarly: "Staff: a chief factor and officers, with sixty servants and tradesmen. The council, with discretionary power, consists of chief factor, second factor, surgeon, sloop and brig masters, and captain of Company's ship when in port. These answer and sign the general letter, sent yearly to directors. The others are accountant, trader, steward, armourer, ship-wright, carpenter, cooper, blacksmith, mason, tailor, and labourers. These must not trade with natives, under penalties for so doing. Council mess together, also servants. Called by bell to duty, work from six to six in summer; eight to four in winter. Two watch in winter, three in summer. In emer-

gencies, tradesmen must work at anything. Killing of partridges the most pleasant duty. A ship of 200 ton burden, bearing provisions, arrives yearly in August or early September. Sails again in ten days, wind permitting, with cargo and those returning." After enumerating the several other posts on the Bay, Severn, Albany, Henley House, East Main House, and Moose Factory, Andrew Graham concludes: "All are under one discipline, and excepting the sub-houses, each factor receives a commission to act for benefit of Company, without being answerable to any person or persons in the Bay, more than to consult for good of Company in emergencies and to supply one another with trading goods, &c., if capable, the receiver giving credit for the same."

Ballantyne and other writers have described York Factory as it appeared at a later day, but that is not to the present purpose.

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NOTE.—Since this introduction was written, the writer has had an opportunity of discussing Cocking's course with Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, who is thoroughly familiar with the ground. Mr. Tyrrell is of opinion that Cocking did not go through Knee lake, but left the Hayes route above that lake, paddled through Deer lake (which lies west of Knee lake), and up the river which flows into it, to Cross lake (Cocking's Pimochickomow), over Cross lake, up Nelson river, to the mouth of Kiskitto or Kiskittogisu river, up this river, which is easy travelling, and over a swampy portage into Minago river, up this latter river and over a portage to Moose lake (Cocking's Oteatowan Sockoegan).

## JOURNAL.

June 27, 1772. Saturday. This day at noon took my departure from York Fort in Lat.  $57^{\circ} 00'$ . The Indians were unwilling to proceed, being such bad weather; and two of them becoming sickly so we put up for the night, four miles above the Fort.

28. Sunday. We did not proceed.

29. Monday. At 7 A.M. proceeded, but my Canoe mate died; we put up for the night.

30. We proceeded, tracking our Canoes at intervals against a strong current.

July 1. Wednesday. Proceeded tracking all this day; the water so shoal. Left Hayes river and entered Steel river, which bears about S.W. b.W. from York Fort, & 50 miles distant.

2. Thursday. Tracked all this day: In the Evening a few Canoes overtook us, prevailed with one of the natives to make a third person in my Canoe: passed the mouth of Chuckitanaw<sup>1</sup> river which empties itself into Steel river 40 miles South West from its entrance. From York Fort to the mouth of Chuckitanaw river Canoes may be navigated pretty easy; above this river the Water becomes shoal.

3. Friday. Tracked, dragged, and carried the Canoes & Goods at intervals; Several Indians overtook us, they have left a few sick people behind; Course this day South  $66^{\circ}$  W. & distance 25 miles.

4. Saturday. Proceeded as yesterday; a strong current. Our course South  $67^{\circ}$  West, and distance 14 miles.

5. Sunday. Proceeded as yesterday, a Strong current; Our Course South  $85^{\circ}$  W. Distance 6 miles.


6. Monday. Paddled, dragged, & carried the Canoes & Goods most part of this day; I laid by in the woods a small reserve of Tobacco, to smoke with the Natives on my return to the Fort. Course 52 West, 16 miles.

7. Tuesday. Proceeded as yesterday: We speared a few pike fish which were very plenty; also shot a few ducks. Course South 45 West, Distance 20 miles.

8. Wednesday. Paddled, dragged, & carried the Canoes & Goods, at intervals, amongst rocky shoals & strong current. Course South  $29^{\circ}$  West, Distance 26 miles.

9. Thursday. Paddled in deep water and carried the Canoes & Goods at intervals; Deer Lake is well stored with fish & Gulls; I laid by a second store of tobacco. Course South  $39^{\circ}$  West. Distance 29

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. B. Tyrrell identifies this as Brassy Hill river, flowing into Steel river near Brassy hill.



miles. Having left the River to-day, entered Deer Lake,<sup>1</sup> and paddled upwards of 20 miles in it; From the mouth of Chuckitanaw river to this lake the course is nearly S.W. by true Compass & distance 135 miles as judged; in which are innumerable quantity of Falls & carrying places.

10. Friday. Paddled & carried our Canoes at times; Spearing fish; & the sick people retarding our proceeding. Departed from Deer lake and paddled in a river. Course South  $31^{\circ}$  W. Distance 31 miles. I observe no difference of the produce of the country, only that Birch wood grows along the bank in places.

11. Saturday. This morning we discovered a poor Native seemingly at the point of death; his neighbours had left him behind, & we also did; paddled & carried the Canoes & Goods. Fish jumping in the Lake, but being cloudy, we could not spear any; paddled about 12 miles in the river, which was very shoal; then entered Pimochickomow Lake.<sup>2</sup> Course to-day South  $46^{\circ}$  Wt. Distance 36 miles.

12. Sunday. We did not proceed; several men went a Moose hunting; but without success.

13. Monday. We did not proceed; men went a hunting; they saw the tracks of several but killed none; Hungry times: A quarter of an Eagle, Gull or Duck is one persons Allowance pr. day.

14. Tuesday. In the Evening proceeded: Two of our Company very sickly, lying helpless in the Canoes: One canoe overtook us, they inform'd us that four Indians are dead; One of them a Leader: others obliged to be left on the road. Paddled on the Lake South  $49^{\circ}$  West 20 miles, & came at Wethawecwakechewan River head: Tried the depth of water which was two fathoms: Many Islands in the Lake. It is about three miles broad.

15. Wednesday. Proceeded: deep water, plenty of Fish: At noon several Asinepoot Natives<sup>3</sup> came up with us, who confirm the Accounts received yesterday: I laid up another reserve of tobacco: Paddled about 15 miles in the Lake & entered Saskatchewan River;<sup>4</sup> at the same time Powethiniko Sepee bore N. W. b. N. one mile & a half: Our Course in Pomochickomow lake nearly S. W. distance 65 miles: Paddled about nine miles S.S.W. in Saskatchewan River & entered Sequesew river: good water in Saskatchewan. Course South  $54^{\circ}$  West, distance 52 miles.

<sup>1</sup> A lake 27 miles long, west of Knee lake.

<sup>2</sup> Cross lake.

<sup>3</sup> Assiniboinies.

<sup>4</sup> This and other references here to rivers are rather puzzling. This would seem to be the Nelson above Cross lake. The Nelson appears on some early maps as the Saskatchewan.

16. Thursday. Proceeded in the morning, but soon brought to: Men went a Moose hunting: at noon returned: no success. We proceeded, several of my Company sick. Paddled in Sequesew<sup>1</sup> river South 32° West, 17 miles to-day; & in all South 25° West 32 miles: Deep water & little Current for that distance, when it becomes almost dry.

17. Friday. Did not proceed: The disorders of the Natives are pains in the breast & Bowels, attended with a cough, & spitting ill-coloured phlegm.

18. Saturday. Lay by.

19. Sunday. Proceeded in the morning, but soon after brought to a Carrying place, to wait for several of our men that were gone in quest of moose: They returned in the Evening: No success: Here are plenty of Pike Fish. Course in Sequesew river South 26° Wt., distance 8 miles & come near to a Carrying place where the river terminates.

