

The Hudson's Bay Company's Move Inland

York Boats and the Saskatchewan Brigade 1740 to the 1860s

Gerhard J. Ens



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Chapter One

Introduction

The use of wooden boats, inaugurated on the Albany River in the 1740s and the Saskatchewan River in the 1790s, revolutionized the system of inland transportation of the Hudson's Bay Company. It linked coastal entrepôts with the interior and provided communication and transportation between inland establishments on a scale and a cost savings that dwarfed what had been possible in canoes. After George Sutherland succeeded in bringing two boats from Edmonton House to the head of the Trout River in 1797, Joseph Colen noted in the York Factory Journal that eighteen men in two boats had performed the same duty as forty men in ten canoes. This new system of transportation would not only save wages but would better supply inland posts and bring out more furs.¹ Boats were cheaper and more efficient than canoes as they carried more cargo in proportion to the crew employed, were little harmed by ice, and could cross lakes more safely. To concentrate on these boats or boat brigades, as a way of understanding the HBC move inland, is not the fragmentary approach that John Alwin argues it is,² but was central to the HBC success in the fur trade of the northwest in the nineteenth century.

York Boats or "Inland Boats"³ were unique wooden crafts with a shallow draft developed and built in Rupert's Land in the eighteenth century to replace the freight canoes of the Montreal-based fur trade. Because HBC servants could not initially build canoes, and because the birch bark needed

¹ York Factory Journal 1796–1797. Entries for July 15–17, 1797. HBCA B.239/a/100, fos. 25–27.

² John A. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978, 4–5.

³ The Hudson's Bay Company referred to these York Boats simply as "boats" or "inland boats" throughout most of the nineteenth century. By at least the 1860s and 1870, however, they had become popularly known as "York Boats" as this was the endpoint of almost all boat brigades. See the report of the meeting of the merchants of Red River in *The Nor'Wester*, April 26, 1864, page 2. See also *Chronicles by the Way: A Series of Letters addressed to the Montreal "Gazette" Descriptive of a Trip Through Manitoba and the North-West* (Montreal: The Gazette Printing Company, 1879), 26, 40, 43, 48–50, 52.

to build them was not readily available in many northern climes, the Hudson's Bay Company remained tied to the shores of Hudson Bay well into the eighteenth century. Only when Orkney Boat Builders began to adapt the fishing craft they had used on their home isles to the conditions in Rupert's Land could the HBC move aggressively into the interior. Powered by oars and sail, these boats became the backbone of the HBC transport system by the 1820s. Travelling in brigades of two to twenty boats from York Factory, from which they derived their name, they went to Red River, to the Rocky Mountains, and to the Arctic, carrying both goods and supplies one way and furs back to York Factory.



Figure 1-1 York Boat on the Banks of the Red River 1858

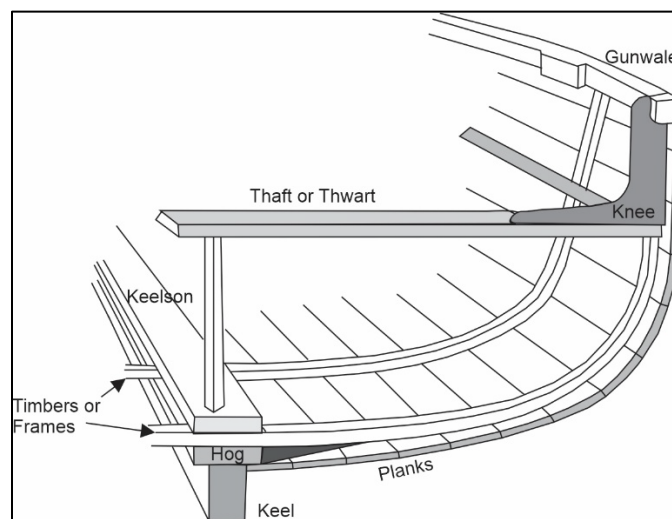


Figure 1-2 Parts of a York Boat

These boats generally measured from twenty-two to thirty feet in the length of their keel, which translated to thirty-two to forty feet from stern to bow. The boats were strong enough to survive storms on Lake Winnipeg and cope with surface ice, and they were sufficiently solid to survive being portaged on log rollers. Mostly flat-bottomed, they drew very little water (two to three feet) so that they could navigate shallow rivers, and, being cheaply built with local material, they were easy to repair. They could carry three times the freight of a canoe with less than half the men, generally transporting from sixty to 120 pieces.⁴ This translated to freight weighing from three to six tons. The boats were powered by six to ten tripmen each, including a Bowsman and a Steersman. All were under the rule of a Guide, who commanded the brigade of boats.

The Guide was chosen from the best steersmen who knew the route well and was a good judge of the water and weather. His duties included being the first man up in the morning, starting the fires and putting the kettle on, regulating the starting times and camping times, stowing and covering the cargo in the rain, mending the broken boats *en route*, and, at the worst rapids steering the boats one after the other. He was usually also a good fighter so as to enforce his orders.⁵ The steersmen would be in their boats placing the cargo, as the boats were loaded for a level keel, and rowing places had to be left for the men pulling the oars. The oars were long, and each rower (Middleman) had to rise up on to his feet for every stroke, put one foot on a brace ahead of him, and fall back on his seat with all his weight on his oar.⁶

The Bowsman, when he was not rowing, was perched forward on a small platform guiding the boat with a long pole to fend the boat off the outcropping rocks and obstacles. The Steersman stood in the stern and directed the boat's course using a twenty-foot sweep oar harnessed to the boat

⁴ Each "piece" weighed about 90 pounds.

⁵ H.J. Moberly, "Reminiscences of a Hudson's Bay Company's Factor," *The Beaver* (Dec. 1921), 11-12. A.A. McDonald, "H.B.C. Inland Transport: Details of H.B.C. Transport," *The Beaver* (Nov. 1921), 52.

⁶ A.A. McDonald, "H.B.C. Inland Transport: Details of H.B.C. Transport," *The Beaver* (Nov. 1921), 53.

with a ring on the starboard side of the stern post. These tripmen would row for up to sixteen hours a day at the rate of thirty strokes a minute. This was no easy feat, as their oars were sixteen feet long and weighed upwards of twenty-five pounds.⁷

By the mid-nineteenth century, the HBC employed upwards of 200 boats a year, manned by 1200 voyageurs.⁸ As such, this system became something more than the transportation infrastructure of the HBC; it also became a crucial part of the social system of the fur trade. Not connected with trapping, hunting, or ordinary labour in a fur trade post, tripmen were usually Native/Metis rowers and portagers, who came to constitute a cohort distinct from the buffalo-hunting plains Metis.⁹

The increasing prominence of the Saskatchewan District in the building of York Boats for other departments, and in producing dried meat and pemmican delivered to Norway House for use by other brigades and districts, made the Saskatchewan Brigade crucial to the entire HBC inland transportation system. This, along with the increasing number of freemen and Indians who were hired onto the Saskatchewan boats, makes this district and its brigades worthy of special attention.

⁷ D.F. Johnson, "The York Boats of the Hudson's Bay Company," *Wooden Boat*, no. 144 (Sept./Oct 1998), 53.

⁸ H.Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), vol. II, 103.

⁹ See J.J. Gunn, "The Tripmen of Assiniboia," in *Echoes of the Red* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930); and John E. Foster, "Paulet Paul: Metis or 'House Indian' Folk Hero?" *Manitoba History*, no. 9 (Spring 1985), 2-7.

Chapter Two

Prelude to York Boats on the Saskatchewan: Fort Albany Inland Navigation 1740s to 1810

On May 11, 1797, two boats, built at Buckingham House in the winter and spring of that year, arrived at Edmonton House manned by fourteen men.¹ On May 13 George Sutherland² dispatched the two boats and two canoes, manned by thirty men, eastward, destined for York Factory. The boats would stop at the head of the Trout River (Hayes River Route), at Oxford House, a distance of 1200 miles,³ stopping short of the worst rapids leading up to Gordon House and Rock Depot on the Hayes River (see Figure 2-1). From there, the cargoes would be transported by canoe to Gordon House, and from there, again by boats, to York Factory. This trip marked the first time that Inland Boats, later called York Boats, had plied the waters of the North Saskatchewan from Edmonton House to the Hayes River, and this began the process of replacing canoes as the main cargo vessels in the HBC fur trade inland from York Factory.⁴ These inland boats, modelled after Orkney fishing vessels and Canadian batteaux,⁵ adapted to the conditions of Rupert's Land, were built by Orkney

¹ Edmonton House Journal George Sutherland, May 11, 1797. HBCA B.60/a/2, fo. 24d.

² George Sutherland (1754–1811) came from Wick, Scotland and began his career in the HBC in 1774 at Albany Fort. From 1778 to 1880, he wintered inland from Fort Albany, and in the process, he travelled by boat from Albany Fort to Gloucester House, learning first-hand the advantages of these boats in carrying heavy cargo. In 1785, he was transferred to York Factory, assisting the inexperienced Joseph Colen there, and in 1794, he took charge of York Factory when Colen was back in England. In 1795, he was put in charge of Cumberland House, and in 1796, he took over Edmonton House while William Tomison was in England. See Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Sutherland, George," in *DCB Online*.

³ George Sutherland (Edmonton House) to Peter Fidler (Buckingham House) May 13, 1797. Letter copied into the Cumberland House Journal of 1796–1797. HBCA B.49/a/27b, fo. 53. York Factory Journal of Joseph Colen, July 15, 1797. HBCA B.239/a/100, fo. 25d.

⁴ The HBC had used small wooden boats briefly from 1786 to 1788 between Hudson House and Cumberland House, and between Manchester House and Hudson House. This use, however, was very limited and strictly supplemental to canoes. See John A. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978, 151-152. See also: Hudson House Journal, May 13, 1786. HBCA B.87/a/8, fos. 40-40d. Manchester House Journal, May 20-23, 1787. HBCA B.121/a/1, fos. 45d-46. Manchester House Journal, May 8-11, 1788. HBCA B.121/a/2, fos. 36-36d. Manchester House Journal, September 24 to October 3, 1788. HBCA B.121/1/3, fos. 17d-18d.

⁵ The Canadian batteau was a standardized wooden boat created by the colonial government of New France. It was pointed at both ends, flat-bottomed, with no keel. It was rapidly and easily crafted by French carpenters and was more suited to shallow inland waters than keeled boats. Not fragile, it typically measured from thirty to thirty-six feet in length and was planked by two inch thick & twelve-Inch-wide sawn boards. Batteaux required a crew of five (four rowers and a helmsman)

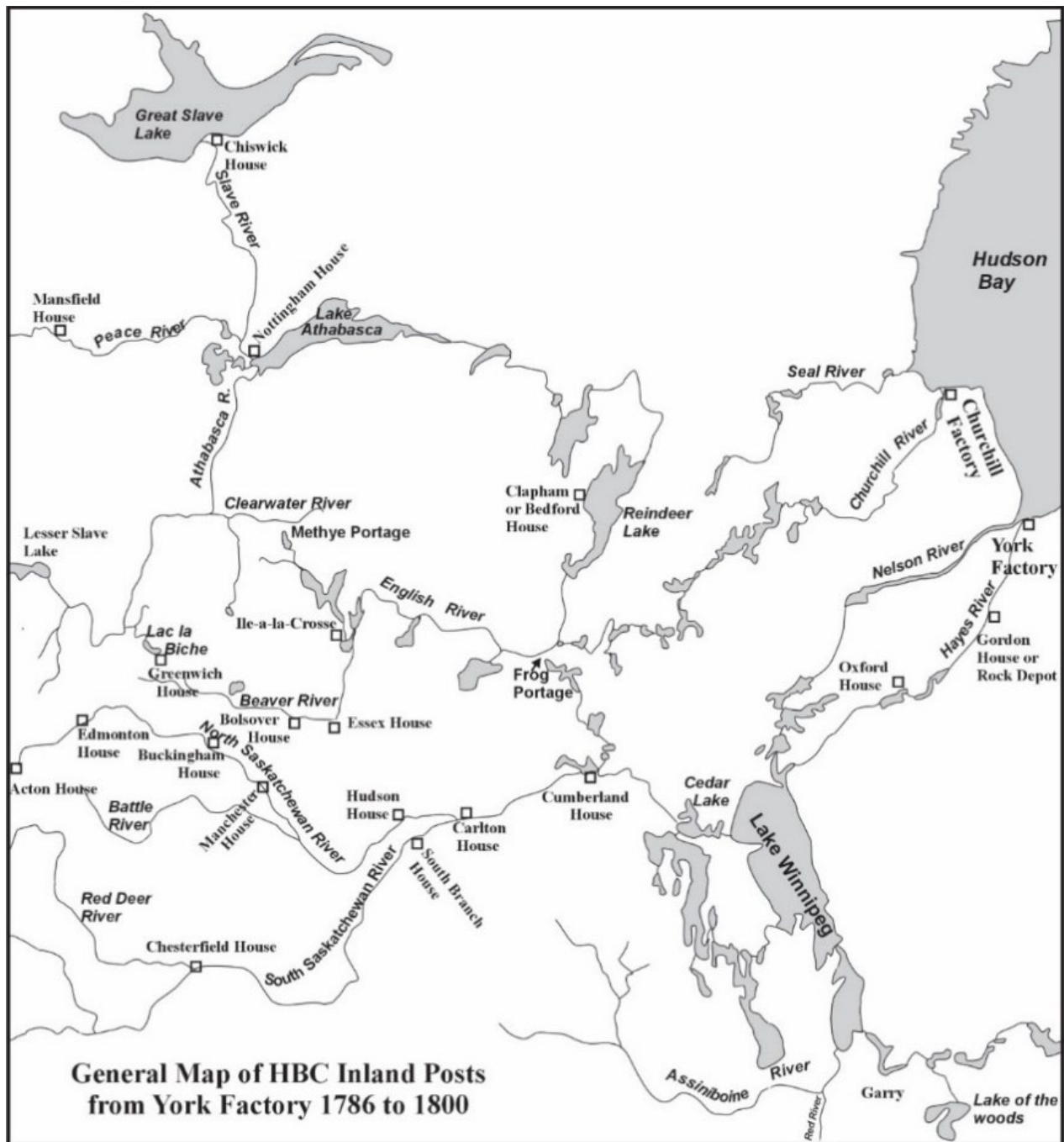


Figure 2-1 Map of HBC Inland Posts from York Factory 1786–1800

and carried four to five tons of Cargo. They were rowed, sailed, pushed or poled and towed. John David More, *"The Severity of This Service. . ."* *Canadian Inland Mariners in the Early Post-Conquest Era, 1760–1817* (Ph.D. dissertation, Queens University, 2021), 42-49.

Boat Builders⁶ sent inland by Joseph Colen⁷ (York Factory). Commanding them was George Sutherland, who was determined to experiment with the use of boats instead of canoes.

For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to note that George Sutherland had cut his teeth in the fur trade of Albany Factory, where he had absorbed first hand how wooden boats could be deployed inland from the shores of James Bay. He would use that knowledge to champion York Boats on the Saskatchewan. The background to York Boats on the Saskatchewan, therefore, must be traced to the inland fur trade of Albany Factory.

Fort Albany Boats in the 1740s

In 1743, Joseph Isbister,⁸ the chief factor of Albany Factory on James Bay, realized that the French were cutting off his trade upriver, and that if he did not establish an inland post, he would lose a good deal of his trade. This awareness led to the establishment of Henley House, about 156 miles upriver at the junction of the Albany and Kenogami rivers. Although the post did not function as a

⁶ These Boat Builders included Nicholas/Nicol Spence from Stromness who was thirty-two years old in 1796–1797. He was engaged as a Boat Builder at York Factory in 1793 at £25 per annum and renewed his contract in 1796 at £36 per annum. He returned to Britain in 1799. The second Boat Builder was John Moar/Moore. He is initially listed as a twenty-six-year-old man coming from Stromness, joining the HBC in 1795, and going inland in 1797. The same man is listed inland from 1798 to 1802, but is now noted as coming from Birsay. In 1800 he was making £30/annum, and from 1810 on he earned £35/annum. In 1818 he was described as an excellent Boat Builder but too fond of liquor. In 1823, he was listed as having a family of four and in that year disappears from Edmonton House. HBCA biographical sheets list him as a colonist at Red River from 1825 to 1831. He dies in 1843. Alice M. Johnson, ed., *Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence: Edmonton House 1795–1800; Chesterfield House 1800–1802* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1967), 71n. See York Factory List of Servants 1794 to 1823. HBCA B.239/f/1-8.

⁷ Joseph Colen (b.c. 1751–1818) was born in England and joined the HBC in 1785 as a “writer”. When Humphrey Marten retired as chief factor of York Factory, and his replacement, William Tomison, was posted inland, Colen was appointed resident chief factor at York. His attempts to establish inland posts and expeditions to the Athabasca country were continually hampered by a jealous Tomison. In 1794, Colen returned to London to report to the governor and committee, and when he returned to York Factory the following year, he was appointed the chief factor there. It was at this time that he sent Sutherland Inland to establish York Boat transportation on the Saskatchewan River. He was eventually recalled by the London Committee in 1798 and his employment terminated in 1799. He died in Cirencester, England, in 1818. See Shirlee Anne Smith, “Colen, Joseph,” *DCB Online*.

⁸ Joseph Isbister (b.c. 1710–1771) came from Stromness and entered the service of the HBC in 1776 as an Apprentice to Captain Christopher Middleton. He continued to serve on HBC ships going to the Hudson Bay, or on sloops there, until 1740. In 1740, he became Master at Albany and in 1743 had Henley House built inland. In 1747 he returned to England for a year and when he returned, he was made Master of Churchill Factory. In 1752 he again became the chief factor of Albany and in 1756 returned to England. In 1760 he emigrated with his wife and six children to Quebec City. He was married to Judith, the daughter of Christopher Middleton. He died in 1771. HBCA Biographical Sheet.

fully-fledged trading post and served more as a way station to convince the various native groups to continue on to Albany, it still had to be manned by HBC personnel and had to be supplied with provisions and some trade goods. As a result, Albany was forced to develop a transport system inland.⁹

This transport system initially relied on small canoes supplied by the homeguard Indians, but these canoes were very inefficient and had to be piloted by Natives as HBC men were very “unhandy” in travelling in these small canoes. The HBC then paid the Indians to build a much larger canoe (twenty-four to twenty-eight feet in length), but company servants were still very leery of traveling in these canoes and were incapable of handling and steering them.¹⁰ As Joseph Isbister noted tersely, “our men was quite helpless in a Canoe.”¹¹

Isbister decided to build an inland boat “to drawe as little watter as a Canno & Carie more goods so that our men may learn to manage them,” because of another problem: “theres no end to building canoes, and in one tripp they are spoiled & broke so that they are not fit to go & second by the Unskeelfullness of our men. . .”¹² By Spring 1746, a flat-bottomed boat had been built and caulked and sent to Henley House with goods and provisions. It was manned by five men and reached Henley on May 31, 1746.¹³ This boat/barge had some trouble making the passage to Henley in Fall, when the water was lower,¹⁴ but Isbister was determined to build a second boat to supply Henley. On 13 October 1746, we hear about a trough being made with sheets of lead to boil the one-inch-thick poplar planks so as to be able to bend them in the shape needed. This innovation issued in a boat twenty-three feet long and six feet four inches broad.¹⁵ Both boats were used in the spring of 1747. On May

⁹ John A. Alwin, “Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson’s Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978, 98-99.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

¹¹ Albany Post Journal, August 25, 1845. HBCA B.3/a/37, fo. 7d.

¹² Albany Post Journal, September 16, 1845. HBCA B.3/a/37, fo. 11.

¹³ Albany Post Journal 1745–1746. See entries for September 209, 1745 to May 31, 1846. HBCA B.3/a/37, fos. 11d-42.

¹⁴ Albany Post Journal 1746–1747. Entries for September 12 to September 17, 1746. HBCA B.3/a/38, fos. 6-6d.

¹⁵ Albany Post Journal 1746–1747. Entries for October 13, 1746 and March 23, 1847. HBCA B.3/a/38, fos. 9, 21d.

11, they were launched with provisions bound for Henley, and by May 29, both returned having delivered everything safely and bringing back the furs traded at Henley that winter.¹⁶ There was a third boat/barge constructed in the Fall of 1748, and all three were designated as “Henley Boats” or “Henley Barges.” These boats were rudder-equipped and propelled by oars and setting poles, and they were sometimes tracked. Outfitted with sails, as well, they made one or two round trips from Albany to Henley in Spring and one trip in Fall if the water levels were high enough. When water levels were too low, the company was forced to rely on canoes.¹⁷

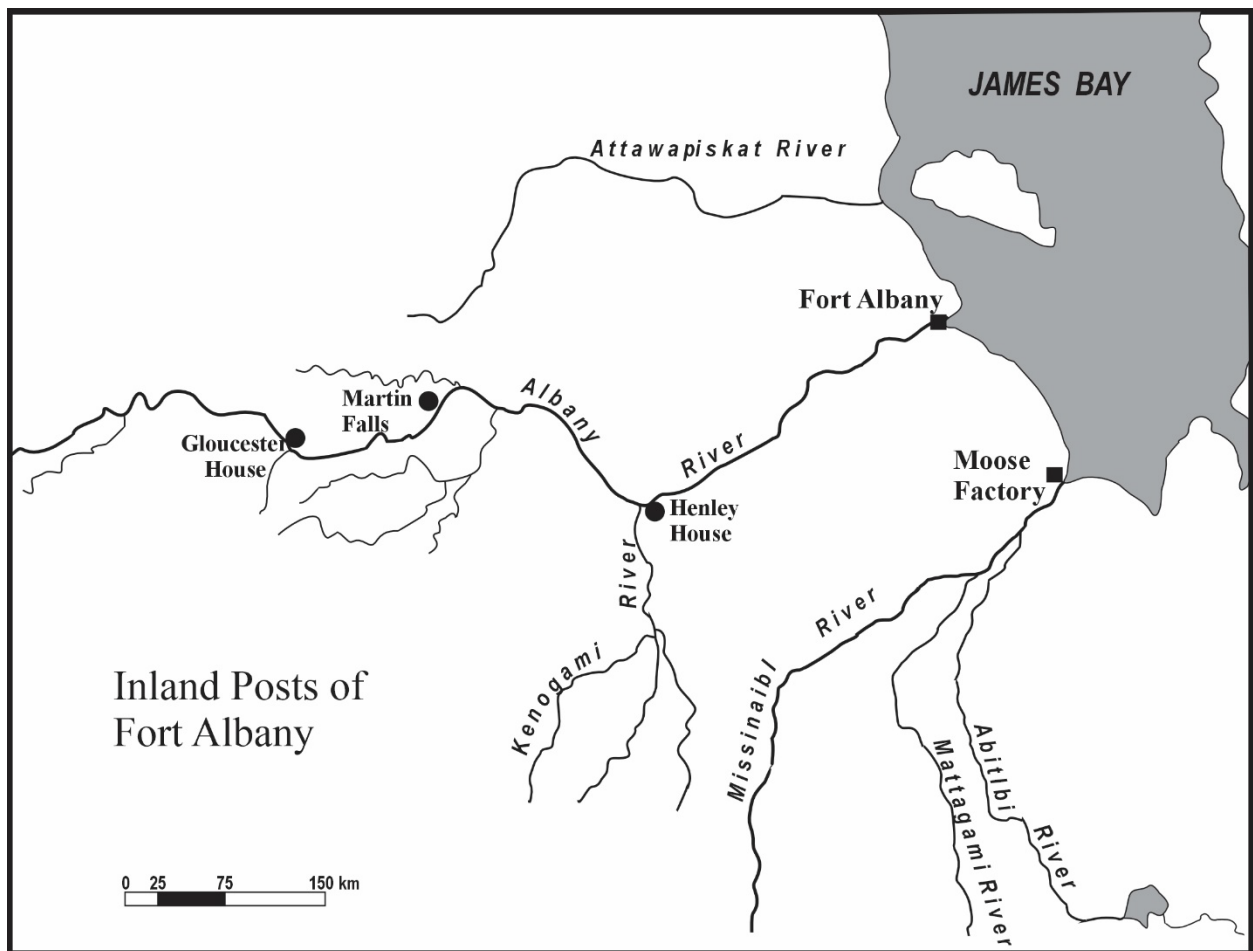


Figure 2-2 Map of Inland Post of Fort Albany

¹⁶ Albany Post Journal 1746–1747. Entries for May 11 and May 29, 1747. HBCA B.3/a/38, fos. 26d & 28.

