

Fort Carlton in 1824-25



Fort Carlton was situated on the North Branch of the Saskatchewan at the point where the North Branch emerges onto the prairies. From the late eighteenth century it was a place of some importance, where a trail joined the North and South Branches of the river, and where traders heading upriver left their canoes to proceed on horseback up to their posts (hence the Canadian name, "La Montée"). Duncan McGillivray refers to it in 1794, and Alexander Henry in 1808. There does not seem to have been a post here, however, until about 1810, when both the

companies built here. The North West post was called by the old name, La Montée, and the Hudson's Bay Company's, Carlton House (the third of that name on the Saskatchewan) or, more frequently, Fort Carlton. Franklin stopped at these posts in 1820, just before the Union and left this description:

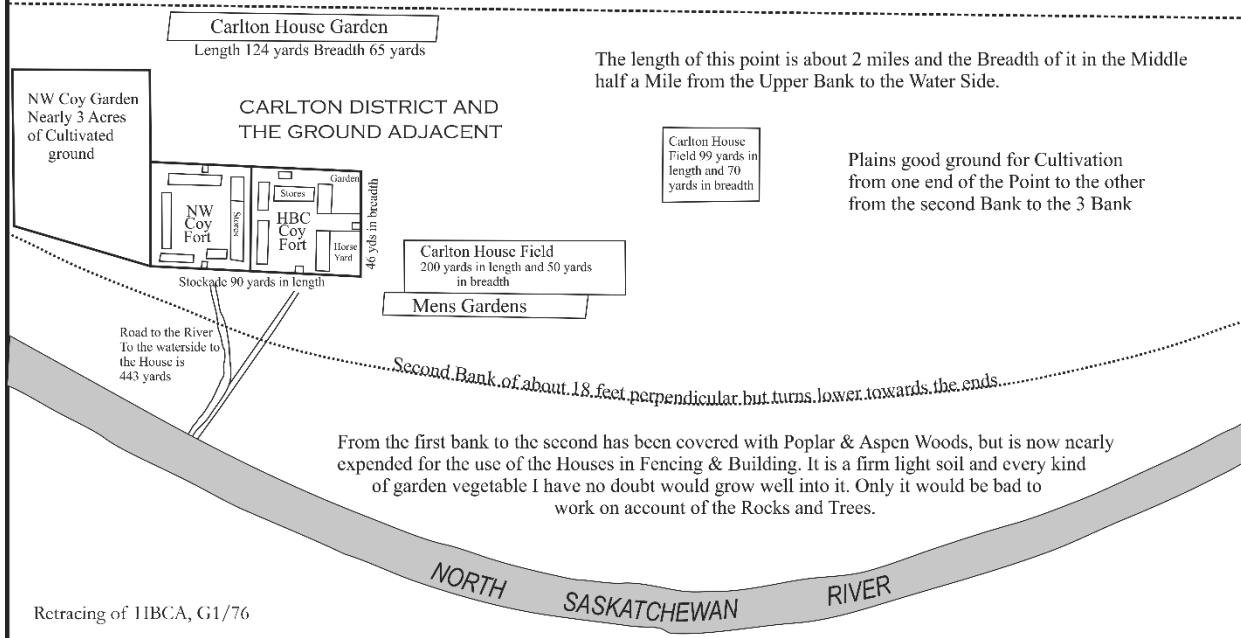
Carlton House, . . . is pleasantly situated about a quarter of a mile from the river's side on the flat ground under the shelter of the high banks that bound the plains. The land is fertile, and produces, with little trouble, ample returns of wheat, barley, oats and potatoes. . . . There were only five acres under cultivation at the period of my visit. . . .

Carlton House and La Montée, are provision-posts, an inconsiderable quantity of furs being obtained at either of them. The provisions are procured in the winter season from the Indians, in the form of dried meat and fat, and when converted by mixture into pemmican, furnish the principal support of the voyagers, in their passages to and from the depots in the summer. A considerable quantity of it is also kept for winter use, at most of the fur-posts, . . . Between three and four hundred bags [of 90 lbs each] were made here by each of the companies this year.

Forts Carlton (HBC) and La Montée (NWC) circa 1815

Above the Upper Bank is a plain level Country covered with Short grass and interspersed with small tufts of Woods of the Aspen kind Where the ground is low and small Ponds of water the grass is long and here it is that we make Hay which is about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Upper bank,

Third & upper Bank about 20 feet of perpendicular but it is rather sloping with a few small aspen trees here & there in the declivity



After the Union, Fort la Montée was abandoned, and Carlton House was retained as a provision post. When Alexander Ross arrived there in 1825 he found that it was "undergoing a thorough repair, and had a very unfavourable appearance. . . . The palisades are neither straight nor strong, . . . and over the front gate is a paltry sort of bastion, or block-house, in which few would venture to fire a pistol. Altogether, the place had neither strength nor beauty to recommend it". At that time Fort Carlton was under the direction of Chief Factor John Stuart.



John Stuart

In 1824, Stuart, a Chief Factor, was appointed to superintend the Saskatchewan District after an illustrious career in New Caledonia. After joining the North West Company (NWC) in 1799 he was with Simon Fraser when he crossed the Rockies in 1805 and when he descended the Fraser River in 1808. He re-established Rocky Mountain House and Fort St. James in 1805, and took charge of Fort Astoria in 1813 when the American Fur Company was relieved of the post, and thereafter ran New Caledonia, first for the NWC and then the HBC after 1821. By 1824 he

was worn down and asked to be transferred. According to his biographer he had also been much unnerved by the murder of two HBC men by Carrier Indians in 1823.¹

George Simpson, who at this time was still much impressed by Stuart's abilities,² appointed him to take charge of Fort Carlton and the Saskatchewan District for the 1824-25 outfit. He remained at Fort Carlton until the spring of 1826, but only the journal of his first year survives. One might speculate that after Simpson read the contents of this first journal, he ended Stuart's reporting from that post.

To understand both Simpson's decision to place Stuart in charge at Carlton House in 1824, and the challenges that Stuart faced there, most of which he was not up to, some context of the Saskatchewan District after the merger of 1821 is necessary. Following the merger, Simpson was on the verge of closing most of the posts on the North Saskatchewan River, including Edmonton and Carlton. In the 1821-22 outfit the Saskatchewan District had lost nearly £5000 due in part to the exhaustion of fur-bearing animals in the region.³ If the South-Branch Expedition (Bow River) of 1822 had proven a success this would undoubtedly have happened.⁴ The failure of the Bow River Expedition, however, and the changing transportation routes to the Columbia and New Caledonia Districts, again made the North Saskatchewan, and Edmonton House in particular, crucial to the long range plans of the HBC. These transportation changes, along with increased trade with the Blackfoot, and various cost cutting measures, made the Saskatchewan District one of the most profitable districts of the Northern Department by 1826.⁵ With these developments Edmonton House again became crucial to the fortunes of the HBC. This in turn kept Carlton House open. The increasing hostilities between the Cree/Stone and Blackfoot tribes necessitated keeping Carlton open regardless of its trading losses and failure to gather provisions. The bands of the Blackfoot, Piegan, and Blood coalition, who generally traded at Edmonton (and Rocky Mountain House when it was open), were the groups contributing to the much higher beaver returns coming in from the Missouri. It was imperative to keep them coming into Edmonton, and this trade would be imperiled if the Stone and Cree began trading and frequenting Edmonton House.⁶

¹ Shirlee Anne Smith, "Stuart, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography On-line*.

² In 1832, Simpson noted that at one time Stuart had been considered the fittest man in the country for exploring and severe duty. By this time (1832), however, Simpson was no longer impressed with him. He considered Stuart an exceedingly vain man, a great egotist, extravagant and irregular in business, and considered him dishonest. He also noted that "of late become disgustingly indecent in regard to women." Simpson's Character Book 1832, 175. According to Shirlee Anne Smith, Simpson's changed view of Stuart was in some measure related to Stuart's criticism of Simpson and John Mc Tavish for abandoning their country wives. "Stuart, John," DCB Online.

³ George Simpson to Governor and Committee, 16 July 1822. HBCA D.4/85, fo. 5

⁴ Ibid., fos. 5-5d.

⁵ Simpson to Governor and Committee, 10 August 1824. HBCA D.4/87, fos. 46d-47. Simpson to Governor and Committee, 1 September 1825. HBCA D.4/88, fos. 82-83. Simpson to Governor and Committee, 20 August 1826. HBCA D.4/89, fos. 26-27d.

⁶ John Stuart to George Simpson, 16 February 1826. HBCA D.4/119, fo. 37.

Carlton House Journal 1824-25
HBCA B.27/a/14

Summary Journal from York Factory Hudsons Bay towards the Saskatchewan 1824 by John Stuart

1824

July 26th Monday/ Towards sunset this evening Mr. John Rowand dispatched five Boats for the Saskatchewan and one for Fort Assiniboine on the Athabasca River. They are manned with six men each intended for their Districts and have from here to Norway House an additional man that is going to Canada, and are loaded with sixty pieces each one hundred of which are intended for the Red River Settlement to be left at Norway House – Mr. George Dechambeault a young Gentleman intended for the Athabasca River takes 1/8 a passage on board one of these Boats and yesterday two Boats manned with eight men each had a load of about fifty five pieces took their departure for Athabasca by the Norway House route, and as for other Boats for the same place are gone by the Nelson River route it will afford an opportunity judging which route is the most advantageous for the Northern District to proceed by.

27th Tuesday/ The council being now closed for the Season, and having obtained a copy of the minutes which Mr. Joseph McGillivray had the goodness to copy for me, I this evening at Dusk with Mr. John Rowand a Chief Trader and Mr. Henry Fisher a clerk took my departure on board a boat manned by seven men and loaded with forty pieces of Company Property destined for the Saskatchewan and before encamping which was on rounding the first point we passed two canoes that had a little before taken their departure for Lesser Slave Lake –

29th Thursday/ We were this day overtaken by Mr. John Clark in a half loaded Canoe manned by seven men destined for lesser Slave Lake and he encamped with us next morning [1] he left to prepare breakfast but we saw no more of him the day following

July 31st Saturday/ the Slave Lake loaded canoes were in sight behind us but did not overtake us and we passed our own Boats at the old Fort of the Rock having come on considering their load remarkably wel we made no stay with them and the next day –

Aug^t 1st Sunday/ the Slave Lake loaded canoes passed us and we passed the two Athabasca boats

2nd Monday/ At the Burnt Portage we waited our own Boats and as they appeared to lag behind Mr. Rowand who does all the business gave them a reprimand, while waiting our Boats the Athabasca Boats passed us in their turn from then nothing particular occurred excepting that we met the Lady of Mr. Colin Robertson on her way to the Factory to join her husband until

4th Wednesday/ When in Jack River we observed a canoe that was lately much burnt and useless, it had the appearance of being one of the Lesser Slave Lake canoes and we imagined that the people which sleeping under its shelter at night had kindled a fire to drive away the Musketeos which fire had communicated with the canoe and burnt it but at the first portage we found that we had conjectured wrongly and that though it was one of the Lesser Slave Lake canoes it was not fire that caused its destruction, but that in coming up the rapid it had upset and shattered to pieces. The people in it were near perishing and had not been for the timely assistance of the other canoe it is supposed that not one of them would survive, as it was most of them lost the whole of their things and six pieces of the Company's property most of their stores were also lost – this information we got from Mr. John Allen under whose conduct the party was placed and whom with the Crew of the two Canoes [2] we found at the portage waiting the arrival of some that would afford them the means of proceeding on, the two Athabasca boats had passed them, but they could not or would not afford them the necessary assistance and we had to take the remaining part of the canoe that had perished and part of the crew of it, with the other canoe and seven men Mr. Allen will proceed to Oxford House to inform Mr. Clark whose Brigade it is, of the disaster and get another canoe to replace the one that is lost

Aug^t 7th Saturday/ We again passed the two Athabasca Boats and in the evening arrived at Oxford House where we found Mr. Allen still there, at a late hour the Athabasca Boats also arrived and next morning at rather a late hour

8 Sunday/ proceeded on their journey as did Mr. Allen also and in the afternoon our Boats having arrived we gave them the necessary Provisions and they proceeded on with little loss of time, at Oxford House we found a Mr. Kemp who with a party of men have been employed most of the Summer making improvements in the navigation of the track which is certainly susceptible of much improvement – but whether the Company's Servants themselves or strangers hired for that purpose are best calculated to effect remains yet to be ascertained, Mr. Kemp appears to be quite scientific and to think a great deal of the labor he has performed nor have I the least doubt of its being made to appear much upon passing but I strongly suspect judging from what I hear from the workman that the fine appearance it will make in the reports will be all the advantages the Company will ever draw from it.

9 Monday/ It was after Sun set when we reached the lower end of the portage of Hill Gate and the Athabasca Boats were just leaving the upper end of it we passed their encampment and encamped a mile further on and

10 Tuesday/ we reached the White Falls portage at 10 AM [3] By noon the Athabasca two boats arrived and by 2 PM the whole of our own Boats arrived also and just as we were preparing to leave the Portage a boat have in sight which proved to be Mr. Cameron, his nephew a Mr. McDonell son to the ex-Governor of that name and a Mr. All-? All from the Red River Settlement and bound for Europe and the hound? account they give of the country they have left.

I myself judging from the mixture of which the colony is composed have no favorable opinion of it, but their accounts of the Country itself and the people in it exceed any idea I had ever formed of any Pandemonium on earth and must in great measure proceed from disappointment and Spleen. This is the fourth day of these people from Norway House which they seem to consider as great traveling we left them about sun set and next day

Aug^t 11th Wednesday/ Breakfast at a dam made by Mr. Kemp at the Echimamus River, the making of which occupied upwards of a month and it appears to me to be altogether or nearly so useless, at least I am certain that the two Beaver Mr. Kemp party while working there killed would make a much more solid one through which the water would not so much penetrate even in the course of one night and yet this damn is considered the master piece of all his labor and forms nearly the whole of it indeed I have seen no other place excepting the white Fall Portage where anything has been done and the whole that is done at that place ought to be done by crew of one of the Company's boats in the course of one afternoon and they would supply it with better Rollers of a good size instead of mere branches many of them not an inch and a half in diameter and by Mr. Kemp – the water in the Echimamas was uncommonly high and from there to Norway more so than any of the party had ever seen before

Augt 12th Thursday/ In the evening we arrived at Norway House and there found Mr. Clark who arrived on the 9th also Mr. Allen who arrived this morning and Mr. Heron and the whole of the Brigade for Red River who had left York Factory twelve days before Dr. McLaughlen and Mr. La Rocque left Norway House on the 10th and the same evening forty six 46 souls chiefly women and children destined for Montréal were embarked on board of an old rotten Boat left at Norway House by the settlers of Red River and in which none of them would venture to cross the Lake for Bas de la Riviere at which place they are to leave the Boat and take two canoes in which as many as the canoes will contain will proceed to Fort William among the forty six souls embarked there are only six laboring man the others being clerks and women and children and among them a little girl of nine who with her mother I expected to find this place but they were Shipped off with the others and if they escape drowning or ever reach their destination it is more than Sixport?: They are under the protection of a careful honest man and one Alexis Landrie the now husband of the Mother who is far as can be depended upon him will be interested in preserving them but being a hired servant he must obey the orders he will receive from others who will be indifferent whether they escape drowning or not and whose only aim it will be to ship them off from place to place same as from here without furnishing the adequate means, the

13th Friday/ Mr. Heron with the Red River Brigade took their departure on the morning of the

14th Saturday/ The whole of our Boats arrived and the two Athabasca Boats also arrived in the afternoon, nor was it a pleasing sight to one considering the length of time I have been among them to see the Athabasca people [5] lagging so much behind strongly manned and comparatively lightly loaded as they are but they are no longer the same people I have known

them and it was some satisfaction to me to find that it was not an Athabasca but an English River Guide (Bernard) that conducted them. It was thought that being more accustomed to Boats he would answer better than Lalond, but the management of them I think they would ere now have passed have been passed the Grand Rapid. Bernard has the name of being a good man and careful Guide but he appears to be sick and to that his dilataryness may perhaps be in a good measure owing

Aug^t 15 Sunday/ The wind was so high this morning that Bernard did not think it prudent for him to start but Lalond told me that the wind being aft once Round Mossy Point they could travel very well and I spoke to Bernard in consequence of which he went off. Mr. Clark also sent off two of his Canoes and our people finished repairing their Boats and had every thing in readiness for a fair start in the morning

16th Monday/ Mr. Clark took his departure early and our Boats also. In the afternoon four Boats of people bound for Canada arrive and brought some few things for us that had been accidentally left at York Factory – The next day they arrange their Boats and

18th Wednesday/ took their departure we also at the same time left Norway House traveled all knowing and next day

19 Thursday/ reach the grand rapid the next day it was as much as we could do to get the Bagage and Boats across and as our Boats required some repair it was late

21st Saturday/ when we took our departure the water in the Saskatchewan was uncommonly high and in the morning

27th Friday/ we passed our boats before day light and arrived all safe at Cumberland House in the Afternoon [6] I omitted to mention in its proper place but at Norway House I embarked a woman from Severn River wife of one Jos. Morissette of Western Caledonia who with her two children came to this place in expectations of finding her husband but the route of the western Caledonians being changed from this to the Nelson River communication she had not an opportunity of seeing him, and it was on conditions that his family would be sent to him that he last year went to western Caledonia and as I afterwards when hiring him in the Spring pledged myself to the performance of that promise in the event of his wife coming to Norway house I thought myself in duty bound to give her a passage to Carlton from whence she will in winter be sent to Isle a la Cross there to await her husband on his outward passage ensuing summer.

Aug^t 28th Saturday/ Our Boats were sent off in the morning all excepting Mr. Fishers who had not yet arrived but he came in the afternoon about 5 PM we took our departure the next day we passed the whole of our boats and in

Sept 3rd Friday/ we reached Batoshes old (Fort Saint Louis) opposite there were some crees encamped in there we encamped also, from the crees we traded a few provisions which we paid in ammunition Liquor and tob^o from there we saw not a soul to

7 Tuesday/ when late in the evening we arrived at Carlton House where we found all hands in good health and everything in a good state that it does credit to the Gentleman in charge Mr. Harriott.⁷ The Stone Indians were troublesome and as usual stole a number of Horses, but they make a good trade of Provisions and Mr. Harriott managed extremely well with them

8th Wednesday/ Fine clear Weather and in the evening aft dark Messrs. Fisher⁸ and Dechambeault⁹ with their Boats arrived

9th Thursday/ The weather was cloudy and some light Showers [7] of Rain fell in the afternoon our other remaining Boats arrived and the whole of the Goods appear to be in good order

Sept 10th Friday/ This was a rainy day and Mr. Rowand was occupied in examining the goods and laying by the outfit for this place

11 Saturday/ The weather was much the same as yesterday & Mr. Rowand was occupied in the same manner, four Stone Indians with their women arrived, they are of the walking band and are now from the Big? River band and have brought little or nothing to trade, I this day engaged Mr. Rocque¹⁰ as Interpreter for the Stone Indians he is the only one in this part of the country that understands their language and is known to have great influence among them at least to have had influence for not being in the service for these two years back he is much reduced in circumstances and so much on a level with themselves that in consequence his influence must be greatly reduced but by showing him some attention as will make still respectable in the eyes of the Indians. I have little doubt of his influence becoming equally great as formerly and that the service he will render the company will much more than counter balance the trifling wages of twenty pounds paid him. His family are in Red River and he was to have followed them in course of present summer sickness prevented him and I was glad to find him here

12th Sunday/ Nothing particular occurred further than we got the Meat of four animals from the different hunters in employed.

13th Monday/ The weather was cloudy with light Showers of Rain at intervals throughout the day. The Boats are now completely arranged and every thing in readiness for Mr. Rowand to have

⁷John Edward Harriott, Clerk, Carlton House

⁸Henry Fisher, Clerk

⁹George Deschambault, Clerk

¹⁰Joseph Rocque, Prairie du Chien

taken his departure but I was [8] desirous of giving a dance to the people they having comported themselves well and laboured hard since leaving York Factory which prevented their being off today and in the evening most of them mustered in the Hall and danced to midnight and to such as attended I gave four Glasses of Spirits to each

Sept 14th Tuesday/ cloudy cold weather. In the morning Mr. Rowand with Messrs. Fisher and Dechambeault and five boats manned by forty two men being the same complement that left York Factory took their departure for Edmonton there are two others that will accompany the Boats for some distance and will afterwards proceed by land with letters to meet Gov. Simpson at Athabasca River on his way to the Columbia. There has been no accounts from Edmonton during the Summer and as it is not known when the Indians should they be on the River will be troublesome. Mr. Rocque the Stone Indian Interpreter accompanies Mr. Rowand until the Brigade is passed the Stone Indians we also sent off a boat with five men and two Hunters in search of Buffalo it being supposed that they are numerous along the River and Borassa a freeman Hunter was sent to hunt for the Brigade going to Edmonton Six Stone Indians arrived from the Moose Woods they are from the thick wood and walking bands and inform us that they had a skirmish with the Blackfeet whom they found on the point of the Bow River Fort in which a Blackfoot was killed and two of their own slightly wounded. The Stone Indians captured about a hundred and forty Horses and are quite elated at their success, it was this band we ascertained might be along the River but our Boats are now perfectly safe and will not see one of them one of the chattelens François¹¹ arrived from Sturgeon Lake and we sent [9] him of immediately with a note to Mr. Rowand informing him that there are no Stone Indians along the communication and of the skirmish between the Stone and Blackfoot tribe.

Sep^t 15th Wednesday/ Cold cloudy weather with a northerly wind our people were employed part of them cutting Wheat of which there is a fine field and others carting fire wood In the morning the Stone Indians took their departure after having each got a little Tobacco

16th Thursday/ Strong South East wind accompanied by snow in the fore part of the day, but about 9 o'clock & later the weather cleared up and the remainder of the day was fine. The people were employed as yesterday and Francois Chettelain the man sent after Mr. Rowand with letters returned without obtaining the object for which he was sent he saw nothing of the Boats from which I include their progress must be uncommonly great

17th Friday/ The wind was much the same as yesterday and the weather part clear and part cloudy four men were employed cutting oats and the remaining two with the women were digging Potatoes they picked up twenty two kegs - The potatoes are not yet properly ripe nor have they attained their full growth but we are anxious to get them out of the ground before the Stone

¹¹ Francois Chastellain. Other Chastellains on the North Saskatchewan included Louis Chastellain (native born) hired by the company in the 1830s.

Indians who are in the habit of making fire with their arrows Francois Chattelain¹² and another lad that arrived with them on Friday went off after being supplied with some ammunition &c as will enable them to pass the winter and make something of a hunt, we got the meat of a moose Deer from the Hunters tent

18th Saturday/ fine Clear weather with the South Easterly wind all hands now digging Potatoes but they only gathered twenty three kegs The potatoes have not succeeded so well as usual at this place. Two Cree Indians with a number of women and children arrived but they brought nothing to trade –

Sept 19th Sunday/ Fine Clear Weather. The Hunters brought us the Meat of a Moose Deer and nothing further with natives occurred.

20th Monday/ Very fine weather and a westerly wind, two of the men were employed tying up the wheat and the others digging Potatoes of which they gathered twenty four kegs

21st Tuesday/ Fine weather with the South Easterly wind. the people are employed as yesterday, and the Boat off on the 14th inst arrived with the meat of thirteen Buffalo 4400 lbs, Buffalo were fairly numerous between the Elbow and the Eagle River, but further on there was none to be seen our Boat continued with the Brigade to Jack River where they arrived the 17th being a progress to what even Canoes now had made in this River and if they continue at the same rate the Boats will reach Edmonton in thirteen or fourteen days By our Boat sent for meat Mr. Rowand wrote a few lines informing me that everything was well and as he had passed all the places where there was any likelihood of his seeing the Stone Indians he sent back Mr. Rocque and he just came in time for the Stone Indians will soon be here –

22nd Wednesday/ The weather continues very fine and all hands were employed digging Potatoes but they make no great show now if not constantly with them as they pick them very clean. – our hunters brought us the meat of a Moose Deer

23rd Thursday/ Cold rain Weather within an Easterly wind and Rain, The people were employed as yesterday but the rain retarded them and they gathered only twelve kegs of Potatoes, in the afternoon Marten Lavalle¹³ a freeman and his wife arrived from Cumberland House. He brought a few lines from Mr. Leith mentioning his safe arrival there [11]

Sept 24 Friday/ The wind was south Easterly and the weather fine. all hands were employed digging Potatoes

¹² Chastellain

¹³ Marten Lavalle shows up in the Saskatchewan Accounts of 1825-26 as a Bowsman from Sorel, Quebec.