20. Monday. Proceeded in the morning; passed over the Carrying place, & entered a river, good water, between the Cataracts: dragged & paddled at intervals: Indians in a sickly helpless state, which causes the labour to lie heavy on the few healthful people amongst us: Raspberries, a small Blue-berrie, and Straw-berries, plenty: Paddled, Dragged & Carried at intervals in Pine river. Course South-Westerly and distance 10 miles.

21. Tuesday. Paddled & Carried at times, sometimes in small lakes & drains, at other times in Minahage (*i.e.*) Pine river.<sup>2</sup> Course South 51° West, distance 9 miles. I am wearied with fish eating, scarcely anything else.

22. Wednesday. Proceeded, Carried, & paddled, at intervals, through Creeks, Lakes, and Swamps; then came at a large lake named Oteatowan Sockoegan.<sup>3</sup> On entering it we dragged our Canoes about 4 miles through a rocky shoal. Course South 32° West; distance 8 miles.

23. Thursday. Paddled in the lake: a great swell very dangerous paddling; came to a noted fishing place for pike, Sturgeon, Perch, & other fish; Here I laid up my fourth reserve of Tobacco: No success in angling, so proceeded; paddled over the lake, saw several sturgeon leaping a considerable height out of the water; entered a small river. Here the Natives have a stage built across, on which they stand to spear Sturgeon, stopping the passage with long sticks stuck in the ground a small space asunder, unsupported at top: The Sturgeon, swimming against these stakes, shake them; which directs the Natives where to strike. This river is well stored with Guinaids & other fish; Put up here,

<sup>1</sup> Kiskitto river.

<sup>2</sup> Minago river.

<sup>3</sup> Mo se lake—Hendry's Othenume.

Kaiskatchewan river<sup>1</sup> in sight: We killed eleven sturgeon & a few Tickomeg (i.e.) Guinaids<sup>2</sup> & one black Bear; A seasonable supply being greatly in want: The Pedlar, Mr. Currie<sup>3</sup> (who intercepted great part of York Fort trade this year).<sup>4</sup> is one days paddling below this river, at Cedar Lake: Laid up a fifth reserve of tobacco. Sounded 6 fathoms in Outeatowan lake on the N.W. side where we paddled about S.W. 27 miles, then came at a small river named Kippahagan Sepee (i.e) Shut up river and paddled a small distance in it. Course South 42 West, distance 30 miles.

24. Friday. We did not proceed: Busy killing Sturgeon: We are now recovering our spirits: The Natives inform me we will soon be where food of many kinds are plenty.

25. Saturday. We did not proceed: busy killing Sturgeon: In the Evening Lewis Primo<sup>5</sup> with 4 Canoes in Company came here: He informs me his Leader died on the road.

26. Sunday. We did not proceed.

27 & 28. Monday & Tuesday. Primow with his Company proceeded but we did not: The sick recovering & food plenty.

29. Wednesday. Proceeded: Paddled & Carried: Here are Grey Geese, Old & Young: After paddling about 4 miles W. b. S. from Outeatowan Lake in Kippahakan River. Carried our Canoes & goods over a neck of land into Saskatchewan River & paddled up it. Course West & distance 8 miles.

30. Thursday. Proceeded: Paddled & carried to & again between Saskatchewan River & a Shallow Lake, hunting Geese &c. on the South Saskatchewan river. Course South 81 West & distance 18 Miles.

31. Friday. Proceeded & came to Basquia.<sup>6</sup> Here at a small river where the Natives killed Guinaids with hand nets: Many Natives had been here lately: This is a long frequented place where the Canadians rendezvous & trade with the Natives: Many of their Superstitious & Fanciful marks are seen here: We met an Indian with his wife &

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<sup>1</sup> The Saskatchewan.

<sup>2</sup> Whitefish. Captain Coats, in his "Geography of Hudson Bay," says "titimegg is a fish not unlike our largest white herrings."

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Curry or Currie.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Graham, the factor at York Factory, notes: "Mr. Currie's encroachment was the reason I sent Mr. Cocking inland."

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Elliott Coues notes one Joseph Primeau, interpreter of the North-West Company, at Fort des Prairies in 1804. Probably the same name, though not same man. Lewis Primo's connection with both Cocking and Samuel Hearne is made clear in Miss Agnes Laut's *Conquest of the Great Northwest*.

<sup>6</sup> The Pas. See note to Hendry's Journal (R.S.C., 1907, II, 325).

Family, I present my pipe to him & make him a small present, & by strength of a little liquor prevailed on him to accompany us & hope to take him with me to the Fort next summer. He had been employed last summer & winter by the pedlars to procure them food. Our Course in Saskatchewan river Wt.  $20^{\circ}$  North, distance 20 miles.

N.B.—From York Fort to Basquia I make the Course South 46 West, Distance 450 miles.

August 1. Saturday. Proceeded: Paddled: saw several wild-fowl, & Basquia hills, also an old house formerly belonging to the Canadians.<sup>1</sup> Paddled in a branch of Saskatchewan River & in a Lake named Maneme-shahsquatanan Sakahegan<sup>2</sup> on the South of the main river. From the main river in the branch to the Lake is S.  $76^{\circ}$  West 5 miles and the Lake Wt. N. by 24 miles, then arrived at a river with a strong current, & paddled 5 miles W.S.W. Soly<sup>3</sup> in it. Course Corrected So.  $76^{\circ}$  Wt.  $27^{\circ}$  miles distance.

2. Sunday. Proceeded, & at noon brought to, Men went a hunting Moose, killed one, good food. In the above river paddled So.  $66^{\circ}$  Wt. distance 5 miles. N.B.—The Current continues strong & good water for canoes.

3. Monday. In the forepart of the day dried our Venison; then proceeded; men hunting but without success. Course So. 46 Wt. and distance 4 miles.

4. Tuesday. Proceeded: Paddled, Dragged, & Carried our Canoes & Goods at intervals. Plenty of wild fowl: Here I met with a York Fort Leader who had not been down this summer. He denied having traded with the pedlars; but the Canadians goods that were in their possession contradicted his Assertion. Paddled about a mile West in the river, then came to Maneshashsquatanan lake again, and paddled about 2 miles N.W. in it; when after two Carriagges, & dragging Canoes thro' swamps 2 miles N.W. nearly, we entered Saskatchewan again, and paddled for about 12 miles in it W.S.W., then put up for the night. About a mile below which place, on the North side of the river, is a place where the Natives tell me that the Beaver Indians<sup>4</sup> carry their goods & canoes into a Lake named Menistaquatakow:<sup>5</sup> this Carrying place is named Menistick-Minikqueuskow. Course corrected North  $84^{\circ}$  West, distance 16 miles.

<sup>1</sup> La Vérendrye's Fort Poskoyac.

<sup>2</sup> Saska-ram lake.

<sup>3</sup> Southerly, presumably.

<sup>4</sup> A tribe of the Athapascan family.

<sup>5</sup> Cumberland lake.

5. Wednesday. Proceeded: Paddled in the afternoon, met with 15 canoes who had traded all their furs with the Pedlars; they are laying by waiting for their friends. The Indians inform me that we are now arrived at the dry Country, no Lakes being on either side the river. Course South  $68^{\circ}$  Wt., distance 18 miles.