¹⁷ John A. Alwin, “Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson’s Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978, 103-104.

Although hardly what would later be called a York Boat, the Henley Boat or Henley Barge was a start in the evolution of this inland watercraft. It could transport more cargo than canoes, it required less manpower, and it was easily handled by company servants. While we have no detailed description of the Henley, some indications survive about them. Unlike later York Boats, it had a flat bottom and no keel; that is, it was routinely referred to as flat-bottomed and with distinct sides of the “Flatt.” The sides were shaped somewhat, as evidenced by the trough used to bend the side planks. That the side planks were caulked suggests carvel construction, in which planks are laid edge-to-edge and fastened to a frame, creating a smooth hull, rather than clinker construction, in which planks overlap.

Boat Innovations at Albany in the 1770s

Until the 1770s, the Henley Boat or Barge marked the extent of boat development at Albany. In 1774, however, the London Committee instructed the Albany Chief to extend the post’s trade beyond Henley House, and in 1777 John Kipling¹⁸ was sent to establish Gloucester House some 164 miles farther up the Albany River (see Figure 2-2 and Table 2-1). Transport above Henley, however, was more precarious and had to be carried out by canoes. Canoes, however, as noted earlier, were problematic to acquire and to handle. As George Sutherland noted after his trip exploring and wintering near Sturgeon Lake (west of Lake Nipigon) in 1779–1780, it would be desirable to establish settlements farther inland than Gloucester, but he could not see how it would be done. Large canoes could not be gotten, the HBC would not send for them, the Indians there could not make them, and

¹⁸ John Kipling/Kippling (b. c. 1743–1794) came from Bishopton, Durham, England. He entered HBC service in 1766 as a carpenter and in 1778 became Master of Gloucester House, a position he retained until 1791. In that year, he had a number of strokes and was sent home. When he recovered in 1793, he returned to Albany and was made the Second at the Fort. In 1794, he had another stroke and died on November 23, 1794. HBCA Biographical Sheet.

small canoes would never do. Further, he noted, green company men were as capable of handling large canoes as he was “to be Bishop in the Church of Rome.”¹⁹

These problems above Henley House were only solved when the company decided to build smaller and more transportable boats for the shallower and rougher portions of the Albany River above Gloucester House. A key event in this process occurred when Germain Maugenest deserted from the Canadian pedlars and signed on with the HBC in 1779. He found the HBC using canoes above Henley to supply Gloucester House and suggested that Thomas Hutchins,²⁰ the chief of Albany, use a form of “Battaux”²¹ inland from Henley.²² As Hutchins noted, “He wondered at our using small canoes, and said we ran great risk, both of Men and Cargo; the Batteaux would take more Goods with less Trouble, fewer Men, and more safety. He mentioned 32 feet Long, and 7 broad. I have Indented for two of less dimentions to serve for a beginning until we acquire the method of managing them.”²³ By November of 1779, the shipwright, mate, and armourer had laid the keel of a new Henley Boat,²⁴ and by May of 1781, three large boats and two Batteaux were despatched for Henley and Gloucester houses.²⁵ The 1779 date marks the first mention of building keeled boats, and thereafter, the boats and batteaux heading west of Henley were all keeled. This aspect of the batteaux made them much easier to haul over spaced logs on the various portages. The first batteau to reach Gloucester departed

¹⁹ Sutherland’s comments follow the January 31, 1780 entry in the Sturgeon Lake Post Journal. A Journal kept by George Sutherland containing the most particular Occurrences that happened when he wintered near or with the pedlars Inland. HBCA B.211/a/1, fos. 31d-33.

²⁰ Thomas Hutchins joined the HBC in 1766, when he was appointed surgeon at York Factory. In 1773, Hutchins returned to England on a one-year leave and on his return was appointed chief of Albany Factory. He retired from active service in the Bay in 1782. During his time in the Bay, Hutchins was a very active contributor to North American natural history. He died on July 7, 1790. Glyndwr William, “Hutchins, Thomas,” *DCB Online*.

²¹ Batteaux were shallow-draft, narrow, flat-bottomed boats, pointed at both ends. They were designed for navigating shallow fast flowing rivers.

²² A.M. Johnson, “Mons. Maugenest Suggests . . .,” *The Beaver* (Summer 1956), 51.

²³ Entry for August 27, 1779. Albany Post Journal 1778–1779. HBCA B.3/a/76, fo. 6.

²⁴ Entry for November 2, 1779. Albany Post Journal 1779–1780. HBCA B.3/a/77a, fo. 5d.

²⁵ Entries for May 28 & 29, 1781. Albany Post Journal 1780–1781. HBCA B.3/a/78, fos. 23-23d.

Albany House on May 29, 1781 and arrived on July 19. The next year, four batteaux were used on the Gloucester run without major mishap.²⁶

The use of these batteaux above Henley was not without its problems but, they proved a godsend for the provisioning of posts farther inland. In 1786, Osnaburgh House was built adjacent to Lake St. Joseph, but to do this, portaging paths, or as they called them “launching places,” had to be cut around the large number of rapids and falls above Gloucester House. This labour consisted of clearing wide paths through the bush and then cutting small logs or “rollers,” which were laid on these paths.

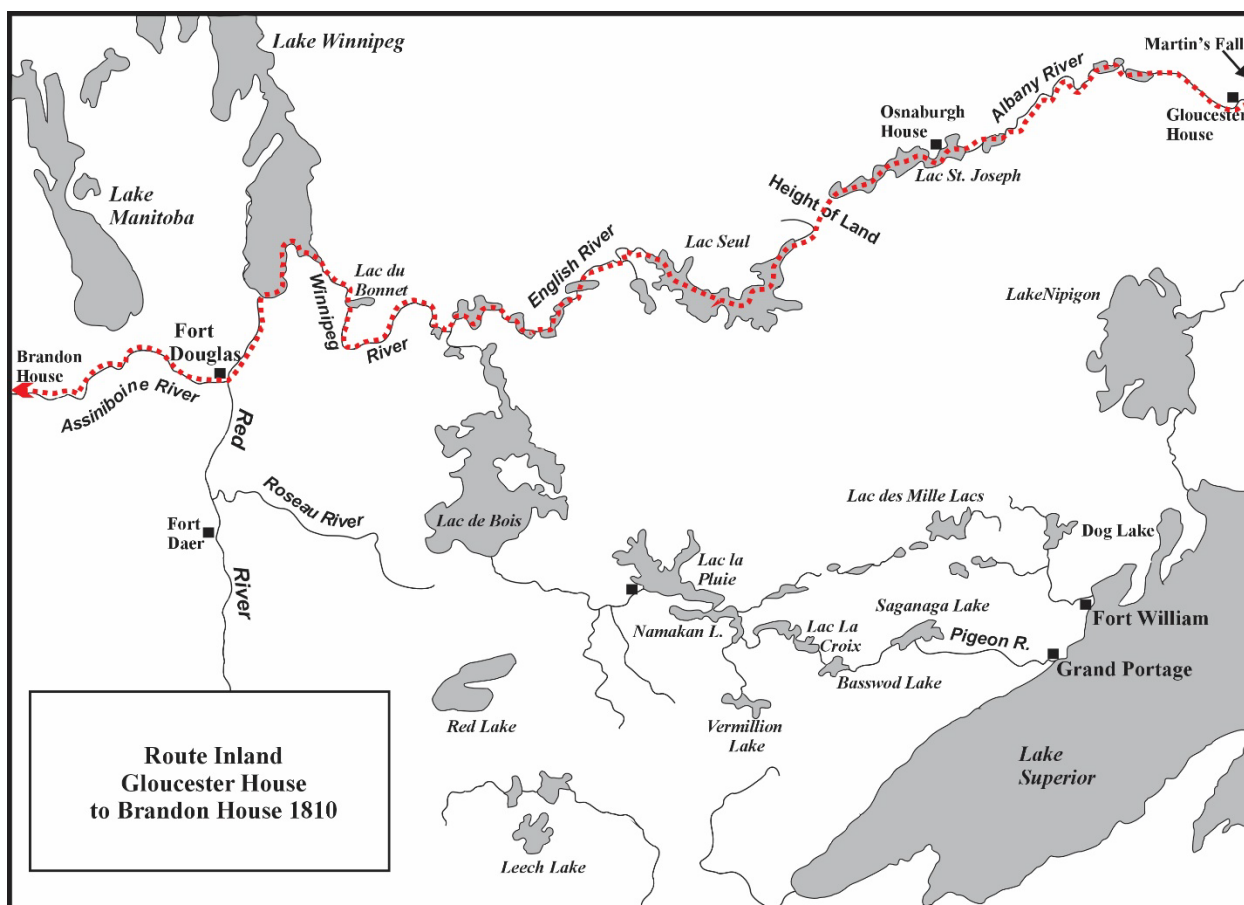


Figure 2-3 Route Inland from Gloucester House to Brandon House

²⁶ John A. Alwin, “Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson’s Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978, 162-163.

Laid parallel and close to each other, these logs allowed the men to drag the batteau out of the water and roll them around major rapids and falls. James Sutherland,²⁷ returning to Gloucester House from an expedition to Lake Winnipeg in 1786, noted that the launching place at the upper falls of the Three Snakes Falls (near Osnaburgh House) had 245 rollers.²⁸ Later, in 1790, when he established an outpost at Red Lake, he had to roller his batteaux over an 810-yard portage connecting the Albany River to the English River between Lake St. Joseph and Lac Seul. It took the party two days to cut and lay the 463 rollers across the portage (one log every five feet), and his men noted that the launching place was as long as all those below Gloucester House put together. Once in the creek leading to Lac Seul, they encountered another seven portages requiring ever more rollers.²⁹

In 1793, Brandon House³⁰ was established by Donald McKay,³¹ and at this time there were twenty-four batteaux in use west of Osnaburgh House.³² On July 30, 1793, John Sutherland³³ left Osnaburgh House with three batteaux and two large canoes, reaching Brandon House on October 7.

²⁷ James Sutherland (b.c. 1751–1797) came from the Orkney Islands and joined the HBC in 1770. He began his service as a tailor at Churchill (1770–1775) and after 1777 served inland from Albany Factory. From 1780 to 1787, he was second in command at Gloucester House and in 1790 travelled inland from Osnaburgh House to establish a post at Red Lake. In 1793, he established a post at Portage de L'Isle. From 1794 to 1796, he was in charge of Osnaburgh House, and from 1796 to 1797, he was in charge of Brandon House. He died and was buried there in 1797. HBCA Biographical Sheet.

²⁸ Ibid., 168-169. See James Sutherland, "A Journal from Gloucester House Inland Commencing June 12th and ending Aug 3, 1786," in Gloucester Post Journal 1786. Entry for August 1, 1786. HBCA B.78/a/15, fo. 7.

²⁹ Entries for July 28 to August 4, 1790. Red Lake Post Journal, 1790–1791. HBCA B.177/a/1, fos. 2d-3.

³⁰ Until 1810, the posts of Brandon House, Pembina (Pabina), and Qu'Appelle were supplied and settled inland from Albany House. In 1810, as part of the re-organization of the HBC called the "New System," posts were grouped into two Departments: The Northern Department and the Southern Department. The line dividing the Winnipeg District (Northern Department) from the Severn and Albany (Southern Department) Districts was the height of land. As well, the Winnipeg District was sub-divided into East Winnipeg (Pembina, Playgreen Lake, Jack River) and West Winnipeg (Cumberland House, Swan River, Fort Dauphin, and Brandon House).

³¹ Donald McKay, also known as "Mad McKay" or "Le Malin" (b.c. 1753–1833), was born in Scotland and served in the British Army during the American Revolution. Instead of returning home, he entered the fur trade in 1779 as a clerk for the independent trader, John Ross. From 1785 to 1790, he traded on the Upper Saskatchewan River, but the intense competition drove him out. In 1790, he travelled to Osnaburgh House and joined the HBC. From then until 1799, he worked as an inland trader out of Albany Factory. In 1790, he returned to Scotland, but in 1806 he re-engaged as an inland trader out of Churchill Factory. In 1809, he retired to Scotland and in 1822 emigrated to Nova Scotia. HBCA Biographical Sheet.

³² John A. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978, 206.

³³ John Sutherland came from Caithness, Scotland, and entered HBC service in 1778 as a labourer at Albany. From 1783 to 1805, he worked inland from Albany at Red Lake, Portage de L'Isle, and Red River as an assistant trader. He went home in 1805 but was back at Albany in 1807. He was discharged in 1812 and in 1813 was sent home. HBCA Biographical Sheet.

He would remain there until February 6, 1794, when he set out overland for what he called “River Kapell” reaching the site on February 16, 1794. In the process, he had traversed forty-four portages and travelled 1115 miles.³⁴

Table 2-1 An Account of the Time it will take to travel from Albany Fort to River Kapell, likewise, the number of Carrying Places (Distance in River Miles)		
Distances	Days	Carrying Places
Albany Fort to Henley House – 137 miles	8	2
Henley House to Gloucester House – 164 miles	13	14
Gloucester House to Osnaburgh House – 200 miles	15	20
Osnaburgh House to Portage de Lisle – 230 miles	23	17
Portage de Lisle to the Wenipegg Lake – 123 miles	10	27
Crossing the Lake to Red River – 57 miles	3	0
Mouth of the Red River to Fort du Pinnet – 347 miles	28	0
Fort du Pinnet to Brandon House – 58 miles	5	0
Brandon House to River Kapell – 300 miles	26	0
TOTAL – 1616 miles	131	80
Source: John Sutherland, “Remarks on Travelling Inland,” in Journal at River Kapell, 1793–1794. HBCA B.63/a/1, fos. 13-14d		

In August 1800, Alexander Henry³⁵ of the NWC met five HBC batteaux at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers about to go up the Assiniboine towards Brandon House. Coming from Martin Falls, they were led by Robert Goodwin³⁶ (Master) and assisted by a Mr. Brown.³⁷ What is interesting about this account is that he describes the batteaux in use by the HBC. He writes:

³⁴ John Sutherland, Journal at River Kapell 1793–1794. B.63/a/1, fos. 2-14d.

³⁵ Alexander Henry the Younger (ca. 1765–1814) was an early Canadian fur trader and explorer, and from 1799 until his death in 1814, he kept a detailed diary/journal of his travels and trade. He began his career in the NWC in 1791, and in 1801 he was made a partner of that company. He drowned in the Columbia River on May 22, 1814.

³⁶ Robert Goodwin (b.c. 1761–1805) came from Yoxford, England and entered the service of the HBC in 1781 as a “surgeon” at Eastmain (1782) and Albany Factory (1782–1786). Thereafter, he served inland from Albany at Gloucester House (1787–1788), master of Osnaburgh House (1788–1794), master at Brandon House (1794–1796 and 1798–1801), and master of Osnaburgh House 1804–1805). He was married to Mistigoose, who died in 1798, and he had four children. HBCA Biographical Sheet.

³⁷ This is Peter Brown, from Harray in the Orkney Islands, who was at Albany Factory as a labourer by at least 1792. He worked inland from Albany for most of his career before he died in 1803. He was a labourer at Henley House and Portage de L’Isle in 1795, and he accompanied Robert Goodwin to Brandon House in 1799–1800. This last piece of information is interesting as he is at Brandon House throughout the year from Fall 1799 until Spring 1800, but there is no record of him with Goodwin in Fall 1800, when Henry records seeing him. Brown died in 1803 after accidentally shooting himself in the thigh when he was hunting for Osnaburgh House. His gun went off as he was entering his hut, and he was brought back to Osnaburgh House in a canoe by Duncan Cameron, a Canadian who was camping nearby. The master of Osnaburgh then hired four Indians for twenty beaver each to take him to the surgeon at Albany. This trip of more than ten days nearly killed him. He died on July 6, 1803, two days after he reached Albany Factory. HBCA A.16/6; B.3/d/104; B.3/f/1. Albany Factory Journal for June 27, 1803. HBCA B.3/a/105, fos. 38-38d. Osnaburgh House Journal for June

At 12 oclock, 5 H.B. Co Boats from Albany Factory, or rather Martin Falls, arrived here, Mr. Robert Goodwin master assisted by Mr. Brown. They put ashore and remained with us until 4 oclock when they embarked and proceeded up the Assiniboine River. Their boats carry about 45 packages of an equal weight but may be said to average 80 lbs each conducted by 4 oars and a steersman. They are neatly built and painted and sharp at both ends.³⁸

To this picture we have some additional details provided by Peter Fidler of the batteaux brought from Albany to Brandon House in the early nineteenth century (Brandon House ceased to be supplied from Albany House in 1810).

Dimensions of the Batteaux brought from Albany by 5 Men in each

<i>Length of Keel</i>	<i>19 ft 4 inches</i>
<i>Within Main Thaft³⁹</i>	<i>6 ft</i>
<i>Fore Thaft</i>	<i>5 ft 4 inches</i>
<i>Aft Thaft</i>	<i>5 ft 6 inches</i>
<i>Three strakes from the Gunvail Clinker built</i>	
<i>Cargo 33 bundles of 90 lb each – Provisions and Goods included.⁴⁰</i>	

Here we have the size of the smaller boats/batteaux that went far inland from Albany, and Peter Fidler details that the boat is carvel-built up to the last three strakes just below the gunwale, which are clinker-built.⁴¹

19, 1803. HBCA B.155/a/17, fos. 22d-23. John Hodgson (Albany) to John McNab (York Factory) July 17, 1803. HBCA B.3/b/39, fo. 36d.

³⁸ Barry M. Gough, ed., *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger 1799–1814, Volume I* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1988), 20. Entry for August 19, 1800.

³⁹ Fidler uses this old English variant of “Thoft.” It has the same meaning as “Thwart”, which is used elsewhere in this text, and was a cross member in a York Boat that helped to keep the boat’s shape. It was also used as a rower’s bench, and as a support for the mast. See Appendix 4-1.

⁴⁰ Peter Fidler Notebook (unpaginated but on the twenty-third page). Archives of Manitoba (AM) MG 1 D3 (P4642/1)

⁴¹ This detail is supported by the description of boats being built at Martin Falls in 1794. There, John Hodgson notes the carpenter and mate are boarding up the boat up to the clinker work. Martin Falls Journal entries for December 6-8, 1794. HBCA B.123/a/1 fo. 6d. Carvel construction is a method of building a wooden boat's hull by fixing planks to a frame so that the planks butt up against each other, edge to edge, gaining support from the frame and forming a smooth hull. Such planking requires caulking between the joints over and above that needed by the clinker-built, or overlapping planks. Carvel construction creates a stronger hull capable of withstanding greater stress, and is easier to repair *en route*. It does, however, create greater weight.

Finally, we have John Hodgson (Albany Chief) writing to John McNab (Chief of York Factory) answering a request on the specifics of the largest inland boat used at Albany and that of a Batteau of Five men. The largest boat would have been used between Albany and Henley House, and the batteau above Henley House.⁴²

The Largest Inland Boat

<i>Length of Keel</i>	<i>36 feet</i>
<i>Length from Stem to Stern Overall</i>	<i>39½ feet</i>
<i>Length of main thaft</i>	<i>12 feet 2 inches</i>
<i>Length of fore thaft</i>	<i>10 feet 4 inches</i>
<i>Length of After thaft</i>	<i>10 feet 10 inches</i>
<i>Length of each of the three floor timbers</i>	<i>the lengths of the thafts & depth to the keelson will tell you the lengths of these.</i>
<i>Depth under Main thaft to keelson</i>	<i>2 feet</i>
<i>Depth under Fore thaft to keelson</i>	<i>2 feet 2 inches</i>
<i>Depth under After thaft to keelson</i>	<i>2 feet 3 inches</i>

A Batteau of Five Men

<i>Length of Keel</i>	<i>19 feet 6 inches</i>
<i>Length of Main thaft</i>	<i>6 feet 3½ inches</i>
<i>Length of Fore thaft</i>	<i>5 feet 4 inches</i>
<i>Length of After thaft</i>	<i>5 feet 9 inches</i>
<i>Depth under Main thaft</i>	<i>1 foot 5 inches</i>
<i>Depth under After thaft</i>	<i>1 foot 6 inches</i>
<i>Depth under Fore thaft</i>	<i>1 foot 8 inches</i>
<i>Length from Stem to Stern overall</i>	<i>26 feet 6 inches</i>
<i>Length Rake forward</i>	<i>4 feet 1 inch</i>
<i>Length Rake Aft</i>	<i>3 feet 10 inches</i>

This was the development of HBC inland boats at Albany Factory in the second half of the eighteenth century. While somewhat smaller by later standards, these inland boats would come to be known as York Boats after extended use on the waters inland from York Factory in the nineteenth century. From the 1770s to 1793, they had effectively penetrated the interior from Albany Factory on James Bay to Brandon House on the plains. Small wonder that they would be further developed

⁴² These dimensions are attached to a letter from John Hodgson (Albany) to John McNab (York Factory) July 17, 1803. HBCA B.3/b/39, fos. 35d-37.

on the Saskatchewan River, and even less surprising that they would be introduced by a man, George Sutherland, who has encountered them in his service inland from Albany.