25th Saturday/ Southerly wind and fine weather the people were still employed digging potatoes a number of Stone Indians arrived from the South branch River They are the Grand River band and say that the major part of that party will be hear tomorrow to trade -

26th Sunday/ The weather still continues to be very fine. The people in the forepart of the day were employed as yesterday but towards noon were recalled to man the Bastians about seventy or eighty Stone Indians of the Grand River band arrived they as usual all got a Dram and a twist of Tobacco each. they have got very few women with them and are very anxious to get Liquor, but I put them in remembrance of the Horses they had stolen both last Spring and last Summer and told them that though I would willingly indulge them with Liquor and in other respects treat them well, that they must be conscious they do not deserving and that I could not think of giving them Horses were restored. they all say that it is not them that stole them but I put them in remembrance of there being Stone Indians and that it was Stone Indians who committed the theft and that I would not so far [blank space on page] them as to say there was no Liquor here I was determined they should get none for the present but that if they showed themselves deserving they might perhaps be indulged in course of the winter that at present they ought to be perfectly satisfied in getting Ammunition and Tobacco for their Provisions which I was willing to give notwithstanding they did not assure that white people should continue to have any dealings with them, and that if their future conduct was not better than for these two years back they might rest assured that this establishment would be [12] abandoned as the Red River had already been one of them viz *crocher a sois* distant brother of Mr. Rocque and principal chief of the band brought two horses, but not of those that were stolen as kind of a present. I told him that as such I would not accept of them but that since he had brought them to the Fort if he was disposed to sell them I would purchase them to which he answered that since I would not accept them as a present he would take anything I chose to give and seeing that no Liquor could be got they began to trade. Mr. Rocque not only explained what I had to say to them but spoke to them himself and I believe much to the purpose. he told me in the evening that they were to him bad Indians but none of them would so much as darer utter a bad word.

Sept 27 Monday/ The Stone Indians who arrived yesterday after trading their Provisions chiefly Grease of which they had a considerable quantity went away, and much the same numbers of others of the Eagle tail band arrived, they were treated in the same manner as the others and as they also were anxious to get Liquor much the same reasons were urged for our not complying as to those who arrived yesterday and though they appear to wish to get Liquor it seems to me that they are upon the whole as well pleased to get none and I feel convinced that very few of them would purchase any -

28th Tuesday/ a strong southerly wind. The Stone Indians that arrived yesterday finished trading and by noon the ground was nearly clear of them, but before they were all off about two hundred men of the Strong Wood and Walking band arrived and with them came the three Bulls a leading man of the Beaver Hills Cree, his party at present consists of nine tents which they

pitched close to the Fort and the whole of them have passed the summer with Lemi(?) Indians, this last party of Stone Indians [13] were more earnest to get Liquor than any of the others but I was determined not to give them any and in addition to the reasons I had for not giving any to the others, these people now were more troublesome than they ought in Summer and Mr. Rocque tells me that the walking band is the worst of all Stone Indians that frequent this place. There are however some good Indians among them and I was particularly pleased at the Conduct of the Stump an elderly man who sans ceremony ushered several of them out of the Fort

Sept 29th Wednesday/ Fine clear weather with South Easterly wind most of the Stone Indians have finished trading took their departure. And I cannot say I found them by any means troublesome but then Mr. Rocque exerted himself to the utmost and I find he has still influence over them. the Crees remain encamped at the Fort –

30th Thursday/ most of the people were employed in boating some of the Houses of the old NW Fort to this place & the others digging potatoes.

Oct^r 1st Friday/ People employed as yesterday, and several of the Stone Indians called here on their way from the Pines below where there is where they were making Tent Poles, the whole of them are crossing the South Branch River

2nd Saturday/ very fine weather with the South Easterly Wind, people employed building two small Houses one for Mr. Rocque adjoining the Indian house to the Hall of which the entrance door leads. The Crees still remain here and are starving

3rd Sunday/ The weather was partly Clear and partly Cloudy at intervals a few Stone Indians who till now remained with the Crees took their departure as this being Sunday no labor was performed

4th Monday/ Weather much the same as yesterday. sent five [14] men in a Boat and two Hunters with four Horses up the River on a Hunting excursion. four men were employed building and then making hay and that forms the sum total of our men until the return of those gone up Mr. Rowand

Oct^r 5th Tuesday/ Cold Cloudy Weather our people were employed as yesterday and two young men were sent a hunting they have their Horses –

6th Wednesday/ cloudy weather with a cold Northerly Wind the people are employed as usual, fifteen Crees but no families arrived with apparently a good trade of Gum and as we had no

cause of complaint against them they were allowed to trade Liquor and we made them a present of a few things

7th Thursday/ The Crees who arrived yesterday took their departure they traded their Provisions mostly for ammunition and Tobacco, people are employed as yesterday –

8th Friday/ Cold Cloudy Weather with a strong north Easterly Wind – people employed as usual and the two young men who went hunting on Tuesday arrived with the Meat of two Bulls –

9th Saturday/ Weather much the same as yesterday and the people were employed in the same manner, the Boat that went off the 4th arrived with the meat of four Bulls they went as far as the Eagle Hills but saw no other animals than a few Bulls, a number of Cree hunters left this place in company with them and have crossed the River our Hunters also with them –

10th Sunday/ Fine Clear Weather and this day being Sunday the men reposed themselves, about 3 P.M. a large war party of Plains Indians made their appearance on the Hill behind the Fort, at first I could scarcely believe them to be enemies but nevertheless ordered the Gates to be shut and I was not long left in doubt killed the poor old woman not above three hundred yards from the Fort Pickets [15] on the alarm being given and the Gates shut I got the people armed as quick as possible and the Bastions armed. but there was such a bustle in the Fort what between the Cree men women and children that I could not readily be understood consequently was not much obeyed however with the assistance of Mr. Harriott and Bird who were quite cool and assiduous order was restored and as the war party was approaching I order the swivel to be fired from the upper Bastion but was not perfectly understood and it was the Blunderbusses that was fired however it had much the same effect, the war party scampered off and were soon out of sight. We kept a strict watch all night but saw nothing more of them and it was a mercy they did not surprise us, I was then myself quietly in my room and so was Mr. Harriott but fortunately by mere chance Mr. Bird had taken a walk up the hill and perceived the war party mustering above the bank. Mr. Bird made the best of his way back to the Fort and the plain Indians followed and by the time Mr. Bird reached the Fort were in sight on the face of the Hill. There they made a halt and judging from the span of the Ground they occupied & from the compact manner in which they appeared to be placed I cannot suppose their number to be less than from four to five hundred men and it is fortunate they did not meet with our people who were above hunting they could expect no mercy and would have fallen an easy prey From their maneuvers they did not appear to be much disposed to attack the Fort which appeared to be much more strongly manned that it really was for though we had but a few men what with a few Crees and the women and children of them gone up a hunting the Fort appeared to the war party from the fan of the Hill as full of defenders we do not know of what Tribe they were [16]

Oct^r 11th Monday/ cloudy cold weather, our people were employed this day simply in keeping a good lookout but none of the war party appeared even in sight and as we understood from a

party of Crees who were with our Hunters arrived that they had last night seen a number of Fires at a good distance from here up the River we conclude that the war party are off, but notwithstanding we will keep a good lookout for some time to come both night and day

12th Tuesday/ The people unemployed further than keeping a good lookout both night and day. I this day wanted to send off the three Bulls and party but they cannot venture from the Fort. however I got them to pitch their tents outside of the Fort for I admitted them within when the plain Indians have in sight. but no sooner is it dusk than the whole men women and children flock into the Fort and the tents remain empty, a couple of Indians who had totily left this place a Rat hunting arrived and say that they saw Indians that which they suppose to be Plains Indians on the opposite side of the River but most likely they saw nothing but trees which their fear magnified into Indians another Cree arrived from across the South branch River but brought nothing to trade, it appears that the war party as they go along set the plains on fire purposely to prevent the Buffalo from coming nigh –

13th Wednesday/ The people recommenced working covered the two small Houses now making

14th Wednesday/ cold northerly wind and unsettled weather sometimes clear and sometimes cloudy. The people were employed as follows, two laying the flooring of a small house, three making cats for making a partition of mud, three preparing axe helvies one carting fire wood one making Nets and one in the Kitchen

15th Friday/ Men employed as yesterday the morning was cloudy with the north Easterly wind and in the afternoon [17] it rained nothing further particular occurred. The Crees though starving dare not leave the Fort

16th Saturday/ Northerly wind and cloudy weather with light showers of Rain people employed as usual, no ____? can send off[?] the three Bulls party

17th Sunday/ weather much the same as yesterday but no rain In the morning a Boat and six men arrived from Edmonton they brought 4500 lb of fresh meat which they collected on their way down, being the hunt of Borassa¹⁴ who was sent up with Mr. Rowand especially as a hunter The Boats got all safe to Edmonton the 27th ultimo and Mr Rowand who by some days preceded them proceeded direct to the Athabasca River in hopes of seeing Mr. Finlayson on his way to the

¹⁴ Michel Bourassa was listed as a steersman and hunter for the NWC in the Red River district in 1804-05, earning 500 livres per annum. Around 1805 he married (by custom of the country) Marguerite Beaulieu. He was part of the NWC/Metis troop who participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. In 1821, he was employed by the HBC in the Saskatchewan District, and, in 1822-23, accompanied the Bow River Expedition as a hunter but deserted. He shows up in the Edmonton House accounts of 1828-29 as a Saskatchewan tripman. According to his daughter Angele's Half-breed scrip application, her father and mother were "Halfbreeds." Angele, who was born in about 1806 at Fort Carlton, married Pierre Le Mai dit Delorme, the son of Pierre Le Mai dit Delorme and Marguerite Cardinal. HBCA B.60/d/27; B.34/d/1-3; Morin, *Metis Families*, 1: 238; LAC, RG 15, D-II-8-b, Scrip Application of Angele Bourassa.

Columbia, The people who this day arrived from Edmonton informs us that the Beaver Hills crees since the Boats passed them going up had been to war and fell in with thirty five tents of Blackfeet in a most defenseless state all the men being a hunting and the women and children to the amount it is supposed of four Hundred were all massacred excepting about twenty whom they reserved as slaves. The capture of Horses were very trifling most of them being with a men who were out hunting. This was Joyful news to Three Bulls and party with them and I was so much dissatisfied at their rejoicing that I would not allow one of them to remain here and they all crossed the River being previously arranged with Rat Darts and such Iron works as will enable them to make something of a Hunt if so disposed. They had also a small quantity of Ammunition all in debt for they had nothing to trade but though we furnished them with the implements of Hunting nothing else was given -

18th Monday/ cloudy weather with cold North westerly Wind. three men were employed making Nets five [18] others making a partition of mud in the Grand maison five hauling wood from the old Fort and the others plastering the houses outside. Three Freeman arrived from the Sturgeon Lake and brought apparently a good hunt -

19th Tuesday/ Wind and Weather much the same as yesterday and the people employed much in the same manner, the Freemen Goudrie Allard and Wamitie who arrived yesterday and I was surprised to see them have so many Beaver Skins about fourty, This wamitie is the best hunter of this place some Crees part of the Beaver Hills warriors arrived but brought little or nothing to trade, one of them the Bad Child is a reputed good Indian, but none of the tribe (Beaver Hill Crees) are bring much to trade

20th Wednesday/ Weather much the same as yesterday but rather cold. This morning sent seven men down the River for a Boat load of Timber Pine & Birch for various purposes: The others remaining here were occupied making Nets cutting Hay and plastering the Houses, The Freemen who arrived the 18th as well as the crees that arrived yesterday well arranged for a winter Hunt, and five men arrived from Edmonton with Horses - Mr. Rowand got to the Athabasca River before Mr. Simpson or even Dr. McLaughlin who left York Factory before we did, and the Doctor not having yet arrived Mr. Rowand concluded that the Governor had come up with the Doctor and they both arrived safe at the Fort Assiniboine the 2nd inst. The water being so low in Beaver River is what detained Doctor McLaughlin so much. He had to make an entire Portage from nearly moon Portage to the Lac la Beech and Mr. Simpson followed his track they will now continue on together all the way to Fort George

21st Thursday/ Fine clear Weather, one of the men was employed in search of a Horse that has not been seen for some time but in vain he did not find him. It is not however likely [19] that the Horse is stolen. The rest of the people are employed as yesterday, twenty two crees of the Beaver Hill tribe arrived they are all starving and brought nothing to trade and it is not a little surprising that none of them indeed scarcely any cree that arrived here asked for Liquor -

Oct^r 22nd Friday/ The weather continues to be very fine, two men were sent to the Pine Hammock for two Logs to be sawn into boards, the others occupied as yesterday, The people who were sent for a Boat load of timber the 20th inst. returned this evening but did not find nearly the Birch required.

23rd Saturday/ Cold North westerly wind and cloudy weather Sent seven men to the Pines below for a Boat load of timber to be sawn into Boards. the others were employed in plastering the Houses and making Nets. Fourteen tents of crees arrived as usual starving, they brought nothing to trade, all their wealth consists in Scalps in which however they are not a little proud. I reprimanded them in the strongest terms I could for their inhumanity in butchering so many defenseless poor women and children but they equally void of shame as of generosity -

24th Sunday/ The North westerly wind continues and the weather has become cold; we had this day several showers of snow at intervals Three more tents of crees arrived and pitched their tents at the Fort but like the others they are starving and brought nothing to trade -

25 Monday/ Cold North westerly wind with light showers of snow nine tents of crees arrived with their families and pitched their tents along with the others who arrived yesterday and about fifty Men of the same tribe they did not bring their families also arrived but neither of them brought anything to trade and the whole of them are completely starving. They are among the most miserable set I've seen in any part of the country and are come [20] for such supplies of Iron works and ammunition as will enable them to pass the winter in the strong woods: being too much afraid to return to the plains after having massacred so many helpless women and children The people who won the 23rd went for pine Logs returned in the evening with eighteen -

Oct^r 26 Tuesday/ Weather much the same as yesterday, most of the Indians who arrived yesterday that had no families and part of them who had went off, we supplied them with a little ammunition and Tobacco both very sparingly and some iron works but had not a sufficiency of a Rat Darts notwithstanding Berard¹⁵ who has been making some for some time back to give each one, but it is not likely that they would make much use of them even if plentifully supplied They are naturally of an indolent lazy disposition and nothing but necessity will compel them to become industrious, This year they will not dare to return to the plains and as they must stick to the strong woods, something considerable of a hunt might be expected from them were they altogether dependent on one establishment, but while they can have recourse to Green Lake and Fort Pelly as to this place it will be in vain to expect that they will apply themselves to hunt Furs or anything else, They will rather Idle their time in going from one place to another, but

¹⁵ In 1825-26 there were two Berard/Berrards in the Saskatchewan District. Louis Berard classified as a trader from St. Ours and Pierre Berard, also classified as a trader from St. Ours.

there is some kind of infatuation that sometimes renders people blind to their own interest, and to that alone I can attribute the establishment of Green Lake of thirteen chief Factors that were last summer at York Factory ten of them were decidedly against and voted against the Establishment of Green Lake experience having long since taught that Furs collected at both places do not equal what might be got here alone if there was no establishment there, and though it curtails the returns of this place it is equally ascertained that it does not [21] increase the fur returns of English River as the native hunts of the Beaver River crees while stationed as last year at Cold Lake is found generally to exceed their own hunts while stationed at Green Lake and what their resorting to it from here bring also – and yet Mess^{rs} Clark Geo and James Keith, carried the establishment of Green Lake in opposition to the general voice of all the other Chief Factors and Chief traders also, and I find that things at the Factory no mention was made of Fort Pelly, that will operate equally against this place, placed as it is were between two fires, as Green Lake does – From these crees now gone off I traded two of the Slave women and a boy they had received as Slaves, and them I intend to send up to Edmonton to be returned to their relatives in hopes it may have some effect in preventing them in their war excursions from molesting such of the whites in this quarter as they may fall in with for at present they consider them equally enemical as the Stone Indians and Crees –

Oct^r 27th Wednesday/ The weather continues much the same as before. Some of the Indians went off, they are gone to the North side of the River and with them I sent two Men to trade some dogs, it being impossible to get the number we require from those here, five of them having brought their families and those who have not, have no dogs: The rest of the people were variously employed and there are ten tents of crees still remaining here but they will be off tomorrow

28th Thursday/ The weather now is become very cold and there is Ice drifting in the River, I this day sent Ballenden¹⁶ with two other men to Sturgeon Lake to fish. I had given nets to one of the Freemen remaining there so that he might send me word when the fish commence spawning at which time they are said to be sometimes [22] numerous at that place, but I understand from everyone coming from there this year there is scarcely a fish to be had and the freemen have all left it. but that no endeavors may be wanting on our part I sent Ballenden an Industrious experienced fishermen to give it a fair trial four other men with eight Horses were sent to accompany two Hunters on a hunting excursion, the others variously employed about the Fort – chiefly plaistering and arranging their own Houses, The whole of the Indians and a miserable set they are have now left the Fort and I traded two more of the Slave women from them, previous to their departure of each party of these Indians they were called into the hall and a dram given them and were told by way of encouragement, not to consider the treatment they had this year met with at this place (for they got no liquor) as a general rule for the time to come, but to exert themselves so as to give me cause to be pleased at their conduct when they returned, I would

¹⁶ William Ballendine

make it a point of being kind an endeavor to content them also – that this time they brought nothing but Indian Scalps a thing they will Rouer we abhord? consequently had deserved nothing that they were supplied with ammunition and some Tobacco and the necessary Iron works required to make a Fur Hunt – and that I expected their future industry would show them not to be ungrateful for having now supplied them with the means of living contrary to what they had every reason to expect, they all promised wonders but I will be much disappointed if any of them will perform much – They are by no means bad Indians and it is a pleasure to see with how much care Mr. Harriott all alone settles with them, with him I have no manner of trouble and but little cause to interfere in any thing that regards the Indians. Hitherto I have always wherever [23] I have been acted the trader myself, but this year I leave all to Mr. Harriott and it is common Justice to remark that he acquts himself well –

Oct^r 29th Friday/ The weather is become more mild than for some time back, there is still Ice drifting in the River; some few Indians who had still remained last night went off this morning and we got two Slave women and a child that had been for some time back secreted near hand, brought to the Fort, making now in all including one that Laventure¹⁷ traded seven women and two children that we have here and as I intend to send them off soon I gave them Buffalo skins to make themselves such a cloathing one of them a sister of the Feather the Blackfoot chief talks a little Cree and the whole of them make themselves much at home –

30th Saturday/ The wind is Easterly and fine clear weather but Ice continues to drift in the River. The people were variously employed – two of them making Rat Darts, two sawing four cutting and one hauling wood for charcoal – one plaistering the inside of the Grand maison to which I this day removed – one making candles two cutting and one hauling fire wood and one Dominique Farron¹⁸ as usual employed in the Kitchen The two men who went off on the 27th inst arrived they purchased only four dogs and say that the Indians are already half way to Green Lake. I would not be surprised if many of them go there immediately in hopes of getting a double supply and there is one thing Liquor which they will be sure of getting there, with what we would not at this place indulge them, I will however as soon as I can send an account to Mr Heron the Gentleman in charge of all those equipped here to prevent them being again equipped by him for though it may be an advantage that they should [24] deliver any hunts they make to him particularly Provisions which will save the trouble and expense of sending it from here, any supplies given by him will be a down right loss to the Company, an Indian who some time ago was hired as Fort Hunter arrived this day with his family –

Oct^r 31 Sunday/ Fine clear weather with a light breeze from the north East, Gilbeau¹⁹ went off to Sturgeon Lake to get some Dogs he has remaining with the freemen

¹⁷ Joseph Laverdure

¹⁸ Dominique Farron,

¹⁹ Edouard Guilbault, from Berthier, Quebec.

Nov^r 1st Monday/ Weather same as yesterday, This day being All Saints consequently a hold day and no labour was performed and the whole of the men got a dram

2nd Tuesday/ Fine clear but rather cold weather, The people were employed much the same as Saturday with the addition of two others that were Threshing Barley and two others that were employed taking down a small House adjoining the Parrissiens which served as a common resort for all works – and putting up small pickets in place of it – Arpin²⁰ who for some time back has been with our two cree Hunters Kakakewasish and Wametie arrived with the Meat of three animals and says there is the Meat of three others on a Scaffold at the tents – eight crees also arrived like the rest all starving and brought nothing to trade, This party is Francois Amiotte and Bazil Soulier (?) both half breeds that have been at one time engaged as hired servants and they are now come along with the old Governor a troublesome old fellow and family who frequently when there is a Post there resorts to Green Lake and of all the Crees in the party that commonly brings most Provisions –

3rd Wednesday/ The weather continues much the same and the River is now completely froze forming a natural Bridge that will last until near may, the people were variously employed some of them putting [25] Grease into bags ready to be sent to Green Lake and others at various jobs about the Fort, one of which was arranging in the stable a place for the Pigs, The party who on the 28th ult^o went with Hunters arrived with the Meat of nine Red Deer they killed them near the Red Berry Lake.