6. Thursday. Proceeded: we met a Canoe going down to the Natives we saw yesterday, informed us that a Canoe was waiting a little farther on to assist us; We expect to see them to-morrow. After paddling about 4 miles nearly S.W. We passed a branch of the river which runs W.b.S. & which the Natives say joins the river again a long way up the Country. It is named little Sturgeon river; We caught some here: a little before we put up for the night passed an opening bearing S.b. Wt. which joins the river a little above Basquia, being a small branch;<sup>1</sup> Course So.  $32^{\circ}$  Wt. distance 14 miles.

7. Friday. Proceeded; paddled, & tracked: at noon came up with the Canoe, our friends; They inform us that many Natives are gone to war, & others intended to go, for grief at the loss of their friends. In Saskatchewan river. Our Course So.  $48^{\circ}$  Wt., distance 20 miles. N.B.— Passed an opening that bore S.b.E. (a little before we put up for the night) named Peatagow river.<sup>2</sup>

8. Saturday. Proceeded; & in the afternoon passed by an old Trading house,<sup>3</sup> belonging to the French pedlars before the conquest of Quebec: River as yet broad, has many Islands producing Pine & Willows: good water for Canoes. Course So.  $79^{\circ}$  Wt., 11 miles distance.

9. Sunday. Proceeded: Paddled, & tracked, the latter mostly; bad walking: Red Deer plenty hereabouts named Waskesew: passed another old house: One Mr. Finley from Montreal resided in it five years ago.<sup>4</sup> The river begins to grow shoal. Course Corrected So.  $28^{\circ}$  Wt., and distance 21 miles.

10. Monday. Tracked: In the Evening came to a tent of Natives; The current strong, & the depth of water barely sufficient for our Canoes in many places. Course corrected So.  $62^{\circ}$  Wt., 17 miles.

11. Tuesday. In the afternoon came to the Families Viz, seven tents of them. Here the Natives always wait for their Friends: Formerly the French had a House here.<sup>5</sup> Course corrected S.  $39^{\circ}$  Wt.,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  miles distance. From Basquia to this place I make the Course to be So.  $58^{\circ}$  Wt., & distance 150 miles.

<sup>1</sup> Sipanok canal.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with Hendry's Peatago river—the Carrot.

<sup>3</sup> One of the forts built by La Vérendrye or La Corne.

<sup>4</sup> James Finlay. See note to Hendry's Journal (R.S.C., 1907, II, 314).

<sup>5</sup> Fort La Corne. See Hendry's Journal (R.S.C., 1907, II, 311).

12. Wednesday. We did not proceed. I am informed that there are 18 tents of Natives a short distance off: I am also informed that Sesiwappew's son is grieved for the loss of his father, & is going to war to revenge his death: Such is the superstition & wild notions of the natives. The Natives rejoice that the journey from the Fort is ended; Indeed we have been forty-five days in performing what they used to be only twenty days other years, when healthful: Musquetaoes hath been troublesome without intermission all the way, at the Carrying places especially; the Dress we were obliged to wear afforded us but little defence against them: I found it impossible to make any remarks of the force of the Currents, depth of water, &c., the Canoes not being constructed for such experiments: As to the Falls & Shoals, Vessels (i.e.) Large Canoes must be carried over: I have been particularly careful to be impartial in the account I have given, not exaggerating, but rather leaning to the favourable side.

13. Thursday. We travel to-morrow: A Child died this day. I laid by a sixth reserve of tobacco & a few ball.

14. Friday. We travelled 6 miles S.W.b.S. Country hilly, producing short Grass, low willows & ponds in places; also many vermin holes; our Course very uncertain; I found it inconvenient to use the Compass; Indian Leaders, whom the Natives say are intending to go to war, are many; but we expect to see some of them before the season for these expeditions; when I hope to prevail on them to desist. The Friends of the Child who died Yesterday, make great lamentation, pricking themselves with Arrows in the Arms, sides, thighs and legs & the women scratching their legs &c. with flints.

15. Saturday. Travelled over several hillocks named Birch-hills. Strawberries, Rasp and Hip-berries in abundance: Course S.W.b.S., distance three miles; more Hillocks in sight as per Course named Waskesew Hills: Indians killed 2 Waskesew.

16. Sunday. Travelled S.W.b.S. 9 Miles: Country as yesterday: Saw a few straggling Ducks in small ponds in the Valleys: Indians tell me that in Winter buffalo are plenty here, which is confirmed by the quantity of Dung on the ground. Natives killed 3 Waskesew.

17. Monday. Travelled 6 miles W.S.W. over a grassy, shrubby Country; Abundance of wild Wormwood, Mynth & other Herbs like Sage & Baum; but not of the same flavour.

18. Tuesday. We did not proceed: Women employed gathering small nuts: An Indian joined us who confirms the account that many Natives are preparing for War.

19. Wednesday. Travelled 6 miles S.W.b.S.: The Natives are very dilatory in proceeding; their whole delight is to sit smoking and feasting: Yesterday I received invitations to no less than ten feasts.

20. Thursday. Travelled 7 miles W.S.W.: A Branch of Saskatchewan River bears West; distance 2 miles.

21. Friday. Travelled 8 miles S.W.b.W., passed some Hillocks named Birch Hills, and Younger Brothers, that bore South; Woods appear to be growing on them: passed through some low swamps, Thickets & Ponds: Red Deer are numerous; also Grizzle Bears of the fierce kind; but as yet we have seen none. Buffalo dung very plenty: Natives killed many Red Deer: plenty of food; although the Red Deer is coarse food, it goes well down after feeding so long on fish.

22. Saturday. Travelled 9 miles S.W.b.S., came to a branch of Saskatchewan River,<sup>1</sup> where we put up. The River here is about fifty yards wide, & a strong current: It abounds with small fish named Wepitseish, much like a Guiniad in size and shape; Another fish named Nonahchekesish or little sucking fish; & another kind about a foot long: They all readily take hook baited with flesh. They inform'd me of another fish named Mithcowepitesish, or red toothed fish, something like a trout. Here we met with a Leader named Commeseskew, with 14 tents full of natives; They heard of Buffalo up this branch.<sup>2</sup>

23. Sunday. Crossed the branch in temporary Canoes with bended sticks, & covered with parchment skins:<sup>3</sup> We put upon the opposite side: Hunters killed 2 Buffalo: The Natives all promise faithfully to go down to the Forts next year, & not to trade with the Pedlars: but they are such notorious liars there is no believing them. However, I shall preserve part of my goods until my return, to try what influence that will have: I find they consider an Englishman's going with them as a person sent to collect Furs; & not as an encouragement to them to trap furs, & come down to the Settlements.

24. Monday. We did not proceed: This day Hunters saw several Horses up the branch of the other side: They are all in general afraid, supposing the horses to belong to the Snake Indians<sup>4</sup> with whom they are always at variance.

25. Tuesday. We proceeded; Our course about S.W.b.S., distance 9 miles: Travelling through a hilly, short grass country: A few small

<sup>1</sup> South Saskatchewan river.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Graham adds this note:—"The above Leader was at York Fort last summer with 4 canoes. Query. Where were the others. Answer: I suppose traded with the Canadians ,if they had collected any furs."

<sup>3</sup> "Bull-boats." See note to Hendry (R.S.C., 1907, II, 329).

<sup>4</sup> These could hardly be the true Snakes, or Shoshones, whose usual habitat was the Yellowstone country. Alexander Henry, the younger, refers to Snake Indians in the Red River country, and Dr. Coues suggests that these may have been Sioux. Possibly Cocking's Snakes may also respond to the same identification, though somewhat out of Sioux territory.

sticks and ponds in places, well stored with Ducks, abundance of stone currant trees, but no Rasp nor Strawberrie shrubs. We pitched on the edge of the barren ground; saw several Buffalo feeding; killed several with a Gun & Bow, &c. I saw two Snakes this day each about a yard long, quite harmless; The Indians handling them & putting them in their bosoms. Course & distance corrected for nine days past are as follows, Viz. Course South  $35^{\circ}$  west and Distance 61 miles.