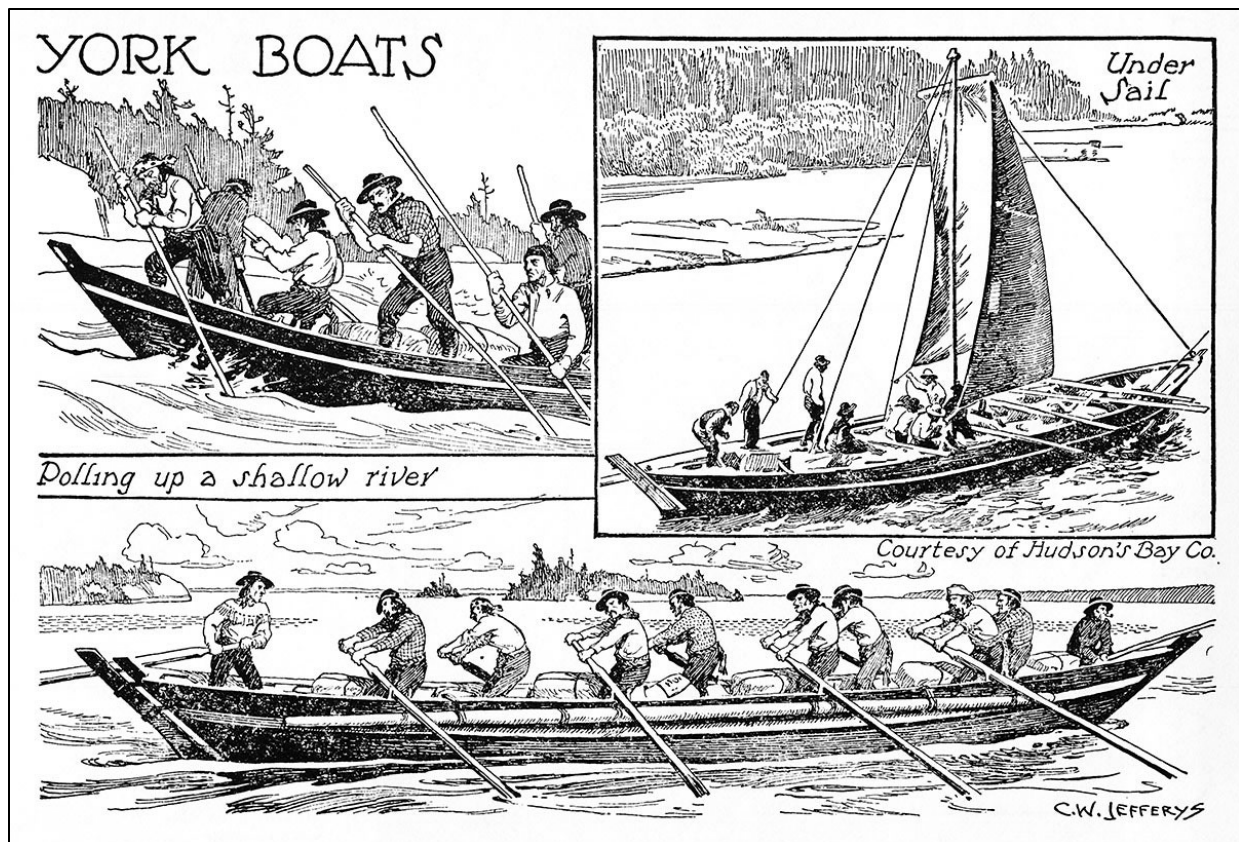


Figure 2-5 Powering an Inland Boat of the HBC

Chapter Three

The Use of Inland Boats on the Saskatchewan River to York Factory: York Boats from 1797 to 1821

The Background

In the 1760s, when York Factory began to suffer from the competition of the pedlars from Quebec, the chief there, Ferdinand Jacobs,¹ made plans to build posts inland to regain this lost trade. In 1768, he wrote the London Committee for permission to move inland and begin the use of wooden boats as had been done at Albany Factory. The London Committee grudgingly granted his request to move inland but rejected the use of wooden boats in place of canoes, given that the rivers from York were considered too full of rapids and portages.² The shortage of canoes and manpower, however, delayed the move inland until 1774, when Cumberland House was established. When the HBC moved farther and farther inland, establishing Hudson House (1778), South Branch House (1786), and Manchester House (1786), there were renewed calls for the use of boats given the shortage of canoes and men. By 1781, the Master of Hudson House, Robert Longmoor, asked for at least their limited adoption. Under a great deal of obligation to build enough canoes to get his returns out, he commented: "If your Honours had a Boat Builder that could build flat bottom'd Boats, he could serve for both Branches and the Natives would see we could do without their assistance and they would do more without being asked, and less expence."³ It was not, however, until 1786 that the HBC launched the first wooden boats on the Saskatchewan. These few boats only plied the Saskatchewan River

¹ Ferdinand Jacobs (b.c. 1713–1783) was engaged by the HBC as an apprentice in 1732 and sent to Fort Prince of Wales (Churchill Factory). In 1740, he was appointed accountant and assistant to the chief (Richard Norton). In 1745, he was appointed second under Robert Pilgrim at the post, and in 1752 he succeeded Joseph Isbister as chief of Churchill. On the death of James Isham in 1761, he was made chief of York Factory (1762). Jacobs retired in 1775, one year after he had established Cumberland House inland. Shirlee Ann Smith, "Jacobs, Ferdinand," *DCB Online*.

² John A. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1878, 114-118.

³ Hudson House Journal entry for April 24, 1781. HBCA B.87/a/3, fo. 21.

between Hudson House and Cumberland House and between Manchester House and Hudson House. Indeed, their use was very limited and strictly supplemental to canoes. Only in the 1790s did inland boats begin to replace canoes.⁴

Even then, difficulties beset this transition. By the 1790s, York Factory had developed skilled canoe builders and steersmen, and even though canoes were still in short supply, the men who worked these canoes opposed any use of wooden boats, since doing so would lessen their wage demands that usually had to be met.⁵ Despite this opposition, Joseph Colen⁶ forged ahead with a plan to institute the use of York Boats to replace canoes. His correspondence in 1791 reveals some of his ideas.⁷

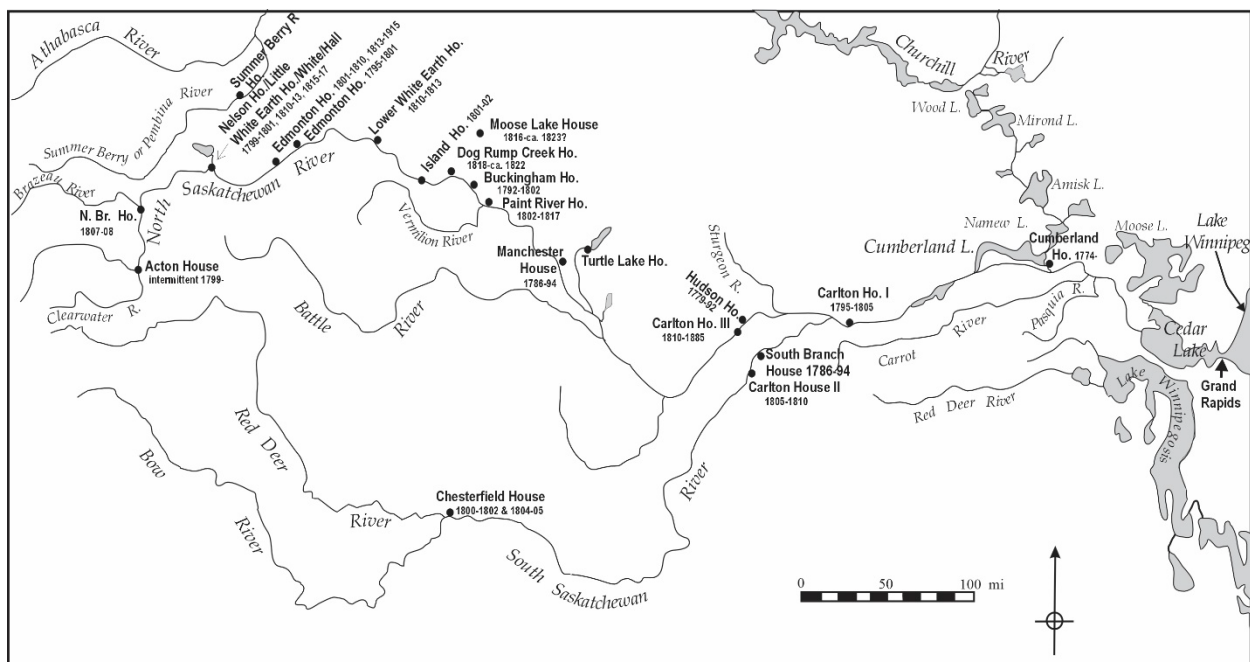


Figure 3-1 HBC Inland Posts on the Saskatchewan 1774 to 1821

⁴ Ibid., 151-152.

⁵ York Factory Journal 1792–1793, entry May 29, 1793. HBCA B.239/a/95, fos. 31ad – 31b.

⁶ Joseph Colen (b.c. 1751–1818) was appointed resident chief of York Factory in 1782, when William Tomison went inland and, in 1795, was appointed chief factor there. He was recalled in 1798 and terminated in 1799.

⁷ These plans are described in some detail by John A. Alwin, “Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson’s Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1878, 246-254.



Figure 3-2 Departure of Second Group of Swiss Settlers from York Factory 1821
Peter Rindisbacher – Library and Archives of Canada, Acc. No. 11988-250-17

He planned to divide the Hayes River route to Cumberland House into sections, which would allow the use of boats in some sections. The first 120 miles of the Hayes River upstream from York Factory was free of rapids and would permit the use of fairly large boats. Most rapids and portages occurred between the Hill River and Holey Lake, and so he planned to build a depot at the first rapids of Hill River,⁸ which came to be known as Gordon House or the Rock Depot. This depot would be constructed in 1794.⁹ There, York Boats would meet the canoes coming from Cumberland House and

⁸ Passing this point in 1792, Peter Fidler described this first portage as “40 yards over upon an Island in the middle of the River.” A Journal from York Fort Hudson’s Bay, to Cumberland, Hudsons, Manchester & Buckingham House – up the Saskatchewan river, by Way of Lake Winnipeg in 1792 by Peter Fidler. HBCA E.3/1, fo. 69.

⁹ York Factory Journal 1793–1794, entries for June 19 to June 23, 1794. HBCA B.239/a/96, fos. 32-33.

exchange their furs for the trade goods brought by the boats. As the York Council informed the Governor and Committee in England in 1794.

We are fully convinced that Hill River is navigable for Boats as Men this Season in a Boat of nine and a Battaux of two Tons burden loaded with Trading Goods were got up with ease and in safety to the Rock in Hill River. Mr. Colen attended the Expedition this season & built a House for the Reception of Goods. 24 men in 8 canoes went from thence loaded with Trading Goods to Cumberland House & returned with seven thousand Beaver in furs.¹⁰

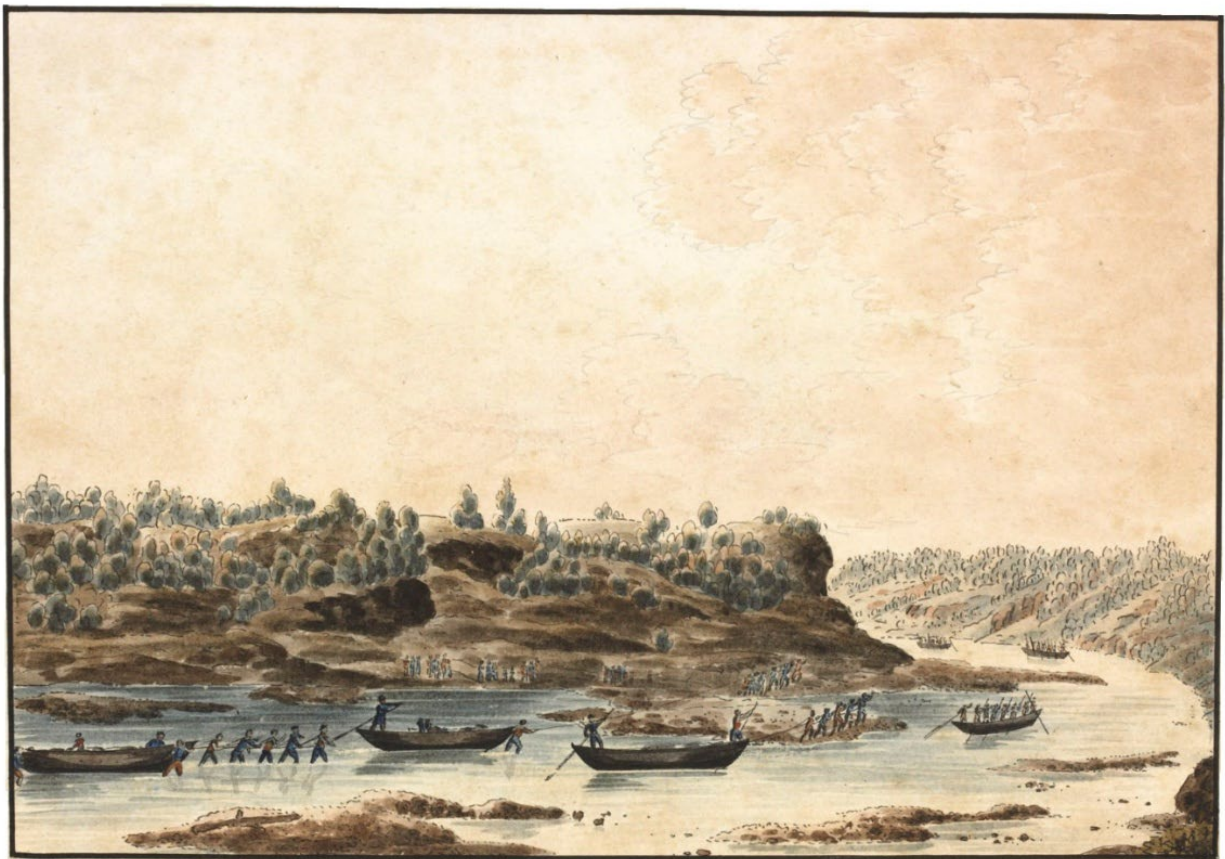


Figure 3-3 Tracking and Poling York Boats on the Hill River below Rock Fort (Gordon House) 1821.
Peter Rindisbacher – LAC Acc. No. 1988-25-18

Joseph Colen and George Sutherland versus William Tomison 1796 to 1799

In 1796, Joseph Colen decided that to prevent past inconveniences caused by the shortage of canoes, and based on information that he had received that wooden boats could be navigated with

¹⁰ Letter of the York Council to the Governor and Committee in England, York Fort, Hudson Bay, 22nd Sept 1794. HBCA B.239/b/79, fos. 4d-5.

ease from Buskacoggan (Rendezvous Lake or Little Playgreen and Playgreen Lakes) to the upper settlements on the Saskatchewan River, Nick Spence, a clever boatbuilder, be sent with George Sutherland, to “put a stop to the Canoe builders in this Service assuming to themselves so much

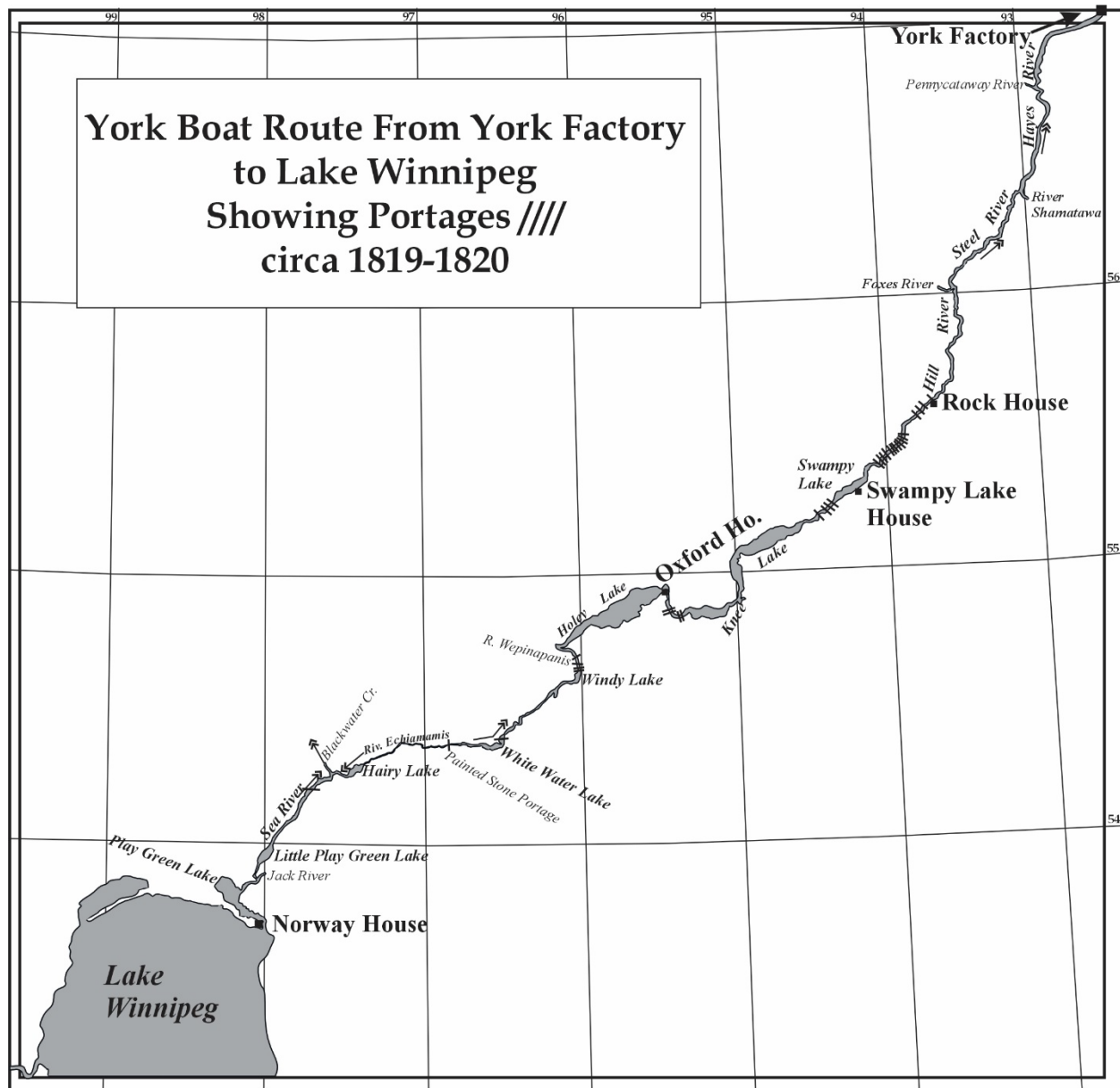


Figure 3-4 York Boat Route from York Factory to Lake Winnipeg showing portages

much consequence.”¹¹ Later, he would also send John Moar (Moore), another good boatbuilder, to help Nicol Spence in “building such Boats as will fit the Rivers in which they are to navigate.”¹² This opportunity came about when William Tomison, the inland master from York Factory, who vociferously opposed using York Boats on the Saskatchewan River, travelled back to England in 1796 to shore up his influence with the London Committee.

Tomison came from Orkney and was born on South Ronaldsay around 1739. By 1760, he had joined the HBC and served at York Factory and Severn Factory until 1767. There, he came to the attention of the chief of York Factory, Andrew Graham, who sent him inland to winter with the Indians from 1767 to 1769. By 1778, he had been promoted to “Inland Master” and was very effective in opposing the NWC in the interior. In particular, he excelled in building posts along the Saskatchewan River and in transforming inexperienced Orcadian servants of the HBC into skilled canoe men and winterers.¹³ This last attribute would bring him into direct conflict with George Sutherland. Having trained Orcadian labourers to be good canoe men, Tomison was loath to shift the HBC transport system to larger wooden boats.

George Sutherland, trained by Thomas Hutchins at Albany Factory, had no such compunctions and railed at the stubbornness of Tomison. A Scot, Sutherland tangled with the Orcadian. He was born about 1754 in Wick, Scotland, and joined the HBC at Albany Factory in 1774. By 1777, he was wintering inland and utilizing inland boats to travel as far as Henley and Gloucester houses. He almost starved to death wintering at Sturgeon Lake in 1779–1780, but after recovering, he spent some time at Severn House, eventually ending up at York Factory as a linguist and trader for Joseph Colen. Colen quickly took him under his wing and, over the next ten years, they concocted a

¹¹ York Factory Journal 1795–1796, entry for July 17, 1796. HBCA B.239/a/99, fos. 20d-21d.

¹² Joseph Colen to George Sutherland, August 25, 1796. HBCA B.239/b/57, York Factory Correspondence Book 1795–1796, fo. 44d.

¹³ For more on William Tomison see John Nicks, “Tomison, William,” *DCB Online*.

scheme to introduce York Boats on the Saskatchewan. By 1794, Sutherland was temporarily in charge of York Factory while Colen was in England, and in 1795, he was put in charge of Cumberland House under Tomison. Then, when Tomison travelled to England in 1796, Sutherland was put in charge of Edmonton House.¹⁴

This was the opportunity that Joseph Colen and George Sutherland had been waiting for. They used the absence of Tomison to have Sutherland, at Edmonton House, oversee a boatbuilding experiment at Buckingham House, the post downriver to which Nicol Spence and John Moar had been sent. Stationed there under Peter Fidler, Spence and Moar built two boats between October 1796 and April 1797. The construction of these two boats will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter; it suffices to note that the boats had keels of thirty feet and were carvel-built except for the two strakes immediately below the gunwale, which were clinker-built,¹⁵ and that the blacksmith made some ironwork to fix a false keel¹⁶ on the boats to save them when taken over carrying places.

When the boats were nearly completed, George Sutherland (Edmonton) wrote to Peter Fidler (Buckingham House) that the finished boats should be sent up to Edmonton to collect the furs there before their brigade turned round and headed for York Factory. Nicol Spence should accompany the boats to Edmonton, as he would summer there, being unfit for the passage to York Factory. John Moor (Moar) would accompany the boats down the Saskatchewan in case repairs needed to be made *en route*. The boats were also to bring the extra planks sawn for new boats as they were difficult to get at Edmonton.¹⁷ These boats arrived at Edmonton House on May 11, 1797, one painted green and the

¹⁴ For more on George Sutherland, see Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Sutherland, George," *DCB Online*.

¹⁵ Clinker work involved attaching a plank so that it overlapped with and was fastened to the plank immediately below it. Below the uppermost two such rows of planks, called strakes, the York Boat was carvel built or planked so that the seams were smooth or aligned. Carvel is a method of constructing a wooden boat's hull by fixing planks to a frame so that the planks butt up against each other, edge to edge, gaining support from the frame and forming a smooth hull.

¹⁶ A false keel, sometimes called a "Keel-right" in Orkney, was a protective layer of wood covering the bottom of a boat's keel, to protect it from damage when the boat was being hauled over land.

¹⁷ George Sutherland (Edmonton) to Peter Fidler (Buckingham House) April 24, 1797. Despite the fact that Fidler was stationed at Buckingham House, this letter and Fidler's account of the boat building at Buckingham House are found in

other black. Both were rowed or poled by seven men each.¹⁸ At Edmonton House, they were loaded with furs and provisions and then, along with two canoes, began their return journey to Buckingham House in company with a boat NWC's Angus Shaw.¹⁹ The two boats were each loaded with seventy-five bundles of furs and ten bags of pemmican.²⁰ On their way back to Buckingham House, one of the boats (the green one) had three planks "stove in" on some rocks, wetting some of the furs and provisions.²¹ By May 18, the boat had been repaired, by May 19 the furs had been dried, and on May 21 both boats departed Buckingham House.²²

This brigade of two boats and nineteen canoes arrived at Cumberland House on June 4 but found the lakes still covered with ice and suspended the journey until June 12. On June 18, they arrived at Grand Rapids and were able to run them. As George Sutherland noted, "Arrived at Grand Rapid, where we took out all the Furs, and shot down the rapid without injuring the Boats or Canoes. Indeed, the Boats seems to exceed even my utmost expectations on the falls as they did not ship any water, altho' the waves ran very high."²³ Lake Winnipeg ice had not yet entirely broken up, but the two boats could cut through the thin ice, and the brigade reached Mossy Point at the entrance of Playgreen Lake and the House of Mr. Hallet at Jack River on July 2. By July 3, the boats had reached the Sea River Carrying Place and got both boats over. Finally, on July 7, they reached the head of the Trout River. There, they transferred their 180 packs of furs to canoes for the farther trip to Gordon House, and

the Cumberland House Journal 1796–1797. See Cumberland House Journal entry for April 27, 1797. HBCA B.49/a/27b, fo. 49d.