Nov^r 4th Thursday/ Cold Weather Wind Southerly, I employed Francois Amiotte and others of the Indians to bring 2000 lbs of Grease to Green Lake or at least part of the way for they say their Horses will not be able to carry it all the way, their Lodges are situated about half way from here to Green Lake and they will bring it at least that far. I sent two of the Company's servants McIntosh²¹ and Johnson²² with four Horses to assist them, sent three men with Dogs and sleds for the Meat of three animals remaining at the Hunters tents, and the others remaining here were variously employed three Crees arrived from below and brought a few Furs

5th Friday/ The weather continues cloudy Sent three men with fur Horses and one team of Dogs to accompany a couple of Hunters on a hunting excursion, The others who remain at the Fort were employed as follows two making Rat Darts two sawing and two making ready to accompany the Hunters that are to be sent along the Green Lake track for the transportation of Pemican: Dagenais²³ and Guilbeau arrived from the Sturgeon Lake. They inform us that there is no prospect of making anything of a fishery there this season the water being too high. Guilbeau found but two of his Dogs, three crees arrived from below they brought a few Furs and have

²⁰ Joseph Arpin, Canadian

²¹ John McIntosh

²² William Johnston

²³ Antoine Dajenais

been six days coming and though not always inserted in the Journal it is an invariable custom to give all Indians no matter what tribe a dram and a piece Of Tob^o on arrival [26]

Nov^r 6th Saturday/ Cold North westerly wind and light Snow, Sent Laverdure²⁴ and Dagenais with an Indian hunter to pitch their tent about half way from here to Green Lake for the purpose of collecting Meat for the people that will be employed in transporting pemmican from here to Green Lake, those remaining here were variously employed some sawing and some plastering the Houses –

7th Sunday/ It snowed nearly the whole of last night and partly this day – at rather an early hour this morning Mallette²⁵ Duboise²⁶ and Yartin²⁷ arrived from the Hunter's tent which place they left yesterday loaded with 200 lb of Meat each and owing to the bad weather they preferred travelling all night to make an encampment. The inform us that there are two more animals remaining at the Hunters tent ready to be sent for – and also that the Pipe Stem with the Queen and a number of other women dependent on the Hunters throughout the winter This morning Baptist Parrisiens²⁸ and the Indian lad Hunter were sent to Edmonton with the seven Blackfeet women and two boys lately purchased form the Crees, with the view of having them returned to their relations it is the first experiment of the kind I believe ever tried in this quarter and no one can form an idea of what effect it may have these poor women and children are at present by their relations considered as dead and if they get home in safety among their friends they must be worse than brutes if this lessens not their animosity against the whites of this quarter, and prevent them in future from either attacking the Forts or molesting such of our people as they may meet with in their war excursions at present they are equally exasperated against the whites in this quarter as they are against their enemies the Stone Indians and Crees and it was with a view of conciliating [27] their minds and rendering them less hostile that their women and children were purchased and sent back. If it has the desired effect the few articles given in payment has not been ill applied, and if it produces no good effect it will be a standing proof of their ingratitude and the experience is worth trying Being apprehensive that the Indians by whom Grease is being sent to Green Lake will not bring it all the way to that place but leave it somewhere along the road, Mr. Harriott offered his services to go to where they are tented somewhere about half way in hopes of being able to prevail either on those to whom it was given here or for others to bring it all the way to the Fort, he this morning went off accompanied by Billy Pruden,²⁹ but the legs of the two Horses being hurt in the landing from the Boat in which they were crossed the River, for though the Ice has already formed a natural bridge it was supposed not sufficiently strong to bear the Horses and there are still some openings where

²⁴ Joseph Laverdure

²⁵ Joseph Mallette, Canadian

²⁶ Jean Baptiste Dubois

²⁷ Jean Baptiste Yartin

²⁸ Jean Baptiste Parissien

²⁹ William Pruden, son of John Peter Pruden (former and future Chief Trader of Fort Carlton) and an Indian woman named Nancy. Born ca. 1804.

there is no Ice. They soon got benumbed and could not walk which obliged Mr. Harriott to return and he arrived at 2 P.M. having in returning crossed the Horses on the Ice

Nov^r 8th Monday/ It snowed again last night and this morning Mr. Harriott accompanied as before by Billy Pruden took his departure on foot, four men also took their departure to the Hunters tent, and by them I sent word to all Strangers remaining there to depart and not remain there eating up what the Hunters kill or preventing them from hunting five men was to have gone but the best of them Mallette was this morning sick and some how or other has got his right hand swelled to an enormous size. Borassen also went off on a hunting excursion, indeed he ought to have been off long since and I last night gave him a reprimand. Berrard is [28] employed making a Beam and a pair of Scales there being none at this place and every thing was always weighed with Steelyards which at best is a poor substitute. Gilbeau and Goulais³⁰ were employed sawing. Pevin³¹ and Goure³² Hauling Hay and Dominique as usual occupied in the Kitchen

Nov^r 9th Tuesday/ It snowed both last night and this day Pevin and Goulais were employed chopping and hauling firewood – and the others as yesterday,

10th Wednesday/ The weather was cloudy but no snow fell Berrard was employed mending Kettles and in the evening made a train, the others as yesterday,

11th Thursday/ Cold cloudy windy weather The people of the Fort were occupied as yesterday – In the evening Borrassin³³ arrived with the meat of a Moose Deer he had killed in __? Of the old Fort destroyed by the Slave tribes fall Indians many years since on the South branch River, with him came three Indian lads that are completely starving, on entering the Hall they appeared to be nearly fainting, they inform us that they have killed nothing since their departure from here the 28th ultim^o and they were then Starving their party consists of four tents situated on the border of the South branch River, waiting till the Ice forms a natural bridge that will enable them to cross, we gave them a dram and a piece of Tobacco each and what appeared to be much more acceptable a hearty meal of palatable food, what was given afterwards for their supper they wished to reserve to take with them saying that they themselves had now all but that their friends were famishing, two of them in particular not being able to stand nor scarcely move, about noon Dubois and Yartin arrived with what in this quarter is called the Meat of two Red Deer but in reality not the value of one and the whole of what both brought weighed only 280 lbs The other two men Stocken³⁴ and Lafrance³⁵ remain [29] at the tent untill the Hunters kill a load for them: at 1 Valle the party who went off on hunting excursion on Tuesday last returned

³⁰ Solomon Goulet

³¹ Thomas Pivin

³² Charles Goure

³³ Michel Bourassa

³⁴ William Stoken (Orkneyman)

³⁵ Francois Lafrance

all starving having killed nothing but a Bear since their departure. at 2 P M Mr. Harriott and Billy Pruden arrived much sooner than I expected them they had however been at the Indians tents, but persuasion or payment could not prevail on the Indians to bring the Grease to Green Lake and the whole remains at the Hunter's tent with Johnson taking care of it Mr. Harriott having sent McIntosh and an Indian to Green Lake with the letters

Nov^r 12th Friday/ This was the coldest day yet experience this season, but the want of a thermometer having on supposition that there was one here left my own at York Factory prevents me from ascertaining the degree. The three Indian lads who arrived yesterday return to their camp and by them we sent about fifty pounds of fresh Meat and four bladders of Grease for their starving relations. Those of the people who arrived yesterday were sent for white earth and the others except Mallette who was employed threshing were occupied as usual -

13th Saturday/ The weather was nearly as cold as yesterday four men were with two Hunters sent up the River in search of Buffalo our store being nearly empty of fresh Meat I deemed it necessary to send to the only place from which a supply is likely to be got, whenever a load can be procured tow of these men are to return and the others to remain with the Hunters to place whatever animals they may kill in a place of security to be sent for afterwards

14th Sunday/ The weather continues clear calm and Cold nothing particular occurred at the Fort but in the evening Bruyere³⁶ arrived from the fishery with the unpleasant news that no more fish is caught there and they [30] have collected in all about a hundred

Nov^r 15th Monday/ The weather continues still much the same In the afternoon Stocken and Lafrance arrived with the best part of three Red Deer weighing 640 lb In the evening a cree young man arrived also. he brought a Bear skin eight Muskrats and a Fisher which he traded and immediately went off - Bourassa is gone a hunting and so is Laventure accompanied by Mr. Rocques Son,

16th Tuesday/ The weather still continues to be clear calm and cold. In the morning mallette and Mr. Pruden's son³⁷ were sent along with Bruyere to the Fishing Lake, the two former to return with the fish remaining there, but they met Ballendine coming home bag and baggage and in the evening Mr. Prudens son returned to the Fort. this day was prolific in arrivals, first came Lavalle he brought us 200 Musquash and made but a short stay Then came three Stone Indians of the Que de Origler(?) band encamped near the River que appellee from whence they took eight days coming here. They brought nothing and will go back with nearly as little in return afterwards came the musquagase (?) and an Iroquois from beyond Sturgeon Lake. they brought a few Furs and lastly came six crees fitted out here in the Fall who have crossed the South Branch River are

³⁶ Louis Bryere

³⁷ This and future references to Mr. Pruden's Son relate to William or "Billy" Pruden.

gone direct to Fort Pelly, Thus we are situated as it were between two fires such of our Indains as are upon the one side of the River will go to Green Lake and those who are on the other will go to Fort Pelly from which it will result not only that this place produce no returns but the Indians from tolerable hunts that might be expect from them was there but one place to which they could resort will by having them comparatively kill few Furs, it is opposition in every sense of the [31] word and rather than continue it the Company, if the other places are deemed necessary would lose less by abandoning this place altogether Then Fort Pelly of itself might furnish all the Provision that will be required – and the fine Furs that would be killed would find their way either to that place or to Green Lake and perhaps some of them to Cumberland House and Lac la Ronge and even better hunts might be expected from them which would save the expenses and danger both not a little attending on this establishment of no consequence which thus surrounded by others, Indeed as far as I can judge there is but one obstacle that could prevent its being abandoned with propriety ensuing spring and that is that the Indians seeing their own Country abandoned might become desperate and stop the craft that would in the fall be destined for Edmonton, at all events there is no question that either this place of the present establishment of Green Lake ought to be abandoned –

Nov^r 17th Wednesday/ The weather continues still the same. In the morning mallette and Berger arrived about noon Ballendine also, The whole of the fish brought the result of the fishery is 81 and Ballendine informs me that the whole amount of what they caught did not exceed 200, The musquagin and Iroquois delivered the former 50 Muskrats & 1 Bear skin and the latter 54 Muskrats 1 wolverine 1 Red Fox 4 large Beaver Skins and a Bear skin. they both owe large and are destitute of clothing and every other thing that could enable them to hunt which they both being good hunters induced me to supply each Sundries to the amount of twenty skins and though from the advanced period of the season I cannot expect great I expect tolerable hunts from them, the six crees brought twenty skins in Furs and nine Dressed Leather skins which [32] they traded for ammunition and Tobacco, Towards evening two others of the party from whence the young men came the 11th inst arrived with their families all completely starving and not so much as a muskrat, They could scarcely crawl to the Fort and they confess that was it not for the little meat sent them they all would have perished ere now, and thought we could but little afford it we gave them a good Supper, late in the evening Bourassa arrived and requested me to send for two animals he had just killed very opportunity our store being nearly empty –

Nov^r 18th Thursday/ This was a fine mild day, In the morning five men were sent to the Hunters tent and two others for the meat of the two animals killed yesterday by Bourassa: The latter returned in the evening and the Meat weighed 460 lbs the Stone Indians and Crees who arrived the 16th inst this day took their departure again, The former expected that I would send tobacco to the others but were disappointed,

19th Friday/ The weather was mild and cloudy, Pevin and Goure were employed as usual cutting and hauling fire wood, Berrard at various Jobs, mallette plaistering Mr. Rocques House both in

and outside and Guilbeau was plastering and repairing the chimneys in the Grand maison. In the afternoon an Indian the Jack Fish arrived starving equally as much as those who arrived the 16th He says that two of his children cannot move from their beds arising from actual weakness

20th Saturday/ A Strong South westerly wind commenced last night which continued throughout the day accompanied by snow – one of our chimneys got on fire and the roof was nearly in a blaze when we perceived it and no longer than three nights ago about midnight at a time there was but little water in the House another was on fire but fortunately we soon perceived the smoke arising through the crevices and soon extinguished it In the [33] afternoon Duplessis Sons and two Indians arrived and they are the first I have seen that do not complain of starving Shortly after our people from above with the people accompanying them arrived with the Meat of two Bulls, In going up they were too much afraid to go up the banks of the River and went as far as Fort au Glas? Before they found Buffalo Bulls, for there were no cows, however on their return having cut across land straight to the Eagle Hills creek they found abundance of cows but having already complete loads very properly did not molest them and they suppose them to be coming downwards but the ground is so much burnt that unless they cross the river they cannot find feeding much further down than where they saw them, the meat rendered here weighed 930 lb; Shortly after our Hunters six Stone Indians arrived – they are encamped on the south side of the south branch River about half a days march above the Bois de Original and inform us that Buffalo are numerous in that neck of land between the two Rivers as far down as the cross woods, In the evening another Indian (a cree) arrived from the north side of the River completely starving, he says that hunger has driven most of the others towards the plains even in spite of the danger they apprehend from the Plains Indians and it is not a little

Nov^r 21 Sunday/ Full four inches of snow fell in the course of yesterday evening and last night and it again began to snow this evening. this being a day of rest no labour was performed and the people reposed themselves –

22nd Monday/ Cloudy weather, This morning the two Hunters were sent off to the cross woods accompanied by nine men and but three now remain here. Berrard who has now assumed Dominiques place in the Kitchen with Pevin and Goure who are employed chopping and [34] hauling fire wood all the Indians who arrived on the 16th 17th & 20th took their departure and five stone Indians and seven crees arrived the former are encamped as far down as the Bois de Original and have brought a little Grease and the latter are from below and have brought a few Furs –

Nov^r 23rd Tuesday/ mild cloudy weather The whole of the Indians who arrived Yesterday are gone away – The Stone Indians traded ten Blad^{rs} of Fat a wolf skin & three Badgers & the Crees 240 Muskrats 4 Martins a wolf a wolverine a swan skin and a Bear skin – Laventure has arrived from Rat hunting and he appears to have made a good hunt – the people employed as usual. I this day

turned morissettes woman to whom I gave passage from Norway House out of the house for having committed a faux pas and otherwise showing a bad example to the others and would in conformity to the minutes of council have turned her out of the Fort also had there been any other place where she could subsist: I will however when an opportunity occurs send her from here. Her paramour is a half breed son to Mr. Pruden,³⁸ freeman not in the company's service, now out a hunting, when he returns if indeed he does return for it is likely of himself to remain with the Indians, I must as the least punishment which in this instance I am disposed to adopt than can have any effect in Detering others from following the example of seduction & demoralization have him debarred from all Public amusement and while he remains at the Fort confined strictly to his own lodging place –

24th Wednesday/ very fine mild weather and few people employed as usual and the women cleared the Fort of the snow lately fallen which had before been gathered into heaps

25th Thursday/ cloudy by not cold weather and the people [35] now remaining at the Fort may be considered to be employed as stated on Monday – unless otherwise specified. In the morning Laventure went after our Hunters in quest of Buffalo and such as they are for there is not a good hunter among them I fear there are too many, the Indians Gillost? And Mr. Prudens Son were sent off I was not aware the latters which on a former occasion I was given to understand did more harm than good was to be employed as a hunter but imagined it was simply to remain absent from the Fort and assist the others in collecting the meat, for on the evening of Sunday that for fear of scaring away the Buffalo too much they were told that no one should hunt but the Indian employed as such and Guilbeau a stone Indian came to the House for diverse things for one of his friends by the name of Friday who he says is to make a Buffalo pound but if the getting of their things Red Cloth and Tobacco can enable him to make one he can equally well do it without and neither was sent. a cree Indian lad also arrived in the evening and brought 130 Muskrats the hunt of himself and brother the Pipe Stem –

Nov^r 26th Friday/ Weather the same as yesterday. Ballendine and Bruyere arrived from the Hunters tent with simply the meat of a Deer and they themselves have starved considerably since they left this place, The Hunters have now crossed the South branch River and animals appear to be plentiful but one of them kills nothing and he has a family of nearly a Dozen dependent on them which destroys great part of the Meat killed by the other Hunter. old Duplessis son also arrived but brought not even so much as a muskrat in payment of the debts he got last Fall he now intends to hunt with his Father in law Bourassa [36] and like most of his countrymen appears to be a worthy fellow; I yesterday gave a horse whipping to the woman whom the day before I had turned out of the House not altogether so much for openly and in bed with Mr. Prudens daughter maria ³⁹ a girl between twelve and thirteen years old breaking the seventh

³⁸ William "Billy" Pruden

³⁹ Marie Pruden b. ca 1813. Daughter of John Peter Pruden and Nancy. She would later marry William Hallet of the Red River Settlement.

Commandment as for other immoralities and telling falsehoods and since then she either is or pretends to be sick another fit of the same kind commenced last Sunday was a week when her immoralities and continued more or less since then, she then for intervals during the space of four days appeared to lose all sense of recollection and she is now in the same state, but as I am told her sickness is in a great measure feigned, I have no doubt but time and reflection will once more render her well and hearty, and that the same of such disgrace, for she is an industrious laborious woman that works will make her a better woman, at all events it was necessary to inflict some exemplary punishment on her as an example to others and I mistake much of it will not have the desired effect at least as far as to make them more secret

Novr 27th Saturday/ cloudy but very mild weather. Ballendine and Bruyere were sent to join the party Hunting Buffalo but they returned in the evening accompanied by Laventure who went of two days ago whom they met coming It appears that Laventure had the day he left this place found a Stone Indian, one of the two young men who were coming here and had remained sick, the 25th they slept together and yesterday they came to a place where there were three Bulls Laventure left his train and things on a knowl from which he could see them at a distance and went toward the Bulls with the intention of Killing them and the young man appeared to continue his rough to the [37] Tents from whence he came, but no sooner was Laventure out of sight than he returned back to the place where Laventure had left his train out of which he stole a Blanket and Capot, during the interval Laventure killed two of the three Bulls when looking toward the Knowl where he had left his dogs and not perceiving them for the young man to be now out of sight had removed them suspected what had happened and had a race of seven or eight miles before he overtook the thief whom he made to return the things he had stolen and compelled him to return to the place he had taken them and retake the Buffalo, which on taking the capot and Blanket he had left to be less encumbered that he might run faster, compelling the young man to return to the place where he had stolen the capot and Blanket was no bad policy in Laventure for he suspected more Stone Indians to be near hand and had the young man joined them they might in their turn pursue Laventure. Laventure not thinking it safe to proceed returned with the meat of one of the Bulls and on meeting Ballendine and Bruyere alarmed them so much they returned also,

Novr 28th Sunday/ Cloudy mild weather and a very small quantity of snow fell the three remaining men who were with the Hunters beyond the South branch River and who left this the 18th returned this day with moderate loads. The Hunters that is one of them wametie for the other kills nothing, had killed three animals since Ballendine has left them, In the evening three crees arrived and brought a few Furs, one of them is intended to be kept as a hunter having been spoken to to that effect in the fall

29th Monday/ The crees who arrived yesterday went away, and one of our men Goulette was sent along with them to put in security what meat one of them employed [38] as a hunter may kill. Two Stone Indians arrived but they brought nothing not even any news in the way of

information – Lafrance whitewashed the Hall and Ballendine Bruyere and Stocken were employed making cats to ___? One of the chimneys that is not yet made fire proof the weather continues still the same mild and cloudy –

Nov^r 30th Tuesday/ It snowed considerably in course of last night and this being St Andrews day the people got a dram. one of our chimneys that used to get on fire was this day taken down and ___? The others as already arranged I believe are become fire proof. The Stone Indians who arrived yesterday went away, and I begin to be very anxious for the safety of our people gone a Buffalo hunting some of them ought to be here on Sunday or even Saturday allowing then full time to hunt –

Dec^r 1st Wednesday/ clear cold weather, two men were this morning sent to our hunters across the South branch River Lafrance was employed whitewashing the house. Ballendine cutting fire wood for his own house and the others occupied as usual, about noon two Stone Indians arrived, traded a little Grease and returned immediately in the evening four other Stone Indians and a cree woman arrived from the same camp, from them we understand that our people are safe and that no harm will befall them from the Stone Indians. The Buffalo they say are scared to be a great distance which is the cause of the long absence of our people, a cree Indian came from below and brought a few Furs, and about noon Lavalle's young brother in law arrived he tells us that Lavalle is starving and sent him for a little Provisions, he kills from four to six Muskrats daily,

2nd Thursday/ cloudy mild weather, Ballendine and Lafrance were employed threshing Barley and the others as usual. But through Berrard employment is chiefly [39] in the Kitchen he does so many other jobs in the Carpenter and Blacksmith way that no other here can do: and this day was employed making a table. The Indians who arrived yesterday traded seven bladders Grease four Martens four Dressed skins a wolverine a badger and a Kitt Fox. Laventure is out hunting.

Dec^r 3rd Friday/ The weather was clear and more mild – Berrard finished the Table which is a very good one and of which we stood much in need there being no good one here. This morning the Stone Indians and also the Cree who arrived on Wednesday went away and with the former party our Buffalo hunters brother in law who has remained here since his brothers departure and also yesterday he got a Capot on Debt and went off altogether unknown. The people of the Fort got rations of Pounded Meat and Grease. but in the evening the Hunters and party went off on the 22nd returned they were not any ways molested by the Stone Indians nor indeed with the exception of one who went off with a Horse to our Hunter did any go near them and their long delay has not arisen from the want of animals but from there being good Hunter among them for they saw plenty of Buffalo their second day from the Fort but scared them all away and continued constantly firing but killing nothing until the seventh day from here and the number of animals brought to the House they say eight but in reality not the value of five; cost the Company a hundred and twenty Balls with a due proportion of Powder much more of itself

independent of what will be paid for the animals than the Meat is worth. a Stone Indian and also a cree arrived the former came with a horse for our useless hunter Kakakinasesh the Horse was promised in the Fall and the owner then left his wife as a [40] pledge and has since then been remaining with the Hunter the cree brought nothing. I this evening somewhat chastised the paramour of the woman I had turned out of the Houses on the 24th ultimo I had no intention of striking him had he remained passive himself and acknowledged his error or expressed any contrition for having defiled his Sisters bed,⁴⁰ but instead of either he at first denied the fact and then was insolent on which I struck him a light stroak across the shoulders with a stick with which I had privileged myself on which before I award he sprang at me with his dag in his hand for I never supposed him so blackhearted as to attempt my life on seeing the Dag I seized him and prevent his stabbing me in the breast as he intended, others caught hold of me and he got his hand that held the Dag round me but fortunately before he could use it Mr. Harriott entered the Store when the fracas took place and wrestled it out of his hand, and it was owing to his happy interference that in all probability I am now writing, for while the others were holding me fast round the waist he might in spite of any exertion I could make find an opportunity of plunging it into my ribs, Primault had in the beginning disarmed me of my Dagger and if all the people in the Store not a few including women and children Mr. Harriott was the only one that did not annoy me and assist the other as it was the young man got but little chastisement and yet it is more than he would have got had he not drawn his dagger. I myself had my left thumb dislocated and all the chastisement bestowed on him who was the cause of it was a stroak across the shoulder another but not heavy for I was then held fast around the middle and by the arms also consequently could not make much use of them: on the left arm, a stroak of the first having got [41] my arm disengaged on the left temple which I believe left a mark a kick with my knee at the time, I was held both round the middle and by the arms somewhat near the part that had offended another kick with my foot which gave offence to Mr. Bird⁴¹ for he too was among those who favoured the scoundrel that attempted my life and after I had been properly loose and recovered my stick and spoken to Mr. Harriott I gave a light stroak across the left Elbow. The generality of these half Breed are worse than any Indians it is them that demoralize the country and though not much suppressed they are the primary cause of nearly all murders committed and the differences existing between the whites and Indians, But of all the villains I was met with this is the most unprincipled and Black hearted and yet he commonly appears as if Butter would not melt in his mouth. I have been over a larger portion of Indian Country than perhaps any other individual living and in the whole of my peregrinations during the long space of twenty-eight years he is the first and I trust will be the last that ever presumed to rise an arm against me. I was I to suffer him longer at the company's Fort my life might be in constant danger at all events a burnt child dreads the fire and a measure of self preservation I might be

⁴⁰ This again appears to be one of John Peter Pruden's sons and their sister. It would either be William Pruden born ca. 1804 or Peter Pruden born ca. 1807. The sister in question is either Charlotte (b. ca. 1808), Margaret Ann (b. ca. 1810) or Marie (b. ca. 1813).

⁴¹ This is George Bird (b. ca 1797) the son of James Bird and a Cree woman named Mary, who was at the time serving as clerk at Carlton House. He was soon thereafter dismissed (or retired) from HBC service.

reduced to the necessity of terminating his existence to prevent which he will be tomorrow ordered from the companys Fort warned not to resort to the Hunters tent for there he would not only scare away the animals as when last with them but seduce their women which is a matter of course would prevent them from hunting while his very wantoness might then sacrifice the lives of some of the companys Servants. he will further be warned at his peril not to appear here before the 1st of January at [42] which time I expect Geo Simpson will be here and such measure may be taken as will make him an example to others,⁴² I myself would even now make an example of him but consideration of his mother &c prevents me The quantity of Meat brought on nine sledges⁴³ was 2350 lb of which mallette along brought 390 lb and Mr Prudens son though he had the best Dogs but 140 lb.

Dec 4th Saturday/ very fine weather, The people resident at the Fort were employed as usual and the others variously making preparation to be ready to start whenever required Two Stone Indians and a woman arrived and traded twenty two blad^{rs} of Fat. Also a cree Indian arrived but brought nothing and is completely starving he is from a camp of two tents fitted out here in fall now encamped a little beyond the South branch River –

5th Sunday/ It snowed a little and but very little in course of last night and the weather very calm and mild: I was this day at 9A.M. not a little surprised at seeing a number of strangers entering the Fort. They are a part of nine men sent up my Mr. Leith from Cumberland House – eight of them are attached to the intended arctick land expedition under the command of Capt Franklin R.R, and the ninth one of Mr. Leith's men whom he sent up to return with one of the expedition men, they could not come at a worse time with but our own people ever since my arrival we could barely subsist and their people now eat us out of House and home: I have placed them altogether in the same House, but one of them a Mr. Neil McDonald formerly a clerk in the

⁴² There appears no record of this incident in the correspondence of George Simpson and no record of supplementary discipline. However, when John Peter Pruden appealed to George Simpson for employment for his sons, and to allow them to live at the Fort, Simpson refused. On August 28, 1825 he noted: "Mr Chief Traders Prudens eldest son is about 21 years of age deficient in education and can be usefully employed by the Company is no other capacity than that of a common labourer or Boatman – His second son can read and write but very tolerably and in my opinion cannot be employed by the Company to advantage in any other way than as a labourer likewise – Mr. Pruden is not disposed to see his sons employed in this manner and wishes to keep them at the establishment with himself but I cannot recommend that the half breed sons of any commissioned Gentl be allowed to remain idle at the Establishment of which their Fathers have the management after the attaining the age of manhood their general habits being vicious to which their fathers are too frequently blind and it is only when under the eye of a stranger and constantly occupied that they can be kept in proper subjugation in short one an all of them require stricter discipline than a father is generally inclined to impose on his children." Governor Simpson's Report on Chief Trader Prudens Letter, YF August 28, 1825. HBCA, D4/7 fos. 168d-169.