26. Wednesday. We did not proceed: Hunters killed several Buffalo. This day I took an Observation per noon Altitude. Latitude  $52^{\circ} 37''$  North.

27. Thursday. We did not proceed: A smoke seen the way we intended going; As they are uncertain whether it is made by Friends or Foes, Some Young men are going off to-morrow to reconnoitre. I have given a small present of Tobacco to be smoked if they are friends.

28. Friday. Travelled 12 miles W.b.S. Country rather leveller than before; very short grass, with plenty of Wild wormwood; Many Marmot<sup>1</sup> holes, the Indians killed several; & esteem them good eating; plenty of Buffalo in sight on all sides; Males and Females in separate herds; which the Natives inform me they always are, except in the covering season. No wood until we pitched in a long narrow ledge of small poplar.

29. Saturday. Travelled 5 miles W.S.W. along the ledge: At two miles off a narrow ridge of high land which bore North about 8 miles distant (A branch of Saskatchewan river runs on this side) named Menachinahshew Hills. They tell me of large lake on the other side, abounding with large Jack-fish named Menawow Sakahegan; near these Hills others, named Sacketagow Hills; where the Asinepoet natives go yearly for Birch-rind to cover their Canoes: There are many large Hills beyond those where the Beaver Indians reside: this high land is the termination of the barren ground that way; the Country beyond being woody, abounding in martins, Waskesew, Moose; & farther on, Beaver. This day I laid by a seventh reserve of tobacco & Shot of sizes; also other goods for Spring use at the building of canoes.

30. Sunday. We did not proceed: few Buffalo to be seen.

31. Monday. Travelled 5 miles W.S.W. Came to the other branch of Saskatchewan river<sup>2</sup> where we pitched: narrow with abundance of Flat Islands, but good water for Canoes, & no Falls. Saw several Buffalo on the other side coming towards us, some Young Men, who went off in the morning, driving them this way, by making several fires of Buffalo dung to windward.

<sup>1</sup> Spermophiles or "ground squirrels."

<sup>2</sup> North Saskatchewan, somewhere about The Elbow.

September 1. Tuesday. We travelled along the branch: Course W.S.W. & distance about 14 miles.

2. Wednesday. We did not proceed: A large drove of Female Buffalo from the Westward crossed the river near our tents, but were drove back by the Natives who killed several.

3. Thursday. We proceeded: Our Course S.W.b.W. distance 5 miles: travelling along the river. Here we met with a poor forlorn French-man, along with a few Asinepoet Natives. He tells me that He left Francois the French Pedlar<sup>1</sup> 7 years ago on account of ill usage; & hath been with the Natives ever since; I gave him a small supply of Tobacco & other necessaries. Course Corrected for five days past South 61° West, distance 41 miles.

4. Friday. Our Course about West, distance 9 miles: Travelled along the branch, put up at a Shallow Creek named Mikisew or little Eagle Creek: There we met with many Natives: The river full of small flats, very crooked, small poplars in places on the shores. and abundance of stone Currants; also small black-berries: The Natives gather abundance of both sorts drying them in the sun for winter use.

5. Saturday. We did not proceed: This day I smoked with the Natives: the Leader promised not to go to war; I also gave them a supply of goods.

6. Sunday. We proceeded all in Company: Our Course West, distance 12 miles. Leaving the river on one hand, came to some high land named Mikisew Wache. or Eagle hills.<sup>2</sup> where we pitched: Poplar & Birch about 4 feet diameter in places; but mostly very small: plenty of moose & Waskesew at times, but at present scarce: Several ponds well stored with Ducks and some Geese. N.B.—The Natives here all took tent-poles to carry with them.

7. Monday. We did not proceed.

8. Tuesday. We proceeded: travelling along the Hill-side: Our Course S.b.W. distance four miles.

9. Wednesday. Our course S.E.b.S. & distance 6 miles: several small ponds well stored with Ducks: We separated, part going Westerly towards Manito-Sakihagan & Assine-Wache.

10. Thursday. We did not proceed.

11. Friday. We did not proceed.

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<sup>1</sup> Evidently one of the French traders who remained in the west after the conquest. It is not clear if the name Francois is the Christian name or the surname. Possibly may be a corruption of the French surname Francoeur. A Joseph Francoeur was a voyageur of the North-West Company in 1804. Not likely to be the same man, however.

<sup>2</sup> Eagle Hills and Eagle Hills Creek still known by same name. The latter empties into North Saskatchewan from the south, above the elbow.

12. Saturday. We proceeded: our Course about S.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  S. distance 7 miles: Country barren, & barren hillocks; with several lakes or rather ponds, with a few small sticks growing on the shores, & abundance of the Currants.

13. Sunday. We did not proceed: Three Asinepoet Natives came to us from Manitow Sakahegan; they bring the disagreeable news that several of the Asinepoet Natives have been quarrelling through jealousy, & are intending to kill each other: this often is the case with these people.

14. Monday. Our Canoes E.S.E. distance 6 miles: Crossed the Creek namele Mikisew Shipishish a second time: shallow as before: Indians say there are many Beaver in this Creek: Hunters who went off early this morning killed four, fine food. Course corrected for six days past is  $27^{\circ}$  W. & distance 26 miles.

15. Tuesday. We did not proceel: Hunters had but small success in Beaver killing: The greatest part of our Company are intended to remain near this Creek for some time, to kill Beaver: Wolves are very numerous.

16. Wednesday. The Natives saw a Strange Horse to-day. & suppose it belongs to the Snake Indians, their Enemies.

17. Thursday. Indians killed several Buffalo: The Natives in general are afraid of the Snake Indians & say they are nigh at hand. This day I took an observation with an artificial Horizon in water but blowing fresh it was very imperfect. Latitude Pr. Account  $48^{\circ}43$  North (N.B.—“Very imperfect indeed”).

18. Friday. Ten tents of Asinepoet Natives came to us: they say they left several tents of Asinepoet Natives & Archithinue Natives<sup>1</sup> (their friends) two days' journey beyond Manitow-Sakahegan. N.B.—We have several pack-horses with us at present, lively clean made animals, generally about 14 hands high & of different colours.

19. Saturday. Hunters looking after Beaver but scarce: Smoked with the Asinepoet Strangers: I advised them to be diligent in trapping furs, & to go with me to the Company's Forts, most of them being strangers: but they seemed unwilling, saying, they were unacquainted with the method of building Canoes & paddling: However they would send their furs by their friends who yearly visit the forts.

20. Sunday. Laying by: Smoking, Dancing, &c.

21. Monday. We proceeded: Our Course about S.E. distance only a mile: Young men went a hunting: Indians sickly. Latitude by an Artificial Horizon  $52^{\circ}13''$  N. Course from York Fort to this place by true Compass, South 56 Wt. Distance 536 miles.

<sup>1</sup> Blackfeet.

22. Tuesday. This day the Natives pitched a very large tent. The men singing, &c., & the Women dancing; & all dressed in their most gaudy apparel: A cold collation of berries dressed up with fat.

23. Wednesday. Indians employed: Men conjuring, & Women dancing; All this is done for the recovery of the sick.

24. Thursday. Travelled 3 miles S.E.: the Asinepoet Natives that last arrived going N.W.: Others with Neheathaway Indians<sup>1</sup> going easterly: all to trap Wolves, & pound Buffalo; at present only eight tents.