¹⁸ Edmonton House Journal 1796–1797, entry for May 11, 1797. HBCA B.60/a/2, fo. 24d. The colours and manpower of the boats come from a marginal note in the Buckingham House Journal entry for May 5, 1797. HBCA B.49/a/27b, fo. 51.

¹⁹ George Sutherland (Edmonton) to Peter Fidler (Buckingham House), May 13, 1797. Buckingham House Journal of Peter Fidler (Cumberland). Entry for May 16, 1797. HBCA B.49/a/27b, fo. 53.

²⁰ Buckingham House Journal of Peter Fidler (Cumberland) 1796–1797. HBCA B.49/a/27b, fo. 53.

²¹ *Ibid.*, entry of May 16, 1797, fo. 53.

²² *Ibid.*, entries for May 18–21, 1797, fos. 53d–54.

²³ Edmonton House Journal 1796–1797. Entry for June 18, 1797. HBCA B.60/a/2, fo. 26d.

from there by boat to York Factory.²⁴ George Sutherland immediately wrote to Joseph Colen at York Factory to announce his achievement.

I left Buckingham House 21st May with two fine large Batteaux & 19 Canoes, well loaded with furs navigated by 64 men and only arrived here yesterday having been stopped with Ice in almost every Lake we had to pass this being the latest season ever known Inland will of course change our business very much. I intend fitting out as many canoes immediately as possible to carry cargoes to the Boats now left at the head of Trout River also some Canoes to accompany them Inland . . .²⁵

By October 1797, these boats with their return cargo of trading goods had arrived back at Edmonton House, and Sutherland noted with satisfaction that the two boats with eighteen crew members had brought in goods equal to what canoes manned by forty men would have been needed to accomplish.²⁶

For the next decade, this was the route, and these were the logistics of the Saskatchewan Brigade to York Factory. Leaving Edmonton House as early as possible in Spring but not too early to be held up by ice in Cedar Lake and Lake Winnipeg, these boats would have their end terminus at the head of Trout River. There their cargoes were loaded onto canoes to be taken over the roughest parts of the Hayes River route to Gordon House, where they were again loaded onto boats originating at York Factory and carried to the bayside post.

In order to facilitate this passage, a depot was erected at the head of the Trout River in Summer 1798. It was named Oxford House and colloquially referred to as “Colen’s Cot.” The men stationed there would work the canoes between it and Gordon House.²⁷ Gordon House, in turn, had been built by Colen in 1794 as the depot where goods from the boats of York Factory were transferred to the

²⁴ Buckingham House Journal 1796–1797. Entries for May 21 to July 7, 1797. HBCA B.49/a/27b, fos. 54-56.

²⁵ George Sutherland (Gordon House) to Joseph Colen, July 13, 1797. York Factory Correspondence Book 1796–1797, HBCA B.239/b/59, fo. 32d. The large number of men involved, mostly in the canoes, show the manpower savings that could be achieved if the number of canoes were reduced and the number of boats was increased. According to Sutherland, two boats (19 men) could carry what twenty canoes (forty men) had formerly done. This change from canoes to boats, however, occurred gradually and was not general until George Simpson formally instituted the boat brigades after 1821.

²⁶ Edmonton House Journal 1797–1798, entry for October 6, 1797. HBCA B.60/a/3, fo. 2d.

²⁷ Joseph Colen and York Council to the Governor and Committee, September 21, 1798. HBCA B.239/b/79, fo. 26.

canoes that would be travelling to Oxford House.²⁸ These arrangements remained in place until around 1811, when boats from the Saskatchewan began making the trip all the way to York Factory.



Figure 3-5 Oxford House with York Boats filled with Swiss Settlers bound for Red River 1821
Peter Rindisbacher – Library and Archives of Canada, Acc. No. 1988-2150-20

As noted earlier, the boat brigades from the Upper Saskatchewan to York Factory had been contemplated at least five years earlier than when they were first deployed in 1797. The plans had originated with George Sutherland and Joseph Colen; however, they had been consistently blocked by William Tomison, the inland master of York, who had the ear of the London Committee. As mentioned earlier, Colen and Sutherland were finally given the opportunity to inaugurate their scheme when Tomison returned to England for one year in the fall of 1796. The advantages of using boats

²⁸ York Council to the Governor and Committee in England, September 22, 1794. HBCA B.239/b/79, fo.5.

and the resistance to the same by Tomison can best be gleaned from the correspondence of Sutherland and Colen in the aftermath of their success, and deserves a closer look.

Colen's most detailed defense of the scheme can be found in his York Factory Journal of 1797, the excerpts of which follow.²⁹

July 15, 1797, Saturday. Early this morning an Indian arrived from Gordon House with Letters informing me, of the safe arrival of Mess^{rs} George Sutherland and Company's Servants from the Upper Settlements. – And about Noon W^m Hanson and party of nine men conducting two large Batteaux loaded with 180 Packs of furs. – I have the pleasing satisfaction of hearing that the plan, which I have had in agitation for the last seven years is carried into execution this Season. – Two large Batteaux of thirty feet keel each, have been brought from the upper Settlements, to the head of Trout River loaded with furs and provisions – a distance of upwards of 1200 Miles and navigated thro' Rivers which were before deemed impassible. This is what I never could have accomplished while Mr. Tomison had the management of affairs Inland, as he set his face against every improvement for the benefits of Trade, and I will affirm had this plan been adopted when I first proposed it, the Trade from Inland would have amounted to double what it is at this time in this Country to oppose us . . .

July 17th Monday . . . The distance which large Craft have been navigated this season is sufficiently convincing, that my representation by Letters for years past, and what I proposed to the Hon^{ble} Committee in England, was not a chimerical project . . . Mr. Tomison always set his face against Boats being employed in Inland business, – and many injurious steps were pursued, even to stop those from going between this factory and Gordon House; This mode of conveying up Goods – was not agreeable to the man – as it of course would lessen their consequence as Steersmen &c &c if this method was followed, – and for this reason it was opposed – Every mean artifice was pursued to stop men from going to the Rock in Boats four years ago, and had it not been for more dent of perseverance, and accompanying the Boats myself – I have every reason to think it would have been set aside; – However I am pleased having accomplished an object – I have had many years at heart – and great merit is due to Mr. Sutherland – for having carried it into execution. – I am confident if the mode, that has been adopted this Season for the Conveying of Goods Inland is followed in future much benefit will arise to the Hon^{ble} Company. – The saving in men's wages will be considerable – The upper settlements will be better supplied with Goods, the want of which many thousand beaver have been lost annually, & this accomplished with half the Number of Men. – It will also stop the arrogance of Steersmen, who have of late, taken every advantage that offered to raise their Wages – They well know their Service were required – and in proportion, to the necessity there has been, of having new Stations erected, and where Canoes were required to convey Goods, – they embraced the

²⁹ York Factory Journal of 1796–1797. HBCA B.239/a/100, fos. 25-27.

opportunity made large demands, in which, I am confident they were encouraged – and their wages have been advanced almost annually.

This will in great measure be done away, very few Canoes will be required, for the resupplying of the Saskatchewan Settlements, and those Canoes will in a few years be chiefly employed between Gordon House and the Knee Lakes where I intend to have Store Houses erected to supply the Batteaux annually. – Large Craft can also be employed between this and Gordon House, which has been sufficiently proved this Season by the large stock of Goods, stores and provisions sent from York.

It is pleasing reflecting – finding that 18 Men in two Boats perform the same duty, as forty men in ten Canoes – It is to be observed that an able Bowsman & an able Steersman – is required for every Canoe – beside an old experienced Canoe Man – and young lads as Middle Men – when wages on an average amounts to £70 frequently more seldom less – It requires no more than a Steersman and Bowsman to each Batteaux – the rest are men, that are considered as unfit for working of Canoes; consequently, are those at low wages – the saving this year at a moderate calculation is upwards of £400 in Men's Wages only, exclusive of provisions – an object in my opinion of some moment and ought in my opinion be attended to by them who have the management of the Co's Concerns in this quarter.

Mr. Sutherland informs me, that the Men appear a different people to what they were when he first went Inland, willing ready and obliging – tho' they made some murmuring – on account of not having necessaries to supply them, such as Cotton Shirts, Duck Trousers . . .

George Sutherland was even more vociferous in relating the advantages of Inland Boats, and more scornful about the objections, insults, and continued opposition of Tomison. In a letter to Tomison in 1798, he accused him not only of trying to stop the use of boats on the Saskatchewan earlier, but also of trying to sabotage the boats Sutherland had started building at Edmonton House, after Tomison returned from England.

. . . But you will be pleased to recollect that by means of these very Boats eighteen men carried up no less than two hundred pieces of Trading goods great and small you also know that this Quantity of Loads required no less than forty men when employed on your old stale plan of conducting the business with those insignificant Craft Canoes . . .

On your arrival last Nov^r at Edmonton House you there saw both the new Boats for the first time; you know the great Cargoes of Trading goods they carried up without a single article being in the least damaged; you also know they arrived earlier (notwithstanding the comparable lateness of that Season) than the Canoes ever did.

If you recollect you asked me how the Boats answered; my reply was that they spoke for themselves; you then asked me if I did not think it was too hard work for the men and whether they did not grumble &c – I told you I did not think they were much harder worked than the Canoe men were; and at the same time I gave you to understand that my men never grumbled and to tell you my mind freely I have no Idea of consulting the inclinations of the men at any time for less when the Company's Business is concerned yet strange to tell not a man will say that I used him ill in any respect whatever.

Sir I will now ask if you did not find materials at Edmonton House for building Canoes? did you not also find materials for building two more Boats of exactly the same size as the mother they having been found by experience to answer our most sanguine expectations? Now Sir what could induce you to cut five feet from each of the Keels designed for the new boats and thereby render the plan in a great measure abortive? We all know the reason why forsooth because they were brought into use by another person; it is very plain that these Boats are a great eye sore to you yet I cannot help thinking but that our employers have too just an Idea of their own interest to suffer you or any other person so far to impose upon them as to reduce the Boats in size far less annihilate them which I am given clearly to understand is your avowed intention, as soon as you can by any means find plausible pretext for so doing; by the bye you are not likely to have an opportunity of this kind in this Century or even the next; as to the next especially towards the conclusion of it we need not be very solicitous about it as in all probability ere then old Charon with his vouted goodness may give both you and me a seat in his Boat which I understand is constructed on a different principle from those required up the Saskatchewan River.

To be serious you cannot for a moment suppose that you can injure me by reducing the Boats; the very idea of this is laughable yet it be most true that by so doing, you have injured the Honb^{le} Company and that on no small degree.

. . . I have reason to suspect you have advanced something when last in England about the impracticability of navigating them up and down the Saskatchewan River however the contrary has been already proved and that in a very satisfactory manner.³⁰

This contretemps irritated the London Committee, who upbraided Colen and Sutherland to pay Tomison his due respect, even while it endorsed the Colen/Sutherland plan of using boats on the York Factory/Edmonton House route. In its annual letter of 1799, the Committee stipulated that canoes only be used between Gordon House and Trout River, and from there to Edmonton House, trade was to be conducted by the large boats built under the direction of Mr. Sutherland. These boats,

³⁰ George Sutherland to Mr. Tomison York Factory, August 10, 1798. HBCA B.239/b/60, fos. 36-41.

they said, would require less than half the men employed in canoes on the same route, and they directed Tomison to adapt the plan so as to diminish the enormous expense of the company.³¹

Given these directions, Tomison followed through with the plans he had so opposed in the past. He repaired the old boats at Edmonton and had new ones built for the next season. The new boats, however, were the ones whose keels he had cut back five to six feet, and for the next forty years the length of the keels of Edmonton House York Boats would vary from twenty-two to twenty-eight feet.

The two protagonists, Sutherland and Colen, who had brought about the revolution in York Boats on the Saskatchewan, would not be around to see their plan in operation after 1799. Not surprisingly, when Tomison requested that George Sutherland return inland in 1798, he refused and instead retired from the HBC. His retirement was made easier by the fact that his brother had died in Jamacia, in 1798, leaving him property there. Once back in London, he married Eleanor Judd and took up residence at Patriot Square. His brother, Alexander, had been a slave owner in St. Catherine, Jamacia and his estate, "Berrydale," devolved to George. He would maintain this estate until his death in 1811. For his part, Joseph Colen played no further part in the affairs of the HBC. He was recalled by the London Committee in 1798, and his salary was terminated in March 1799. While the reasons for his dismissal were not stated, his biographer cites the impatience of the London Committee with the jealousy and rivalry between the Englishman and the Orcadian.³² Tomison's victory over his two opponents proved to be somewhat hollow. In poor health and expending even more of his energy in pointless disputes with his peers, he returned to England in 1799. Not ready for retirement, however, he convinced the London Committee to send him back to the Saskatchewan District. Increasingly,

³¹ General Letter 1799 (Hudson's Bay House London) to Mess^{rs} William Tomison, John Ballenden & Council, May 31, 1799. HBCA B.239/b/70, fo. 26d.

³² Shirlee Ann Smith, "Colen, Joseph," *DCB Online*.

however, he was shunned by a new generation of officers in the HBC, and in 1803 he retired. Still unsatisfied, Tomison again induced the HBC to allow him to mount an expedition to the Athabasca River in 1806. While the expedition went nowhere, he did occupy a succession of minor posts for the next four years before finally, in 1810, returning home for good.³³

York Boat Developments 1800 to 1821

From the promising beginning of boats on the Saskatchewan in 1797, the advancement of the project was slow. Although the years 1800 to 1806, inclusive, lack journals for Edmonton House, those from 1806 to 1820 detail a steady increase in boat traffic. On May 17, 1807, two boats and one “batteaux”³⁴ embarked from Edmonton House. Along the way (Paint River, Carlton House), it picked up more furs and provisions, so that by the time the brigade left Cumberland House for Oxford House, it numbered four boats and five canoes and carried 241 bundles, several bags of pemmican, and other country-made goods.³⁵ In 1808, two boats and one canoe left Edmonton House. This brigade embarked from Paint River with three boats, one batteaux, and four canoes, and finally left Cumberland House in five boats and six canoes. It entailed forty men and 500 pieces of furs and provisions.³⁶ In 1809, the Saskatchewan Brigade left Edmonton House on May 12 and 14 in three boats, and one canoe with fourteen men and 205 pieces. It would pass Paint River in four boats and eight canoes with thirty-one men and 540 pieces, and embark from Cumberland House on June 2 in five boats and six canoes with 520 pieces.³⁷ On May 20-21, 1812, the brigade left Edmonton House in three boats and one canoe. It would depart Paint River in five boats, and Cumberland House in six

³³ John Nicks, “Tomison, William,” *DCB Online*

³⁴ Edmonton House journals in this period use the plural form of bateau, “batteaux,” even when referring to single boats.

³⁵ Edmonton House Journal Entries for May 17 and June 4, 1807. HBCA B.60/a/6, fos. 11-11d.

³⁶ Edmonton House Journal entries for May 15, May 19, and June 3. HBCA B.60/a/7, fos. 15d-16.

³⁷ Edmonton House Journal entries for May 12 to June 2, 1809. HBCA B.60/a/8, fos. 12-13.

boats carrying 400 pieces.³⁸ On June 2, 1813, the Saskatchewan Brigade departed Carlton House in eight boats manned by thirty-three men.³⁹ Then on May 29, 1815, nine boats and seven canoes, manned by thirty-eight men, left Carlton House. In addition to furs, the brigade carried 34,200 lbs of pemmican and 2500 lbs of dried meat.⁴⁰ By 1816, the Saskatchewan brigade consisted of seven boats and nine canoes out of Carlton,⁴¹ and by 1819 it consisted of ten boats and ten canoes leaving Edmonton.⁴²

By 1811, boats were no longer exchanged for canoes at Oxford House but went the entire length of the Hayes River route to York Factory. This is not only noted in the journal entries of York Factory,⁴³ but can be seen in the Edmonton House journals. In 1808–1809, the title for the Edmonton House Journal reads “A Sketch of the principal Transactions & Occurrences during a Winters Residence at Edmonton House & on the passage from & to Oxford House [emphasis mine] by James Bird.”⁴⁴ In 1810–1811, the title read “An Irregular Sketch of the principal Transactions and Occurrences at Saskatchewan Factory and on the Passage from and to York Factory (emphasis mine) Commencing Sept. 2nd 1810 and Ending the 27th June 1811.” The boat trip from Oxford House to York Factory is detailed in the entries from June 19 to July 22, 1811.⁴⁵ This change from the use of canoes between Oxford House and Gordon House (Rock Depot) to the use of boats along the entire route is nowhere clearly explained. The probable reason for this change was the inauguration of the “New System” or “Retrenchment System” in 1810. Among other innovations, this “New System,”

³⁸ Edmonton House Journal entries for May 20 to June 9, 1812. HBCA B.60/a/10, fos. 14-15.

³⁹ Edmonton House Journal entry for June 2, 1813. HBCA B.60/a/11, fo. 9d.

⁴⁰ The brigade had left Edmonton House in four boats and Paint River in seven boats and seven canoes carrying 420 pieces. Edmonton House Journal entries for May 14-29, 1815. HBCA B.60/a/13, fos. 33d-35d.

⁴¹ The brigade left Edmonton House in three boats and three canoes manned by sixteen men. It left Carlton House in seven boats and nine canoes carrying 400 bags of pemmican, 200 pieces of furs, buffalo robes and kegs of fat. Edmonton House Journal entries for May 13 and 24. HBCA B.60/a/15, fos. 37-39d.

⁴² This brigade was manned by thirty-six men. Edmonton House Journal entry for May 17, 1819. HBCA B.60/a/17, fo. 25.

⁴³ York Factory Journal entries for June 27 to July 8, 1811. HBCA B.239/a/117, fos. 9-9d.

⁴⁴ Edmonton House Journal 1808–1809. HBCA B.60/a/8.

⁴⁵ Edmonton House Journal Entries for June 19 to July 22, 1811. HBCA B.60/a/9, fos. 15d-16.

created new districts and made each district more autonomous, with the chief factor of each district responsible for picking up and controlling his consignment from York Factory.⁴⁶ As well, by eliminating the canoe men between Oxford House and Gordon House, this change eliminated wages and costs in the “New System.”



Figure 3-6 York Boats under Sail. LAC PA-041509

Leaving Edmonton House in mid-May with two to five boats, the brigade had a fairly easy row downstream until Carlton, where it took on more furs and provisions as well as boats which had wintered there. This stage from Edmonton House to Carlton House seldom took more than seven days, and by early June, in normal years, the brigade had left Carlton. In another five days, it reached Cumberland House, and, barring ice on the lakes and rivers, it would reach the entrance to Cedar Lake in another few days. Cedar Lake, however, was sixty feet higher than Lake Winnipeg, and that meant

⁴⁶ Selkirk Papers, Notes on the New System, and Resolutions based on the New System, February 1810. LAC MG 19, E1. C-1, vol. 1, 9-15 and 29-37.

rapids had to be run, as this drop in height produced five-foot rapids at the eastern end of Cross Lake on Cedar Lake. The boats would run these rapids and another set of two rapids quite easily in early Summer before reaching the Grand Rapid and Lake Winnipeg. HBC boats could descend these last rapids partially loaded in Spring/Summer despite the fact that there was a fall of forty-three and a half feet over two and three quarters of a mile. Once on Lake Winnipeg the boats would traverse the northern edge of the lake, reaching Jack River House (later, Norway House) around the middle of June. Here, the extra boats and provisions would be left for other brigades. The smaller Saskatchewan Brigade would continue on to York Factory with their furs, reaching York Factory around the end of June.⁴⁷



Figure 3-7 Portaging York Boats near Norway House 1821
Peter Rindisbacher – Library and Archives of Canada, Acc. No. 1988-25-21

⁴⁷ This schedule is based on various Edmonton House journals, Carlton House journals and Norway House journals.

The Origins of the Selkirk Settlement and HBC Boats 1811–1814

The arrival of the Selkirk Settlers at York Factory in the late fall of 1811 initiated a new discussion of boat building, types, and difficulties in navigating these boats along the Hayes River Route. This discussion is useful as it provided a good deal of information of on the development of York Boats and the various perceptions of these boats in the period 1811 to 1813.

As William Auld (Churchill and York Factory) was instructed to give the company's assistance in conveying the colonists emigrating to the nascent Red River Settlement by way of the Hudson Bay and York Factory to their prospective settlement, he was under some pressure to find the right boats and men to carry out this work. The advance contingent of settlers, led by Miles Macdonell and William Hillier, had arrived in the fall of 1811, too late to make the trip to Red River, and so Auld had some time to arrange the proper conveyance for the next spring.⁴⁸ He soon found, however, that Miles Macdonell, the new Governor of Assiniboia, had a very poor understanding of northern rivers and the boats that could navigate them. He informed Macdonell that the boats he had brought along were wholly unfit for his use, and he had four "batteaux" sent down from Churchill. As well, he noted that without experienced men, his boats would never get up to Lake Winnipeg. Men would be drowned, and the whole or greater part of the boats would be wrecked. He, Macdonell, had a fatal misconception of northern rivers, thinking that the portages were their chief impediments. Auld wrote to him that the portages were always safe if he had the right boats, and that as a rule they were a relief from the constant labours of rowing, paddling, or tracking. Rather, it was the ascent and descent of the rapids that appalled the boat men. "To descend them in safety too requires the perfection of experience. In these it requires two Boat crews to manage one in the midst of much danger & difficulty. I purposively

⁴⁸ This paragraph in a summary of Auld letter from York Factory to Miles Macdonell (Nelson Encampment), October 16, 1811. HBCA B.42/b/57, fos. 3-4d.

direct your attention to those things that you may fully comprehend the nature of the proposition.”⁴⁹

As a result, Auld explained, the colonists would need an experienced steersman and bowsman in each boat. Macdonell should first get all his supplies and luggage brought to the Rock Depot in a large boat that would travel back and forth to York Factory. These first 120 miles were easy, and once there, the colonists should wait for HBC inland tripmen to arrive who would help them over the continual chain of rapids between Rock Depot and Oxford House. After Oxford House, he would be able to proceed in safety accompanied by HBC Red River people.