⁴³ Sledges are made of two or three flat boards, curving upwards in front, and fastened together by transverse pieces of wood above. They are so thin that, if heavily laden, they bend with the inequalities of the surface over which they pass. The ordinary dog-sledges are eight or ten feet long, and very narrow, but the lading is secured to a lacing round the edges. The cariole used by the traders is merely a covering of leather for the lower part of the body, affixed to the common sledge, which is painted and Ornamented according to the taste of the proprietor. John Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the years 1819-20-21-22. 2nd Edition Two Vols.—Vol. I (London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1824), 148.

Companys service I will consider as a messmate not that he is by agreement strictly entitled to it but he has had the command of others from York to Cumberland and being admitted as a messmate at both these places it would not appear Well was I to class him with the others. He [43] always ___? a good character and Mr. Leith writes unassuming –

Dec^r 6th Monday/ Cloudy mild weather, This morning both Mr. Prudens Son and Duplesis Son went off I believe to remain at George Sutherlands House⁴⁴ on the South branch River, the latter has unknown to me left his wife with her mother Bourassa's wife, from which I conclude that he is simply gone to accompany the other and will soon return, Laventure accompanied by nine of our men went off in search of Buffalo which are supposed to be abundant on both sides of the River about Fort au Glass?, I intended to send off the Belly a cree hunter also but he is not able to walk, It is surprising what a number of people are getting sick, nearly the whole of Mr. Prudens family Mr. Rocque mallettes wife a child of Bourassa and the woman stated to have committed a faux pas. Laventure also though off this morning a hunting is sick and it is partly sickness that caused Mr. Prudens Son to remain here so long; he has kept constant to his room and I have seen him but once since he returned from hunting 3rd inst.

7th Tuesday/ very fine weather the two men who on the 1st inst went to the Hunters tent came back to day and brought 580 lb of a Meat wametie they say has killed eight animals since we last heard from him but the other nothing. In consequence of which orders will be sent him to desist from following wametie and to go a Rat hunting. He is a good Indian and has been long hunter for the Fort but has been remarkably unfortunate for these two years back and the present more so than the preceding then he had a Son Intaro with him that killed well but they have now it appears disagreed and separated

8th Wednesday/ The weather is cloudy not cold and it snowed a little last night. This morning the two men who [44] yesterday arrived with a load of Meat returned to the Hunting tent for another and four of the men attached to the arctic Expedition were sent for sledge wood they got as Provisions a bag of Pemican several Stone Indians arrived and brought a few wolves and a little Grease, also a cree from the swan quarter and in the evening one of the chattlers sons

⁴⁴ George Sutherland, a Scot, arrived in Fort Albany in 1793, and in 1800 he was appointed inland officer at Carlton House. On his arrival, he was accompanied by his first Cree-Métis wife, Papamikewis (Jenny), who was fluent in English, Cree and Nahkewin. Sutherland fathered four children with Papamikewis and subsequently established a liaison with a second Cree woman named Pasikus (Anising). He had nine children with her, and another ten with his third wife, Neototosim (Four-Breasted). At some point in prior to the 1824-25 outfit he went free and was at this time operating as such on the South Saskatchewan River from where he continued to trade at Fort Carlton. His going free must have been shortly before 1824, as John Stuart notes December 14, 1824 (below) that he was still owed money by the HBC. According to family history, he spent the latter part of his life living a traditional Aboriginal lifestyle with his Cree children and grandchildren and he became a headman of sorts. Sutherland's Cree name was *akayasiuw*, "The Scotch Man." Sutherland died suddenly while hunting near present-day Hague. Over the next two generations, Sutherland's descendants constituted themselves into a distinct group of *nipisihkopawiyiniw* (Willow Cree). Two of the prominent leaders of this community, Kapayakwaskunam (One Arrow) and Kahmeeyestoowaegs (Beardy), were signatories of Treaty 6 in 1876, and both took reserves in the Duck Lake area. The Sutherland name is still common in the area today. *Online Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*.

arrived but he brought very little and that party will fall far short of what I had expected from them, they are now starving -

Dec^r 9th Thursday/ Cloudy weather with a little snow - all the Indians who arrived yesterday went this day away and another Stone Indian arrived. Bourgard also arrived and brought 170 Musk Rats but that did not save him from a reprimand for misbehavior since he was here last, the people of the Fort were occupied as usual, and the people for Cumberland are completely arranged ready to start tomorrow on their return and if they starve it will not be for want of having a sufficiency of Provisions 120^{lb} Pemican -

10th Friday/ Strong South Easterly wind accompanied by a little Snow, This morning the two Cumberland House men took their departure on their return home, and by them I wrote to Mr. Leith and forwarded some letters for Red River &c sent here from above, about noon Mr. Douglas accompanied by the Green Lake Interpreter Flemin and our McIntosh arrived, brining letters from Messrs George Keith and James Heron, 1500 lb or our Grease is now rendered safe at Green Lake and the remaining 500 lb will be soon there also. Mr. Heron having sent men for it, Johnson accompanies them with our Horses, and Mr. Douglas having brought some letters fro Mr. Leith I dispatched a man with them after the others gone off this morning whom he will overtake in course of the night. Laverdure the man in charge of the Hunters employed to hunt for the transportation of Pemican from here to Green lake has got a couple of animals at the then but animals are said to be scarce though numerous [45] in approaching Green Lake, some Indians arrived from the Hunter who on 29th ult^o went off with Goulett with information that they hav the meat of two animals on a scaffold ready to be sent for, our Hunter the Belly being somewhat recovered went off to join the others but his leg still pains him returned back. In the evening some stone Indians arrived.

Dec^r 11th Saturday/ It snowed nearly the whole of the day. The two men who were sent for Meat Wednesday returned this morning and brought 500^{lb} nothing more remains at the Hunters tent, The whole of the Stone Indians that arrived yesterday are now gone off from one of them a horse was traded for the value of ten skins in ammunition and Tobacco. Goure the man sent yesterday to deliver the additional letters to the Cumberland House men returned he overtook them in course of the night, Bourassa also arrived and I believe has done nothing in the way of a hunt either in Furs or animals

12 Sunday/ Fine clear weather, The Indians who arrived on Friday from the Hunters stationed with Goulett returned and with them three of our men were sent -

13th Monday/ Cloudy weather and in the evening it snowed It may be remarked as somewhat strange that neither arrivals nor departures of any kind took place this day

14th Tuesday/ Cloudy weather, two of the men sent on Wednesday for Sledge wood arrived they brought but two small planks Martin Lavalle, He left this place on the 16th ult^o and now brought 360 Musquash his hunt since then and a good one it is. In the evening two Stone Indians arrived from the moose woods and surprising to relate brought a beaver skin and 50 Musk Rats They inform us that they saw fresh Buffalo tracks at the Grand Sucresse and report that a war party who had been at the missourie caught the small Pox and that the infection was now spreading [46] all over and had already extended to a camp that is this side of Swan River, In the evening a young man the Skunk arrived from Sutherlands House on the South branch River he was sent by Sutherland for Tobacco, but he has already had advances to the amount of eighty skins and appears to have done nothing towards paying any part of it. Therefore though it is said there is still some money due him by the company – none will be sent he has already had too much for one season even admitting him to be more sick than he is, and advancing him so much is the greatest error of which I as yet have a knowledge I committed since my arrival here –

Dec^r 15th Wednesday/ Blowing Snowy weather, The Stone Indian who came with a horse to our useless Hunter the many of many women arrived here with his wife well clad in cloth she has been with our Hunters since the fall – I intend that Mr. Douglas should tomorrow return to Green lake and with him I intend to send five our Horses and those of the arctick land Expedition men but the Horses could not be found and Mr. Douglas remains in hopes that they will be more successful tomorrow,

16th Thursday/ Fine Clear weather This morning Mr. Harriott and the Hunter went in quest of the Horses and before noon were returned with the number required – during the interval Berrard, Lavalle and Goure were preparing sledges Harnesses &c, and the people of the arctick Expedition were desired put the necessary cords to them after the other had so far prepared them, but they were very dilatory and seamed to think that our people should do every thing on which I told them once for all that if they were lazy to work I should take care they should be lazy to eat also and that being by agreement bound to perform the duty of voyages I should expect they would in future comport themselves as such and that I should not in future [47] have reason to tell them twice to do any thing that was appointed for them to do. This had the desired effect and they continued their work cheerfully and every thing being ready Gustavus Aird Charles Mckenzie and James Spence three of Captain Franklins men were sent to Green Lake with five Horses loaded each with four bags of Pemican and Mr. Harriott with two of our men went to assist them across the River and up the Hills –

Dec^r 17th Friday/ Still fine weather, This morning Mr. Douglas and his men Flemin went off on their return to Green Lake and by them I sent a keg of Gun Powder 80^{lb} net and a keg of high wines being apart of a supply requested by Mr. Geo Keith the Chief Factor of English River, He made a demand of 2 kegs of Liquor and I intended to have sent them but Mr. Douglas declined taking more than one thinking that Mr. Keith would not be willing to accept of High wine which being part of the remains from Fort William has remained a long time on hand and

consequently must be more subject to leakage than other of this year brought from the Factory, but I could give only such as I have and if I was willing to comply with the whole of Mr. Keiths requisition it is not because we have an overstock by because the Indians of this place cannot afford to purchase and I have hitherto limited presents to dram on arrival and that I was convinced that Mr. Keith would not ask for what he could not turn to advantage; Mr. Neil McDonald another of Capt Franklins men took his departure along with Mr. Douglas to assist the others sent off yesterday and one of the Horses sent last night was this morning brought back under the plea that he would not proceed with his load Mr. Harriott returned with him again to give him a fair trial but all would not do the Horse would not budge but remained ___? [48] and would not stir in consequence of which his load was brought back so that but sixteen bags of pemmican are sent forward and a man to take care of each Horse sent, two of the three men sent for meat the 12th Inst returned this day loaded with 400^{lb} the other man has remained there waiting a load and it appears that there are six tents of other Crees still remaining with the Hunter and while they remain we can expect nothing from him. Hodgson one of the Expedition men is employed making Sledges, himself and the other man who was with him for Sledge wood arrived late last night having as they say prepared wood for eleven Sledges but as the board are narrow and they allow but two for a Sledge I imagine that the whole will make no more than seven or parts of eight Sledges. At 10 1/2 P.M. six of the ten men sent a Buffalo hunting on the 6th arrived with information that four days ago while on their way to this place loaded with meat they met a party of Blackfeet warriors the forerunners of a large war party who pillaged them of their Guns and part of their cloathing, in other respect they did not ill use them but on the contrary treated them kindly and indeed it appears from the conversation of some of the people that no compulsion was used in taking any thing but that our people in some degree gave all themselves in exchange for others, To Primeault whom they know the Blackfeet gave a Horse the only one they had and a better Gun than his own in exchange for the one he had, and for his Blanket, and when they got the Guns of the others they at first gave others in exchange but then afterwards they either took their own Guns or they were left by our people, for it is no easy matter to get a true statement of the Fact. Dagenais was behind the others alone by himself and the first Blackfeet young man he met took his Blanket from him but the war chief retook it from the young man and returned it to Dagenais. That same morning the [49] six men just now arrived had left the remaining four men Laventure and Guilbeau the two Hunters with Duboise and Lafrance at the Hunting tent and I fear they have been killed it being scarcely possible that the Blackfeet would refrain from pillaging them and were they but simply pillaged I think it certain that from having the advantage of the track they would have overtaken the others and be here by now – and from the circumstances I conclude that they have been killed or else that the Blackfeet have taken them away to their camp and then kept them until it was ascertained where we had purchased their women and children and sent them up as state to them by our people, when Primeault told them of this circumstance they did not seem to discredit it, but appeared much pleased and among the warriors met by our people was the Brother of one of the women sent up. Buffalo are approaching fast and in great numbers on the other side of the River,

and was it not for the war party which has deranged all my Plans we might hope soon to have Meat in abundance -

Dec^r 18th Saturday/ Very fine mild weather This morning three Men, Fraser McIntosh and Stocken were sent to Green Lake loaded each with three bags Pemican, Mr. Bird with one man was sent to the Hunter stationed with Souta for the purpose of four chasing Dogs and getting him separated from the other Indians now with him. Two other men were sent for the Sledge wood prepared at the South branch River, and in the evening Goulett and Bruyere the man left with him when Fraser was at the Hunting tent, arrived starving having ate nothing these four days back. The Hunter is on his way to this place but as six other tents, still remaining with him and all starving -

19th Sunday/ very fine weather, as our Buffalo Hunter [50] do not arrive I much apprehend that they are either killed or taken away by the Blackfeet Indians and are getting preparations made to send Mr Harriott with a reconnoitering party on Horse Back to ascertain what is become of them. In the evening it snowed a little but the weather soon cleared up and became Cold -

Dec^r 20th Monday/ The weather still continues fine but the wind is sharp, in the morning Mr Harriott accompanied by four of our best men all on horse back were sent to ascertain what became of our Buffalo Hunters and with them were sent two men with trains to bring the Meat left in cache by the people who arrived on Friday, and towards evening I was happy to see Mr Harriott and party arrive They met the four men whom we supposed either killed or gone with the Blackfeet coming to the House, the Blackfeet were thirty eight in number and slept one night with our people at the Hunting tent, but did not use any violence or insult towards them, nor can it be said that they actually Pillaged them of anything though they took two guns and an equal number of Blankets and some other things from our people more by way of exchange for other things of less value than by actual force from Dubois though he like the others had a Gun they took nothing and to Laventure they gave a good Gun in exchange for one he had belonging to the company, so that in a great measure we have now cause to be pleased at their moderation than displeased at their having taken any thing and this moderation I in great measure attribute to our having in the fall purchased and sent back some of their women and Children, when they left the camp they still remained ignorant of this circumstance but do not seem to discredit it and it is to be hoped that their women and children will be rendered safe at the Camp by the time the warriors return I think we may afterwards consider [51] ourselves safe for the winter some of this party was here 10th Oct^r and among them is the man who killed the old woman they then intended to have come peaceably to the Fort had there been no Indians and had they not then been absent from their camp their families would not have fallen as easy a prey to the crees against whom they swore vengeance when they left their camp situated at the noze [nose] and their party had gone to Edmonton to trade ammunition and though they do not seem to have met with any crees yet as they will find out when the Stone Indians are encamped a large party may be expected, Mr Bird also arrived and so did the two men sent on Saturday for Sledge wood two

Stone Indians and one cree also arrived the former brought some Pounded Meat and Grease fifteen wolves and seven Kitts all of which was traded for Ammunition and Tobacco, the latter like most of his country men brought nothing Arpin also arrived from the Hunter beyond the South branch River whom he left starving Wamichisk has been sick for these ten days back and consequently killed nothing – The man of many wives remains still there being apprehensive that if he separates from Wametie he will not be able to make his family live and indeed had he but his own hunt to depend upon the whole of them would have been dead long since having killed but four animals since his departure from here last Oct^r –

Dec^r 21st Tuesday/ The fine weather still continues and preparations were making to send off our Hunters again tomorrow Mallette Dagenais and Yartin were sent to Green Lake each with three bags of Pemican and the Stone Indians that arrived yesterday went away.

22nd Wednesday/ Still fine weather Laventure with our cree Hunter the Belly wen[t] with six men completely arranged to be off early this morning and I was not [52] a little surprised on going out of the Fort at 9/10 A.M. to find them still here. I never saw a place where people leaving a Fort are in the habit of starting so late. I have several time put them in remembrance of it and this morning gave them a severe reprimand. I though the Belly had been off after the others and was surprised to see him at 11 A.M. enter the Hall it appears that he was detained by having gone to look for his Horse each of the six men gone had a Dog Sledge and two of them had each a horse sledge also – and I desired the whole of them to bring good loads, this time none of them but those employed as Hunters were allowed Guns for in such hands, their having Guns is so far from being the means of self defense that it arms those with whom they may have to contend and when they had Guns most of them considered themselves equally able to kill animals as the Hunters employed and were of much harm in scaring away the Animals. They have directions to follow the River not only for its being now safe but to prevent a possibility of turning back the animals coming down on the other side of it – Hitherto they have not once followed the direction given them in regard to the Hunting ground pointed out to them there being always something or other occurring that prevented them.

Dec^r 23rd Thursday/ Very mild fine weather and the snow dropped from the Houses same as in April. Lavalle, McLean and Mr Rocque's son were in the morning sent after the Hunters gone off yesterday. The latter two have each a horse sledge and the former has both a Horse and Dogs with sledges The two men sent for the Meat left by our people when flying from the Blackfeet arrived – they left this place along with Mr Harriott on Monday, The Powder and some three Crees arrived from below, they appear to have a few Furs and as an encouragement they among them got five quarts of mixed Rum –

24th Friday/ A kind of Rain or rather Sleet fell this morning [53] and the two men who arrived yesterday were sent to join the others gone up the River Buffalo Hunting. The Indians who arrived yesterday went away having had what at this place may be considered a tolerable hunt –

twenty five Beaver skins 100 Musk Rats some few other Furs and 30 Dressed skins after their departure our Hunter the Fisher's Ribs who left this place the 28th Ultō arrived and with him six tents of relations all starving. I was first on their arrival sour upon them all and previous to their arrival had determined to give them nothing not even a mouthful to eat. But on examining their features Compassion got the better of men and I gave them each a dram and a piece of Tobacco with a little meat divided among them they are really miserable objects and appear more like Spectral skeletons than human beings In the forenoon Bourassin arrived with the meat of a Bull the only animal he killed He went up the River nearly as far as the Elbow then went up the Hills on the south side and soon got among the Stone Indians tracks consequently Buffalo could not be supposed to be numerous where he was and the accounts he gave our Hunters whom he met yesterday at the Ash Isl so far discouraged them that they have left the River and contrary to my orders are gone to the place where when last hunting they saw Buffalo coming down towards the Strong Woods and the result I fear will be that they will turn them back and we shall have no Buffalo near hand this season. This deviation of theirs from the instructions given is altogether owing to the folly of Bourassin. Had they followed the River as directed until they found Buffalo which could not be far above the Eagle River they could return on the River with good loads nor would there be any danger of driving away the Buffalo which are coming down to the woods and after the holy days we might expect to find Buffalo nigh hand [54]

Dec 25th Saturday/ This being Christmas day anniversary of our Saviour the people got a dram and in the evening had a dance. Some of the Indians who arrived yesterday are gone off part of them down the River and part to the Stone Indian Camp the weather continues mild and very fine

26th Sunday/ The weather still continues to be very fine. The remainder of the Indians who arrived the 24th are now gone off to the Stone Indian Camp, and some other Crees arrived all starving. These Crees considering them as a tribe are the most miserable set of people I ever seen in all my travels on either side of the mountains few of them have the courage to look a man in the face and yet when the opportunity occurs without endangering themselves, they are furious murdering defenceless women and children, and no sooner is massacre committed than they fly to the Strong wood where the Plains Indians cannot follow them and there remain starving until the approach of the Stone Indians to whose camp they resort for Protection of themselves they dare not venture onto the plains nor can they subsist in the woods otherwise than in a starving condition and if we had not assisted them in the article of Provisions many of them this very winter would have starved to death, one of our Hunters and the only one worthy of the name of Hunter Wamechuk is just now arrived sick and consequently starving. The other (the man of many wives) is gone to live with the ___ people of the camp where Mr Brio is gone to trade Dogs. I this morning sent the Fishers Ribs the Hunter who arrived the 24th up the River more with a view of having it ascertained whether there are Buffalo or not than in hopes that he will kill any -

27 Monday/ This is a much colder day than we usually have and about thirty men and also a few women of the Big River Stone Indians arrived. They brought a little Provisions and as an encouragement we gave them a few pints of mixed Rum about forty [55] pints in all amongst them in addition to the dram usually given on arrival and they traded for liquor about thirty blad^{rs} of Grease and a Doz Buffalo Tongues, They informed us that the party of Blackfeet that killed our people have killed one of the Strong wood Stone Indians and they each now be so much in dread that no Provisions can be expected from them, In the evening Mr Bird and Arpin arrived very Hungry having had little to eat since they left this place on Wednesday Mr Bird traded eight Dogs but one of them got loose and escaped while on their way home and two of the others are so very small that they both will be perfectly useless this year –

Dec^r 28th Tuesday/ They weather continues much the same as yesterday Two Cree Indians arrived and brought a few furs but they like the others are starving. The Stone Indians who arrived yesterday traded Pounded Meat and Grease to make a Doz bags of Pemican also a few wolves and fourteen Dogs They are as usual while at the Fort very quiet and apparently peaceable disposed –

29th Wednesday/ Fine Clear weather and not cold, all the Stone Indians are now gone off and also the two crees who arrived yesterday but the others who arrived with Wamechick and some who came with Mr Bird still remain living on what they can catch from one House to another –

30th Thursday/ Cloudy windy Weather, The Starving Crees still linger about the Fort and without using violence cannot even be shammed off Laventure with four of the men we had sent Buffalo Hunting arrived and brought 2090 lbs Fresh Meat – and of that Lavalle alond brought 1060 lb he had a good Horse belonging to Mr Harriott, The Fisher Ribs also arrived and says the Buffalo are crossing the River at the Elbow, and above it in great numbers and had our Hunter gone there as I directed them they would have found Buffalo within less than half the distance [56] where they were and those Buffalo they now have been hunting would have been left in quietness and would most likely have come down near the Fort – whereas now they being frightened we cannot expect them further down on the contrary it is most likely that being scared they will return into the large plains for I understand that it is invariable the case when the first herd of Buffalo going Northward are hunted they invariably turn back and turn the others back also whereas if two or three herds are allowed to pass the others no matter how much hunted will always endeavor to follow and cannot be prevented

Dec^r 31st Friday/ The remainder of our Hunting party arrived and brought 3100 lb of Meat making very small loads but the Buffalo were soon scared away and though the Hunters continued following them very few were killed. At 9 A.M. Mallette Dagenais and Yartin the 3 men who on the 21st inst were sent to Green Lake with Pemican arrived they reached Green Lake not two hours after the others who left this place on the 16th 17th & 18th on Christmas day remained there a day and this is now their fifth day from there, Shortly after them Fraser one of the men who left

this the 18th and also a Green Lake man and before night two others McIntosh and Stocken made their appearance and at a late hour at night Mr Neil McDonald and three others sent off the 16th arrived: I understand that in going to Green Lake they ate one of the bags of Pemican given them as loads, to render there but the whole being charged to the intended Expedition under the command of Capt Franklin RN^o they will have to little amounts with them, had they been company servants I would have fined them highly for such conduct they having not to ___ as excuse being even short of Fresh Meat for more than one night when they commenced the Pemican and that night had they been so disposed they might have gone to the Hunters tent as Mr Douglas and man did Mallette and party got little or no Meat from Laventure and consequently had to go all the way to Green Lake [57] with the same quantity of provisions the others had to go to the Hunters tent situated about half way, this is one instance of the difference between Europeans and Canadians as winter voyageurs –

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Jan^y 1st Saturday/ Very fine mild weather and new Years Day was [blank space] in by a Salute of Musketry fire at our doors and windows after which the people came into the Hall to wish us the compliments of the season which being over and the people seated they were liberally treated with Shrub, Rum and Cakes to all of which they did justice but not one of them appeared much to feel the effect of the bumpers of Liquor they had drank and the whole of them comported themselves very decently and on retiring they fired another salute after which the Ladies paid us a visit and having first kissed them a la mode de pass we treated them in much the same manner as we had done their husbands and it is but common justice to remark that though they had Shrub at [?] they comported themselves decently and soon returned to the security of their Husbands in their own Houses, we had yesterday issued as rations for the Fete eight pounds of the best Meat we had in the store a quart of wheat and equal quantity of Barley with a proportion of Grease and Potatoes for each man & half the quantity for each woman and half the allowance of a woman for each child so that they all had an ample Breakfast, The Hunters also and their women had rations nearly similar and in the morning were in like manner treated with Rum and cakes – but by 10 A.M. the Hall was clear of all and we sat down to Breakfast The remainder of the day was passed variously as suited the peoples fancy, and at 4 ½ P.M. the table being laid in the Hall all hands Companys Servants & artick land expedition people were invited to partake of the best dinner we could provide and it proved most excellent consisting of two courses of Ragouts⁴⁵ of different kinds and equal number of Boullets⁴⁶ [58] Roasted Ribs and Bosses⁴⁷ in abundance which with currant pies & Plum Pudding completed the best repast that perhaps some of the partakers ever witnessed before, There were thirty two at table and though from various countries they all behaved themselves decently aft the cloth

⁴⁵ Stew

⁴⁶ Boulets or boulettes are meatballs.