25. Friday. We did not proceed: The Hunters saw several strange Horses; but they are such notorious liars, often giving false alarms, there is hardly any believing them.

26. Saturday. Plenty of provisions, so we did not proceed: The strange Horses that were seen yesterday proves to be a false alarm.

27. Sunday. Travelled twelve miles S.W.b.S. crossed Mikisew-Sepishish a third time: Buffalo feeding on all sides: Barren unlevel country.

28. Monday. Travelled five miles S.W.b.S. Country as before: A barren sandy soil, very little grass, mostly wild Wormwood which the Natives name Mustoose or Buffalo-loving: from that Animal being very fond of this Herb: Natives killed 4 Beaver.

29. Tuesday. We did not proceed: Hunters looking after Beaver, but had small success: A plentiful Country of provisions, for when the present stock is expended, an Indian need only mount his Horse, taking his Gun or Bow, & in a short time return with his Horse loaded with meat, supplying his neighbours also.

Sept. 30 & Oct. 1. Wednesday & Thursday. Snow at intervals.

2. Friday. Snow at times. We are preparing to proceed to-morrow when we shall separate for the winter-season: This day was spent in feasting on berries, which are now going out of season; & a farewell smoking.

3. Saturday. We did not proceed: Smoking the Grand Calimut & several speeches made by the Leaders: Two looking-glasses with several other trifles were presented: these were to be given to the ground to induce it to favour them with plenty of furs & provisions: They have a notion that these gifts have a great effect; & when anything happens contrary to their desires they commonly use this method to appease the ill Domon. When sick they are very foolish, for they throw away many necessaries, also present to others as payment for singing their god-songs

<sup>1</sup> Crees. In Henry Kellsey's journal the name is spelled Nayhaythaway. Edouard Umfreville, in his "Present State of Hudson Bay," gives Nehethawa.

that they may recover; so that if the sick person recovers, He is a poor wretched Creature having scarce any thing to cover his nakedness.

4. Sunday. We did not proceed: The men singing their Buffalo Pound songs.

5. Monday. We proceeded: two tents going Southerly: Our Course West & distance 14 miles: At present six tents: The country hillocks: soil sandy, & barren in the vallies. Saw a few Snow-buntings.

6. Tuesday. Travelled 8 miles W.b.N.: Country very barren: Saw several Stone heaps on the tops of the high hills; which the Natives say were gathered by the Archithinue Natives, who used to lie behind these heaps, reconnoitering the Country round: We pitched on the side of a lake, the water disagreeable, bitterish salt taste; salt laying on the surface an inch thick (A specimen of which I have preserved) & on the shore like rime in a frosty morning: We made use of Buffalo dung for fuel & it answered very well.

7. Wednesday. We did not proceed: Buffalo at present very scarce. I found in an old tent-place belonging to the Archithinue Natives, part of an earthen vessel, in which they dress their victuals; It appeared to have been in the form of an earthen pan. Saw several Wolves.

8. Thursday. We proceeded: Our Course about W.b.N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. & distance 9 miles: Country very unlevel, but the Hills not so high: Saw two salt lakes: Fresh water scarce.

9. Friday. We did not proceed: A heavy rain last night: Male Buffalo our food at present; very poor excepting in the spring. N.B.—All over the Country where Buffalo resort are many hollow places in the ground,<sup>1</sup> made by the Bulls in the covering season.

10. Saturday. We proceeded: Our Course West & distance 2 miles, arriving at the ridge of small poplars where the Natives intend to trap the winter season. Two tents separated from us, going more northerly: We were obliged to dig in a low plot of ground to obtain water.

11 to 13. Sunday to Tuesday. We did not proceed: Busy building traps for Wolves; Numbers around us; so that we have the prospect of good luck.

14. Wednesday. This day an Indian Man, belonging to those who last separated from us, was brought to my tent, having fallen from his Horse & broke his leg: I did & shall do all in my power to get him well again.

15. Thursday. The Indians belonging to the lame man joined me.

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<sup>1</sup> Buffalo wallows—they rolled in the wallows until caked with mud and so found a measure of protection from the assaults of flies and mosquitoes.

16 to 19. Friday to Monday. The lame man doing well: Busy trapping: good success: several Smokes near us which we suppose are our Friends the Archithinue Natives: The Natives shew me a tobacco plantation<sup>1</sup> belonging to the Archithinue Indians about 100 yards long & 5 wide, sheltered from the northern blasts by a Ledge of poplars; & to the Southward by a ridge of high ground.

20. Tuesday. We are preparing to proceed to-morrow, to be in readiness for pounding Buffalo at an Archithinue pound.

21. Wednesday. We did not proceed as intended, waiting to kill Buffalo which were seen in great droves this morning.

22. Thursday. We proceedel to the Pound: Course S.S.W. & distance 6 miles: The lame man on the mending hand. Course corrected since September 21st South 60° West & distance 48 miles. From York Fort to the Buffalo pound. Course by true Compass South 48 West. Distance 752 miles.

23. Friday. Every person repairing the Beast pound.<sup>2</sup> "It is a circle fenced round with trees laid one upon another, at the foot of an Hill about, 7 feet high & an hundred yards in Circumference: the entrance on the Hill-side where the Animal can easily go over; but when in, cannot return: From this entrance small sticks are laid on each side like a fence, in form of an angle extending from the pound; beyond these to about 1½ mile distant. Buffalo dung, or old roots are laid in Heaps, in the same direction as the fence: These are to frighten the Beasts from deviating from either side. This pound was made by our Archithinue friends last spring, who had great success, many Skulls & Bones lying in the pound. Several Buffalo seen near at hand, & the Young men endeavoured to drive them beyond the pound but without success.

24. Saturday. Wolves, Foxes, the Roebuck; another Animal of the Deer kind named Pistaticoos,<sup>3</sup> but something less in size; plenty of Hares; pheasants; Crows; Magpies & small Birds of the same kind as to the Northward: Red Deer are scarce. Snow fell last night.

25 to 26. Sunday to Monday. Snow at times: Natives employed trapping & endeavouring to drive Buffalo to the pound but without success. We are not so expert at pounding as the Archithinue Natives.

27 to Nov. 3. Tuesday to Tuesday included the 3rd November. Snow all dissolved: Natives trapping & killing Buffalo with the Bow & Arrows: And in the Evenings Conjuring & feasting.

<sup>1</sup> On Indian tobacco, see Hendry's Journal, note (R.S.C., 1907, II, 339).

<sup>2</sup> See note on buffalo and buffalo pounds—Hendry's Journal (R.S.C., 1907, II, 333).

<sup>3</sup> Probably antelope.

4. Wednesday. The expectation of seeing the Archithinue Natives is lost, which is a great disappointment to my Companions, who used to trade Horses & Buffalo skin Garments, for winter apparel; also Wolf-skins & other furs. Showed me a Coat without sleeves six fold leather quilted, used by the Snake tribe to defend them against the arrows of their adversaries. I shall be sorry if I do not see the Equestrian Natives who are certainly a brave people, & far superior to any tribes that visit our Forts: they have dealings with no Europeans, but live in a state of nature to the S.W. Westerly: draw towards the N.E. in March to meet our Natives who traffick with them.

5 to 10. Thursday to Tuesday. Snow: Natives can make nothing of the pound, so are obliged to kill the Buffalo with the Gun, & Bow & Arrows. They have caught a few Wolves & Foxes, but not the number they might: They are an indolent thoughtless set of beings, never looking beyond the time present.