Macdonell, however, did not listen to Auld. He wrote to Auld that all he needed was one experienced man per boat as a guide. As well, the HBC boats he saw at York Factory would not answer his purpose: they drew too much water for shoal rivers; they needed too much manpower to be navigated (too heavy); and their keels would be a positive impediment, always touching on the rocks of the riverbed. Their form (pointed at both ends) was also a problem, as a man could not stand there to use a setting pole, which was the most essential tool in rapids and strong currents; his alternative was to arrange for his boatbuilder to build two or three flat-bottomed batteaux (with no keel), such as were used on the St. Lawrence and Mohawk rivers. Not only were they easily built and lighter, but also they had greater capacity and could be managed with fewer men than the HBC boats.⁵⁰

Auld was flabbergasted. Macdonell, he wrote, was both ignorant and obstinate. He knew neither the rivers he was about to ascend nor the steersmen the HBC would have supplied. With only one experienced man per boat, no company servant would venture a foot in such a boat, and Macdonell would destroy his expedition. Boats without keels, he averred, would be unfit for northern rivers and lakes which were widely different from those in Canada. These keels strengthened the boat’s

⁴⁹ Ibid., fo. 3.

⁵⁰ Miles Macdonell (Seal Island) to William Auld (York Factory), December 25, 1811. HBCA B.42/b/57, fo. 16-16d.

construction and bottom. On portages, the keels made rolling the boats over logs much easier, as only the keel made contact with the roller. In fact, he said, the HBC had false keels laid away at each portage that could be attached by iron screws and in that way preserve the real keels for river and lake passage. A flat boat, he said, was much weaker than HBC boats, and he laughed at Macdonell's statement that HBC men did not know how to use setting poles on their boats. Unwilling to take the blame for forcing Macdonell to take his advice, he preferred to let him fail on his own.⁵¹

When Macdonell left for Red River in the spring of 1812, he went with his keelless flatboats but was saved by James Bird (Saskatchewan) and William Sinclair (Oxford House), who helped him on the difficult road between the Rock Depot and Oxford House and loaned him some of their used boats. When Macdonell returned to York Factory in the fall of 1812, he was in possession of only one of the boats he had started out with and had been won over to Auld's way of how to navigate northern rivers and lakes. As Auld noted,

I was vastly pleased on seeing your Batteaux after the trip up with yourself last Summer return here with the very improvement which every body sought for & that was a good stout Keel which we found nailed on the outside of the boards as a substitute but I shall give up then as cheerfully as yourself to the very different Rivers such as those in Canada – where they may answer tho' I must say the truth by declaring that every Officer & Men who returned last summer spoke very differently of their manageableness either in Rapids, Currents or Lakes – even under the vast improvement they received on the Road –⁵²

In consequence, Auld began a new course of boat building opposite Macdonell's last winter's encampment in compliance with the shape Macdonell wanted but with keels, carvel-built, and somewhat smaller so as to better navigate the northern rivers. He noted, however, that the boats came on very slow given the horrid climate at York Factory in Winter. As well, he cautioned Macdonell that

⁵¹ William Auld's written comments on Macdonell's letter of December 25, 1811. HBCA B.42/b/57, fos. 18-19.

⁵² William Auld (York Factory) to Miles Macdonell, January 1813. HBCA B.239/b/83, fos. 10-10d.

the boatbuilder hired by Lord Selkirk in Stromness was useless. The builder had promised Selkirk he could build ten or twelve boats in the year, “tho he never wrought as such kind Carvel-built in his life before of course he is quite insignificant.”⁵³ Instead, he suggested, that Macdonell utilize the six boats belonging to Churchill and he would convince Mr. Bird of the Saskatchewan District to supply him boats.⁵⁴ On September 22, 1813, Macdonell ordered three or four Saskatchewan-built boats, of the second largest size produced in that district.⁵⁵ Bird responded that he would deliver three boats with twenty-four-foot keels to Macdonell at Jack River in 1814.⁵⁶

Thus, by 1814, Auld and Macdonell had come to an agreement on the kind of boats best suited to navigating the rivers and lakes west of York Factory – boats that would become known as York Boats. There was some variation in style (Churchill-built boats were distinct from Swan River boats, which were distinct from Saskatchewan boats), and they varied in size between twenty-two-foot keels and thirty-foot keels, but more important were their commonalities. Both ends, not just one, were pointed, all had robust keels for strength, maneuverability, and portaging on log rollers; and they all had a shallow draught. They were all carvel-built for strength and repairability (the last few strakes under the gunwale were sometimes clinker-built), and all were equipped with a square sail to run with the wind. These commonalities would only increase in future years as the Saskatchewan District became the boat-building centre of Rupert’s Land (see Chapter Six). But one must wait until an 1858 resolution to find a record that clarifies that the York Boat’s various designs were to be conflated into one. In that year, the Council of the Northern Department passed resolution “73. That to prevent inconvenience all Boats built for general transport be construction of one size & capacity and on the

⁵³ Ibid., fo. 10.

⁵⁴ William Auld (York Factory) to Miles Macdonell, January 1813. HBCA B.239/b/83, fos. 10-10d. See also William Auld (York Factory) to Lord Selkirk, September 12, 1812. Selkirk Papers, LAC C-1, vol. 2, 477-489.

⁵⁵ Letter of Miles Macdonell to James Bird, September 22, 1813. HBCA B.60/a/12, fo. 43.

⁵⁶ Letter of James Bird to Miles Macdonell, February 8, 1814. B.60/a/12, fo. 9d. Macdonell had earlier received a boat from Bird that had a twenty-two-foot keel. Edmonton House Journal entry for July 25, 1813. HBCA B.60/a/12, fo. 1.

same mould and that the mould now in use at Edmonton be adopted as the Standard.”⁵⁷ Even then, there was no stipulation to a boat’s length, and, in the event, as William Sinclair noted in August of that year, seldom did even two boats built in Rupert’s Land share the same dimensions.⁵⁸ Sinclair’s suggestion was that the keel length should be twenty-nine and a half feet which was the length of the Edmonton-built boats at the time.⁵⁹

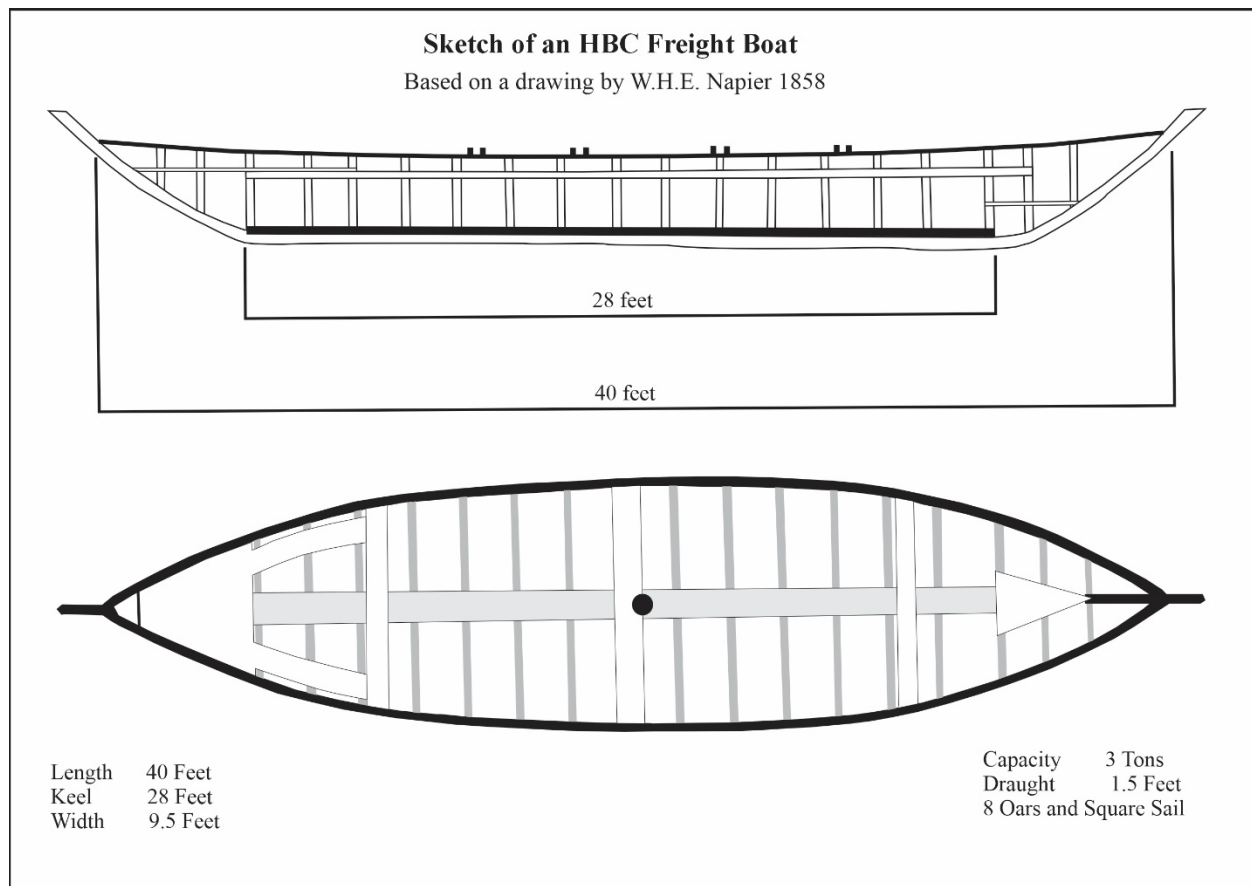


Figure 3-8 Sketch of York Boat circa 1858 – Based on the drawing of W.H.E. Napier.
Library and Archives of Canada C16672 – NMC 169472

⁵⁷ Minutes of Council 1858. HBCA B.239/k/3. Fo. 177. This resolution was added to the Standing Rules and Regulations of the HBC in 1858.

⁵⁸ William Sinclair (1794–1868) was the eldest son of Chief Factor William Sinclair and Nahowway (Margaret), of Cree ancestry. He entered HBC service in 1808 as an apprentice at Oxford House. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1844 and was made Chief Factor in 1850. With the death of John Rowand in 1854, Sinclair was assigned to the Saskatchewan District at Edmonton House. He served there from 1854 to 1857, after which he took over Norway House for few years. He retired to Brockville, Canada West, in 1863 and died in 1868. Irene M. Spry, “Sinclair, William,” *DCB Online*.

⁵⁹ William Sinclair (Norway House) to J.G. Stewart, August 18, 1858. HBCA B.154/b/8, fo. 3d. Until the 1840s, stipulations given for the building of Edmonton House boats was a keel length of at least twenty-eight feet. It also stipulated that all Edmonton House boat keels be the same length. Minutes of Council, Northern Department.



Figure 3-9 H.L. Hime's Photograph of a Freighter's Boat on the Banks of the Red River 1858

Hime was the photographer of Henry Youle Hind's Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition.

Chapter Four

Building a York Boat

Building a York Boat took anywhere from three months to two weeks or less. The time to build a boat depended on the skill of the boatbuilder, the number of builders, whether or not the supplies were readily available (keels, sawn planks, bent ribs etc.), and whether sheds were available to build in Winter. The first two boats built on the Saskatchewan for which we have time-specific data took from October 1796 to April 1797 to build (see Appendix 4-2).¹ These were built at Buckingham House by two Orkney boatbuilders, Nicol Spence and John Moar, who had been sent to Buckingham House for this express purpose. Almost all the first boatbuilders in the HBC, until the 1840s, were from the Orkney Islands.² The two boats built at Buckingham House had a keel length of thirty feet, which, given the forty-five-degree extension of the bow and stern posts, would have given the boats an overall length of forty feet. The length of time taken to build these boats had much to do with the fact that the keels had to be cut first and the planks had to be sawn as the boats were being built.

By 1833, at Norway House, boats were built much quicker as more men were designated to procure and saw logs before and while building was going on (see Appendix 4-3).³ Between September and December 2, when the first keel was laid, servants of Norway House were dispatched to retrieve boatloads of timber, make timber moulds, saw planks, arrange tools, make a steam box, and dress the keels and stern and stem posts for all eight boats. The following chart details the time spent to build

¹ HBCA B.49/a/27b, fos. 22d-58.

² After the 1840s, native-born servants and Canadians were trained by these Orkney builders. This information on the origins of boatbuilders comes from employee lists in York Factory Account books 1802 to 1821 (HBCA B.239/d/125-216a), and York Factory Abstracts of Servants Accounts 1821–1866 (HBCA B.239/g/1-42).

³ There were three boatbuilders at Norway House in 1833–1834: John Gunn from Stornaway, John Ritch (age 27) from Gromay, and Robert Wilson (age 34) from Stromness. They earned between £36-40 per annum. “The York Boat,” *The Beaver* (Sept. 1931), 281-282. HBCA B.239/g/13.

the boats in 1833–1834 after the keels were hewn. On average, it took twenty-two days to build a boat.

Table 4-1 Building Dates of Boats at Norway House 1833–1834		
Boats	Date Started	Date Completed
#1	December 2, 1833	January 3, 1834
#2	January 3, 1834	February 1, 1834
#3	February 1, 1834	February 21, 1834
#4	February 21, 1834	March 18, 1834
#5	March 18, 1834	April 8, 1834
#6	April 8, 1834	April 24, 1834
#7	April 24, 1834	May 10, 1834
#8	May 10, 1834	May 24, 1834
Source: Norway House Journal for 1833–1834. HBCA B.154/a/24, pp. 30-88.		

By the time that Edmonton House was supplying fourteen to twenty York Boats a year to other departments in the 1840s, boats were being produced in a shorter time (see Chapter 6). By then, crews were sent out to various pine hammocks all year round to collect timber for keels, to saw planks, and to dig for roots for knees and timbers/ribs. In Winter, the timber was sledged back to the fort on the snow, and in Summer, the logs were floated down the North Saskatchewan in rafts.⁴ As one traveller noted in the 1840s, Edmonton House had become a gigantic lumber yard.⁵

These boats were based on the design of Orkney fishing boats and adapted to the conditions of northern rivers and lakes where frequent portages and rocky bottoms were constant. In general, every post built some version of these boats, and some posts, like Edmonton House, built for other posts and the company in general. They used local wood (spruce and tamarack) and imported iron forged by the post's blacksmith as materials. Because of the use of these softer woods, York Boats

⁴ There are no journals extant for Edmonton House in the 1840s, but those existing for the 1850s detail this constant lumbering operation.

⁵ Frederick Ulric Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada 1847* (London: Printed for Private Circulation only, 1898), 74.

seldom lasted longer than three years before being replaced. The long and mostly flat-bottomed boats had pointed bows and sterns, upwards of forty-five degrees, making it easier to break through ice and to beach and to back off a sandbar.

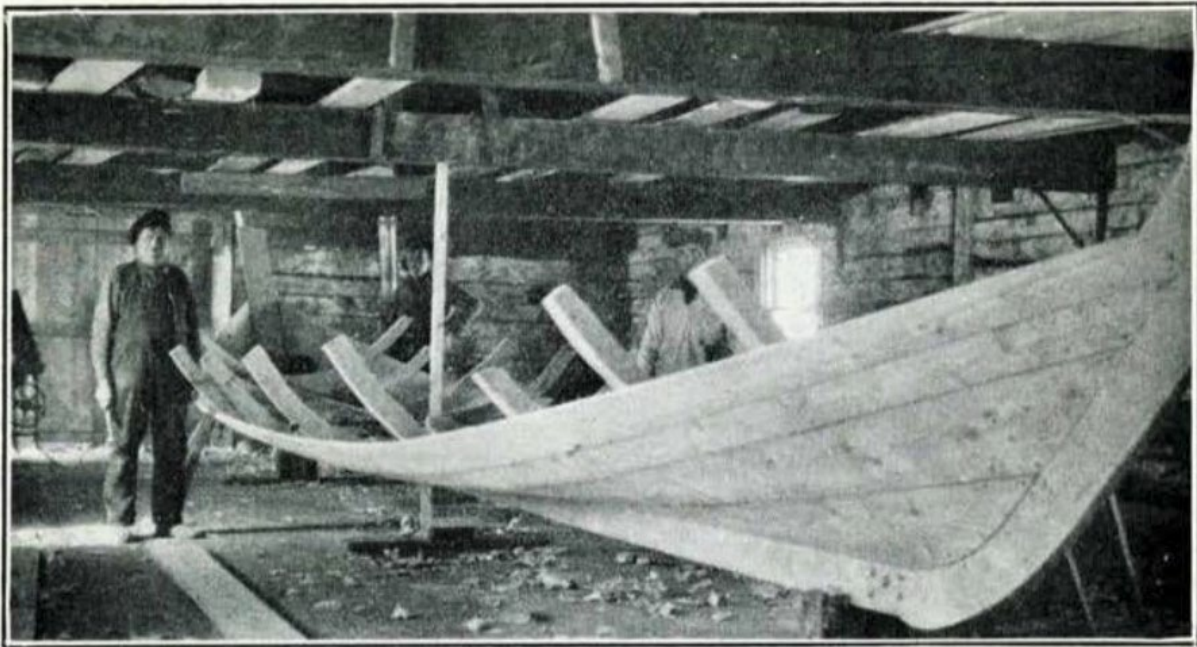


Figure 4-1 York Boat being constructed at Norway House in 1923⁶

As can be seen in Fig. 4-1, these boats were of carvel construction (see Appendix 4-1), that is, planks attached flush against each other (as opposed to overlapped in clinker construction). In this building technique, work begins with a skeleton, which is then covered with planking “carvelled” or joined together at the edges. Carvel-built hulls allowed for a more precise shape, and made it possible to optimise capacity. This construction also gave the boat more rigidity (necessary for the process of hauling one over portages) and a more durable hull capable of supporting larger sails. Carvel-built boats also allowed a wider range of timber quality compared to clinker-built craft which required a higher quality of wood for optimal strength. This method of construction also allowed broken

⁶ A. A. McDonald, “H.B.C. Inland Transport: Building the York Boat,” *The Beaver* (October 1923}, 19.

individual planks to be replaced with a minimum of effort and skill. Some historians and writers have speculated that York Boats were clinker-built, but this misunderstanding is based on Orkney prototypes and the fact that the last two strakes of York Boats (those positioned under the gunwale) were clinker-built. No historical description of the building process notes anything other than carvel construction.

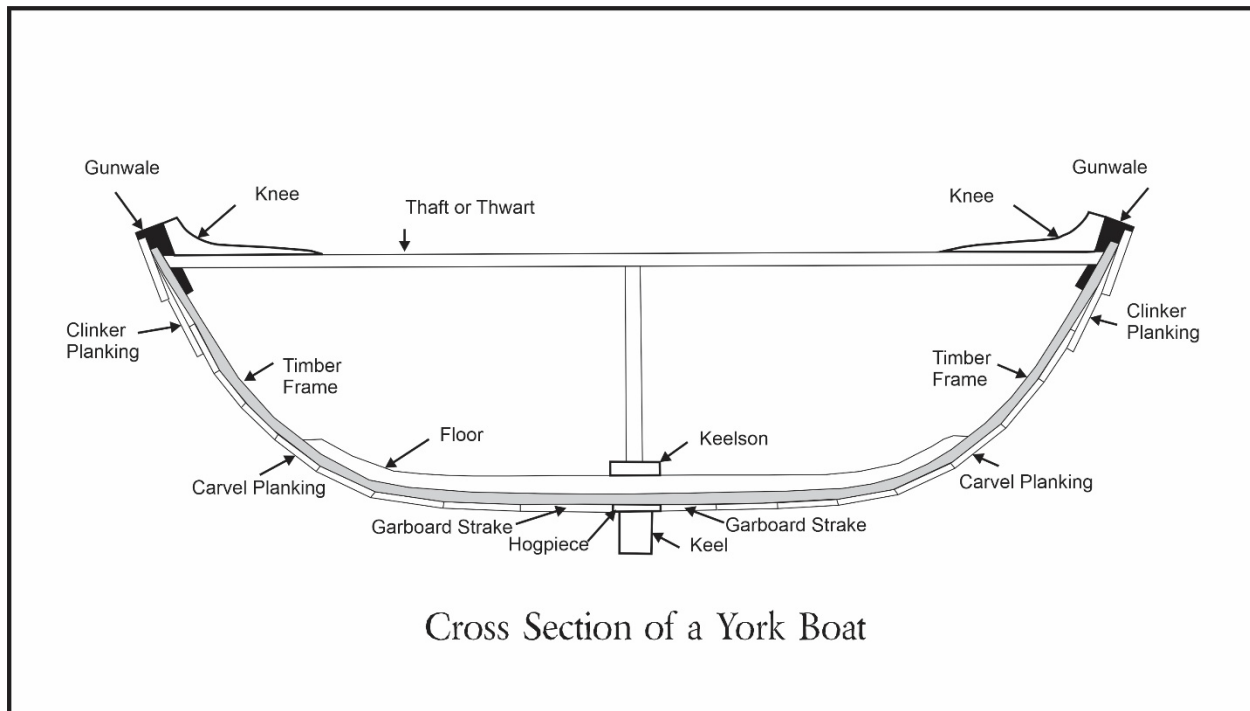


Figure 4-2

Generally, the boat had a keel measuring twenty-two to thirty feet,⁷ but where there were no portages, keels could reach forty feet.⁸ Minutes of Council of the Northern Department between 1822 and 1870 required boats of keel length from twenty-seven to thirty feet, capable of transporting eighty to 100 pieces.⁹ Given that there was no standard for these boats, size and shape could vary somewhat and this variation caused some inconvenience. As noted in the previous chapter, the Council of the

⁷ As noted earlier, a keel length of thirty feet would produce a boat that was about forty feet from stem to stern point.

⁸ A. A. McDonald, "H.B.C. Inland Transport: Building the York Boat," *The Beaver* (October 1923), 19.

⁹ HBCA B.239/k/1-2. A piece generally weighed eighty to ninety pounds.

Northern Department decided in 1858 to both adopt a standard size and shape and to use the type built in Edmonton with a keel length of twenty-nine and a half feet.¹⁰ A contract for York Boats at Edmonton in 1870 provides some sense of the construction materials required for boats with a thirty-foot keel (see Appendix 4-4).¹¹

The best description extant of the construction of a York Boat is A. A. Macdonald's, published in *The Beaver* magazine in 1923.¹² This description has been augmented by descriptions of building York Boats at Buckingham House (1796–1797) and Norway House (1833–1834), and the drawings and suggestions made by Joseph Isserlis, the last builder of York Boats at Fort Edmonton Park, from the 1970s to 1990s.¹³

Operations for building York Boats generally began in Summer, when men would be sent out for over two weeks at a time to cut boat wood at the various hammocks near to the post. At Fort Edmonton, where the largest number of boats were built, this cutting, collecting, and hauling of boat timber went on year-round after the 1840s. The wood had to be clean of knots and straight in grain to withstand steaming and bending to the shape of the model. Ordinary spruce was used for the planking and keel, and tamarack was used for the ribs and knees. Logs were cut in lengths of fifteen or twenty feet for the planks and thirty to forty feet for the keels. As well, the boatbuilder looked underground for roots bent at the right angle to make the timbers and knees. Once this timber was sledged and rafted to the fort, the logs and roots were hauled to the sawpit where they were sawn by

¹⁰ Minutes of Council 1858. HBCA B.239/k/3. Fo. 177. This resolution was added to the Standing Rules and Regulations of the HBC in 1858. For the length of keel see William Sinclair (Norway House) to J.G. Stewart, August 18, 1858. HBCA B.154/b/8, fo. 3d.