⁴⁷ The boss was the hump of the bison and as a roast was prized for its luxurious flavors. It was considered a delicacy by the natives of the plains and fur traders alike.

was removed & while the ladies and attendents had their dinner a few songs some in French others in English and some few in Gaelic were sung and at 8 P.M. all hand retired to prepare for the dance which commenced soon afterwards and which all the ladies attended and acquitted themselves w[h]ile most of the Europeans did not appear but had gone to bed on retiring from the table and but only part of the Canadians attended but such as did as well as the few of my own Countrymen who were present behaved themselves remarkably well and we passed a most pleasant evening, at midnight it being then Sunday I thanked the company for their attendance and wished them a good night immediately after which they all retired having previously got four Gall of Rum amongst them all to drink prosperity to the Company and the expences of the day exclusive of Meat Flour Sugar plums currants &c was four Galls of Spirits half as much Shrub and nearly a Gall of wine

Jan^y 2nd Sunday/ very fine weather and every thing quiet as if there had never been a new years day, I had advertised the people on returning last night that this being Sunday no Liquor would be sold nor did any not even the Hunters trouble me for any and thus far I had cause to be satisfied with the whole –

3rd Monday/ The weather continues equally fine as yesterday and eight Galls of Rum were sold to the people making them out a quart they wished to have got more but I was not sufficiently at their conduct to indulge them, they being most part of the afternoon and nearly the whole of the night quarreling among themselves and I regret to have to remark that my own countrymen and the half Breeds [59] were the most among them from the latter not better could have been expected but I was sorry to see the others behave themselves more like Indians and the worst of the Indians than like civilized beings professing the Christian Religion. One Gustavus Aird in particular a stout raw boned Highlander showed himself to be both a brute and a scoundrel he did not appear to be much drunk but was going about nearly the whole night waylaying the others who were now more drunk than himself and could not defend themselves. He had nearly murdered John Hodgson a good natured quiet inoffensive half breed son of Gov^r Hodgson for no other cause than Hodgson while along the voyage had on various occasions kept him to his duty and while at Cumberland House had offered to fight him, which Aird had not the courage was roused by the liquor he had drank he watched an opportunity when Hodgson was both drunk and laying down to belabor him with an axe heft in a most dreadful manner, Hodgson's head is cut and mangled most shockingly and there is a deep cut on his right eye and another on his left Ear that nothing but an edged instrument could inflict which renders probable almost certain that Aird had at first used the hatchet itself previous to his taking the helve out of it, Hodgson's back and left arm also is most terribly bruised and I question much if he ever comes to have the free use of his harm. This circumstance I regret much but I neither prevent nor forsee it having never imagined that Aird who is a stout powerful man though I understood he had a dislike to Hodgson would watch an opportunity and behave so scandalously It is the first time I had ever cause to be ashamed of a countryman and I was not backward in telling it to Aird. Bourassin also was at one time noisy and began a blow to poor little Arpin that for some time will render him

unfit for duty I was not present at the time but [60] on being made acquainted I reprimanded Bourasson and he had the sense to go quietly to bed. Laventure and Primeault also were different from what I could wish them but like Bourasson not different from what I might expect them to be, several of the Canadians also were drunk but I had no cause to be disappointed with their comportment and of the Europeans Gustavus Aird was the only one that misbehaved much -

Jan^y 4th Tuesday/ The weather was more cold than usual but is still fine at 10 A.M. four men arrived from Green Lake They were sent by Mr Heron for Pemican and left that place on the eve of New Years day -- and as they did not partake of the Fete I gave them four pints of Rum and in addition to their usual rations a quart of Wheat an equal quantity of Barley and each some Potatoes and a bladder of Grease among them The people of the Fort were making preparations to commence operations tomorrow and in the evening had a dance with a few Glasses of Rum in the Hall, we this evening that of the servants being over gave a treat to our Indian Hunters and they drank very quietly -

5th Wednesday/ The weather continues fine and mild: McIntosh was in the morning sent to remain with Laverdure the man in charge of the Hunters hunting between Green Lake and this place and with him was sent the Green Lake man who arrived the 31st ult^o our three Indian Hunters Wamitec the Belly and the Fishers Rib were sent a hunting and with them I believe Bourasson also is gone they have ten men with them and seven others were sent to the Stone Indian Camp whom Mr Rocque with two other men will follow in the evening, From Mr Rocques influence with the Stone Indians I am in hopes that some fresh meat will be got from their Pound, and I apprehend we shall require all we can get, for our own Hunters are so much in dread that I have no great hopes from them, Their families remain here [61] about noon Bourgard arrived and contrary to what I expected brought 170 Musk Rats. In the afternoon the two men who on the 7th Nov^r were sent to Edmonton with the Slave women arrived and everything above wears as favourable an aspect as could be expected. Mr Rowand much approves of my having purchased and sent us those poor women & thinks the effect will be the effectual preservation of the place from either Insult or attack from the plains Indians or our people with Hunters being molested either winter or Summer and if so the few things given for them in payment has not been misapplied. The Souleaux (Bad Meat) and a Cree Indian Mr Birds brother in law arrived but brought very little and from the former who brought least I expected a good hunt

Jan^y 6th Thursday/ The weather continues much the same and the four Green Lake men who arrived Tuesday returned with each three bags of Pemmican. Laventure and Gilbeau also went off a hunting they will follow the tracks of the two men from Edmonton until they find Buffalo somewhere about the Salt Spring or perhaps nearer. The two Indians who arrived yesterday went away in the afternoon a small party of Stone Indians I believe of the Eagle tail band arrived they left four nights coming and appear to have brought very little.

7th Friday/ The same fine weather still continues. The little Hunter and Baptiste Parisien the two men who arrived on Wednesday from Edmonton were this day to have been sent off to join Laventure and Guilbeau but they were not ready. The Stone Indians who arrived yesterday are again off

8th Saturday/ The weather still continues to be fine Baptiste Parissien and the Indian lea Hunter were sent off to join the other Hunters Laventure and Gilbeau, and a number of Beaver Hill Crees arrived. Hunger having succeeded in driving them from the woods towards the plains, they are now encamped at the foot of the Eagle Hills about fifty [62] tents strong and have there made a Buffalo Pound they crossed to the south side of the River shortly after the Blackfeet scouting party had Rob[b]ed our people and the same party in returning Rob[b]ed the Crees of a number of their Horses and now that they know where they are it would not much surprise me if a strong party would soon come down to attack the Cree camp in revenge for the wanton massacre by them committed last fall These crees now arrived brought a little Grease but no Furs worth mentioning and they had the Rat Darts that were in the fall lent to Bazil Soutur a worthless half breed that gambled them away nor would it surprise me if he has done away with the Steel Traps that were lent him in like manner, He was then with a more Industrious & honest man Francois Amiotte, and I expected something of a good hunt from them The Rat Darts Mr Harriotte took from them. A starving tent of Crees came from below and with them came the Bad Meats wife and Mr Bird's Sister –

Jan' 9 Sunday/ The Crees who arrived yesterday went away and with them the Pipe Stem an Indian who came along with Mr Bird the 27th ulto The Bad Meats wife and Mr Birds Sister remains here their husbands are gone to the Strong woods to hunt Beaver and when here last some steel Traps were lent them – in the evening Gaudrie a freeman and his son arrived completely starving. They brought a few Furs and slept four nights coming here from their camp

10th Monday/ The Weather is cold and a little snow fell. Gendron traded the few furs belonging to himself and brought some others belonging to his brother in law Antoine Chatelain to whom a carrot of Tobacco was sent in debt what he had of old being now paid

11th Tuesday/ This was a very cold stormy day in the morning Goudrie and Son went away and I gave them a little Provision to take with them – nothing further worth notice occurred –

12th Wednesday/ The same cold weather continues and I cannot comprehend what detains the people gone to the Stone [63] Indian camp or the others gone with the Hunters:

Jan' 13 Thursday/ The weather continues equally cold and nothing particular occurred here: the few men at the Fort are always occupied in the same manner, Pevise? And Goure chopping and

hauling firewood and Barard in the Kitchen. Hodgson is now getting better and this day made a washing tub.

14th Friday/ The cold weather continues. In the evening Mr Rocque his son Mallette Lavalle and McDuff arrived from the Stone Indian camp starving. The Stone Indians instead of being as expected able to supply our people with fresh Meat were completely starving themselves and our people while they remained there starved also six of them parted with Mr Rocque at the Ash Island and are gone after our Buffalo Hunter –

15th Saturday/ The weather is become a little mild and in the evening Ballendine and Primeault arrived and brot each a small load of Meat, they are from the plain where Bourassin is alone Hunting this side of the other hunters, and their arrival was very opportunely we being entirely out of fresh Meat these four days back; they say Buffalo are abundant but none of our Hunters kill many Late at night Duboise Fraser and Breyere also arrived with meat from the cree Hunters tent, They left Johnson this morning and the weather being very cold and he not very vigorous I fear he may get froze

16th Sunday/ This morning Mallette Lavalle Ballendine Primeault McDugg and Arpin were sent to the Hunters tent the latter two they being useless to remain there asked the others to return with loads of Meat. Johnson who yesterday remained behind arrived and without sustaining any injury –

17th Monday/ This morning the three men who arrived yesterday morning were [64] sent off to the Hunters tent for meat Johnson wanted to remain on pretence of the weather being too cold but I gave him to understand that as he was paid the wages of a man I expected he also would do the duty of one in consequence of which he went off with the others –

Jan^y 18 Tuesday/ Fine mild weather four men arrived from Green Lake their ninth day from there and with them came Laverdure the man in charge of our Hunters employed on the Green Lake Track whom he says killed very few animals and he also says that animals are very scarce where they are but towards Green lake itself the people coming from there inform us that animals are abundant and that if there were Hunters there they might kill plenty, but unfortunately it appears that no Hunters have as yet been sent from Green Lake though it is now upwards of a month since I was given to understand in a letter from Mr Keith that he had given directions to that effect and until they come the transportation of Pemican cannot go on. The people of this place are literally doing nothing. But was I to send a party of them with pemmican they would require all the Provisions collected by the Hunters employed by this place and nothing would remain for the Green Lake people and without provisions they would certainly eat the Pemican, The Soulteaux (Bad Meat) arrived and has killed a Red Deer near hand –

19th Wednesday/ The weather was remarkably mild for the season and in the morning the four Green Lake men returned loaded with each three bags Pemican and Lavendure will follow in course of the night – Bad Meat and his wife went for the Red Deer he yesterday killed two parties of cree arrived both starving and the most miserable objects I ever saw one party is from the same quarter where Gendron and Chattlen whom they left starving and did they themselves not arrive tonight I scarcely think they could survive till tomorrow [65] the other two in number are from the same camp where the other Chattlen is and he has been reduced to eat all his dogs and was nearly starved to death when they left him, we gave them all a dram , and what they stood much more in need of some meat but sparingly being apprehensive that they get too much they might overload their weak stomachs and become sick

Jan^y 20th Thursday/ The weather continues much the same and at early hours in the evening McLea McKenzie Gustavus and Spence arrived from the Hunters tent with small loads of Meat – and shortly after them came Lafrance whom I kicked out of the Houses and ordered off immediately. They were though the roads are good nearly four days coming from the place where Mallette and Lavalle slept the night they left him on monday and it was partly on account of his present deleteriousness In having remained behind the others and partly on account of former misbehavior while with Mr Rocque at the Stone Indian camp I turned Lafrance out of the House

21st Friday/ The remainder of the people who arrived last night were sent back to the Hunters tent and part of the Indians who arrived on Wednesday went off some of them are going to the Beaver hill camp and others have returned to the place whence they came, In the evening the Belly and another of our Hunters arrived they brought some Meat for their families and greatly complain of the people Fraser Stoken and Yartin sent with them to haul the meat to the camp and say that mallette along would perform more labour than all them –

2nd Saturday/ The Hunters with their families returned to the camp and word was sent to Fraser Stoken and Yartin to come home with a load of Meat and McLea McKenzie Gustavus and Spence will remain there In the forenoon Mallette and Lavalle arrived loaded with Meat and with them came Bourasin Dagenais and Goulet and in the evening Ballendine Primeault Bapt Parrissien and [66] the Indian Lad Hunter arrived all loaded with Meat The Latter I had sent for on account of his wife who for some time back has been affected with a brain fever and is now become quite crazy she is a half breed woman and though brought up by Indians was one of the most cleanly and industrious of this place and perhaps approaches mallettes wife the most of any here –

Jan^y 23rd Sunday/ This morning Mallette and Lavalle being the two in whom most confidence can be placed were sent to remain with the Hunters – The former with the Cree Hunters and the latter with the half breeds Laventure and Gillbeau Hithertoo much meat has been wasted at the Hunters tents and scarcely a good piece came back here owing in a great measure to the carelessness of the people remaining with the Hunters but in these two men confidence may be

place and they will not only be industrious and carefull themselves but prevent the others also while at the tent from wasting and as one entire animal will be delivered to each man coming home I can easy detect whether they waste any or nor, with Lavalle Primeault was sent as an assistant and McLea Mackenzie Gustavus & Spence will remain with mallette – Ballendine Dagenais Goulet and Bapt Parrissien were sent to the Cree Hunters tent for Meat – Antoine Chattlen arrived a most miserable object completely starving he was along with his brother in law and it is now upwards of a month since they killed an animal and the little Provisions I gave Goudrie in going away from here is all the palatable food they tasted since they have ate all their Dogs and for some time back had nothing but old Leather to eat to Anotine Chattlin himself I gave a palatable meal but he had not strength to return to his family who are on their way here along with Goudrie in consequence of which I sent Goure with a little meat before them.

24th Monday/ Very find mild weather In the afternoon Dubois an old Fort des Prairie man Breyer [illegible] Johnson and [67] Mr Rocques Sone arrived with each a load of meat their fourth day from the Hunters tent, they left this place on Monday last and were four days going there though the others Lavalle and mallette who had gone off on Sunday had got there on the forenoon of their second day from here and I am told that the distances is but two small days march. I was so much vexed at these people for their deleteriousness that I abused old Dubois and gave him and Bruyere (Breyere) each a slap in the face and sent the whole except mr. Rocques Sone back immediately without allowing them even to untackle their Dogs – In the afternoon Geo Sutherland a half breed settler on the South branch River arrived and with him came some Indians brought seventeen Beaver Skins but the others nothing Goudrou and family also arrived and with him came Antoine Chattlen family all completely starving and I never saw more miserable objects Yesterday I got information of their being near hand scarcely able to crawl and had sent a man with some meat before them and it was high time, had they not got that timely assistance last night it is probable they ere now would be all corps, and there is still an old woman and his daughter I immediately sent Bourgard with a little meat to relieve them in the event of its not being already too late.

Jan^y 25th Tuesday/ Fine mild weather Bourgard returned he found the old woman and her daughter still alive but not able to walk but some broth that he made revived them and they arrived here in the evening. Bourassin at long last went off *En famille* and it was high time, one of the Indians the Black Lip that came with Geo Sutherland gave me a note delivered to him last fall by Mr Allen McDonell of Fort Pelly mentioning simply their safe arrival there but nothing as to prospects either good or bad indeed it was then too early to form a good judgement –

26th Wednesday/ Still fine weather Geo Sutherland and the Indian [68] who came with him all but the Skunk whom I kept here went off and Mr Prudens son also he is now gone to join Bourassa it being an old saying and of no small truth that Birds of a feather flock together –

Jan^y 27th Thursday/ This was a very boisterous day notwithstanding which the Soulteaux Bad meat and the Skunk were sent to Fort Pelly with letters. It is long since I wished to open a communication with that place and there was an understanding as we left York Factory between Mr McDonell and myself that he would send here in December but as he has not done it I concluded that he could not find a Guide and it is the want of a Guide that has prevented my sending long ere now –

28th Friday/ The weather is cleared up but is still cold – The little Hunters Father in law and four Stone Indians arrived. The latter brot a little Provisions and towards evening Ballendine Dagenais Goulet and Baptiste Parrissien arrived and with them came Fraser Stocken Yartin and Lafrance with each a load of meat the latter four I sent back immediately this being their fifth day from the Hunters tent and they remained a day there Idle –

29th Saturday/ Some more snow fell and the wind was high and cold from the W The Stone Indians went off and Dagenais Goulet and Baptiste Parrissien returned to the Hunters tent for Meat Ballendine remains here sick but I sent goure our wood cutter for Meat in place of him – From the Stone Indians now gone off we understand that the Plain tribes have killed another Stone Indian and have robed the Crees of seven more Horses –

30th Sunday/ A little more snow fell and the four men whom on Monday last were sent for Meat returned with moderate loads and with came a Cree Indian from whom we learn that the Beaver Hill crees and a great many Stone Indians are encamped close by our hunters he also informs us that there are no animals near that place and considering the manner in which they were hunted I will believe it our own people informs us that there is very little meat [69] remaining at the Hunters tent.

Jan^y 31st Monday/ Cold weather, this morning the people who yesterday arrived with meat returned to the Hunters tent and with them Mr Harriott, he is gone to reprimand our Hunters who don't comport themselves as they ought and to get them separated from the other Indians also to purchase some dogs from the Stone Indians or Crees who are encamped there. Ballendine still continues sick and Bourgard is chopping fire wood in lieu of Goure whom in the place of Ballendine is gone for Meat he has Ballendines Dogs –

Feb^y 1st Tuesday/ The weather is still cold Three Stone Indians arrived from above they inform us that the whole or nearly the whole of the Stone Indians are now encamped together with the Crees on the north side of the River and all starving a sure proof that this will be no year of Provisions – nor while all the Indians remain together can they subsist themselves otherwise than in a starving state from hand to mouth and they are too much in dread to separate – the Slave tribe have now this winter killed two Stone Indians and have robed the Crees of thirty Horses which has created such an alarm among the whole that it has caused them all to resort to

the same place. Goulet one of the men who went off on Saturday for meat has this day returned sick and he has a sickly appearance. In the evening a Cree Indian arrived from the South side of the South Branch River he slept seven nights coming and is the first of the tribe I have this season seen that appears to be thankful for the attention generally shewn them – In general though they bring nothing they consider it as their due –

2nd Wednesday/ The Stone Indians and Cree that arrived yesterday returned to their respective place of residence and Dagenais Baptist Parrissien Goure Yartin and Stocken arrived with each a small load of meat and with them came Laventure who I understand has killed four Cows the whole [70] of which he has killed for himself he has then killed two which he also kept and has given nothing but Bulls for the use of the Fort I did not see him for he did not come into the House and I would not send for him, but I sent word to Lavalle by the people going off tomorrow desiring him if it was true as reported here that Laventure had reserved all the cows he killed for himself to take no Bulls from him until he had first given the meat of six cows for the use of the Fort that being the number it is said he reserved for himself, In the evening Mr Harriott arrived he found the Hunters encamped along with Bourassin and in consequence did not go to the Stone Indians camp from whom the Hunters had separated of their own accord and Mr Harriott has sent them in a different direction from whence the Stone Indians are going, towards the Bears Padling Lake & I am glad of it for the Stone Indians were most troublesome to our people stationed with the Hunters, and robed them of part of the meat that was scaffolded, both at the Cree hunters tent and Laventures and the Hunters repeated to Mr Harriott that the Stone Indians threaten to rob our people going in that direction of the whole of their things if not kill them and they are sufficiently ill disposed to perform what they threaten of all the Indians I hitherto dealt with on either side of the mountains I consider the Stone Indians as the most vicious and worst disposed toward the whites: this may be partly owing to the nature of the beast, and it may also arise and it is most likely does form their having so little of any kind to trade as not to feel the benefit form an intercourse with the whites most of the other Indians do and they are so much in want that they take advantage of every opportunity to get supplies either by fair means or by force as they find themselves strong or weak and if they could do it with impunity or could have any chance of success without endangering themselves I have no hesitation in believing they would openly attack the Fort not so much for the sake of killing the [71] whites as for plunder and so little benefit is derived from keeping up this establishment attended with so much danger that it is my opinion it would be good policy to abandon it at least for a time, it is then the Stone Indians would feel the consequence of their violence long continued toward the whites –

Feb^y 3^d Thursday/ The people who arrived yesterday with Meat went off again this morning all except Stocken who unknown to me remained under pretence of sickness and as far as can be judged from appearance it is nothing but pretence for he has as good an appetite and appears to be in as good health as any man at the Fort but he is a [illegible] of a voyageur at best and in winter is not worth the victual he eats –

4th Friday/ Antoine Chattlin with his family went off to the Beaver Hill Cree camp also the little Hunter with his sick wife and his own father and mother in law followed the two women who arrived the 25th ulto still remain here also Gendron and family nor without dogs can he stir and he has none of his own. The wife and three children of Bad meat gone to Fort Pelly with letters also remain and another women sister to Mr Bird with her three children which with a sick woman of Antoine Chattlin still remaining here make of supernumeries I believe eighteen and there is beside them and Parrissien family fed by Laventure thirty six men women and children of our own dependent on the store for Provisions –

5th Saturday/ This afternoon Fraser Dubois Farron Arpin and Johnson arrived with good loads of Meat, they complain much of the Stone Indians who are all over the plains in great numbers and have robed these people now arrived of part of their loads they have also taken meat from the scaffold at Laventures tent to which place about a hundred tents of these vagabonds are said to have gone to encamp and it [72] is supposed they will take the whole of the meat remaining there another party it is said to have gone after our Cree Hunters and if so it would appear as if done purposely to make us starve like themselves a small party of Stone Indians are encamped along with Bourassin and Mr Prudens Son and it appears that two of our men Lafrance and Breyere have deserted their duty and remained there in these freemens tents but what their intentions finally are is not yet known. I can scarcely think that these freemen will continue to harbor them much less have encouraged them to leave the service at yet both is possible there being no crime that a half breed is not capable of committing.