11. Wednesday. Most of the snow dissolved: Three tents of our Company unpitched this day, & proceeded back to Mikisew-Wachy: At present 3 tents of us: We are intending to remain here hoping to have greater success, now there are but few people. The Man who some time ago had his leg broke hath pitched from us, & is in a fair way of doing well. I get no rest at nights for Drumming, Dancing, &c.

12 to 20. Thursday to Friday. Freezing in the nights and thawing in the days; also snow at intervals: Saw a smoke to Southward, supposed to be the Snake Natives. We are expending our time in doing little more than feasting, &c.

21. Saturday. This day two Archithinue Natives came to us from the Southward: They left their friends 28 tents early this morning: They say their people will pitch this way now they are convinced we are friends: These are the people whose smoke we saw on the 12th instant.

22. Sunday. The two Archithinue Strangers left us to inform their Countrymen who we were: There are three Leaders amongst them. I sent a small present of tobacco.

23 to 30. Monday, &c. Snow. Weather so bad the Archithinue Natives cannot join us, several stragglers coming in. Frost as yet very moderate; Indeed when Winter is setting in it is disagreeable travelling.

Dec. 1. Tuesday. Our Archithinue friends came to us and pitched a small distance from us; on one side the pound 21 tents of them, the other seven are pitched another way. One of the Leaders talks the Asine-poet language well, so that we shall understand each other, as my Leader understands it also. This tribe is named Powestic-Athinuewuck (i.e.) Water-fall Indians. There are 4 Tribes, or Nations, more, which are all Equestrians Indians, Viz., Mithco-Athinuwuck or Bloody Indians, Kos-

kitow-Wathesitock or Blackfooted Indians,—Pegonow or Muddy-water Indians & Sassewuck or Woody Country Indians.<sup>1</sup>

2. Wednesday. The Archithinue Natives repairing the pound, the repair we gave it on our arrival not being sufficient. Snow within the ledge about 8 inches deep in general.

3. Thursday. This day smoked with the Archithinue Natives & presented the Leaders & principal men with tobacco, &c., As far as prudence would permit; at the same time by the mouth of my Leader I endeavoured to persuade two of them to accompany me on my return to the Fort, where they would meet with a hearty welcome, & receive many presents: but they said that they would be starved & were unacquainted with Canoes & mentioned the long distance: I am certain they never can be prevailed upon to undertake such journeys.

4. Friday. The Archithinue Natives drove into the pound 3 male & one female Buffalo, & brought several considerable droves very near: They set off in the Evening; & drive the Cattle all night. Indeed not only at this Game, but in all their actions they far excell the other Natives. They are all well mounted on light, Sprightly Animals; Their Weapons, Bows & Arrows: Several have on Jackets of Moose leather six fold, quilted, & without sleeves. They likewise use pack-Horses, which give their Women a great advantage over the other Women who are either carrying or hauling on Sledges every day in the year. They appear to me more like Europeans than Americans.<sup>2</sup>

5. Saturday. Our Archithinue Friends are very Hospitable, continually inviting us to partake of their best fare; generally berries infused in water with fat, very agreeable eating. Their manner of showing respect to strangers is, in holding the pipe while they smoke: this is done three times. Afterwards every person smokes in common; the Women excepted; whom I did not observe to take the Pipe. The tobacco they use is of their own planting, which hath a disagreeable flavour; I have preserved a specimen. These people are much more cleanly in their cloathing, & food, than my companions: Their Victuals are dressed in earthen pots, of their own Manufacturing; much in the same form as Newcastle pots, but without feet: their fire tackling a black stone used as flint, & a kind of Ore as a steel, using tuss balls as tinder, (i.e.) a kind of moss.

6. Sunday. No success in pounding: the Strangers say the season is past. A hungry prospect: Many of us and no great Store of provisions.

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<sup>1</sup> See introduction to Hendry's Journal (R.S.C., 1907, II, 316-318).

<sup>2</sup> That is, natives of America—Indians.

7 to 12. Monday. The Natives pounded a few Buffalo & presented to me my full share: Women, Children, & Slaves, feed on berries. The Slaves whom they have preserved alive are used with kindness, they are young people of both sexes, & are adopted into the families of those who have lost their children, either by War or sickness: They torture all the aged of both sexes in a most shocking & deliberate manner.

13. Sunday. Snowy weather. This day I sprained my ankle in running down a hill. I again spoke to the Strangers for two of their Young men to accompany me to the Fort; but could not succeed.

14 to 15. Monday & Tuesday. Smoked with the Hospitable Strangers & gave them what goods I could spare. Three Archithinue Natives, of the same tribe, came to us from the Westward; who say the Buffalo are scarce, & that their Countrymen are going to war with the Snake Indians.

16 to 17. Wednesday & Thursday. Snow at times: We left our Archithinue Friends<sup>1</sup> & proceeded back to Mikisew-Wachee. Our Course about East and distance 6 miles.

18. Friday. Proceeded: our course about N.E. and distance about 6 miles: now in the barren ground obliged to use Buffalo dung for firing.

19. Saturday. Proceeded: Our Course about N.E. & distance 15 miles: arriving at the edge of Mikisew-Wachee where we pitched. Saw several Buffalo feeding, a joyful sight to hungry mortals; Food being the principal concern of my companions.

20. Sunday. Our employment to-day bringing the Buffalo that were killed yesterday.

21. Monday. We were joined by ten tents of Asinepoet Indians.

22. Tuesday. Joined by five tents of Nehetheway Indians. There are but few furs amongst us as yet.

23. Wednesday. A Young man, who came to us yesterday, shot himself through the lungs; the reason very trifling. This rash action was nearly the death of two of his friends, who intended to stab themselves, but were prevented by myself, & other bystanders. The Asinepoet Natives are oftentimes guilty of Suicide, on very childish grounds. I am informed Francois the Canadian pedlar, with 15 Canoes arrived in the Autumn, at the House mentioned 19th August.

24 to Jan. 8, 1773. Thursday, 24th Dec. to 8th January, 1773. All hands employed making Snow-shoes, hunting for food, & such like exercises; Young Indian Men coming & going at times. I send by them

<sup>1</sup> Cocking has now reached his most westerly point—somewhere in the Great Plain between the North and South Saskatchewan. He turns back to the eastward.

presents of Tobacco: they inform me that few are gone, or intend going, to war the ensuing summer: but are to collect Furs & go down to the Company's settlements.

9. Saturday. We proceeded, intending to go to a Beast pound. Our Course about N.E.b.N. & distance 6 miles: travelling within the wood: Snow about 18 inches deep. A young man joined us who says that he left Louis Primo well in Autumn.

10 to 18. Sunday, the 10th, to Monday, 18th. Freezing weather: Several Indians have had their toes frozen. Their method of cure is, by pricking the parts with an awl until the blood flows plentifully. We did not proceed. The winter is now set in: obliged to cloath accordingly.

19. Tuesday. We proceeded: Our Course about N.N.E. & distance 6 miles: leaving Mikisew-Wachee: travelling over barren ground, small plots of small woods in places: We crossed a branch of Kaiskatchewan river: Ice in the River 26 inches thick.

20. Wednesday. Snow: did not proceed.

21. Thursday. We proceeded: Our Course about N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Et. & distance 3 miles: We went only this short distance, to make out a regular journey to-morrow over barren land.