¹¹ John Brown, Contract to saw wood p[er] 12 Boats @ Whitemud – 1870. Source Glenbow Archives: Hardisty Fonds. M-477-62.

¹² A.A. McDonald, "H.B.C. Inland Transport. Building the York Boats," *The Beaver* (October 1923), p. 19-21.

¹³ This description also relies on the summary of the process found in Dennis F. Johnson, *York Boats of the Hudson's Bay Company: Canada's Inland Armada* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2006).

the whipsaw/pit saw. According to A.A. Macdonald, a day's cut for two men would amount to as much as fifteen to twenty-five boards.

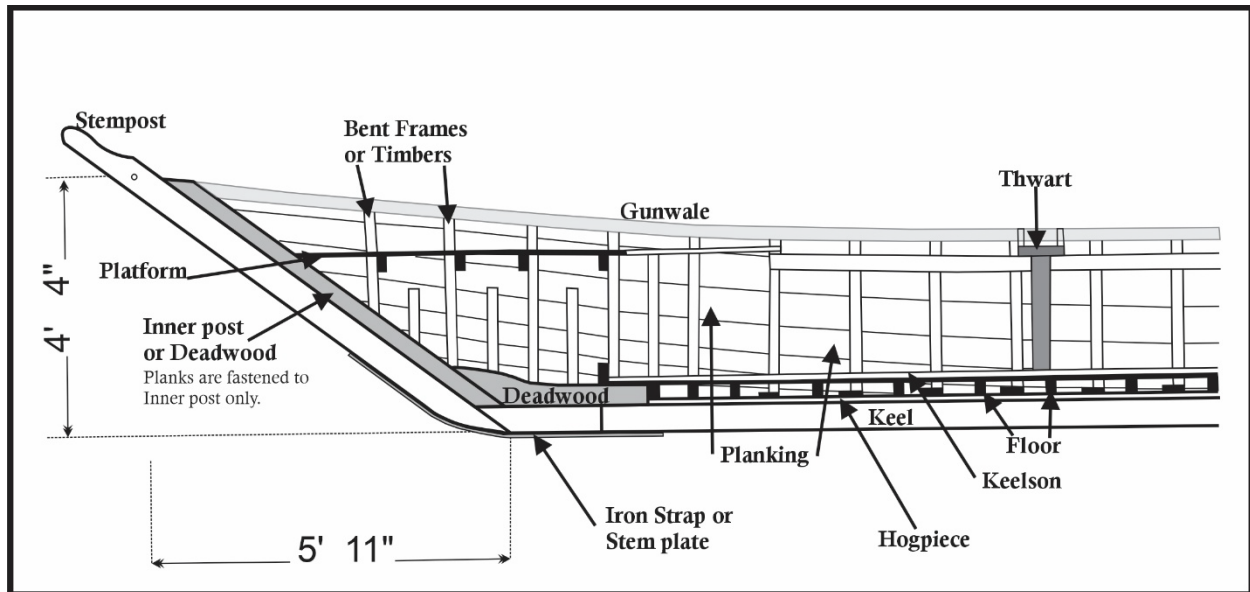


Figure 4-3 Schematic Drawing of Parts of a York Boat
Drawing by Doug Berwick and Joseph Isserlis

Once the keel (4x6 inches) was placed on the stocks and levelled properly, the building of the York Boat began. The stem and stern posts were spliced on to the keel with bolts and nuts made by the blacksmith. Then a hogpiece (1x6 inches) was attached to the keel and ran its entire length. The garboard strakes were attached to this hogpiece. Then came the “dead wood,”¹⁴ usually tamarack, bolted to the stern and stern posts on the inside of the boat. These were what the ends of the planks were nailed to at the bow and stern. This “dead wood” was shaped by an adze as the planking proceeded and was cut as each plank was added.

¹⁴ Dead wood or Deadwood is the solid timber filler used in the bow or stern where the hull lines narrow and separate side timbers cannot fit. Because it provides foundational support and ties into the keel, builders select strong, rot-resistant lumber. These included oak, Douglas fir, and elm, but in the Edmonton region tamarack proved the most suitable as it was available, durable, and decay-resistant. This dead wood is called “dead” because the solid blocks of timber are purely structural fillers that do not actively work, flex, carry loads like a frame, or contribute directly to the primary buoyancy or dynamic movement of the hull.

The next operation was putting on the false timbers (moulds) on which the planks were bent to the shape of the model. Strips or stringers were also attached to help retain the form, and some of the steam-bent ribs were also placed in the boat. These timbers were sawn out of the roots by the pitsaw method, usually two inches thick. Their shape was determined by patterns placed on them and the shape traced, after which they were cut out by a frame saw. After the planks were cut, they were steamed in a steam-box, a long container with a furnace under a large kettle having a pipe running into the box. From five to ten minutes in this steam would be sufficient to make the boards quite pliable and easy to shape on the timbers and moulds. Planking would begin from the bottom to the top, and after planking was completed, excepting the two top strakes,¹⁵ which were clinker-built, the last of the real timbers were put in and attached to the keelson and planking, and the moulds or false timbers were taken out.



Figure 4-4 Skeleton of York Boat with False Timbers or Moulds in place

¹⁵ A stake is a continuous longitudinal run of hull planking. A strake can be either a long, single plank or more than one plank fastened end to end.



Figure 4-5 Boat Skeleton showing both moulds and real timbers with first planks attached



Figure 4-6 York Boat with the first strakes attached at the bottom of the boat. The Iron Stem Plate or strip can be seen, although it is not yet attached.



Figure 4-7
Interior of a York Boat showing floor boards, thwarts/thafts, gunwale, and planks attached to timbers



Figure 4-8

The nails used in nailing the planks on the timbers were clinched inside, while the clinkers were rivetted with copper rivets made out of the copper hoops which were on the sixty-six-lb. powder kegs used in importing gunpowder. The keelson was then riveted through the keel, and the iron stem and stern plates were fully attached by bolts inserted from the bottom up and riveted at the top. The floor was then put in and nailed to the planks, and the floor boards or “ceiling” were laid on the floor. Thwarts were then put in, one in the centre, one about six feet from the bow, and another six feet from the stern.

These thwarts, braced with standing knees, helped to maintain the hull shape, and the centre thwart acted as a brace for the stowable mast.¹⁶ The gunwales were then nailed to the posts, and the oar pins were put in. A platform or decking was built at each end to provide a platform on which the Bowsman and Steersman could stand. Lastly, a substantial rudder could be hung from the sternpost on iron fittings. Though generally steered by long sweep oars, in areas where the boats could be sailed, on lakes and reaches of larger rivers, each York Boat was fitted with a rudder to aid in steering.

¹⁶ D.F. Johnson, “The York Boats of the Hudson’s Bay Company,” *Wooden Boat*, no. 144 (Sept./Oct. 1998), 52-53.



Figure 4-9 Stern of the old York Boat at Fort Edmonton showing the rudder

Once completed, the boat was run out of the boat shed, caulked with oakum and boiled pitch, and rubbed with tar. After this, the outside was burnt over with birchbark torches and rubbed smooth with a canvas mop. The upper two clinker strakes might also be painted.¹⁷ The boat was then launched, filled, and allowed to soak for two or three days. After this treatment it was usually tight enough to carry cargo. All that was left was to finish the mast, make the oars and sweep, and make a sail. Each boat would have one large sail, three duck covers, a bundle of twelve-foot poles, a pair of spare oars, kettles, frying pans, heavy ropes for hauling the boats over portages, lighter ropes for tracking the boats against a strong current or wind, and portage straps to carry the “pieces” or cargo. The boat would also carry a removable steering rudder, spare canvas for the sail, sail needles, awls, thread, and a medicine chest. Called “Agrets,” this collection of equipment and material would also include tools to repair the boat *en route*: axes, saws, files, crooked knives, brace and bit, chisels, cut nails, oakum, a caulking iron, a pail of tar, and a hammer.¹⁸

¹⁷ D.F. Johnson, “The York Boats of the Hudson’s Bay Company,” *Wooden Boat*, no.144 (Sept./Oct. 1998), 56.

¹⁸ W. Cornwallis King, “York Boat Brigade,” *The Beaver* (December 1940), 25-26. D.F. Johnson, “The York Boats of the Hudson’s Bay Company,” *Wooden Boat*, no. 144 (Sept./Oct. 1998), 57.



Figure 4-10 York Boat showing Oar Pins, and Platform for Steersman



Figure 4-11 York Boat under sail

Chapter Five

York Boat Brigades 1821 to 1870

The Hudson's Bay Company had been regularly using York Boats, or what were termed Inland Boats, from at least the 1770s on various parts of the Albany River route to Brandon House and from York Factory along the Saskatchewan River. Despite this, however, there had been no systematic plan to have York Boats replace canoes on all the transportation routes. This absence of policy changed when George Simpson was promoted to governor in 1821, when he proceeded to revamp the entire transportation and communication routes of the company. To do this, he visited Norway House, Cumberland House, the Swan River District, Qu'Appelle, and Brandon in 1821–1822. In 1822–1823, he visited the Athabasca, Peace River, Lesser Slave Lake, and Saskatchewan districts. His tours of inspection prompted his conclusion that only the deployment of boats would lower the HBC's operational costs. Indeed, Simpson boasted that "I alone can claim the merit thereof it never having been even dreamt of by any other."¹ Despite these claims, the use of an inland "boat system" was becoming more general than Simpson claimed. In his district report of 1825, Colin Robertson noted that he had made detailed calculations of time and savings and concluded that the general adoption of the boat system was much in the interest of the HBC. He noted that "the Pivot upon which all our savings calculations must revolve is the Boat system."²

This system was implemented in most districts of the Northern Department by 1826, and, for the most part, proved cost effective and efficient. That is, almost all districts' brigades could move

¹ R. Harvey Fleming, ed., *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821–31* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), xxxviii.

² Colin Robertson, "Report of Churchill District, 1825." HBCA B.42/e/4, fo. 9d. For a time in the early 1820s, George Simpson had advocated using the Nelson River – Burntwood River route west from York Factory, bypassing Norway House, but Robertson shot this trial down. He noted that the Norway House track and the Burntwood River track were nearly the same with respect to time, but that the Norway House track was the more direct route to their provision posts, and that it was navigable at least fourteen days sooner than the Nelson River route. [fo. 9]. By 1826, the Norway House track was universally used.

their furs and country produce to York Factory and return with their yearly outfits between the break-up of rivers in Spring and freeze-up in Fall. By 1826, York Boat brigades were plying the rivers and lakes every Spring to Norway House, and from there to York Factory and back. By the 1830s and 1840s, hundreds of York Boats, each manned by up to ten men, traversed the waterways between the Rocky Mountains and York Factory. Brigades from Lac La Pluie, Berens River, Oxford House, Severn Factory, Churchill, Island Lake, Nelson River, Cumberland House, Swan River, Lower Red River, English, Isle-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan River, Athabasca District, and the Mackenzie River District would embark for York Factory when the rivers and lakes were ice-free. In addition to these brigades, there were the trunk-line brigades between the Red River Settlement and York Factory,³ which ran throughout the navigation season.⁴ These consisted of four to eight boats per brigade and carried furs, provision, agricultural products, and goods needed by both the HBC and Red River settlers.⁵ Almost all abled-bodied Metis not involved in the plains hunt for buffalo participated in these York-boat brigades between Red River and York Factory in the 1830s and 1840s. William Cockran, the Anglican missionary in the lower Protestant settlement of Red River (St. Andrew's), noted that few men in his congregation attended church services between June and October. This, he said, was understandable: they hired themselves out as boatmen because it was the only lawful means by which to obtain the supplies they needed for their families. By making one voyage to York Factory and back, a man could earn £7 to £8 sterling. Expended on clothing, this enabled a man and his family to survive the severest

³ These "trunk-line" trips were initially carried out by HBC servants and boats, but by the 1830s they farmed out to individual freighters in the Red River Settlement. These brigades included the boats organized by Alexander Ross, James Sinclair, Andrew McDermott, Edward Mowat, and Joseph Bird.

⁴ These trips from the Red River Settlement to York Factory and back took approximately sixty days. J.J. Gunn, "Tripman of Assiniboia," in J.J. Gunn, *Echoes of the Red* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1930), 24-24.

⁵ This information is based on the Norway House journals 1826 to 1869. HBCA B.154/a/11-69. York Factory bills of lading 1821 to 1869. HBCA B.239/w/1-4. Minutes of the Northern Department, 1821 to 1869. HBCA B.239/k/1-4.

winter. If he made two trips (£12-£14), the whole family would be comfortable and able to attend church in the winter.⁶

The Steersman was the captain of the boat and was seated or stood on the elevated flooring at the stern of the boat. He would steer the boat with either a long sweep oar or, if sailing on a lake, a rudder. He also had the duty to lift the pieces (90 to 100 lbs) from the boats onto the backs of the men at the portages and then to repack them at the end of the portage. The Bowsman stood at the bow (when not rowing) on those parts of the route rife with rapids or sunken rocks and inform the Steersman where the obstructions lay. He would also use a long pole to help guide the boat around the dangerous sections of the river. The middlemen were the rowers, who also poled the boat through shallow sections, and helped drag it over portages and rapids with ropes (tracking). In each brigade, the most senior and knowledgeable Steersman acted as Guide. He was the commodore of the fleet, as he knew the route and dangers, and he led the way and transacted the business of the brigade at the various posts.⁷

When travelling, the rowers sat on the opposite side to that on which their blades dipped into the water, and they were seated alternately on the left and right sides of the boat, facing the stern. There was one man to an oar, and all rowers rose to their feet as they leaned on their huge oars, pushing each forward and down to lift the blade out of the water. They then sank to a sitting position on the thwart as the oar bit deeply into the water. Then, they pulled and strained mightily. Six or eight oars lifted and lowered in unison gave the impression of a giant bug walking across the water. According to an observer, the oars left the water with a hollow, booming, explosive sound like the clap of thunder, which could be heard on land before the boats came into view. Combined with

⁶ Rev. William Cockran to the Secretaries. Grand Rapids, Red River Settlement, July 29, 1830. CMS Records, C.1/M1, Reel A77.

⁷ J.J. Hargrave, *Red River* (1871), 163-164.

the screech of the heavy oars grinding against the thole pins and the chant of the rowers, this composed the melody which announced “York Boat Coming.”⁸



Figure 5-1 York Boats on the Saskatchewan River near Cumberland House *circa* 1912 (LAC, a012395-v8)



Figure 5-2 York Boat showing alternating rowing positions

⁸ Dorothy L. Boggiss, “York Boat Coming,” *The Beaver* (June 1954), 50-51. Boggiss was born at Norway House and lived there until she was fourteen years of age (1902–1916).

These various brigades would arrive at Norway House between the beginning of June and the end of July. There, the boats were repaired, repacked, and sent on to York Factory, at intervals, so as not to block camping spots and the portages along the route. At York Factory, the brigades would unload their furs, again repair their boats, repack them with their district outfits, and leave from early July to the end of August. According to Henry Youle Hind, who explored the Northwest in the late 1850s, the HBC had, by this time, a vast system of internal communication and transportation employing upwards of 200 boats per season, manned by more than 1200 voyageurs.⁹

Almost all brigades west of Norway House had to make the back-breaking journey from York Factory upstream to Norway House and then off to their district. This trip from York Factory to Norway House alone encompassed at least 358 miles and required thirty-five portages.¹⁰ As such, it is worth describing in a little detail.¹¹ The boats, rowed by seven to ten men each, carried bales of goods for their posts, up to four passengers, a sail for travel on open/flat water, provisions for crew and passengers, and an apret or equipment for medical help and repairing the boat *en route*. The first portion of the trip, on open water on the Hayes River, boats could be sailed, or, on windless days, tripmen would row the boats. They would row for about two hours and then take a break from five to ten minutes while they smoked their pipes. Then, they would pull at their oars for another two hours. The day began about 4 AM; they stopped for breakfast at about 8 AM and then ate a cold dinner at about noon. They would not eat again until they camped for the night.

⁹ Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of The Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, 2 vol. (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle; Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1971), vol. II, 103.

¹⁰ Going downstream from Norway House to York Factory, at least at high water, brigades had to make only six portages, and only at three of these did the boat have to be carried over the portage. At all other rapids, the lightened boats were run down with some risk. Thomas Blakiston, "Report of 1858," in Irene Spry, ed., *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857–1860* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968), 544.

¹¹ This description is mostly taken from Robert Ballentyne's trip in the early 1840s and Thomas Blakiston's Report of 1858. See Robert Michael Ballentyne, *Hudson Bay or Everyday Life in the Wilds of North America*, 4th ed. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1902), 49-58. Thomas Blakiston, "Report of 1858," in Irene Spry, ed., *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857–1860* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968), 542-544.

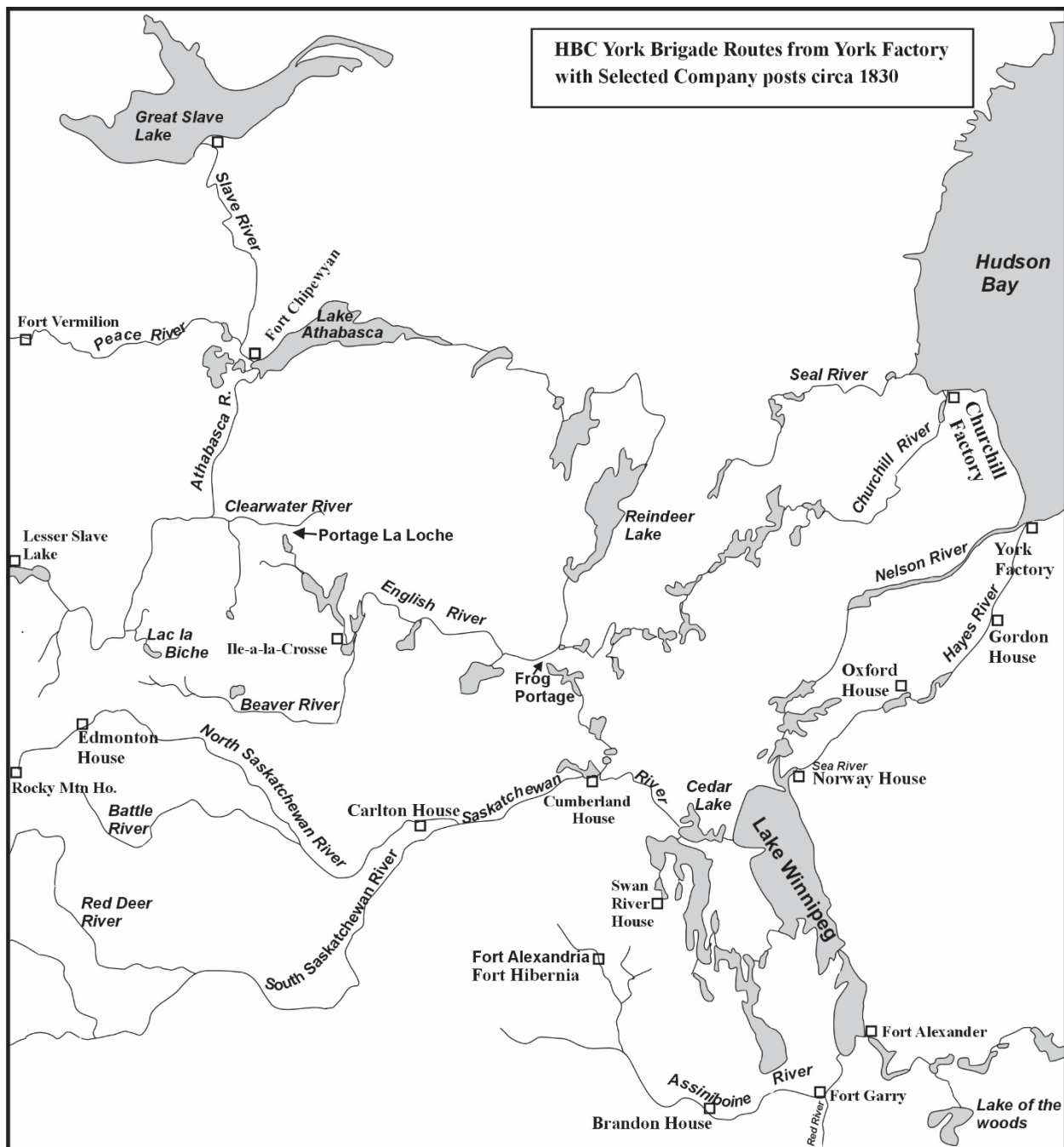


Figure 5-1 Map of parts of Rupert's Land showing HBC York Boat routes circa 1830

After about two days, they entered the Steel River and began the real ascent of the trip. The current was more rapid and the water more shoal so as to preclude the use of oars or the sail. Men would “track” the boat and “pole” it up the river. Tracking was difficult work, as the men would have to go ashore or jump in the river to drag the boat upstream by ropes, often over rocks. To do this, the

crew of a boat was split in two, and half would track for two hours while the others rested, and then they would change places. After a few days on the Steel and then Hill River, the brigade would reach Rock House, 124 miles from York Factory. This portion of the trip usually took five to six days.

Rock Portage, the first on the route, led around a perpendicular waterfall, eight or ten feet high. The only way to surmount it was to carry everything across the flat rock and reload at the other end, while the boats were hauled and pulled slowly up the cataract. This took about an hour. Thereafter, the country was generally low and swampy, and progress was very slow owing to the number of rapids over which the boats had to be pushed or pulled by ropes over land. Over the next forty miles twenty portages occupied the men for five days. After that, there were two lakes of considerable size (Knee Lake and Holey Lake), with four portages between them. At Holey Lake, the HBC had built Oxford House, a small outpost perched on the brow of a grassy hill rising from Holey or Oxford Lake. Manned by a few men, this post usually served as a brief rest point.

After Holey Lake, the brigade entered the Wepinapanis River (see Figure 3-4), which because it flowed through steep granite banks narrower than two oars, obstructed any rowing. Within this gorge were four rapids that had to be surmounted before the boats could reach Windy Lake. Just before White Water Lake there was a portage two-thirds of a mile long around White Falls (Robinson Lake and Robinson Falls). The narrow end of White Water Lake, was the source of the Echiamamis River the waters of which flow westward, and were shallow and reedy. After crossing Hairy Lake, the brigades would enter Sea River some 358 miles from York Factory. From there, only one more portage was needed before the attainment of Norway House. In all, this trip took some eighteen to twenty-one days.