Feb^y 6th Sunday/ Fine clear weather. In the afternoon five men arrived from Green Lake but one of them has neither dogs nor a sledge consequently to have sent him was duplicitous as he will not be able to bring a load in returning the Hunters that Mr Heron was to employ is not yet upon the track nor do I now expect them but our own Hunters have a little Meat collected at their tents which will enable us to send all the Pemican now remaining here in one trip in consequence of which I gave loads to the four Green Lake men who had sledges and also to three of our own men, Had it not been for the scarcity of Provisions along the communication, the whole of the Pemican might and would have been rendered at Green Lake long since

7th Monday/ This morning seven men loaded with each three bags of Pemican were sent to Green Lake and two others with Loudre[?] sent for Meat, In the afternoon five men arrived with meat and with them came Mr Rocques Son and McDuff the latter appears to be sick they are all from Laventure's tent and complain much of the Stone Indians who have robed them of part of the meat but considering the starving state in which all the Stone Indians are I am surprised at their not having taken the whole that they took part of it many of them are so reduced as not to be able to walk and the whole of them have had recourse to [73] Dogs flesh for sustenance a rare instance among the Stone Indians, our two deserters Lafrance and Breyere have left Bourassin and are gone to the Stone Indians under the protection of Quatre Centes –

Feb^y 8th Tuesday/ This morning three men were sent to the Hunters tent and two others to where Lavalle is he has remained with Laventure and two others I keep him to go to Green Lake tomorrow –

9th Wednesday/ very fine mild weather two men were sent to Green Lake with letters for Isle a la Cross and with them went the woman of whom mention is made the 24th Nov^r she will at Isle a la Cross wait the arrival of her husband a western Caledonia man Francois Morissette. Late in the evening the two Indians sent the 24th ult^o with letters to Fort Pelly arrived and brought back the letters. They got discouraged at the depth of the snow and did not proceed more than half way when they found an Indian Camp where they remained a couple of days and then returned and I was both displeased and disappointed at their having returned it being of consequence in the present scarcity of Provisions that Mr Macdonald should be made acquainted with it and there is no other Indian that knows the Road –

10th Thursday/ Very fine mild weather two men Salois and Bapt Iroquois arrived with letters from Edmonton and the same scarcity of Provisions prevails there as here with equally little hopes of procuring enough – Mr Rowand did not add a single ounce to the Stock of Provisions on hand when he wrote me in December and there was then Pounded Meat and Grease to make fifty bags of Pemican with an surplus of Grease for fifty more and there is even for the requisition of English River alone 108 bags of Pemican still wanting independent of the necessary supply for Cumberland House Norway House Split Lake &c and what will be required for the craft passing in the Spring (not a few of the [74] people of the Columbia and Lesser Slave Lake come this way as reported) to York Factory –

Feb^y 11th Friday/ The two men sent on Monday to Laventures tent arrived with some meat and with them came Lavalle and Primeault who were remaining there collecting the Meat, Laventure also is come and for the present is given over hunting. The Fat cows he killed and reserved for himself were altogether taken by the Stone Indians I again this evening engaged the Soulteaux Bad Meat to accompany one of our own men to Fort Pelly with letters and they will be off in the morning –

12th Saturday/ The weather still continues to be very fine and mild This morning two men were sent to Green lake with letters conveying information of the same scarcity of Provisions being prevalent at Edmonton as here and I intended to send to Fort Pelly also but the Guide I engaged last night would budge this morning in consequence of which I sent Primeault the man that was to accompany him and Lavalle to the Hunters tent to bring either Antoine Chattelin or the Belly one of our hunters both of whom are supposed to know the way to Fort Pelly – and sent the Skunk to the Beaver Hill Cree and Stone Indian camp with some Tobacco and a message apprizing them to be upon their guard Mr Rowand having written me tht the Slave tribes intended to pay them a hostile visit in February and in the evening the Bad meat came in of his

own accord offered his services to go to Fort Pelly at which though I pretended to make light of it I was much pleased it not being certain whether Antoine Chattelen or the Belly can be prevailed upon to go much less that they know the road –

13th Sunday/ The weather continues equally mild and fine as usual and in the morning Bapt Iroquois and the Bad meat took their departure to Fort Pelly with letters which I hope will this time reach their destination Mr Rowand I fear may not be please at my having sent his man [75] but I had no other alternative than either to send or to wait the arrival of some others there being no able man here now and the season is so far advanced that a very short time may be of consequence besides I am altogether uncertain when any of the others may come we ought to have heard from the Hunters on Thursday and I have been daily expecting them since then and now from the long delay can form no Idea of when they may be expected and I apprehend that their long delay may be owing to some untoward circumstance or another. The Stone Indians I am told are badly disposed towards them and it is not certain but the Slave Indians may have fallen in with them. –

Feb^y 14th Monday/ A Cree Indian and his wife arrived from beyond the South branch River but brought nothing and like the others they are straving. I scarcely think there is a more miserable set of people than these crees on earth –

15th Tuesday/ very fine mild weather, towards evening Primeault and Bapt Parissien arrived from our Hunters whom they left safe. The Buffalo it is said are now all gone off towards the south and not one is to be seen in the direction our Hunters are in. one of our hunters the Belly shortly after Mr Harriott had seen them deserted and is gone to the Beaver Hill Cree camp and the other two for we have now but two remaining are going towards the Strong Woods in hopes of finding Moose and Red Deer – A number of Crees and two Stone Indians arrived but they brought nothing but a few wolf skins to trade – they inform us that the Stone Indians are now separating into several parties and some are recrossing the River The [illegible] take them had they remained on this side of the River where they might have lived equally well, we would now have plenty of meat. Bourassin and M Pilon[?] are with our hunters and do no good there I am told that Lafrance is with them but intends returning to the Stone Indian camp I omitted in its proper place to state that yesterday two men [76] arrived from Green Lake bearing the Athabasca general express

Feb^y 16th Wednesday/ the same fine weather continues: the remaining part of our people who went for meat arrived and the whole of the Crees and Stone Indians who arrived yesterday took their departure. All but one man the Cow whom I retain as a hunter and he will be off tomorrow along with the hun who is likewise agreed as a hunter. I was not a little surprised in the evening to see Bapt Iroquois the man who with the Bad meat went off to Fort Pelly the 13th arrive – The Bad Meat remained at Sutherlands House and would proceed no further: however a young man who say he knows the road having just now arrived we shall make another attempt tomorrow –

17th Thursday/ This morning our two Hunters engaged yesterday with 14 men and Goudres Son went off to hunt about the little mountain beyond the South branch it being supposed that there are animals there and Primeault with an Indian was sent to Fort Pelly with letters – and towards evening our three men who on the 7th were sent to Green Lake arrived their fourth day from there. Mr Bird and Ballendine were sent to the Beaver Hill Cree camp specially to hire Hunters we having now no other recourse than to engage a number of Hunters and by that means endeavor to get a stock of fresh meat collected before the Buffalo altogether leave us The Hunters that will be engaged by Mr Bird will along with Ballendine send to the Eagle Hills where it is supposed Buffalo are still numerous and return here himself along with an Indian –

18th Friday/ The weather continues equally fine as usual. The three men who arrived last night were sent to join our Hunters across the South branch River and towards sun set I was surprised to see Primeault arrived the Indian accompanying him deserted but another brother to the horn very opportunely arrived this evening and we shall give it a fourth and last trial tomorrow. The two men who came from Green Lake with the general express on the 14th were this day sent back [77] and by them I sent the second keg of Liquor requested by Mr Keith in his letter by old Douglas three men ought to remain here till the arrival of the general express from York Factory but it is uncertain when it may come and Mr Keith writes me that he is much in want of these two men and rather than distress him I myself will forward the express whenever it comes

Feb^y 19th Saturday/ The weather was more cold than yesterday in the morning Primeault accompanied by an Indian was again sent off with letters to Fort Pelly – and in the evening the four men sent to Green Lake on the 9th & 12th Inst arrived –

20th Sunday/ The weather was fine and mild and this being Sunday the four men who arrived yesterday were allowed to remain here reposing themselves –

21st Monday/ The weather is become more cold than for some time back. In the morning Mallette and Lavalle were sent to see what our two Hunters across the River were doing: and there of the four men who arrived on Saturday were sent to the other Hunters across the South branch River. In the afternoon the Bad meat who on the 13th inst had with Baptiste Iroquois been sent with letters to Fort Pelly but refused to pass Sutherland's House arrived. His wife and children remained here since then and he informs us that this is the fifth day since two men bearers of the York Packet had passed the Forks. They were then starving had ate two of their Dogs and were much reduced[?] the Indians gave them the side Ribs of a Moose Deer which was all they themselves had at the time – The bad Meat himself did not see them he being hunting otherwise he would have brought them straight to the Fort by a beaten track there is across and on getting this information I immediately equipped two men and sent them with Provisions before them two men with directions not to sleep but travel night and day until they met them: They

however proceeded but a few miles down the River when they met them and both parties [78] arrived in the evening. These two me are Tessier and Brown and they have not starved as reported by the Indian but in passing at the Indian camp they represented themselves as much more in want than they really were thinking the Indians would be more disposed to supply them – The Express left York Factory 20th December Norway House Jan^y 5 Cumberland House 7th Feb^y – it brings no very particular news further than that the whole of the valuable property remaining En Depot at Norway House was reduced to ashes and the Fort burnt: this took place as the absence of the Gentleman in charge Mr Alexander Robertson ho had paid a visit to his fishery –

Feb^y 22nd Tuesday/ The weather is become rather more cold than usual & nothing particular occurred –

23rd Wednesday/ very mild weather but nothing particular occurred –

24th Thursday/ the weather still continues to be fine four of the men who on the 17th were sent with our new engaged Hunters arrived all starving since their departure from here they did not see so much as a fresh track and they have ranged the country as far as the Moose woods. There they found some Indians (Crees) also starving The Hunters with the remainder of the men are gone to another camp of Indians further on in hopes of getting some thing to eat being already too weak and reduced to undergo the fatigue of returning without eating, this was like a Death blow to us all and our sole hopes now remain on the Hunters that may be engaged by Mr Bird and the two gone to hunt in the Strong woods. Laventure no longer hunts for us and he this morning went off along the bad Meat and is proved to be as great a scamp as most of his countrymen last Sunday he got drunk and was very unruly threatening to kill I at one time by the assistance of Messrs Harriott and McDonald turned him out of the Fort thinking to leave him there, but as he did not appear to be very drunk and might climb over Fort Pickets and perhaps perform what he had threatened I got him tied and clapped in the Ice House where he had time [79] to reflect and cool himself and though it was Sunday I sent Burrard to make a pair of handcuffs which I found fitted well and they were very opportunely made for on getting sober Laventure got loose and out of the Ice House and about midnight came into the Hall as he said to surrender himself and apologize for his conduct – I immediately handcuffed him but as he did resist and seemed sorry and said he had no recollection of anything he either said or did I loosened him but told him though I forgave what was past he must no longer consider this Fort as his residence though he may when he thinks proper come with meat to his mother and Brothers –

Feb^y 25th Friday/ This morning mallette and Lavalle arrived from the Hunters with each a load of Meat. These Hunters wametic and Fishers Ribs have killed six animals and complain much of the people all arctic land expedition men stationed with them whom they say destroy nearly half the meat and leave great parts of the other half where the animals are killed and they loudly ask

to have them recalled and others sent in their place If this is really true and I shall know it from the Hunters themselves when they come I shall charge the whole of the meat to account of the expedition and request Captain Franklin to charge it to the private accounts of the individuals concerned. A small band of stone Indians arrived but do not appear to have brought much of anything however as an encouragement for others to come they were indulged with a small present of Liquor and they drank remarkably quiet. In the afternoon four men arrived from Gree Lake bearing letters from Mr Keith and late at night a couple of Crees came and like most of the others, starving

26th Saturday/ This morning the green Lake men were sent back with a thousand pounds of Grease and a keg of Gun Powder requested by Mr Keith, a few more Stone Indians arrived and also a couple of crees came from the woody Hill but neither of them brought any thing worth mentioning however being anxious to get [80] the Stone Indians to make Provisions and those now here being the best of the tribe that resort to this place I indulged them with a little Liquor. A little snow fell but the weather continues mild

Feb^y 27th Sunday/ The whole of the Stone Indians and the two crees went away and late in the evening Mr Bir and an Indian (the little Duck arrived – Mr Bird has engaged four Hunters the best at the camp, and one of our former hunters, the Belly who some time ago deserted. They are to hunt in the Eagle Hills and Ballendine remains there with them it is said that Buffalo are still abundant there –

28th Monday/ This morning Lavalle and Gendron with their families and Mallette were sent to our Strong wood Hunters the two former are to remain there collecting the meat of such amounts as may be killed and mallette to come back with the four men remaining there of whom the Hunters complain. In the evening the Hunters sent off the 17th with the remainder of the men accompanying them also arrived starving they killed but two animals during their long excursion and report that they have never known animals to be so scarce they have seen several Indians all of whom are starving –

March 1st Tuesday/ This being the first of march and the close of Feby the time appointed for the general express from all quarters to reach this place I have notwithstanding as yet had no accounts from either Lesser Slave Lake, Athabasca River or Fort Pelly District, This day forwarded the express to Cumberland House from whence it will continue on to York Factory

2nd Wednesday/ very fine mild weather and nothing particular occurred.

3rd Thursday/ The same mild weather continues and the Hunters who arrived on Monday are again gone off and will join the others engaged by Mr Bird to whom the Duck also goes off with Goudre there and with them were sent seven men Dubois Arpin Yartin McIntosh Fraser

Johnston and Stocken four of them are to return as soon as they can get a load each and the others will remain [81] with Ballendine.

Mar^h 4th Friday/ The fine weather still continues and this morning Hodgson and Bapt Parrisien were sent down to the Pines to prepare wood for making kegs for Graese it being now certain we shall have no Pounded Meat to make it into Pemican -

5th Saturday/ at daylight this morning Salois Baptiste Iroquois Guilbeau and Goure were sent off to Edmonton the two last I sent as some kind of atonement for having detained the others so long

6th Sunday/ The fine weather still continues, Mallette Arpin McKenzie Gustavus and Spence arrived from the Strong wood Hunters and have each brought a small load of Meat and from the quantity brought here it appears that there is too much truth in what the Hunters reported that these people have wasted much meat out of six Buffalo and four moose Deer that the Hunter kills there was but 1900 lbs whereas there ought to have been at least 5000 lbs such is the gain made by the Company by having dismissed nearly the whole of the good and faithful servants they had in the service and there were many both Europeans and Canadians: at present there is not what may be called a real good man at Carlton, Mallette the best of them being now getting much the wear and him Ballendine and Baptiste Parrisien are the only other that can be called even tolerable, as for the others one good man would in winter perform more labour than the best three of them, and from being bad they will continue to be getting worse that emulation so common to voyageurs is now become altogether extinct, and exists nowhere nor is the time far distant when our bought experience will have taught the Company that it would have been both cheaper and less expensive to have allowed a little more wages to those who would have been interested for their service few of those now retained whether European or Canadians think of the duty they owe their employers further than to avoid committing such glaring faults as will subject them [82] to be fined, if they so far succeed it is all they aim at much has been said about the expenses attending families but it is in great measure altogether Ideal and the feeding of the people of Carlton though there are but few families and none large will this year cost the company more than wood suffice for three times the number even admitting they all had families of such people as was common all over the country when the coalition took place - this year we have eleven Hunters employed and it is the number of Hunters and not the animals killed that constitute the expenses but was there a few interested careful men to place with these Hunters with but even tolerable men to haul the meat to the Fort any four of our present eleven Hunters would provide us more meat than we would require This may appear paradoxical but is nonetheless true and will be self evident to any one acquainted with the Indian country, with good men every thing is possible while with bad men the best laid plans generally fail in the execution and the summer voyage so much talked of is but trifling and of short duration in Comparison to the winter labour

March 7th Monday/ The weather continues still very fine about twenty Stone Indians arrived they appear to have a little provisions and as encouragement they got a little Liquor – but when they do get it a few of them seem much to care for it and yet it is the first they invariably ask. In the evening Primeault and the Indian accompanying him to Fort Pelly arrived completely starving having ate nothing during the last five days. They were not at Fort Pelly but returned from the montagne des Tondre⁴⁸ where was an Indian camp also starving they there found Indian on their way here with letters and with them exchanged dispatches not being able to proceed further for want of Provisions, when they left this place I but scantily supplied them for they could not carry much on their backs but I gave them ammunition and Tobacco to trade from the Indians along the road but all the Indians they saw were themselves starving. Mr McDonells letter is dated 30th Jan^y at which time he had no provisions nor any prospects [83] of getting any. The Stone Indians being starving all over –

March 8th Tuesday/ This morning Mallette was sent with ammunition to our strongwood Hunters and Mclea Mckenzie Gustavus and Spence to join the rest of the people with our Buffalo Hunters whom according to the report of the Stone Indians after trading what little they brought about four hundred pounds of Pounded Meat went away and promise to return again before the snow melts but no dependence whatever can be placed in what they promise, and I can scarcely give a better instance of their poverty to which they are reduced than by remarking that they are great smokers and have had no tobacco since last Fall few of them purchasing any nearly the whol of them having taken nothing but ammunition in pay for what they brought.

9th Wednesday/ It snowed all day and in the evening five crees arrived from somewhere below and they are the first I have yet seen since my arrival here that do not complain of having starved: they however brought no Provisions and very little of any thing else and something to eat was the first thing they asked –

10th Thursday/ A Stone Indian and his wife arrived they were seven day coming and are from the Elbow on the South branch River where they say Buffalo are abundant but none of the Indians in that quarter have any Provisions nor have they a Pound but hunt the Buffalo and kill them with bow and arrows –

11th Friday/ The crees who arrived the ninth went off and nothing particular occurred here. Hodgson is constantly employed preparing Keg wood, Baptiste Paressian and Gulet still continue sick and Bourgard and Pevin are occupied as usual chopping and hauling firewood –

12th Saturday/ A couple of crees of a very meager aspect arrived from below like most of their countrymen starving one of them is from the man of many wives one of our fall [84d] Hunters but neither of them brought any thing

⁴⁸ Touchwood Hills

Mar^h 13th Sunday/ The Stone Indian and wife who arrived on Thursday all now gone off, and Farroso arrived from our Green Lake track hunters; They are killing very few animals and are now leaving the track and going towards Lak de Iroquois

14th Monday/ Five of the men gone off the 3rd inst arrived loaded with meat, they say that animals are abundant and that the Hunters killed twenty but that the Stone Indians who are encamped near hand robed the people of part of the meat and was very near killing some of them – two of the Hunters the Belly and another have deserted and the others have recrossed the River and are now encamped on the North side about Pangmans old Fort In the evening Ballendine and three of the four men gone off on Friday arrived also from the same place This is their second and they brought tolerable good loads all excepting Gustavus. Ballendine says that he left seventeen animals on the scaffold and there were seven others three cows and four Bulls dead in the plains ready to be sent for, while on the South side of the River in the Eagle Hills the Stone Indians were very troublesome to our people took some of the meat from them and pillaged McIntosh and Johnston of part of their clothing but while Ballendine was along by himself no one molested him though daily in the habit of seeing Stone Indians the comported themselves well and the difference between McIntosh appears to have originated some years ago in an old quarrel at the Fort along with Ballendine came three Stone Indians of the walking band party, they came purposely to exculpate themselves and friends from having had any share in the pillaging of McIntosh and Johnson and say it was crees of the band called Poulin that perpetrated that deed, but whether it was crees or nor makes very little difference the Poulin Crees are a mixture of Stone Indians and crees and they partake much more of the nature of the Stone Indians than they do of Crees who though not much value to the company as hunters have long since proven themselves to [85] be the best disposed towards the whites of any Indians in the country. And as our Hunters are now in the direct track of all the Stone Indians that will be either coming or going from here I intend as a measure of security to send Mr Rocque to remain there he having much influence over the whole tribe and while he remains there I do not think they will attempt to annoy any and as the spring is the time they are usually the most troublesome it will be a certain means of ascertaining how far his influence goes –

Mar^h 15th Tuesday/ This morning Mr Rocque and Son accompanied by seven men went off to our Buffalo Hunters tent and the Stone Indians who arrived yesterday and also the crees who arrived the twelfth went off. Ballendine and the three men who came with him having performed the voyage expeditiously I allowed to remain _____ mallette McDuff Goucho Gendrons Son and Antoine Chattelen arrived from our strong wood Hunters the three former brought small loads of meat and the latter came for a sick woman remaining here since 24th Jan^y with them came also an old Cree Indian –

16th Wednesday/ This morning Mallette McLea McKenzie and Gustavus went off to our Buffalo Hunters tent the former to remain there and the others to return with a load of meat McDuff

was to have gone with them but on getting up I found he had remained on the pretence of sore eyes his is the most useless man we have here – and God knows there are others not worth much

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17th Thursday/ Hodgson continues as usual preparing staves for making kegs and Goulet being somewhat recovered was sent to cut hoops. Baptiste Parrissien who for some time past has remained here sick and McDuff were employed to cut out blocks of Ice for our Ice house. Antoine Chattelen Goudries Son and the old Indian that came with them returned to the Hunters tent and Mr Prudens Sone who since the 24th Jan^y has been with Bourassin arrived he brought a little [86] Pounded Meat

Mar^h 18th Friday/ being mild weather and the snow is nearly melted of the Top of the Houses and if it continues the Fort will soon be dry the people were employed as yesterday and in the afternoon two men arrived from Green Lake their fourth day Mr Keith is now there on a visit and he writes me that the Pemican sent there is far short of being weight but as he has weighed with steelyards perhaps not very good and it being seldom particularly without much care that any thing can be weighed with much nearly with Steelyards and as we weigh here with scales perfectly good and weights deduced from English brass weights I must still consider the weight as sent from here to have been good. These men inform us that our Hunters are no longer on the track and are gone towards Iroquois Lake and I will have to give them provisions from here to last them to Green Lake,

19th Saturday/ very fine warm weather Parrissien and McDuff were cutting large cakes of Ice to be put into the Ice House. In the morning the two Green Lake men went off on their return home loaded with each three bags of Pemican and about noon Lavallee arrived from the Strong wood Hunters tent he brought 460^{lb} meat the weightiest load brought here this season and in the evening eleven other men arrived from our Buffalo Hunter and among them were Mallette Gustavus and McKenzie who went off the 16th McLea has remained at the Hunters tent ____? Mallettes load weighed 460^{lb} Fraser and Dubois each had 330^{lb} but the others brought but very small loads and the whole weighed 3300^{lb} Fraser informs me that during the absence of Ballendine the Hunters killed fourteen animals which makes the stock at the tent always nearly the same a Stone Indian and his wife also arrived and brought a little pounded Meat say 15^{lb}

20th Monday/ The weather continues to be very fine Lavalle returned to the Hunters from whence he came and seven others went off to our Buffalo Hunters for meat the four [87] other men who arrived yesterday I allow to remain here they having performed the trip in four days and I consider it a good principal to encourage them to be expeditious had they exerted themselves so in winter we would not now have cause to dread a want of fresh Meat in the Spring. The Hunters tent is now three time the distance from here they were in winter when not less than eight and often ten days were taken to ____? a trip The Stone Indians also are gone off and McDuff who as yet has rendered no service whatever to the Fort I sent off along with the others

goine to the Buffalo Hunters Mrs Pruden this day spoke to me about her son and expressed a wish that he might be allowed to remain at the Fort to assist her in making sugar, but to this I could not consent, but told her that in consideration of herself and her other children a fine family – I would so far relax as not to hurry him off and provided he kept quiet & out of my way I would be as well satisfied if he went off in ten days hence as now – She seems to apprehend he has no wish to go and see his too indulgent Father and will not be in the way in spring –

Mar^h 21st Monday/ This morning mallette Fraser McKenzie and Gustavus went off for meat, Goulet and Parrissien were chopping Ice and putting snow in the Ice house and Hodgson is sick Mallettes wife was delivered of a still born child. In the evening The Horse and Mr Birds brother in law arrived from the Hunters Camp the former we considered as one of our best Hunters and always concluded on his being the last that would leave us but were disappointed and I conclude that no dependence can be placed in any of them the Horn is come home on pretence of sore eyes –

22nd Tuesday/ Pevin Goulet and Parrissien were employed putting water in the Ice House so as to make the snow form into a compact piece of Ice. Two cree children of the Crane arrived they brought a few furs which they traded and went [88] off immediately –

Mar^h 23rd Wednesday/ People employed as yesterday. In the evening Laverdure the principal man stationed with the Green Lake track Hunters arrived, he says they kill very few animals which are very scarce and this added to their being no longer on the track is the cause of his having left them – I have been for some time back wishing to send for him – He brings information that Bazil Levellier one of the half breed who was here 3rd November died lately after a short sickness his mother and families are with our hunters –

24th Thursday/ This morning Laverdure was sent down to the Pines for a load of Staves and Goulet was sent to the same place to gather some Gum In the evening twelve men arrived from the Buffalo Hunters they all brought very small loads and McKenzie and McDuff brought but 392 lb between them scarcely what one man sought to bring at this time of year. The Hunters have killed fourteen more animals since last accounts from them, Both Gustavus and Arpin have remained there snow blind, but McLea who remained there last time came back

25th Friday/ This morning McIntosh and Dubois were sent to Green Lake loaded with each three bags of Pemican – Laverdure was also to have gone but as not arriving last night prevented it. Mr Prudens son will accompany them part of the way. He goes to our Hunters tent for grand mother and the children of his deceased uncle Bazil Levellier six men were sent to our Buffalo Hunters Spence also was to have gone but he remained here on pretence of being sick Laverdure and Goulet arrived from below the former loaded with staves and the latter brought a little Gum

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26th Saturday/ This morning four men went off to our Buffalo Hunters tent and McKenzie who changed with Laverdure to Green Lake with three bags of Pemican and with him went Mr Prudens son it being a mistake on me to note that he went off with the others who went off yesterday – [89]

Mar^h 27th Sunday/ The weather has been rather cold for some time back and still continues so and yet swans have been seen here the 22nd and 23rd. The people coming from the Hunters tent saw both Swans Geese and Ducks

28th Monday/ The weather is cloudy and is become very mild Hodgson and Goulet were employed sawing Heading for Kegs and Pevin and Parrissien putting more Ice in the Ice House two men arrived from Green Lake with letters on their way coming they saw swans and inform us that a number of our crees has lately been there with Provisions and also some Furs and from them Mr Heron got one of the Pipe Stems of the Feathers Blackfeet Chief which he sent me I requested him in winter to get that pipe stem from those Indians, that conformable to a desire of Mr Rowand it might be sent up to the right owner –