22. Friday. Snow. We proceeded: our Course about N.b.E. & distance about 5 miles over barren & unlevel grounds: We put up in a ledge of poplars: The Natives say this place is the termination of the barren land this way. A female child born. A Young man joined us from the Beast pound to the Eastward of us, where we intended to go: He says the Buffalo are so scarce that the Indians are distressed for want of food: & therefore had unpitched intending to build a pound further on to the Eastward, where Buffalo are said to be numerous. Our Ammunition is turning scarce, and provisions must be collected & dried, to serve us on our long journey to the forts.

23. Saturday. Our Course N.E.b.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Et. & distance 3 miles: through straggling scrubby small woods.

24. Sunday. We did not proceed.

25. We proceeded. Our Course about N.N.W. & distance 3 miles; through straggling trees, & small poplars, very uneven ground. Strong gales in the night with snow & drift.

26 to 30. Tuesday, 26th, to Saturday, 30th. Freezing. A Horse died for want, & ourselves hard pinched for want of food. The Natives suffer hunger, &c., with surprising patience. Several stragglers from the Asinepoet Natives joined us, who all complain of want of food.

31. Sunday. We proceeded: our Course N.b.E. & distance 7 miles: Country as before: We are now entered on the side of Saketakow-Wachee. A Male child born. Hungry times.

Feb. 1. Monday. Sharp weather: lay bye.

2. Tuesday. We proceeded: Our Course about N.b.E. and distance 8 miles: Hommacks of Small shrubby woods: The Indians say this hill produces plenty of large spruce, & Birch, to the Westward of us.

3. Wednesday. We did not proceed. Two Asinepoet Natives joined us, they left their people 7 tents, this morning: They say Buffalo are very scarce; plenty of Waskesew but no Ammunition: I gave them a supply. A woman died.

4. Thursday. Part of our Company 8 tents proceeded; but I with 5 tents lay still, waiting to bring Buffalo flesh killed yesterday.

5. Friday. Snow: We proceeded: Our Course N.N.E. & distance 10 miles, where we joined the Asinepoet Natives; & likewise the Natives who left us Yesterday: At present 20 tents of Indians: smoked with the Strangers: they promised not to trade with the Pedlars.

6 to 8. Saturday, 6th, to Monday, 8th. More Asinepoet Natives arrived, & we are all now rejoicing, feasting, Dancing, Drumming, Smoking: A large tent pitched: They imagine that these merriments are a means of their being successful & living long.

9 to 14. Tuesday, 9th, to Sunday, 14th. Natives pitching to & from us: Busy in the Evenings smoking, &c., & advising them not to trade with the Canadians, but to go with me to the Fort, where they will receive good usage, & more in return for their goods. The Asinepoet Indians inform me they yearly build their Canoes, about 4 days moderate walking, to the N.Et. of where we are now.

15. Monday. Snow in the morning. We proceeded: Course E.N.E. & distance 5 miles; travelling over barren ground. A large Company of us at present: We must part soon to go in quest of food.

16. Tuesday. We did not proceed: An elderly man died; also several Horses for want of food; which they say is the case at this season of the year.

17. Wednesday. We proceeded: our course E.N.E. & distance 5 miles, travelling over barren ground: pitched at a small ledge of willows and a few straggling poplars. Two more Horses died with hunger & cold, provisions scarce.

18 to 19. Thursday & Friday. We did not proceed: All the Young men looking out for Buffalo but not yet come in.

20. Saturday. We proceeded: Our Course E.S.E. & distance 7 miles: Travelled over barren ground: pitched near a branch of Saskatchewan river—The Young men returned with some Buffalo flesh.

21 to 22. Sunday & Monday. Snow. We did not proceed. Young men after Buffalo seen yesterday & returned with one buffalo.

23. Tuesday. This morning the Indian arrived from those we intend to go to, with information that all the Natives were pitched further on, towards Waskesew-Wachee, intending to build a Beast-pound there: my Leader with eleven tents of Asinepoet Natives unpitched intending to proceed there: but I with nine tents part; Asinepoet Natives lay still: they intend to build Canoes at Saketow-Wachee. The Neheathaway Natives intend to go to the pound but slowly; endeavouring to preserve provision by pitching after the Buffalo; fearing a scarcity at the Beast-pound: with these I intend to go. I expect that different tribes will be coming for supplies from the S.W. & Westward. I sent three presents of Tobacco by my Leader to the Natives at the Pound. I also sent off a Young fellow with presents of Tobacco to three Leaders in the Canadian interest, & who never have been at any of our Forts; desiring them to go down with me, where they would meet with kind treatment, & received in return more for their furs. I shall do all in my power for forwarding the Company's interest.

24. Wednesday. We proceeded: Our Course S.E. & distance 4 miles: crossed a branch of Saskatchewan river.

25. Thursday. We did not proceed: waiting to hunt. Two Natives joined us from the Westward: they came to know where we intend to build Canoes: they say that Female Buffalo are plenty with them & that they abound in provisions.

26. Friday. Young men abroad Hunting: The Young fellows returned to their friends: sent a supply of tobacco & Ammunition to the Leaders.

27 to March 2. Saturday to Tuesday. Lay by: Hunters hath middling luck. Information from the Beast pound that they have also middling success.

3. Wednesday. I with part of our Company 6 tents proceeded; Course East, distance 2 miles: The others gone to Sakitakow-Wachee.

4 to 26. Thursday, 4th, to Friday, 26th. Freezing in the nights & thawing in the days. Nothing material happened us. Young men employed in Collecting food & myself doing all in my power, to persuade the Natives to go with me to the Fort, & not to trade their Furs with Francois, nor Curry, whom we cannot avoid seeing on our way down: Notwithstanding all their fair promises, I am credibly informed that several hath been trading with the above two pedlars for Ammunition; & in sound policy they preserve their stock of Liquor, to intercept us on our way to the Settlements: I also heard the same from the Canadian Louis Primo who is in our service. I am certain he hath a secret kindness for his old Masters, & is not to be depended on. A melancholy affair hap-

pened a few days ago: An Asinepoet Native shot his Brother in the heat of passion. Such Actions are customary amongst these people, not only being guilty of murther, but killing themselves afterwards: Nay two will deliberately fire shot about, till one falls. They are a daring, bold, morose people; but they are very civil to me.

27. Saturday. We proceeded: Our Course N.E. & distance 10 miles, through Woody hummocks, with some large Ponds: We arrived at the Beast pound, where we met with my Leader again, with 4 tents of Neheathaway & 20 tents of Asinepoet Natives; The last are most part of them unaequainted with Canoes; the others, 30 tents of Neheathaway Natives, had unpitched, intending to proceed slowly towards the place of building Canoes, hunting as they go. Two Indians, who had been at Francois, are here: They inform me that Francois, the old French pedlar, has 6 large Canoes with him, & 3 Canoes more are lying at the Shallow Lake, on this side of Basquia; which I find is the Lake I paddled in the 1st day of August last; & 2 more Canoes are lying a little below Kippahagan Sepee, mentioned 23rd July. These with the 3 above mentioned are to come to him, on the breaking up of the rivers: He says 4 Canoes more are lying in the tract of the Natives who are more Southward, & who paddled down the Chuckitanaw river in their voyage to York Fort: & that several more Pedlars are lying all along to the Grand portage, to intercept the Natives who annually trade at Severn, Albany, & Moose Settlement. The name of the Grand portage is Kechy-Wenecop. Francois hath told the Natives, that He intended wintering with a few of his men at the Fork of the river; sending down his Furs. He has at present collected as many prime furs as will load one large Canoe; traded chiefly from the Natives who are unaequainted with Canoes.