After spending a day or two at Norway House, repairing their boats and repacking outfits, the various brigades would sail to the western terminus of Lake Winnipeg and enter the Saskatchewan

River. There, they would encounter a herculean task – surmounting the Grand Rapid. Between Cross Lake and Lake Winnipeg, the Saskatchewan River drops 128 feet in twelve miles. The rapids here are very turbulent and fast, and two miles from its mouth on Lake Winnipeg, the river makes a crescent-shaped swing between high vertical cliffs of limestone, with an elevation change of nearly seventy feet. The only way to surmount this fall was to haul the York Boats over it.¹²

At the foot of this rapid, the boats would unload half of their cargo of four tons, and then they were tracked or towed to the beginning of the portage. During this procedure, the Steersman and Bowsman would stay in the boat and the middlemen would attach the tracking line by way of a portage strap around their bodies. When the lower end of the portage was reached, the boat was completely emptied and run back to the foot of the rapid to carry the other half of the load. When the tripmen again reached the foot of the portage, the entire cargo was carried over the portage except for about fifteen pieces or 1350 pounds, which were retained in order to give the boat some ballast. The boat was then pulled across the south side of the Grand Rapid, as the towing path (at the top of the cliffs) was better there than on the north side. Hauling a York Boat up Grand Rapid required a heavier line, and the crews of two boats were needed to drag one boat over.¹³

While the Grand Rapid was the major obstacle on the Saskatchewan, the whole ascent was one of labour and fatigue. Those brigades going south (Swan River, Lower Red River) would go down Lake Manitoba after Cedar Lake, while those going up the Saskatchewan (to Edmonton House and others) and those to the Athabasca and Mackenzie River districts (see below) would go on to Cumberland House.

¹² Ron Vastokas, “The Grand Rapids Portage,” *The Beaver* (Autumn 1961), 22-24.

¹³ This description comes from Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971) vol. II, 471-472.

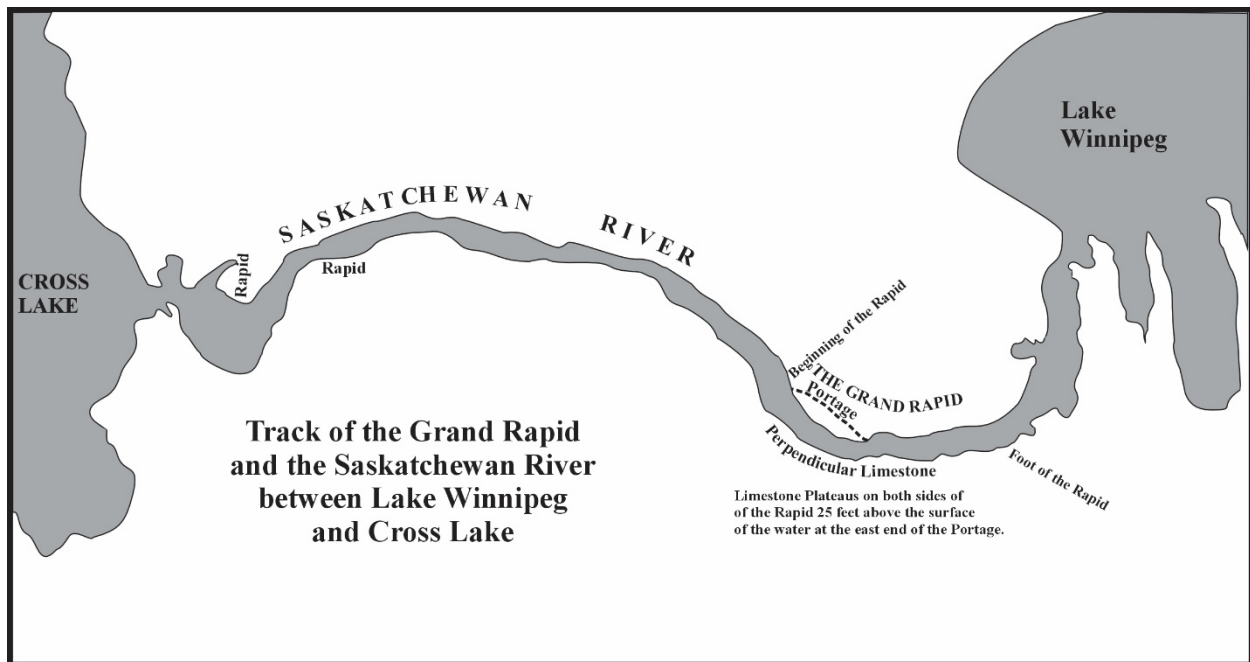


Figure 5-4 Track of the Saskatchewan River between Lake Winnipeg and Cross Lake

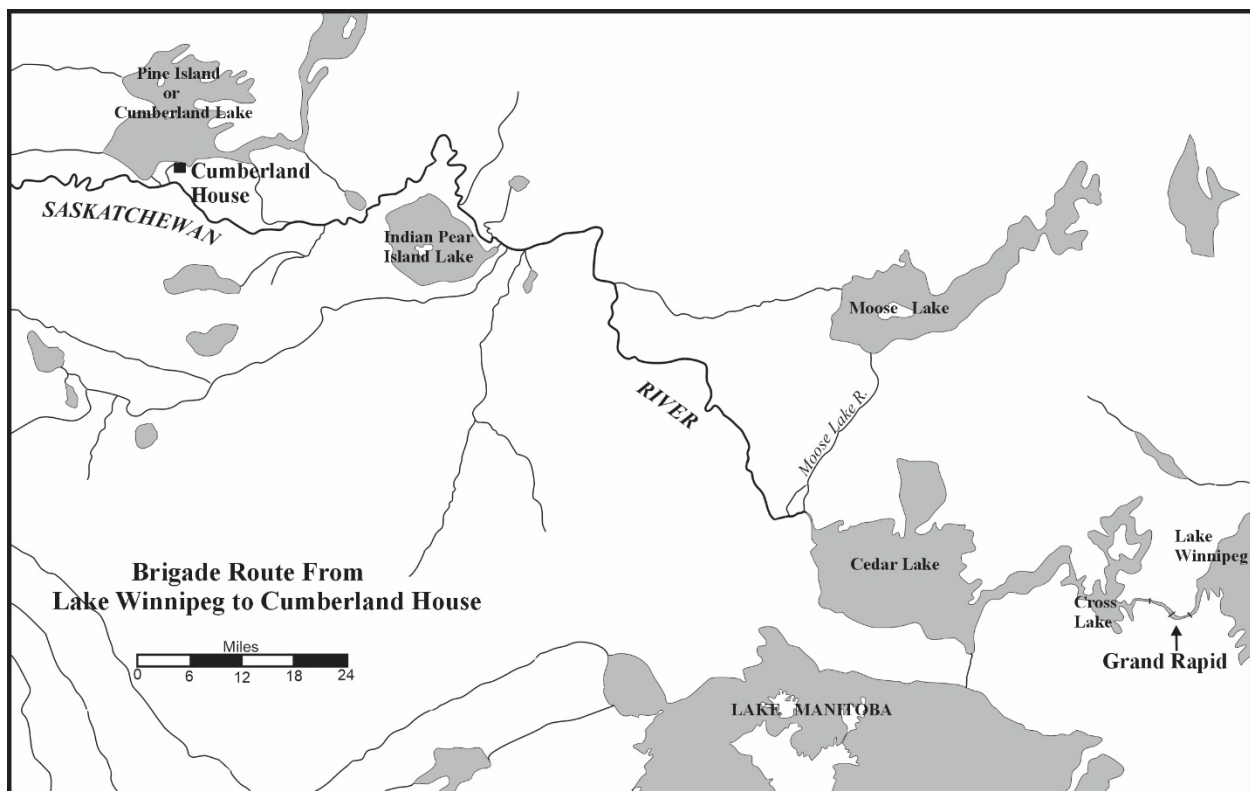


Figure 5-5 Brigade Route from Lake Winnipeg to Cumberland House

Unexplained by this short summary were these last-named brigades, which were more problematic. This included the more distinct districts of the Northern Department (see below for the Athabasca and Mackenzie River brigades including the Portage La Loche Brigade) and the special case of the Saskatchewan District (see next chapter). While most districts could and did build York Boats, most did so for their own use; by contrast, in 1822 if not before, the Saskatchewan District, particularly Edmonton House would build boats for other districts and bring them to Norway House. As such, the Saskatchewan District and Brigade became the York Boat building centre of the HBC.

The Athabasca Brigade

Supplying the Athabasca District by York Boat presented problems for the HBC. The first was Portage La Loche, which George Simpson quickly realized was too long (twelve miles) and difficult to drag York Boats across.¹⁴ He determined as early as 1822 that a two-boat system was needed so that only the freight needed to be portaged outbound and inbound.

I will arrange that they leave Athabasca as soon as practicable. . . . If there are any handy fellows at Fort Chipewyan, who can build a couple of Boats or Batteaux, to ply between Portage La Loche and the Lake, I think we shall commence the transport to that Department by a couple next season. The Boats from York to be left on this side of the portage (east) and Good to be embarked in those built at Fort Chipewyan on the other side; two sets of boats will be required; those on the other side of the Portage may however be constructed to carry 100 pieces, this will be a cheaper plan than keeping an establishment and horses on the Portage, for hauling goods and rafts across.¹⁵

The Fort Chipewyan Journal noted that the four York Boats were launched on May 21, 1823, the first boats that ever sailed Lake Athabasca. They were each loaded with thirty-four packs of furs and one keg of castoreum, seven boatmen, along with some passengers.¹⁶ James Keith, travelling back

¹⁴ Isaac Cowie erroneously posits that at first the boats were drawn back and forth across the 12-mile portage, but this is nowhere supported in any correspondence or journals. Canoes were carried across the portage but never York Boats. See Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 135.

¹⁵ George Simpson (Ile-à-la-Crosse) to J.G. MacTavish, November 11, 1822. HBCA D.4/2, fo. 11d.

¹⁶ Fort Chipewyan Journal for May 21, 1823. HBCA B.39/a/21b, page 74.

to Fort Chipewyan from York Factory that year, noted the arrangements that had been made. His trip back detailed the route that would be travelled from that time on. From Lake Winnipeg, the Athabasca fur brigades utilized the Saskatchewan River as far as Cumberland House. There, they turned north, following the Sturgeonweir (Maligne) River through a series of lakes to Frog Portage, which put the brigade on the banks of the Churchill River (English River). Although the Churchill River from Hudson Bay to Frog Portage was too large and fast for navigation, above Frog Portage, it was a series of lakes linked by short rapids that presented only minimal navigational hazards. This route would then pass through Lac Île-à-la-Crosse, Buffalo Lake, and via the Methye River to Lac La Loche. From there, via the twelve-mile Methye Portage (Portage La Loche), the brigade would reach the Clearwater, a tributary of the Athabasca River (see Figure 5-3).¹⁷

Keith reached Portage La Loche on August 29, the thirtieth day travelling from York Factory. The next day, he encountered two Chipewyan men at the north end of the portage. Directed to wait there by Chief Factor Edward Smith, they guarded the four boats that had been left there in Spring. Without this precaution the boats would probably have been dismantled.¹⁸ Smith and James Keith then made arrangements for the next year. They informed Samuel Black to tie up and secure the four boats on the east (south) end of the portage and to store them in the former HBC store for next Spring.¹⁹

This procedure was followed for a few years, but by 1825, Simpson noted that requiring the Athabasca Brigade to travel all the way to York Factory to get its outfit caused problems in the field “from the late arrival of supplies, thereby exposing the Natives to much hardship and privation it

¹⁷ T. Smythe, “Thematic Study of the Fur Trade in the Canadian West, 1670–1870,” Agenda Paper 1968-29 (Historic Sites and Monuments Board, St. John’s Newfoundland, June 19-21, 1968), 40.

¹⁸ Journal of James Keith on a Journey from York Factory to Fort Chipewyan 1823. HBCA B.39/a/22, fos. 24-24d. Keith here is referring to the Natives who would have dismantled the boats for the wood and fittings.

¹⁹ Edward Smith and James Keith (Fort Chipewyan) to Samuel Black, September 5, 1823. HBCA B.39/a/22, fos. 3-3d.

being impossible for them in many parts to get to their hunting grounds before the Ice takes, and this I consider to be one of the principal causes of the late defalcation in the returns.”²⁰ His proposed solution was that goods for Athabasca be sent to Norway House ahead of time, and the Athabasca Brigade would be outfitted there and quickly sent back. This, he said, would cut their return journey by about a month.²¹ This new plan, however, was not implemented until 1830, and as late as 1829, Simpson noted, the Athabasca Brigade was still arriving late in the field:

The Outfits of the Athabasca District were forwarded from hence [York Factory] last year [1829] and got to their destinations very late in the season, so late as to occasion much inconvenience both to the natives and our Establishments; Indeed we have experienced such difficulty from this cause ever since the boats were substituted for canoes. To obviate which we mean to forward the Outfits to Norway House in future by boats so as to bring the Athabasca craft no further than that place and have commenced that system this season, which will greatly facilitate the business of the district.²²

Norway House then became the depot for both the Athabasca and Mackenzie River districts.²³

From 1830 onward, the Athabasca Brigade, having departed Fort Chipewyan, would arrive at Norway House around mid-July, unload its furs, repair their boats, pack its trade goods, and begin the journey home (see Appendix 5-1).²⁴

By the 1860s, however, changing transportation technology and routes began to affect and alter the Athabasca transport network. The arrival of the railway at St. Paul, Minnesota, made the shipment of goods from the United States cheaper than by way of England via York Factory. The placement of river steamboats on the Red River, Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan River only accentuated the competitive advantage of this new route from the United States.²⁵ By the mid-1860s,

²⁰ Report of George Simpson (York Factory) to the London Committee, September 1825. HBCA D.4/88, fo. 76.

²¹ Ibid., fo. 76.

²² Report of George Simpson (York Factory) to the London Committee, August 26, 1830. HBCA D.4/97, Fos. 23d-24.

²³ Ibid., 35-35d.

²⁴ Norway House journals 1826 to 1869. HBCA B.154/a/12-69.

²⁵ See A.A. Den Otter, “Transportation and Transformation: The Hudson’s Bay Company, 1857–1885,” *Great Plains Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 171-185.

some Athabasca freight²⁶ was sent overland from the Red River Settlement by cart to Fort Carlton (between Fort Pitt and Prince Albert) on the Saskatchewan River and from there by road to Green Lake.²⁷ At Green Lake, batteaux²⁸ were built to ferry these pieces to Portage La Loche. By 1875, all of the Athabasca District freight was shipped this way,²⁹ and by 1877, nearly all freight bound for either the Athabasca or Mackenzie districts was shipped by way of Green Lake to Portage La Loche.³⁰

The Mackenzie River and Portage La Loche Brigades³¹

Supplying the Mackenzie River District had even more complicated logistics; indeed, it took two York Boat brigades to do the job: the Mackenzie River Brigade and the Portage La Loche Brigade. Not only was the Mackenzie District separated from Hudson Bay by thousands of miles, but it lay in the arctic watershed, north of the Athabasca District. In 1825, George Simpson noted that the Mackenzie River returns had been detained from market a whole year longer than any other district, occasioning a considerable loss of interest monies. Prior to 1826, twenty-two men would start from the Mackenzie River in July and deposit their returns from the preceding winter at Lake Athabasca (Fort Chipewyan) in September. Given the lateness of the year, these furs would remain

²⁶ In 1867 the equivalent of four boat loads was sent overland by carts, and by 1871, this rose to the equivalent of six boat loads. Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900, Volume II*, Parks Canada Manuscript Report Number 412 (Ottawa, 1980), 153-154.

²⁷ Samuel McKenzie (Île-à-la-Crosse) to Roderick McFarlane (Fort Chipewyan) January 25, 1872. HBCA B.89/b/4, Île-à-la-Crosse Correspondance Book, fos. 7-7d.

²⁸ Batteau/Batteaux were not a single type of craft but a name applied to any rough-made vessel of modest size built inexpertly within a district for its own use. They often resembled smaller versions of the flat-bottomed York Boats but were more makeshift and seldom were used for more than two years. Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900, Volume II*, Parks Canada Manuscript Report Number 412 (Ottawa, 1980), 199-200.

²⁹ By the 1870s, some of the freight was sent by river steamboat from Lake Winnipeg to Fort Carlton. Ibid., 155.

³⁰ Ibid., 155-156. With the improvement of the road north of Edmonton to Athabasca Landing, and the introduction of steamboat service on the Athabasca River, the Portage La Loche route faded in importance. By the 1890s, the route across Portage La Loche was seldom used by the HBC to supply the Athabasca and Mackenzie districts. The route between Green Lake and Île-à-la-Crosse, however, remained in use to supply the English River District.

³¹ Sources on the Portage La Loche Brigade include: J.J. Hargrave, *Red River* (1871), 160-165. John Percival Turner, "Portage La Loche Voyageurs," *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 2 (December 1902), 121-127. John Peter [Percival] Turner, "The La Loche Brigade," *The Beaver* (Dec. 1943), 32-36. J.J. Gunn, "Tripmen of Assiniboia," in J.J. Gunn, *Echoes of the Red* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), 24-58. C.S. Mackinnon, "Some Logistics of Portage La Loche (Methy)," *Prairie Forum*, vol. 5, no.1 (1980), 51-65. Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900, Volume II*, Parks Canada Manuscript Report Number 412 (Ottawa, 1980), 142-160.

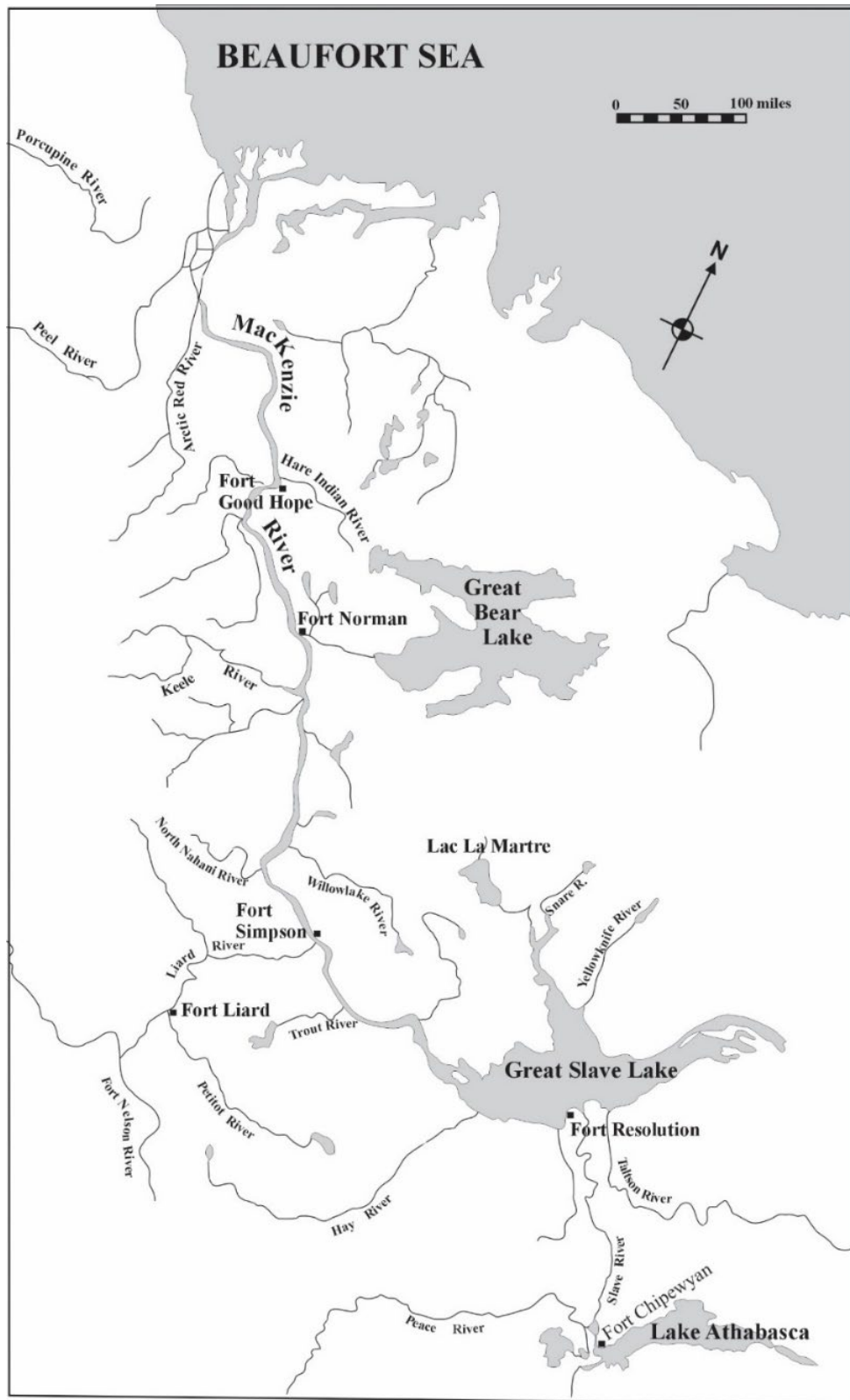


Figure 5-6 Mackenzie River District showing the location of key posts

there until the following Spring. Then in Spring, a brigade was needed to transport them to York Factory. This transportation log jam was fixed by the 130th Resolve of the Northern Council, which directed that the Mackenzie River Outfit for 1826 be forwarded to Norway House ahead of time, and that a special brigade (what would become known as the Portage La Loche Brigade) forward the outfit to Portage La Loche, where it would exchange the outfit for the furs brought there from Mackenzie River and transport the furs to York Factory so that they could reach England that same year.³²

To accomplish this, a book-keeping category was created known as the Mackenzie River “Frêt Est” (Freight Establishment). This consisted of twenty-two to twenty-nine men earning £17-35 per annum, who would winter at various posts in the Northern Department around York Factory and Norway House.³³ Then in Spring, at the opening of navigation, these men would form a brigade of boats to transport the Mackenzie River District outfit from Norway House to Portage La Loche and return to York Factory with the fur returns. A second brigade would start from Fort Simpson at the opening of navigation (early June), bringing the furs southward to Portage La Loche. Both parties were expected to meet at Portage La Loche at the end of July and exchange cargoes. By 1827, Simpson noted that the system was working, but some tweaks were needed to make sure the that the boats with the fur returns reached York Factory by September six or eight every year so as to not miss the boat from England. If this was not possible, the system would have to be abandoned. To ensure things worked and the brigade reached York Factory in time, it might be necessary that the Mackenzie River side of the brigade do most of the carrying of the furs on Portage La Loche; thereby, the York Boats from Norway House could be turned around as quickly as possible. “The people from this place have not an hour to devote to any other duty than the labours of the voyage.”³⁴

³² Minutes of Council, York Factory, July 2, 1825. HBCA B.239/k/1, fo. 79d.

³³ See HBCA B.235/l/2-7.

³⁴ George Simpson (Norway House) to Edward Smith, June 20, 1827. HBCA D.4/14, fos. 1-1d.