29th Tuesday/ The weather was equally mild as yesterday and more suny and at the Fort the people were employed in the same manner eight men arrived from the Buffalo Hunters they brought moderate loads and information that the Hunters have killed six more animals that Gustavus continues sick and that Yartin remains there also sick or rather under pretence of sickness for the plain truth is that if any reliance can be put in the message sent by Ballendine and which is confirmed by the other men form there that neither of them is sick but through laziness pretend to be and Ballendine having sent some medicines I sent him a whip as the best adapted to their sickness of any here –

30th Wednesday/ This morning the eight men who yesterday arrived, returned to the Hunters tent and three others arrived from there The weather is become now cold and I intended to have sent the two Green Lake men back but they remained as it were by accident and very fortunate for a small band of crees and two Stone Indians arrived and brought a sufficiency of Pounded Meat to make six bags of Pemican they were up as far as the Red Deers Hills but are now altogether Stone Indians and Crees encamped together in one camp at the Bull aux Cabries in Battle River They inform us that when they left the Red Deers Hills about fifteen [90] days ago the little Governor and Piche a half breed was with a large party of other Crees and their families gone to Green Lake heavily loaded with Provisions and also some Furs This Governor had already in course of the winter with provisions his party invariable furnish more provisions than all the rest of the Crees put together and I am glad he has so far obeyed the injunction sent from here as to return and it will be fortunate if, as the Indians now arrived here say, his party is large and heavily loaded it will make up in what the quantum sent from here is short of the requisition and with much less trouble and expences than if he had come here and we had to forward the pemmican to Green Lake Mr. Heron did not write concerning these Crees having been at Green

Lake but from his having sent me the Pipe Stem of the Feather Blackfoot Chief which was taken last Fall when the massacre was committed and which I know the little Governor to have had I knew that he had lately been at Green Lake but was Ignorant that so many others had been with him

Mar^h 31st Thursday/ The weather was very cold and a little snow fell The two Green Lake men took their departure with each 165^{lb} Pounded Meat which when perfectly dry I estimate at 150^{lb} and 120^{lb} Grease and the three men who arrived yesterday with Meat returned to the Hunters tent for another load and with them went Baptiste Parrissien who for some time back has remained here sick: Hodgson and Goulet are still employed sawing Heading for the Kegs they are making Bourgard threshing and Pevin hauling more Ice to put into the Ice House The Indians who arrived yesterday all went off and also some who came from below I omitted to mention that yesterday Mr Prudens sone arrived and with him fame the family of the deceased Bazil Levellier consisting of his mother and son a lad of about eighteen years old and another lad I suppose about a Dozen – for some time back they remained with our Hunters but will now they having no one to provide for them remain at the Fort –

April 1st Friday/ The weather was remarkably fine and we placed 10,000^{lb} of fresh Meat in the Ice House and have not much more remaining

2nd Saturday/ The weather is become more cold than yesterday and the whole of our people sixteen men in number who with Mr Rocque were at our Buffalo Hunters tent arrived and brought the unpleasant information that the whole of the Hunters had in the night time unknown to them deserted and considering they had no women with them I am more surprised at their having [91] remained so long than that they have left as it is long since they wished to be off and not a man came from there but what brought messages desiring many things to be sent them but as I was aware that their intentions were to leave us as soon as they had got the required supplies, clothing for their women and children I thought it best to send nothing but liquor which I dealt out more plentifully to them than to any other and deferred paying them for their hunt until the whole was over and they came to the Fort themselves and to this salutary precaution I finally believe we owe their having remained so long the Guns that were lent them to Hunt which they took with them but the animals they killed will more than pay for them and I have no doubt but they will come here in the spring to be settled with there being something due to them all excepting the Belly and the Cow who unfortunately were equipped on engaging them. The Horn after a stay of a few days here returned there and is now come with our people From the quantity of Meat 1800^{lb} brought here I find that there was but very little meat remaining at the tent which is a great disappointment for the people coming here from there invariably informed that there was much meat remaining at the scaffold and when last here expressed a doubt whether the whole could be brought in two trips even admitting good Loads were brought and this at the time rendered me more indifferent whether the Hunters went off or remained. Mr Rocque informs me that several of the Stone Indians came frequently to the camp

and always comported themselves well nor during Mr Rocques residence there did I hear complaints of Stone Indians from anyone. Mr. Rocque tells me that a party of Stone Indians and Cree are gone to steal the Horses of Edmonton some of the Crees lately down from there being well acquainted with the Haunts where the Horses are generally kept and act as Guides to the others. From the party of Crees and Stone Indians who came here on the 30th ult^o I understand that a war party of Stone Indians and Cree has lately been off but though I then thought they were more likely to have gone a horse stealing than to war I little suspected it was our own Horses they were gone to steal but imagined that they had some thoughts of finding people with Horses about the moon Portage as last year [92] and being disappointed in finding any there might proceed in search of some of the Plain Indian Horses among that party of Crees who came here was our little Hunter and I expected he could inform us truly of the intentions of the "soiz defiant" war party said to have gone off. But I find he is equally secret and but little better than the other Hunters he well know where this party of Horse thieves were going and he also knew it was the intention of the Stone Indians to come down here in the Spring when the Snow is dissolved and steal our horses also but did not inform us of it and it was Mr Rocque that just now communicated the knowledge of it to me and he learned it from his brother the nez croche who came purposely to the Hunters tent to inform him and desire him to send me word; I understand since that the little Hunter cautioned the Parrisiens to be cautious and have a good eye to their Horses But the Parrisiens themselves kept the whole secret from me and was it not for Mr Rocque our Horses might have been stolen –

April 3rd Sunday/ This being Easter Sunday the people got a dram and some potatoes which of late are seldom, but they frequently get wheat which with a Steel Mill is ground into tolerable good Flour which though the meal is none of the best enables them to live tolerably well The weather continues cold and in the evening we had an extraordinary strong Gale from the S.E.

4th Monday/ The weather is still cold Early this morning Mallette and five others went off to our Strong wood Hunters and when the sun was two hours high Laverdure with three others Gustavus Spence and McDuff took their departure to go to the other Hunters with whom Laverdure and passed the winter Laverdure himself was ready and had his Dogs tackled when Mallette went of but had to wait the others Ballendine was employed putting more Ice into the Ice house Berrard was employed working in the forge for there is so many Jobs now to be done that no other but him can do, that I will be under the necessity of dispensing with his services in the Kitchen and I have this day placed Gullette there as an assistant McLea Dagenais and Fraser were employed cutting and bringing home Hoops and the others as usual –

5th Tuesday/ Fine mild weather This morning Berrard Ballendine Dagenais and McLea were sent off to the Pines below to square timber for new Bastions those now here all excepting one being if any thing worse than none Stocken and Johnson [93] were employed cutting cord Wood for next year and Pevin being ill Fraser is hauling wood in his place many Geese were seen today

April 6th Wednesday/ Fine mild weather and a number of Geese and Swans are flying about. The three men who on the 25 & 26 ult^o were sent to Green Lake arrived they were seven days going and remained a day there Mr Heron writes me that by his steel-yards⁴⁹ one of the bags of Pemican weighed but 79^{lb} another 83^{lb} and the others from 86 to 89^{lb} but both McKenzie and McIntosh apprise me that he weighed them and took down the figures on a piece of paper which they were very particular in examining not one of them weighed less than 94^{lb} and but only two so little all the rest being 95 & 96^{lb} & most of them 96^{lb} but on them expressing their suspicion at them being so weighty I having told them they were but 90lb he told them there was 5 ^{1/3}lb to be deducted for a piece of board he weighed with each and this statement agrees so well with the weight sent from here making allowance for the difficulty of weighing correctly with Steelyard and that I am disposed to credit it and am not [illegible] everyone here being fully convinced that the whole of the Pemican sent from here were full 90^{lb} each and this day Mr Harriott certified the weights with which the Pemican was weighed with the Brass weights and found them exactly to tally and this last statement sent by Mr Heron confounds me altogether it being incomprehensible to me why he should send me a statement different to what he found them to weigh, or if the was conformable to his steelyard [illegible] why should he at the time of weighing them put down a statement different from what they actually did weigh. These people inform me that Mr Heron told them that about fifty of our crees has lately been there from whom he got fifty seven Beaver Skins independent of stone furs and a good trade of Provisions and he also told them he expected some stone Indians a matter that would not much surprise me and both Mr Harriott and Mr Rocque think it very likely that some of them may go there along with the Crees it being from their present camp equally near for them to go there as here and attended with less danger of meeting the plain Indians but if they do go this spring with the crees they [94] will once they know the road go by themselves afterwards and once the summer is over carry the contents of the Fort along with them, and when I gave up the crees to Green Lake it certainly was not my intention that encouragement should be held forth to the Stone Indians also to go Mr. Heron mentions nothing of this to me nor could I infer from his letter that he has seen a single one of our crees a circumstance that surprises me not a little it being known to him that the whole of them are debts at this place and which Debts in giving up the crees I requested him to get paid at Green Lake some of these crees were still at the Fort when our people arrived there and the people of the Fort told them it was then the seventh day since all [illegible] was stopped the people being required night and day to guard the Fort -

April 7th Thursday/ The weather continues very mild and the snow is melting fast Mallette Primeault and Yartin arrived from our strong wood Hunters they brought 770^{lb} Meat and say that animals are very scarce, the other two men Farron and Arpin have remained there waiting a load Dubois has commenced wood cutting and Bourgard has resumed the threshing business.

⁴⁹ A steelyard, or stilyard is a straight-beam balance with arms of unequal length. It incorporates a counterweight which slides along the longer arm to counterbalance the load and indicate its weight.

8th Friday/ The snow dissolves so fast that the Hills opposite begins to get bare an Indian Mr Birds brother in law has for some time past been collecting our Horses and this day found two that were not seen since last November and there is still one missing I this morning sent people for the others already collected but they did not bring all

9th Saturday/ The weather continues equally fine and many Geese Swans and Ducks are flying about sent the Indian and five men for the remainder of our Horses The Indian and one man to search for the one still missing and the four to return with those found yesterday In the evening they all returned but the Indian and brought three of the Horses the fourth one that Mr McDonald had to Green Lake they say is not able to walk. The four men who were squaring timber returned they squared fifty-two Logs and say that such timber as they require is very scarce I omitted to mention that either yesterday or the day before Mr P. Son and Bazil Leveiller son also went off I believe to the residence of George Sutherland and the people for the first time since my arrival have asked permission to dance and I with pleasure [95] granted them the use of the Hall and being few in number I gave each of them a couple of drams It was my own countrymen a thing not very common with them that proposed the dance and I was glad to see them so [illegible] –

April 10th Sunday/ The weather continues equally fine and mild. The Indian who was in search of Horses returned and brought the Horse with him his is the best conditioned we have. In the morning a cree Indian arrived from the south branch but he brought little or nothing with him his is brother to the Horn who for some time was hunting for us but is now off. Lavalle and Farron arrived from the strong wood Hunters They brought 300^{lb} Meat and say that animals are very scarce and very little hopes of getting more meat from that quarter Arpin still remains with the Hunters and Lavalle being a freeman has come to get himself arranged for Rat hunting

11th Monday/ The weather is now become so very mild that it scarcely freezes even at night. I this morning sent Pevin Mallette Ballendine McKenzie McIntosh and Baptiste Parrissien up to the grand Sucres a sugar making the latter three are to return when the necessary troughs [Illegible] to receive the water as it drips from the trees are made and Mr Rocque whom I send as a kind of Protection in case any of the Stone Indians should come there will remain with Pevin Mallette and Ballendine and Mr Rocque has directions that in the event of any Stone Indians passing there that may be coming to the Fort to accompany them and the others as soon as the Indians are passed and out of sight are to pack up their things and return to the Fort it not being on their way here but on their return that I apprehend the Stone Indians might be troublesome. Primeault accompanied by an Indian Mr Birds brother in law was sent to bring our Horses down towards Sturgeon River so as to be out of reach of any Stone Indian Horse thieves that may come to steal them They will follow the River upon the Ice until below the Yellow banks⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Les Ecorres Jaunes, or Yellow Banks, was a well-known spot on the north side of the North Saskatchewan River between Carlton House and the Old Hudson House.

in order that no possibility may exist of following their tracks Barrow was employed tapping some maple Trees that are close by the Garden and Dagenais and McLea assisted him in making the necessary troughs Dubois sent to assist [96] Mrs Pruden in setting her Sucres a going Stocken and Johnson were as usual cutting cord wood and Fraser and Yartin chopping and hauling fire wood. Hodgson as usual continues at making kegs and is always very constant to his labours and yet he comes on but poorly and this day made but six kegs though the wood Heading and all was perfectly prepared before hand. Lavalle and Bourgard are getting arranged to go off Rat Hunting and the whole of the women are gone off to the different Sucres. I have given them permission to work where they please thinking it more fair than that any part of them should consider the Sucres exclusively theirs

April 12th Tuesday/ very mild weather and we had some thunder and rain Berrard Dagenais McLea and Yartin were sent down to the Pines to square more wood for the Bastions and the others remaining here were employed as yesterday. The Skunk who on the 12th Feb^y was sent with a message and some Tobacco to the Stone Indians and Beaver Hill Cree camp arrived, he had three and a half fathoms Tobacco which was intended for the seven principal men but instead of proceeding to the camp as directed he remained at the camp of Bourassin and Mr Prudens Son both scamps like himself and there spent the Tobacco and took a young wife a half breed girl Daughter of Balleger I believe now in Red River nor can I say who is most to blame him who remained or those who permitted him, That camp has been the resort of all worthless fellows it was there where Lafrance and Breyere deserted the service They at that time remained five or six days from the time our people coming with meat passed them until their return and is as frequently been a resort of their since particularly one of them Lafrance since then, we this evening had a hard Lot in getting to this side of the River a Boat was left on a sand bank in the middle of the River when people last crossed in the fall most required the whole of us Messers Harriott and Bird and all –

13th Wednesday/ It rained most part of the day and woman sugar makers had an alarm having heard a kind of rumbling noise which they supposed to proceed from a party of plain Indians or perhaps Stone Indians and most of them came to the Fort in a flutter but the noise in reality was made by Laventure who is also making Sugar, Primeault arrived and left Mr Birds brother in law with the Horses near the Sturgeon River they went down as directed on the Ice as far as the Yellow Banks and as no tracks remains visible there being water upon the Ice I think the Horses [97] while they remain there will at present be perfectly safe without resort of Horse Thieves –

April 14th Thursday/ The same fine weather still continues and the women continue sugar making and it is the only novelty that occurs – Stockton and Johnson being occupied as usual cutting cordwood. Dubois assisting Mrs Pruden Hodgson as usual making Kegs Fraser cutting firewood and Goulet occupied in the Kitchen who though not much accustomed he acquits himself well. Primeault I believe was with his wife making sugar for I did not see him all day nor did I think of him – The Skunk is gone off. He did not come into the Hall since the day of his arrival but

remained in Parrissien's House Mr Harriott took his blanket from him and his wife is nearly naked –

15th Friday/ The weather continues equally fine and the Ice made a general move but is not yet altogether broke up. In the evening we hauled up the Hill the Boat brought on Monday to this side of the River and though the bank was somewhat steep the labour was far short of Mondays we also turned all the other Boats keel uppermost The women continue making Sugar and some of it is very fine –

16th Saturday/ The weather is still continuing equally fine McKenzie McIntosh and Baptiste Parrissien arrived from the Grand Sucre they made no troughs nor brought wood to the place but remained there perfectly Idle The others also appear to have done little or nothing and I apprehend the quantity of sugar they will make if any will be very small. Oil will much more easily mix with water than a Fort des Prairies man will follow instructions given him; when they left this place I was very particular on telling each individual of that party the different duties they had to perform in order that no difference might arise among themselves but no part of my instructions were obeyed owing as they say to a flood of water coming down the Hills that would render any labour they could make useless but the flood of water is now subsided and they report that a considerable part of the Maple trees are [98] injured last fall by the fire kindled by the Blackfeet war party in retreating. The four men who on Tuesday went to the Pines returned having squared a hundred Logs on the four sides which is nearly as much as we require – In the afternoon a number of people appeared on the Hills opposite which we suppose to be our Hunters and the people with them. I imagine they consider the Ice as too bad to attempt crossing and are encamped above the Hills five tents

April 17th Sunday/ The Ice in the River altogether broke up and drifted all day which rendered it impossible to cross the people who came yesterday to the opposite side of the River The women this day seem to have got more maple water than usual.

18th Monday/ The weather continues still equally fine and the River cleared up so as to enable us to cross the people who came to the other side on Saturday – they were as expected our hunters Gendron and his family Arpin Laverdure Gustavus Spence and McDuff. The Strong wood Hunters killed nothing since Lavalle left them and the others but two animals since Laverdure joined them Bourassin also was there and crossed over to this side he reached the other side shortly after the Hunters and I was vexed at him for having harboured our deserters Lafrance and Breyere and more particularly since then the Skunk – that as an example to others I ordered him out of the Fort However on application being made by his wife to come in I granted permission and they are lodged in one of the Houses Having frequently mentioned that Bourassin and Mr Prudens Son were together and had reference to their camp I conceive it a justice here to remark that it does not appear that the latter has any share in harbouring either of our deserters or the Skunk nor have I heard complaints of any kind of him from anyone since his

departure from here to Sutherland residence in December and had he on his visit here expressed any sorry or apologized for the conduct that was the cause of his being dismissed from the Fort I would have forgiven him and allow him to remain here Farrow arrived from Lavalle with information that they did not kill a single Rat since their departure from here on Friday and as there was no probability of his now killing Rats whether he should return to the Fort or not and I sent him word to remain as long as he could find [99] means of subsistence it being possible that he may kill a few Rats when the Lakes are perfectly broke up I understand that there is great smoak at the Grand Sucre where Mr Rocque with Pevin Mallette and Ballendine are and it is the opinion of many that the fire has been kindled by a party of plain Indians who must have been there and have killed our people, but for my own part I cannot believe that there is the smallest danger of any plain Indians coming down that far while so many Stone Indians and Crees are between them and as our two Strong wood Hunters and the two others employed to hunt for the transport business being now here all of whom I believed used every exertion in winter and have been perfectly staunch to their engagements I this evening in order to prevent their having an opportunity of asking made them a present of four quarts being each one of pure Rum which as mixed to them made twenty Quarts of mixed Rum and they drank very quietly all excepting some old women attached to the Fort who invited themselves to the Feast made a confounded noise and were very troublesome -

April 19th Tuesday/ This day sent up a man on Horse back to the sucre to ascertain whether the report circulated yesterday regarding our men be true or not and he found them perfectly safe but anxious to return and they might nearly as well remain here for all the good they have done. McKenzie McIntosh and Primeault were employed Hoop cutting and the others dependent on the Fort as usual those who arrived yesterday were allowed to repose themselves.

20th Wednesday/ The weather continues very fine and our sugar makers arrived and brought about a keg of sugar. They were full ten days too late going there and considered themselves so much in danger that during the first few days they scarcely did any thing and it was nothing but fear that now brought them for the Maple still continues to drop and the women of the Fort this day experienced very little diminution at their different Sucres. I this day got Mr Harriott to speak to the Hunters and endeavor to prevail upon a party of our men so as to get a Boat load of Meat but they are too much in dread and could not be persuaded to [100] risk themselves and indeed our own people are nearly equally apprehensive for though I myself am perfectly convinced there can be no danger in meeting any plain Indians, even supposing there was a war coming down. They never can nor will they attempt it to pass the Beaver Hill cree and Stone Indian camp situated in Battle River and there can be little doubt at this time of the year of finding Buffalo on the banks of the River this side of them and it is the only place from whence we could have any chance of getting fresh Meat and we are stil 5000lb short of what is required from now to embarkation and I shall be obliged to return the arctick land expedition people to Cumberland House from whence they came fishing being now easily caught there they cannot want and I

regret much they even came here, the fresh Meat given to them being more than sufficient to last us to embarkation and leave a surplus in the Ice House for the Summer –

April 21st Thursday/ This morning sent Gendron with five men to make a Batteau of twenty feet long to convey the arctic land expedition Men to Cumberland Ballendine Dagenais and Yartin to square more timbers and mallette with five others for a Boat load of timber already squared – Hodgson already employed making nails for the Batteau Fraser and Pevin as usual cutting and hauling fire wood and Barrard who for some time back has been sick is getting better and will tomorrow begin to Plough. Late in the evening McIntosh arrived from the Pines he was one of those sent down in the morning for a Boat load of Timber and came for a cross cut saw to divide the Logs they not being yet cut into proper lengths

22nd Friday/ This morning Baptiste Parrissien and Primeault took their departure for Edmonton with letters on Horse back and Bourassin and his son in law Dupplessis son goes with them part of the way and then separate Bourassin and his son in law iss to go to the River somewhere opposite the Horse Plain there make a canoe and endeavor to kill a few Beaver and McIntosh returned to the Pines with a cross cut saw Hodgson continues making nails Barrard began to make a Plough Fraser chopped and hauled fire wood. Wamochuk the Hunter went in search of two Horses belonging to themselves that strayed last fall and has not been seen since – Farrow arrived and brought [101] a few Gebries.⁵¹ I was not altogether pleased with him for so much using the Horse lent him and besides his coming so often keeps the track open Laventure is gone to where our Horses are and may be the means of their being stolen an Indian the Governor arrived from the South branch River and a poor emaciated creature he is. He is however a good Hunter and has been the precursor of many of his countrymen this winter he brought a few furs.

April 23rd Saturday/ This morning Farrow returned to where he left Lavalle and in the evening late both arrived, not half an hour after Farrow left Lavalle four Horses that Lavalle had were stolen and the thieves four in number came immediately to his camp but did not attempt to rob him of anything he saw three others on the bank of a hill and he surmised them to be Slave Indians. I am however disposed to think them Stone Indians and perhaps some crees for though the crees considering them as a tribe are naturally good there are rogues among them that equals the Stone Indians themselves. The Indian who arrived yesterday went away and Wamichiuk and Mr Rocques son arrived without having found the Horses – the people here were at work as yesterday and in the evening Mallette and four others arrived from the Pines with a Boat Load of 35 pieces of timber for the Bastions –

24th Sunday/ The weather always continues fine but the nights are cold – In the evening rather late four crees arrived from the South branch River all four Hungry and they brought little of anything –

⁵¹ Perhaps Stuart means Cabries which in French referred to Pronghorn antelope.

25th Monday/ This morning Mallette with the others returned to the Pines for another load of Timber Berrard continues at the plough or rather making a Plough share or sock Hodgson has resumed the keg making business McKenzie and Johnson continues cutting cord wood and [102] Fraser and Pevin cutting and hauling fire wood In the afternoon Guilbeau and Salois two of the men who left his place on the 5th ultimo returned from Edmonton on Horse back their fourteenth day and they did not see an Indian since then but on their journey up they saw a number of Blackfeet and cersees below Vermilion on the north side of the River a place they never went except when either driven by hunger or on their war parties and they Robed [robbed] or rather took from our people a Kettle a Capot and a Blanket Mr Rowand has got but little Provisions but considering the circumstance here has made a good trade of Furs and has sent a party of freemen with the Pagans who promised to take good care of them and bring them to a Beaver Country.