28 to April 3. Sunday, 28th March, to the 3rd April. Frosts & thaws. Natives pounded several Buffalo: they bring droves to the pound, but only few enter into it.

4. Sunday. Two Geese seen to-day. Two Young men arrived, who say that on account of the scarcity of provisions, they are to separate in small Companies to build Canoes. My companions intend to proceed back to the place we left on the 27th, the Birch trees being there large & clear of knots. Three Male Buffalo entered the pound.

5. Monday & Tuesday. We proceeded back to the S.W., distance 6 miles. Much bare ground.

7. Wednesday. We did not proceed: The snow almost off the ground.

8. Thursday. An Indian brought me a present of Tobacco from Louis Primo; assuring me he will not accept of any favours from Francois the Pedlar in his way to York Fort.

9. Friday. We proceeded: Our Course about S.W. & distance 4 miles: arriving at the place we left on the 27th ult., where we intend to continue, until we embark for our voyage to York Fort: Returned Louis Primo's two Natives, & sent by them two presents of Tobacco to two valuable Leaders. Much water running over the ice in the river, & blowing up in holes in places.

10 to 19. Saturday, 10th, to Monday, 19th instant. All hands employed collecting materials & building Canoes. No Snow on the ground, but what is in the Woods. Indian Visitors coming & going; whose people generally employed as we are, preparing Canoes.

20. Tuesday. River broke up, & much ice came down. A young Buffalo seen, but too swift to be overtaken on foot.

21. Wednesday. Three tents of Asinepoet Natives unpitched and went Northwards.

22 to 24. Thursday to Saturday. Ice mostly drove past us. & the Currant somewhat abated: Several Young men crossed the river in a temporary Canoe covered with skins. Frogs croaking.

25. Sunday. One tent of Indians came to us from the Eastward; provisions hath been scarce with them: Many Natives below us hath been in at Saswee, alias Francois, & traded part of their most valuable furs. I find the liquor attracts them: Gratitude for favours received, being a virtue the Natives in general are unacquainted with.

26 to May 1. Monday to Saturday. Busy with the Canoes. Mosquitoes plenty.

2. Sunday. Sent two Young men to the Natives down the river with a present of tobacco, with orders to desist going to the pedlars.

3 to 4. Monday. Our Canoes are in great forwardness.

5. Wednesday. An Indian came from those down the river: Informes me that many are sickly, & that we are much forwarder than they in building our Canoes; that they have been fighting, occasioned by the liquor presented to them by the pedlars.<sup>1</sup>

6 to 15. Thursday, 6th, to the 15th instant. Musquitoes plenty & troublesome: after a shower of rain intolerable: Canoes ready; & we propose setting out to-morrow for York Fort. We have a good stock of food. Viz., Buffalo flesh & several bladders of fat.

16. Sunday. We embarked & paddled a small distance; stopping to kill Buffalo & Waskesew: Several grazing in sight.

17 to 18. Monday & Tuesday. Paddled down the river slowly.

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Graham notes:—"My Opinion is, that 'n order to have prevented the Natives from visiting the Canadians, Mr. Cocking should have taken a Station underneath all his Natives."

19. Wednesday. Paddled down the river & came to seven tents of Natives embarking: Entered the joining of the branches:<sup>1</sup> By marks we find the Natives up the other branch, have not passed downwards yet.

20. Thursday. Arrived at Francois Settlement, where we landed: found Louis Primo tented on the Plantation, with 5 tents of Natives. I am informed that 30 Canoes are gone on before, & are to wait for us: they have traded the richest furs here. On our arrival the French man introduced the Natives unto his house, giving about 4 inches of tobacco; Afterwards they made a collection of furs, by the bulk about 100 Beaver; presenting them to the Pedler: who, in return, presented to them about 4 Gallons liquor, Rum adulterated: also cloathed 2 Leaders with a Coat & Hat. I endeavoured all in my power to prevent the Natives giving away their furs, but in vain; Liquor being above all persuasion with them: Francois informs me, that he shall embark very soon with his furs, having expended almost his goods. His House is a long square; built log on log: half of it is appropriated to the use of a kitchen: the other half used as a trading room, & Bed-room; with a loft above, the whole length of the building where He lays his furs: also three small log houses; the Men's apartments: the whole enclosed with ten feet Stockades, forming a Square about twenty yards. The Canoes are each 24 feet long: extreme breadth 5 quarters; and 22 inches deep: I believe Francois hath about twenty men, all french Canadians.

21. Friday. We did not proceed: None of the Indians are trading with Francois, for this reason; He hath no goods left: but His Servants enter our tents with Baubles, &c., which the Natives (children like) purchase at any rate. An Indian gave four Wolves for a Tomahawk: Another a Beaver, for a small tin Breakfastplate; & a third a Beaver for  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard of worsted lace. A General Smoking with the Natives, when I advised them to embark; which they promised to do to-morrow. I shall remain here a few days, in hopes to see some of the Natives who have not yet come down.

22. Saturday. The Natives were unwilling to embark without me, therefore I promised to proceed to-morrow: the major part with Louis Primo set off. I have been twice into Saswee's dwelling house by invitation, to eat with him; which I did not think necessary to refuse: He is an old ignorant Frenchman: I do not think that he keeps a proper distance from his men; they coming into his apartment & talking with him as one of themselves. But what I am most surprised at, they keep no watch in the night; even when the Natives are lying on their plantation..

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<sup>1</sup> Forks of the Saskatchewan.

23. Sunday. In the morning I embarked according to my promise, & paddled down the river: All the Natives in company except two, who are waiting for their Friends that are not yet arrived. I left with them three considerable presents of tobacco, to be given to the Natives who are to follow us; at the same time to be as speedy as possible, as I shall wait for them below: I left behind three tents of Natives, who had expended their furs. In the afternoon met with ten Canoes coming up the river, who had traded their furs at the settlement below.

24 to 25. Monday & Tuesday. Paddling down the river: We were joined by 6 Canoes, supposed to have traded with the Pedlars; having no furs.

26. Wednesday. We proceeded in the morning & soon arrived at the noted Fishing place for Pike, &c. Here we met with 8 tents of Strangers; also our Indians who set off before me: The Strangers hath traded their furs with the Pedler who resides on this side Basquia. I observe plenty of french goods amongst them. It surprises me to perceive what a warm side the Natives hath to the French Canadians.

27. Thursday. Proceeded; & in the afternoon arrived at Basquia, where were six tents of Indians; also the Pedler mentioned yesterday lying in a tent with four Canadians, all French extraction: He hath only one large Canoe full of Furs: have sent two down to the Grand portage: he is going down himself in a few days: Louis primo tells me he is going down also, to see his friends: I told him that he was doing wrong as he was under a written contract to serve the Company: but all to no purpose.

28. Friday. We proceeded with all the Natives that had furs.

29. Saturday. We proceeded & arrived at Kippahagan Sepee, which we entered, leaving Saskatchewan River. Here we pitched our tents. We found one tent of Natives here who have traded all their Furs with the Canadians one days journey from here, & ten Canoes are gone by the Lake Winnipeg all bound for York Fort.

30. Sunday. Proceeded & entered Oateawan Lake, arrived at the Fishing place, where we killed a few large Pike & *Buddagh trout*, each weighing above *Thirty pounds weight*. Afterwards we proceeded & lay on one of the Islands. A Great Swell in the lake.

31. Monday. Paddled over the Lake & came into Manihagow River. We passed over the Carrying places. The Natives are very brisk not stopping to hunt.

June 1 to 18. Tuesday. Nothing material occurred; at York Fort with my Company where we found all well.

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