April 26th Tuesday/ Mallette and party arrived from below with a Boat load of timber and McLea and Stocken also came they having finished sawing the necessary boards for the Bastion McLea in coming up by land passed by a fire newly kindled not far from here which we suppose to have been lighted by some stragling Horse thieves – along with our people mallettes party came two starving Indians they are from Lacau Ham beaux – and slept two nights at the Pines

27th Wednesday/ This morning Mallette and party returned to the Pines for another load and Salois and Dominique Farron were again sent to Edmonton with Letters and to assist in bringing down the Boats Three of our Winter Hunters Wamikick Fishers Ribs and Little Hunter took their departure to join the Grand camp of Stone Indians and crees The families of the two former has been there since January and had the former his family here he would hunt for the Summer and he is certainly the best that could be had I gave him a note requesting Mr Rowand to himself a passage should he be along the River when the Boats pass –

28th Thursday/ A strong cold North westerly wind and a little snow fell in the morning mallette and party arrived from below with another load of Bastion wood and the remainder of them who on last Thursday were sent to make a Batteau arrived also the Batteau oars &c completely finished [103] Laventure arrived from below and this morning left our Horses all safe but he says that on coming up he saw opposite the Yellow banks the tracks of a party of Horse men but he varies so much in the description that no faith can be placed in any part of what he says and I believe the whole to be a mere nothing: it cannot certainly be plain Indians nor is it likely that any party of Stone Indian Horse thieves would be on Horse back the people here were occupied as usual and in the evening I gave them a dance and after Glasses of Rum in the Hall –

April 29th Friday/ The weather continues fair but not warm and the wind is in general strong and from the NWst I this day sent the whole of the arctick Land expedition men with the exception of Hodgson whom I retain here as the only one who could and in fact has rendered any service

here off to Cumberland House and it was no easy matter to get them off there being not a sober man among them but Mr McDonald and though Countrymen of mine I was glad to see them off and while I remain in the country would never willingly wish to see so many of the same Class together again, few of them can perform the duty of a voyageur nor do they know what it is and though of little service if not strictly kept under there is not one of them that would not be troublesome I cannot however say that I found them disobedient but had I given in on one point when they first arrived here there would be no such thing as managing them and when in Liquor they are most troublesome and noisy among themselves than any Indians I ever met with I sent down the Boat to the pines for another load and Antⁿ Chattelin and the Little Dog one of our Green Lake track Hunters went off with their families also Goudries Son and by them I sent word to our Horse Keeper if they meet him not to come to the Fort but go down with the Horses to Carp Creek and there wait until I pass in the Spring. Berrard was the only that did any kind of work all the others having joined in making merry with the arctick land expedition people previous to their departure – [104]

April 30th Saturday/ The weather continues the same as usual and the people here were variously employed doing little Jobs. The people who went down in the Boat yesterday returned with another load. Ballendine is now making oars. I having sent him word to get twenty four good ones and six sweeps made also three masts and Dagenais and Guilbeau whom I have sent in place of Yartin continues squaring wood for building a decent House

May 1st Sunday/ The weather continues same as usual and the River is got very low I think more so than any time last fall, Old Bourgard arrived. He saw no Horse thieves nor do I imagine there is any now here abouts but he made but a poor hunt only thirty five musk Rats and he lost a steel Trap more than the value of his hunt –

2nd Monday/ This morning five men were sent down to the Pines for more Wood Fraser and Mallette commenced Ploughing, Berrard & Hodgson laid the foundation of a Porch, the upper part of which I intend will serve as a Bastion for the defence of the inside of the Fort. The entrance to it will be from the Garret of the House Bourgard made a harrow and Goudreau and the woman was employed cutting potatoes for seed Laverdure and McIntosh are both much in the same state and though both were employed in duning the Garden they might for all the labour they performed have been Idle – In the evening the nez Croche a principle leader of the Grand River Stone Indians and the quarter Cents a leader of the Strong Wood hand with a few Stone Indians and three crees arrived but they brought little or nothing to trade and one of the crees is the Cow. One of our Hunters deserted he brought the Gun that was lent him but still ours part of what was given him in debt; none of the others came, but the Belly is the only one among them that owes much, and there are some of the others that have more due to them than the value of the Guns they took away, The quarter (quatre) Cents is cloathed in a chiefs cloathing and Laced Hat given by Mr Heron to some of the crees of this place that have gone to Green Lake form which it appears that opposition is not still at an end. But [105] such valuable

presents were not necessary to draw the crees away from this place, I myself having made this whole of them move to Green Lake in the early part of the winter. I then thought the company would be [illegible] by that arrangement and I still think that the Indians have made better Hunts than if they had this place also to resort to for supplies. But I certainly never thought that cloathing would be bestowed there more than here and in addition to the cloathing I find that the Hat was garnished by two Black Fox tail Feathers, and I am no longer surprises the Indians should be fond of going there when they get such I have often heard much talk of economy but the Saskatchewan is the only part of the country where I have seen it much practiced and it is a duty I owe the Gentlemen of the River to remark though they in general pay the Indians well for what articles they bring to trade, The give less gratuities than I have sometimes done in W. Caledonia, The Stone Indians and crees have been killing more Blackfeet. It appears that the party of Stone Indians and Crees who had gone to steal Edmonton Horses had fallen in with a small camp one of them seen by Salois and party on their way to Edmonton and they returned to apprise their friends of the valuable discovery they had made of a war party in which all the Stone Indians and Crees able to bear arms joined and the result was that they killed nine Blackfeet men and about a score of women and children captured about a hundred and forty horses and brought forty seven women and children as prisoners to their Camp three of the women there afterwards killed and sent one back with Tobacco and a message to her friends. The message some say was an offer of peace and others say it was a defiance but whatever the message was if they do not make peace neither party will make Provisions in summer more than in Winter and it appears to me that the Stone Indians and crees have at present too much the advantage to be much disposed to peace and the crees are always equally elated at any success as depressed at every reverse of fortune. Immediately after this last massacre the crees as last [106] fall wanted to fly to the Strong woods but the Stone Indians would not allow them and they will now most likely pass the Summer together. The whole of these Indians deny having any knowledge of who it was that stole the Horses from Lavalle and they solemnly declare that ti was no one from their camp from which they infer that it was a party of Plain Indians that took them, but I myself cannot believe that any small party of Plain Indians would risk themselves so far down into the woods and if they had it is not likely they would more than usual refrain from speaking and not one word could Lavalle get from the four that came to his camp, from which circumstance I at the time concluded them to be crees and that they refrained from speaking because their language would disclose who they were and one of them now here Petit Foin a cree has in talking to Laventure and some other of the people so well [illegible] the situation of Lavalles camp with every circumstance that occurred there for several days preceding the Robery even the very dress of Lavalle and Dominick that either he himself must have been one of the party or that he got a particular detail from those who were, all these particulars he related in conversation with Laventure equally scampish with the worst of the Crees and it was related to me by Bourgard Berrard and Gendron all three of whom [overheard?] the conversation and the circumstances thus related he professed to have been as pictured on a piece of birch rind found by the crees in the Eagle Hills and which they suppose was left there by the plain Indians who committed the robbery. Mr Harriott to who I related what I heard from Berrard Bourgard

and Gendron spoke to the Petit Foin but he had a different story again to tell him and as no dependence can be placed in any thing Laventure will say I allowed the matter to drop all these three men Berrard Bourgard and Gendron are tolerable proficient in the Cree Language and it is not likely they would all three invent such a story or to well correspond in relating it had their story been an invention of their own

May 3rd Tuesday/ The weather was rainy and not much work was done what few thing the party of Indians who arrived yesterday brought they this day traded. The men who went yesterday to the Pines returned with a Boat load of wood -

4th Wednesday/ The people boating wood from the Pines returned [107] for another load Fraser and Mallette continues making the Porch and Bastion Goudrie is cutting Pickets for fencing the Gardens and Bourgard and Lavalle assisted by the women planted four kegs of Potatoes. The party of Indians who arrived on Monday went off an to the Quatre centes and nez croche and the Cow I gave each a fathom of Tobacco and a little ammunition and to the two former being leading men among the Stone Indians I recommended to be industrious and to advise their respective parties to comport themselves well in Summer which they faithfully promised to perform, But in going off one of the young men got on the top of a Horse belonging to Laventure that was feeding in the Plain near the Fort and rode off full speed, Laventure pursued but all he got was simply a sight of his Horse, the young man always kept at some distance before the others and had he attempted it Laventure could not have overtaken him the Quatre centes however promised to take the Horse from the young man on arrival at the camp but I much doubt if he ever will be restored to the right owner and in fact he deserves to have lost him he having nothing else to do than to take of his horse and I daily recommended it. Mr Rocques two Horses were feeding in the same plain and I am much surprised they also were not taken, but for this time they escaped and also a lame Horse belong to the Company that unknown to me had strayed and was above the Hill after the departure of the Indians Mr Rocque went to secret his Horses in some place more out of the reach of the Horse thieves than about the Fort and in returning his son in law accompanied him saw a couple of Indians near the Gully above the Hills they immediately disappeared Goudrie who was cutting Pickets for fencing the Gardens also saw them & they passed down to where he was. The general opinion is that they are plain Indians but I myself believe them to be two of the Stone Indians who this day went away and had returned in hopes of finding more Horses. Laventure says [108] they were still together when he left them but that is one reason why they should not return afterwards and there was full time between the time of his arrival and when they were seen, nor would it much surprise me me that he should encourage them, He knew that Mr Rocque was going to secret his Horses and that the Companys lame one was above the Hills and it was near the very place where the lame horse was in the morning that Goudrie in the evening saw the two Indians but the horse was no longer there Mr Harriott having brought him down to the Fort I this night strengthened the usual watch by placing Mr Rocque as an assistant -

May 5th Thursday/ It still rained at intervals – two kegs of Potatoes were notwithstanding Planted and the other people continued their usual labours, but the necessary wood which I intend will be Ball proof to serve as a flooring between the Porch and that part which will serve as a Blockhouse. Berrard and Hodgson began to make a Bastion at the corner of the Fort when the one now standing is if anything worse than none.

6th Friday/ It still rained at intervals but the usual labour was continued and four more kegs of Potatoes planted and a Bushel and a half of wheat sowed but the ground was too wet to admit of its being Harrowed, The Boat from below arrived with our other load of wood –

7th Saturday/ This was a fine day and no rain, Berrard and Hodgson was occupied as usual at the Bastion Goudrie Bourgard Lavalle and the women were employed as usual Laverdure still continues unwell and Pevin brought some Hay and firewood about a Bushel and a half of wheat was sown today and McIntosh harrowed the whole of what was sown both yesterday and today Fraser and Mallette continue ploughing but they make little [illegible], the Horses are so poor that none of them can [illegible] for even half an hour Mr Rocque went to see his Horses and found them still safe and as no crees seen lurking about I imagine the two men seen on Wednesday are gone off

8th Sunday/ more rain fell and the weather in general is [illegible] and not warm nothing in particular occurred and this was a day [109] of rest both for men and beast. Bourassin arrived.

May 9th Monday/ The people continued to work much the same as usual and Laverdure having got better I got him to peel the Barks of some of the small Pickets brought for strengthening the Fort. The people who on Friday went to the Pines arrived with another load consisting of eight large Logs and one hundred and forty small Pickets –

10 Tuesday/ The weather is become more mild and four men were sent to the Pines for another load of wood the others have continued at work the same as usual and we have now about sixteen and a half kegs Potatoes in the ground and though the quantity is small it covers a larger space of ground than last Year when forty kegs were planted and I will be much mistaken if the produce of the sixteen and a half kegs will not make more than double that of the forty last Year About noon two Blackfeet Indians entered the Fort and though there was people out in all directions no one but McIntosh who as harrowing perceived them previous to their entering the Fort and he took little or no notice of them, Messers Harriott and Bird were both in the Hall writing and I myself was at the Garden at the time and when the alarm that Blackfeet were in the Fort was given I could at first scarcely credit it and what led me to disbelief was that in whatever direction I cast my eyes I could perceive no one. The cry of Blackfeet however was [illegible] and Laverdure in running towards me called out to make haste that they were within the Fort I then thought they had come through the willows from the water side and that the

Fort was full of them and was scarcely more disappointed in my life and an agreeable disappointment it was when Mr Harriott whom I found at the Gate told me there was but two we all imagined that there was a larger party near hand and the Bastions were quickly manned but from various circumstances related by those poor fellows that there was no war party that they were alone and had come with offers of Peace on the part of the whole Plain tribes: It appears from their account that the last conflict between them and the Stone Indians was much more [110] sanguinary represented by the Stone Indians and crees who came here on the 2nd inst. who informed us that but nine men and about twenty women and children were killed but then from Blackfeet who suffered so much and ought to know best say that twenty men and twice that number of women & children were killed and it appears that one of them has a woman and their children and the other a woman and a child prisoners in the Stone Indian camp and the woman released by the Stone Indians and sent back with a message having told them that the Stone Indians were coming here these two men expected to find them at the Fort and that through our mitigation a peace might be brought about or at least that we would accept these women and children and restore them and this belief they founded on my having purchased some women and children who were prisoners last fall and sent them back and it is to this circumstance alone I attribute the Stone Indians having now retained so many women & children as prisoners it being their usual custom to massacre all they come at, and I regret these poor fellows did not come when the Indians who went off Wednesday were still here, both nez croche and Quatre Centes are good Indians and men of influence among their tribes and by their means peace might have been brought about, but they are off and it not being likely that any others will come while I remain here I see nothing that can be done, but to console these poor fellows as much as can be done Mr Harriott who understands more of the Blackfeet than any one here told them that we should endeavor to get their women & children and send them up when opportunity should occur this appeared to please them and they expressed their thanks but they seem disposed to remain here and wait the arrival of the Stone Indians come when they will and as misfortune has rendered them desperate and careless of life I think it possible that were we to send them off they would go straight to the Stone Indian camp perhaps more in hopes of having an end put to their misery than in expectation of bringing out a peace and if we allow them [111] to remain here it may endanger the Safety of the Fort for we cannot allow them to be massacred while they remain here an more than nine tenths of both Stone Indians and crees would be disposed to attempt it in which case a rupture could scarcely be avoided between them and us, somehow or other a kind of fracas this day took place between Mr Rocques Son and a Sone Bourassin some time after which Bourassin himself beat Mr Rocques Sone, and Mr Rocques Son complained to his father. Mr Rocque took his Gun and challenged Bourassin to execute what he had been all winter threatening to kill Mr Rocque. Bourassin remained motionless as if thunder struck while Mr Rocque quietly told him to go for his gun and make it evident that his courage did not consist simply in words and had Bourassin moved from his place I really believe Mr Rocque would have shot him and he would have richly deserved it for it was common talk of his all winter that he would kill Mr Rocque Mr Harriott soon got intimation of what was going forward and got hold of Mr Rocque on which Bourassin

immediately got up and advanced to strike Mr Rocque while held by Mr Harriott but Mr H kept him off without however letting go the hold he had of Mr Rocque and being aprized I soon appeared myself and said both to be quiet Bourassin was taken away by his woman and Mr Bird took Mr Rocque into the Hall where I advised him never to despise himself so much as to quarrel much less place himself on an equality with such a know Scoundrel as Bourassin and so the matter ended but in the evening Bourassin sent a message desiring Mr Rocque and requesting that I should be present, to which message Mr Rocque replied that he had no wish to have any intercourse with Bourassin and that if Bourassin wanted him he where to find him,

May 11th Wednesday/ The people continue to work as usual. The Boat arrived from the Pines with another load of small pickets for the inside of the Fort, This day Bourassin happening to meet Mr Rocque near the Fort Gate a conversation commenced between them which led to a second quarrel, Mr Rocque was then animated and told Bourassin that as every thing must one day have an end and so might any difference existing between them but this moderation of Mr Rocque did but arouse Bourassin the more and he advanced on Mr Rocque with an axe in one hand and a stick in the other. I was at that moment going [112] out of the Gate of the Fort and stopped between them and commanded Bourassin to desist and be quiet. He Bawled out that he was a man and I told him that if he had been a man he would not as now take advantage of Mr Rocques weakness but would have found him yesterday when he had the means of self defence in his hand on which he immediately struck me a blow with his fist on the left side of the head and like a mad man caught hold of a large stick in both hands with which he aimed two blows at my head but I warded them off with my right arm and then for the first time in my life in self defence drew my dagger he then dropped the stick with which he had struck me and the tears of his wife and children who argued me not to kill altogether disarmed me and I sheathed my dagger But told Bourassin immediately to leave the Fort and not again tempt me to conflict the chastisement from which his wife had at present save him,

May 12th Thursday/ About 7 AM Laplante and Esperance arrived & delivered me a letter from Govr Simpson dated the 10th inst. He was then encamped at Battle River and the purport of his letters was to desire me to have a dozen or fourteen Horses with the necessary Saddles and Saddlebags in readiness it being his intention to proceed direct across land to Red River , within an hour of his arrival here. The necessary Saddles and Saddle Bags were soon prepared and having but five Horses Mr Birds brother in law who late last night in company with Mr Prudens Son arrived, was sent down to Carp Creek with a message to a cree Indian stiled the Governor desiring him to come here to act as guide for Mr Simpson and to bring all theHorses that can be mustered there for though I did not imagine Mr Simpson would wait for them I Imagined it proper to send, and let [illegible] Gov^r Simpson Chief Factor Kenedy and Chief Trader McMillan arrived, and from the little conversation I have had with these Gentlemen I find that much improvement has been made in the Columbia, The establishment of Fort George at the Sea Coast has been abandoned and another formed at the Belveres point of Vancouver that place Fort George I purchased from the Americans in 1813 but by the Treaty of Ghent the British Government again

gave it to the americans as if no purchase had taken [113] place and not only gave it up but stranger to relate sent a British ship of war to convey the American Commissioners to whom the establishment was to be delivered and be a witness that the American Flag was substituted in lieu of that of Britain, Hence the course of its being now abandoned Mr Macmillan had in course of winter coasted all along to the entrance of Frasers River which from its source I had explored in 1808 and it is now intended to form an establishment at its mouth from which in my opinion and it is not a new Idea much more benefit will be derived by the Company than ever could result from the Columbia. It is the most central place hitherto discovered on the North west side of the mountains, and from it W. Caledonia and the Columbia can be supplied with equal facility. – Dubois and Yartin were sent to the South branch River with a canoe and in the afternoon Governor Simpson, Chief trader Macmillan seven men and Bourassin acting in the double capacity of guide and Hunter took their departure for Red River, and after their departure some horses having been seen on the opposite side of the River Mr Harriott and three men crossed to ascertain what Horses it might be and it proved to be three or four Horses stolen from Lavalle on the 23rd ulto a circumstance I cannot account for & had it been plain Indians that took them they would not allow them to escape nor would Stone Indians either and I must either suppose that the Horses got astray and were not taken by anyone or that it was a party of crees that took them for some particular use but that they would not bring them to the camp through fear of our becoming acquainted with whom it was that stole them, and their declining to speak at the time of the robbery was committed confirms the Idea that they were crees, In the evening after dark I in company with Mr Rocque went to bring these three Horses to Mr Simpsons camp and we proceeded on to the other end of Duck Lake and there found Dubois and Yartin the two men sent to the south branch River with the canoe from whom we obtained information that Mr Simpson was still behind and of course that unperceived we must have passed his encampment we then at day light [114]

May 13 Friday/ returned back and an hour afterwards met Mr Simpson and party with whom we continued to the South branch River where we parted with them and returned here in the afternoon. In travelling along I got much valuable information regarding the west side of the mountains from Mr Simpson and am not a little proud to find that the Ideas he entertains of the whole of that quarter altogether coincides with what I myself entertained since its first establishment and if his views are now carried into execution the H.B.C^{oy} may still be remunerated for the vast expenses incurred by the late NWC^{oy} in exploring and establishing that quarter. It is certainly a field from which much emolument might be derived.

14 Saturday/ The people here continue much at their usual labour and in the afternoon Mr Kenedy took his departure for Cumberland House and with him embarked Mr Prudens family

15 Sunday/ This being Sunday it was a day of rest both for man and beast and nothing particular occurred

16 Monday/ The Boat was sent to the Pines for another load of Pickets and for Keels for the three Boats remaining here since last Fall, the rest of the people are occupied as usual, In the afternoon Mr Birds Brother in law the Indian sent off on Thursday for Horses arrived and with him came the cree Governor: I intended him had he been in time to accompany Gov Simpson to Red River but it is now too late: he could not overtake him much less render any service was he now to follow – He seemed well disposed towards the two Blackfeet and appears to have no doubt that a peace could be brought about were they to go to the Stone Indian and Beaver Hill Cree Camp, nor does he appear to think they would risk any great danger in going there, last evening a Boat and six men arrived from Edmonton loaded partly with Governor Simpkins Baggage and forty bags of Pemican which was intended to be sent to Green Lake on Horse back but there are no Horses here to convey it besides the quantity already sent will be found fully sufficient for the supply required for the Land arctic expedition and the outgoing of the Northern Brigades a circumstance Governor Simpson was not aware of when he ordered down this Pemican – [115]

May 17th Tuesday/ The people are occupied much as usual [illegible] excepting Hodgson whom I appointed to repair the Boats and Pevin who is appointed to strain the Grease and put it into Kegs. The people who yesterday went to the Pines returned and with them came Ballendine he has finished the twenty oars six sweeps and three masts he was directed to make one of the Horses brought yesterday can be broke in to the plough and with the others here before the ploughing goes on but slowly and as we are getting some new ground in I sent four Men Goure Vincent Bibeau and Archambeaux to dig it up with the Hoe. Barrard finished the corner Bastion It has not a good appearance but is strong solid and perfectly Bullet proof The Cree Governor has offered his services to accompany the two Blackfeet Indians to the Stone Indian Camp and had they been disposed to go I would have sent Mr Rocque also with them to induce the Stone Indians to make peace but the poor Blackfeet are too much afraid to venture on going there and yet it is the only method I can think of that could bring about a peace between the contending tribes. In which opinion the Governor also coincides and though not much afraid himself he appears to be much interested that a peace should be made it being him that principally induced the Crees last summer to commence war is one reason why he now wishes to put an end to it.

18th Wednesday/ This morning four men were sent to the old Fort with 10 kegs of Potatoes to be planted in the old Gardens and it is not from there I expect the least crop and being out of the way it is not likely that the Indians will be so apt to steal them. Barrard was covering the corner Bastion Dubois and Johnson with the women were planting Potatoes four men breaking in more new ground with the Hoes four others bringing fence for the Gardens two strengthening the Fort with inside Pickets Pevin filling Kegs with Grease and Hodgson repairing the Boats –

19th Thursday/ It froze very hard last night and the water has risen very considerably, all hands employed as yesterday, and they Governor killed two antelopes which Mr Harriott skinned and stuffed to be sent home – [116]

May 20th Friday/ It froze so hard last night that the Barley and every thing else that appeared above ground no longer appears from which it is evident that there is no advantage arising from sowing very early. Berrard finished covering the Bastion and began to make nails for the Boats all the others were occupied as yesterday –

21st Satur^y/ A strong Cold North Westerly wind – the people were employed as usual & those sent to plant Potatoes arrived having ploughed all the ground that had been under tillage at that place in which they planted nine & a half kegs of Potatoes which with twenty two & a half kegs that are now here formed a total of thirty two kegs altogether. Dagenais & Guilbeau who are squaring timber at the Pines also arrived having squared mostly all the wood that is required – They will however have to return: The water is again lowering –

22nd Sunday/ The weather was very cold and a mixture of rain and Snow continues to fall throughout the day & nothing particular occurred –

23rd Monday/ The weather continues very cold & it has frozen so hard that the wheat & Barley which was coming up freely is all nibbed – we this day Planted the remainder of our Potatoes making in all thirty four kegs but though the quantity planted is apparently small the space of ground occupied is very considerable, and I shall be much disappointed if the produce of them will not more quadruple forty kegs that were planted last Spring – Fraser Stocken, & McIntosh were ploughing a piece of ground not in cultivation last year of near two acres for oats – and Daugenais & Guilbeau returned to the Pines – The others were variously employed: Some in making a fence around the Garden, others assisting Mr Harriott in making Packs & others doing various Jobs –

24th Tues^y/ The weather was more mild & the People occupied as yesterday – In the forenoon Bap. Parrissien & Primeault arrived from Edmonton their 14th day – they brought four Horses and in the afternoon Mr Rowand with the Brigade arrived and with him came Chief Factor McIntosh, Chief Trader LaRocque & Messrs Alex^r Ross & Paul Fraser Clerks: Mr Rowand has most excellent returns & eleven fine new Boats and the Returns of both Athabasca River & Athabasca River Portage are all sent down this way – But Mr LaRocque has sent the whole of his People – Servant excepted to Lesser Slave Lake to assist Mr Clarke down the Beaver River

25th Wednes^y/ The weather continues very fine & both Mr Harriott & myself were occupied in bringing the business of the season to a close & taking [117] Correct Inventories of the remains here –

26th Thursd^y/ Occupied as yesterday. – I also arranged the two Blackfeet Indians ready to be off tomorrow and made them a present of a little amⁿ & Tobacco with various articles of Clothing –

27th Friday/ This afternoon eleven Boats were sent off Loaded with the returns & the two Blackfeet Indians also took their Departure -

28th Satur^y/ Mess^{rs} McIntosh LaRocque & Fraser took their departure and the business being closed for the Season I committed the Charge of the Post to Mr Harriott for the Summer & with him leave Mr Rocque as Interpreter & nine men - It however being late before the whole was prepared I deferred my own departure until the morning -

29th Sun^y/ I this morning in Company with Mr Rowand took my Departure for York Factory & from this time nothing very particular occurred until my arrival the 30th June --

York Factory 1st July 1825

Jo M. Stuart