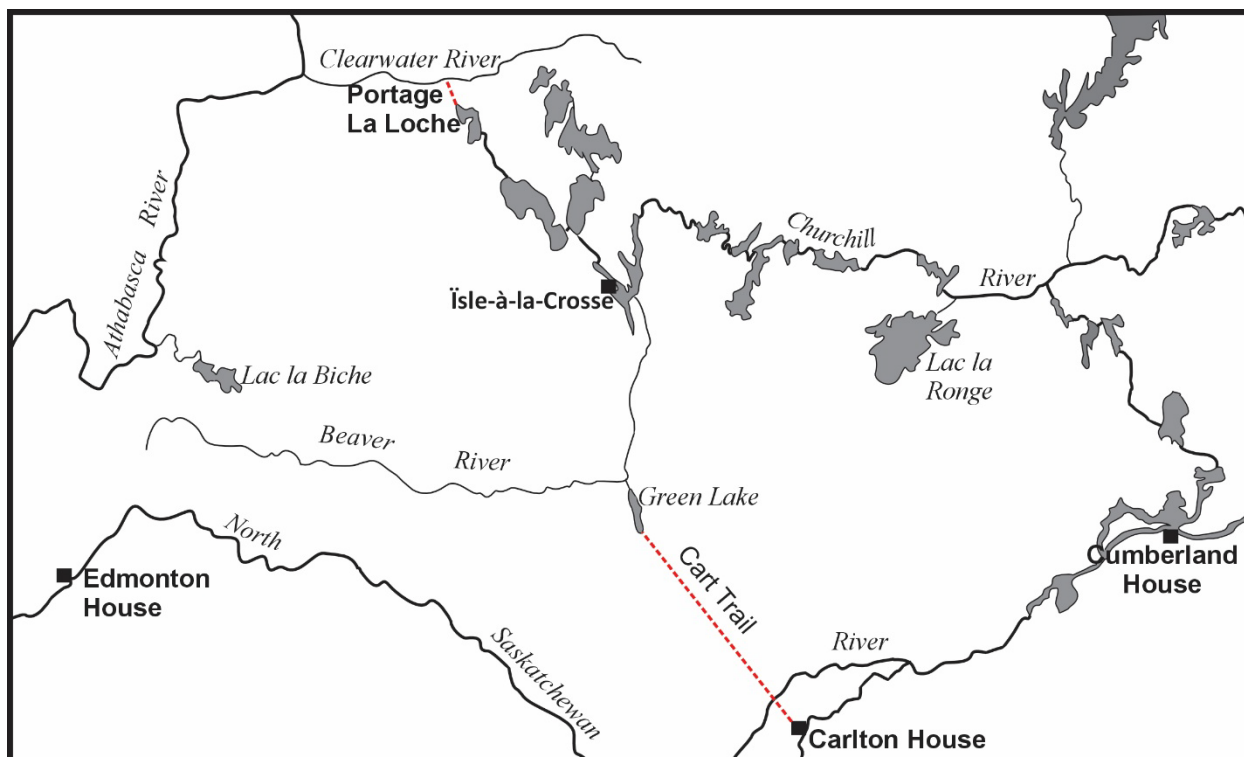


Figure 5-7 Portage La Loche Brigade Route from Cumberland House

After the first year, the La Loche Brigade was guided by Laurant Cadotte,³⁵ who was paid £35 in 1827 in the Mackenzie River “Freight Establishment” but wintered at Norway House, from where he organized a brigade from twenty-two to twenty-eight men in two to four boats, which left Norway House between June 14 and June 20. This brigade would return to Norway House from Portage La Loche about mid-August and immediately continue on to York Factory. After depositing the furs there, it would return to Norway House and Red River carrying supplies for these locations. Thereafter, they would return to their wintering quarters. This pattern continued until 1833, when

³⁵ Laurent Cadotte (1786–1874) was the son of Laurent Cadotte Sr. and a Cree woman named Suzanne. He began working for the NWC in 1811 as a steersman at Île-à-la-Crosse. After the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821, he worked on the Columbia River from 1822 to 1826. From 1826 to 1833 he worked as a guide on the La Loche Brigade. He then retired to Red River and was listed as a “freeman” in the censuses of the settlement until 1835. From 1836 to 1838, he worked as a guide on the Athabasca Brigade. He then retired to the Red River Settlement, where he died in 1874. He married Betsy Williams and they had at least ten children.

Alexis Bonamie dit L'Esperance³⁶ became the main guide of the brigade. From 1833 until 1835, L'Esperance was posted at Norway House and paid £35 per annum as Guide in the "Mackenzie Freight Establishment." There, he gathered the York Boats and arranged the loadings and unloading of the boats, and by June the men of the brigade would meet and depart for Portage La Loche. Even before the advent of L'Esperance, however, the Portage La Loche Brigade had begun recruiting more and more tripmen from the freemen around Red River, and by 1836, there was only one person listed in the Mackenzie River Freight Establishment.³⁷ Indeed, in 1835, L'Esperance went free to the Red River Settlement even while he continued to guide the Portage La Loche Brigade each Summer from June to October. From that point on, the brigade began and ended its yearly run at Red River (see Appendix 5-2).



Figure 5-8 Alexis L'Esperance 1796–1890

³⁶ Alexis Bonami, dit L'Esperance was born in 1796 at Yamaska, Quebec, and married Marguerite Guernon at Red River in 1825. L'Esperance began his career with the HBC as a voyageur in 1815 and in 1826 signed a three-year contract as a guide at Norway House for the boats plying the rivers between York Factory and Red River. In 1828, he was hired as a guide for George Simpson on his trip to the west coast. By 1831, he was a steersman on the Portage La Loche Brigade and in 1833, he became the guide of the brigade on the retirement of Laurent Cadotte. He continued in this capacity until 1866, when he retired to his farm in the Red River Settlement. Carol M. Judd, "Bonami (Bonamis), dit L'Esperance (L'Esperance), Alexis," *DCB Online*.

³⁷ This development can be seen in the HBC accounts. See HBCA B.239/L/2-7.

According to long-time HBC servant James Hargrave, the Portage La Loche Brigade would leave the Red River Settlement around June 1³⁸ and arrive at Norway House around June 10, where it would deposit the agricultural products and pemmican it had brought from Red River. It would then load the outfit of the Mackenzie River District onto their York Boats and would depart Norway House on June 12, Cumberland House on June 24, and Île-à-la-Crosse July 9, before reaching Portage La Loche about mid-July. This was the outward limit of its journey, and there, it would meet the brigade travelling south from Fort Simpson with the furs traded the previous winter. Goods would be exchanged for furs, and the Portage La Loche Brigade would begin its return no later than August 1, passing Île-à-la-Crosse on August 5 and Cumberland House on August 15, reaching Norway House on August 21. It would then pass on to York Factory, reaching it around August 31. If the HBC ships from England were already there, they would immediately unload their furs and take on the freight bound for the Red River Settlement. If the ships had not arrived, they would wait. Generally, they left York Factory by September 10 arriving back at Norway House on September 30 and arrive home (Red River Settlement) by October 8, a round trip of more than four months (See Appendix 5-2).³⁹

The Mackenzie River trip to Portage La Loche usually began at Fort Simpson in mid-June, after the fur returns of Fort Good Hope, Fort Norman, and Fort Liard had been received. The brigade would reach the west/north end of the Portage in mid-July, usually a few days before the Portage La Loche Brigade arrived from Norway House to the south/east. It transported its furs to at least the half-way point of Portage La Loche and loaded the trade goods brought by the La Loche Brigade. This last process took about two weeks, and the Mackenzie River Brigade would leave at the beginning of August and reach Fort Simpson around mid-August (see Table 5-1).

³⁸ Since they varied from year to year, these dates are only approximate.

³⁹ J.J. Hargrave, *Red River* (1871), 161-162

Table 5-1 Dates of Mackenzie Brigade from Fort Simpson to Portage La Loche 1852 to 1858					
Year	Leave Fort Simpson	Arrive Fort Chipewyan	Arrive Portage La Loche	Leave Portage La Loche	Arrive at Fort Simpson
1852	June 19	July 6	July 17	July 29	Mid-August
1853	June 19	July 6	July 16	August 2	August 16
1854	June 22	July 10	July 21	July 31	August 17
1856	June 15	July 1	July 16	July 28	August 11
1857	June 19	July 4	July 16	August 6	August 17
1858	June 22	July 13	July 23	July 31	Left for East ⁴⁰
Source : James Anderson Trip Journal 1852–1858. HBCA E.37/2-4					

James Anderson's⁴¹ trip journals⁴² from Fort Simpson to Portage La Loche and back provide a little more detail about the amount of time and logistics of the actual work on Portage La Loche. Between 1852 and 1858, the time spent on the portage varied from ten to twenty-one days. This variance depended on the state of the portage itself (rain and use) and the condition of the oxen, horses, and carts used to transport the loads. As early as the 1830s, Natives had begun to collect around Portage La Loche to offer assistance in carrying furs and cargo in exchange for trade goods. This practice, while advantageous for brigades, upset area fur traders. In 1838, Roderick Mackenzie, the chief factor in charge of English River District, complained that the Portage La Loche tripmen were carrying on a clandestine trade in leather and provisions, materially interfering with the HBC's system of trading with the Cree and Chipewyan.⁴³ John Rowand, at Edmonton House, complained that the "Halfbreeds" around Lac La Biche owed his district a large number furs but had done nothing for the last three years. They were boasting to every Indian they met that they made more returns by

⁴⁰ Left for Norway House and furlough. This departure predates the return voyage of the boats of the Mackenzie River District.

⁴¹ James Anderson (1812–1867) was born in Calcutta, India, to Robert Anderson (1781–1840), an officer of the East India Company. He joined the HBC in 1831 as an apprentice clerk at Moose Factory and became a chief trader at Fort Chipewyan in 1850. He then moved to Fort Simpson in 1851, becoming chief factor of the Mackenzie River District in 1856. He retired in 1864 and died in 1867.

⁴² James Anderson Trip Journal 1852–1858. HBCA E.37/2-4

⁴³ R. Mackenzie (Île-à-la-Crosse) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, January 10, 1838. HBCA D.5/5, fo.5.

going to Portage La Loche with their horses to carry for the voyageurs and by selling leather to the Red River tripmen than by trapping for the HBC. This problem, he said, had to be addressed by governor and Council.⁴⁴ John Lee Lewes, the chief factor in charge of the Mackenzie River District, noted that the men of the Mackenzie dreaded being assigned to boat labour to Portage La Loche, and that this labour was one of the main impediments to getting men to re-engage with the HBC. The labour of carrying at Portage La Loche had to be lightened. He suggested that men be kept at the portage all Summer, improving the road, cutting hay for twelve to fifteen horses, bringing in carts to help carry pieces, and erecting buildings and stables so as to stay there all Winter.⁴⁵ As a result, by 1843, the HBC encouraged freemen to work with the horses on transport to prevent the Cree and Chipewyan from abandoning their hunts, and in 1848, the horses at the portage were put in charge of Antoine Desjarlais, a Lesser Slave Lake freeman.⁴⁶ Forty horses were supplied to Desjarlais by the Saskatchewan Department, and he was paid £30 to defray his expenses. He was then engaged at £20 a year to keep the horses. He would take them to Portage La Loche each Summer and, after the carrying business was over, he would go back to Lac La Biche and make his winter hunt.⁴⁷ This system never worked very well. By the end of 1848, Rowand was complaining that Desjarlais was killing company horses and had just arrived at Edmonton House for twenty more to replace the twenty that had died. Desjarlais, he said, rested his own horses and used HBC horses not only for the work on the portage but also for his own work. Men like him, he said, would never take care of company property. The Saskatchewan District had already provided him with 100 horses. Rowand's advice was to employ a trusty servant at Portage La Loche to cut hay, build a stable, and keep horses there year round instead of travelling with them annually between the portage and Lac La Biche, which forced

⁴⁴ John Rowand (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, January 4, 1843. HBCA D.5/8, fo. 16ad.

⁴⁵ John Lee Lewes (Fort Simpson) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, November 20, 1840. HBCA D.5/5, fos. 368d-369.

⁴⁶ Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900*, vol. II, 150.

⁴⁷ John Edward Harriott (Edmonton House) to George Simpson, January 7, 1848. HBCA D.5/21, fo. 54d.

them to do brute work for Desjarlais.⁴⁸ Consequently, by the 1850s, the HBC would station oxen and cattle at Lac La Loche and erect a trading post there to co-ordinate the business of transport across the portage.⁴⁹

According to Anderson, the Mackenzie River and Portage La Loche brigades shared in the labour of carrying the pieces across the portage (with the oxen and carts there) when the Portage La Loche Brigade arrived on time; that is, the Portage La Loche Brigade stayed ten to twelve days on the portage if it arrived by mid-July. If, on the other hand, it arrived late, most of the carrying was done by the Mackenzie Brigade, and the Portage La Loche Brigade was sent off after only three days;⁵⁰ east-bound, it always left the portage no later than August 6 (see Appendix 5-3).

Appendices 5-2 and 5-3 illustrate the growth of the Portage La Loche Brigade over time, as well as its demise. In 1844, the brigade moved 300 pieces in five boats, 400 pieces in six boats by 1848, 500 pieces in seven boats by 1849, and 600 pieces in eight boats by 1850. In that year, the brigade was split into two, with Baptiste Bruce⁵¹ taking over one and Alexis L'Esperance guiding the other. From that point on, there would be at least two Portage La Loche brigades. The brigade carried ever more freight: 700 pieces in ten boats in 1856, 900 pieces in fifteen boats in 1862, and 1000 pieces in seventeen boats in 1868. By 1866, there were three divisions of the brigade, guided by Alexis

⁴⁸ John Rowand (Edmonton House) to George Simpson, November 6, 1848. HBCA D.5/23, pages 221b-222a. John Rowand (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders Northern Department, December 30, 1848. HBCA D.5/23, fos. 551d-552. John Rowand (Edmonton House) to George Simpson, December 24, 1850. HBCA D.5/29, fo. 393d.

⁴⁹ C.S. Mackinnon, "Some Logistics of Portage La Loche (Methy)," *Prairie Forum*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1988), 59.

⁵⁰ In 1854 the two Portage La Loche Brigades arrived on July 14 and July 16, and they remained at the portage carrying their pieces until they departed for Norway House on July 26 and July 29. In 1856, the two Portage La Loche brigades arrived only on July 26 and July 29; consequently, they were sent off very quickly on July 29 and August 3. James Anderson Trip Journal 1852–1858. HBCA E.37/2-4

⁵¹ Baptiste Bruce (1809–1890) was born around 1809 at Île-à-la-Crosse to Pierre Bruce and Marguerite Desrosiers. He began his career with the HBC in 1826–1827 as a Middleman on the English River, becoming a Guide on the same brigade in 1835. He worked as such until 1839, when he settled in Red River. In 1840, however, he signed on as a Guide in the Mackenzie River District, working there until 1842, and from 1845 to 1848, worked as a Guide on the Lac La Pluie Brigade. When the Portage La Loche Brigade split in two in 1850, he took over as one of the guides, working as such until 1870.

L'Esperance, Baptiste Bruce, and Jack Fidler, and in 1868, the three guides were Baptiste Bruce, Jack Fidler, and George Morgan.



Figure 5-9 Baptiste Bruce (1809–1890)

Despite its three-part size, the brigade was beginning to fall apart by the 1860s. As James Hargraves noted, the manner in which the disorganization of the brigade came to be felt was in the mutiny of the crews and their refusal to complete their required voyage. They would deliver the Mackenzie River District outfits to Portage La Loche and transport the furs from there to Norway House, but they would often refuse to take them on to York Factory, choosing instead to go back to the Red River Settlement empty. This refusal was hard to challenging to combat, given the way the tripmen were paid (their wages were advanced to them far before they completed their entire trip). Given that they did little else than their summer work, they would find themselves hard-up by mid-winter. The HBC, taking advantage of this need and realizing they would be hard-pressed to sign up enough men in Spring, would begin enrolling men to serve on the summer trip with the inducement

of an advance of wages. These advances would continue through the late winter. Thus, those who started the voyage in early June had already received half of their wages. At Norway House, they received more supplies on their account, and their families in the Red River Settlement would draw even more on this account. The result was that when the crews arrived back at Norway House, they had little incentive to complete the onerous last leg to York Factory and often simply went back to the Red River Settlement. Any threat of imprisonment for breach of contract was simply ignored.⁵²

Starting somewhat mildly, revolts or mutinies grew worse by the 1860s. In 1855, the Portage La Loche brigade left York Factory unladen, refusing to wait for the ship from England. In 1857, the tripmen agitated for higher wages, noting that private freighters from Red River were paying more, and in 1859, the Portage La Loche Brigade refused to take more than forty pieces per boat from York Factory to Norway House.⁵³ Then in 1860, the Portage La Loche tripmen refused to do any carrying of pieces over Portage La Loche even while they were contracted to do so. When William McTavish asked Baptiste Bruce about this, he responded that his men had always obeyed every order he had given. When pressed, however, he admitted that he had never ordered them to carry loads across the portage and would say little else. McTavish noted that the portage tripmen were nearly independent and would not sign up if they were forced to carry on the portage.⁵⁴ Better, he told William Joseph Christie of Edmonton House, to get a full stock of ten oxen up at the portage in Spring and, if not, forward horses there from Edmonton. If this were not done, the Mackenzie River outfit or returns would be stuck in the portage next season or thereafter.⁵⁵

⁵² J.J. Hargrave, *Red River*, 165-166.

⁵³ Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900, Volume II*, 159-160.

⁵⁴ Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to B.R. Ross, December 4, 1860. HBCA B.235/6/8, fo. 10. Bernard Rogan Ross was chief factor of the MacKenzie River District, and he had told McTavish that seven oxen were too few to transport the more than 1000 pieces of furs and goods.

⁵⁵ Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to W.J. Christie (Edmonton), December 5, 1860. HBCA B.235/b/8, fo. 12.

By 1866, the Norway House Journal also began reporting more serious problems. In that year, the journal noted that L'Esperance had arrived from Portage La Loche with five boats but had gone immediately to Red River. The returns he had brought were later transported to York Factory by a different brigade. The journal also noted that the crew of one of Jack Fidler's boats had openly rebelled and were going empty to Red River.⁵⁶ In 1867, six of Baptiste Bruce's eight boats rebelled, and Bruce went on to York Factory with only two boats. The other six boats left all their returns at Norway House before returning to Red River.⁵⁷ Only two of Baptiste Bruce's eight boats went on to York Factory that year, while the other six boats left their furs at Norway House and returned to Red River empty. The following year, all of Bruce's eight boats arriving at Norway House unloaded there and went home to Red River.⁵⁸ In 1869, the year of the Riel Resistance, the Portage La Loche Brigade never finished its journey. Boat loads of goods were left at Cumberland House in 1869,⁵⁹ and over 330 packs of furs and leather from the Athabasca and Mackenzie districts were left at Portage La Loche.⁶⁰ Of the fifteen boats that had set out for Portage La Loche, only two of Jack Fidler's boats returned to York Factory; all the rest simply returned empty to Red River.⁶¹ By the late 1860s, the tripmen of Assiniboia had little loyalty to the HBC and often had interests directly inimical to the company's. Indeed, numerous tripmen were partisans of Riel and participated in the resistance that occurred in 1869–1870.

These tripmen also included Indians and in 1871, while Lt. Governor Adams Archibald was negotiating Treaties One and Two at Lower Fort Garry, these labour problems on the York Boat

⁵⁶ Norway House Journal entries for August 25-26, 1866. HBCA B.154/A/66, fos. 100d-101.

⁵⁷ Norway House Journal entries for August 25-26, 1867. HBCA B.154/A/66, fo. 127a.

⁵⁸ Norway House Journal entry for August 29, 1868. HBCA B.154/A/68, fo. 20.

⁵⁹ Wm. McMurray to Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders Northern Department, 29 December 1870. GAA M-477-061, pp.1-8.

⁶⁰ HBCA B.167/z/1.

⁶¹ Norway House Journal entries for August 28 to September 22, 1869. HBCA B.154/A/69, fos. 23d-25.

brigades again reared their head. As Archibald noted, to the Secretary of State, the Indians were hesitant to start negotiations at first.

After some delay they stated that there was a cloud before them which made things dark, and they did not wish to commence the proceedings till the cloud was dispersed.

On inquiring into their meaning, I found that they were referring to some four of their number who were prisoners in gaol. It seems that some Swampy Indians had entered into a contract with the Hudson's Bay Company as boatmen, and had deserted, and had been brought up before magistrates under a local law of last session, and fined, and in default of payment sent to prison for forty days.⁶²

While the Portage La Loche Brigade would continue in an abbreviated fashion,⁶³ it was on the way out and was entirely abandoned in 1884.

These conditions, and some transportation innovations, convinced the HBC to try other methods. By the late 1860s, cart brigades increasingly hauled freight from Red River to Fort Carlton, and from there overland to Green Lake. From Green Lake, it was transported to Lac La Loche in boats supplied by the English River District. By 1877, most the 2500 pieces that made up the outfits for the Athabasca and Mackenzie River districts went by Green Lake to Portage La Loche.⁶⁴ This change in the transportation also changed the labour market in the area. The Green Lake area became a settlement site for freeman trippers. Pierre Laliberte, earlier in charge of the transport business of Portage la Loche, was transferred to Green Lake in the late 1860s, where he took over similar duties. When Laliberte retired from HBC service in 1874, he did not take up a hunting and trapping lifestyle but instead opted to go into the independent transport business. William McMurray, the postmaster at Île-à-la-Crosse noted in 1874 that Laliberte was leaving the service and intended to go to Manitoba to dispose of some property and afterwards come back to Green Lake to settle there. Laliberte did

⁶² Adams G. Archibald, to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, July 29, 1871. In Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and North-West Territories* (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke & Co. Publishers, 1880), 33.

⁶³ In the aftermath of the Riel Resistance of 1869–1870 only forty-eight tripmen were recruited from Red River, with the rest of the brigade made up of Cumberland, Norway House, and Lac La Pluie servants. Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900, Volume II*, 154.

⁶⁴ Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900, Volume II*, 155.

not intend to become a free trader; rather he wished to acquire oxen and haul freight from Fort Garry to Carlton or Green Lake and to be thereafter employed as a freighter on the Carlton/Green Lake Road. McMurray further noted that Laliberte had several sons and was connected with the Morins and others in the district. If he could get the freighting contract from the HBC, he would employ these friends and relatives, and they would be prevented from joining the employment of competing trading interests.⁶⁵ In this and other ways, while York Boat brigades did not end in 1870, they were vastly transformed and more localized.

⁶⁵ HBCA, B.89/b/4. Île-à-la-Crosse Correspondance Book, fos. 74d-75. Wm. McMurray (Île-à-la-Crosse) to James Graham, December 5, 1874.

Chapter Six

The Saskatchewan District York Boat Brigade 1821 to 1870



Figure 6-1 Edmonton House and York Boats circa 1830s¹

Route and Schedule

Typically, in this period, the boats of the Saskatchewan Brigade (twelve to twenty-seven in number) would leave Edmonton House between May 4 and May 20.² They would have to wait for the furs and boats from Rocky Mountain House, the returns from Lesser Slave Lake and Jasper House, and the Columbia/York Factory Express, and they could not leave too early or they would be held up by lake ice on Cedar Lake and Lake Winnipeg. The boats would be loaded with from fifty to 100

¹ This is a 1949 oil painting of the Saskatchewan Brigade by J.D. Kelly. The image was used to illustrate Confederation Life's 1950 Annual Calendar.

² See appendices 6-1 and 6-2.

pieces and would pick up more furs, buffalo robes, pemmican, and boats travelling past forts Pitt, Carlton, and à la Corne. These boats were lightly manned (three to five 5 men per boat), given the large number of boats being delivered to Norway House and the shortage of men.

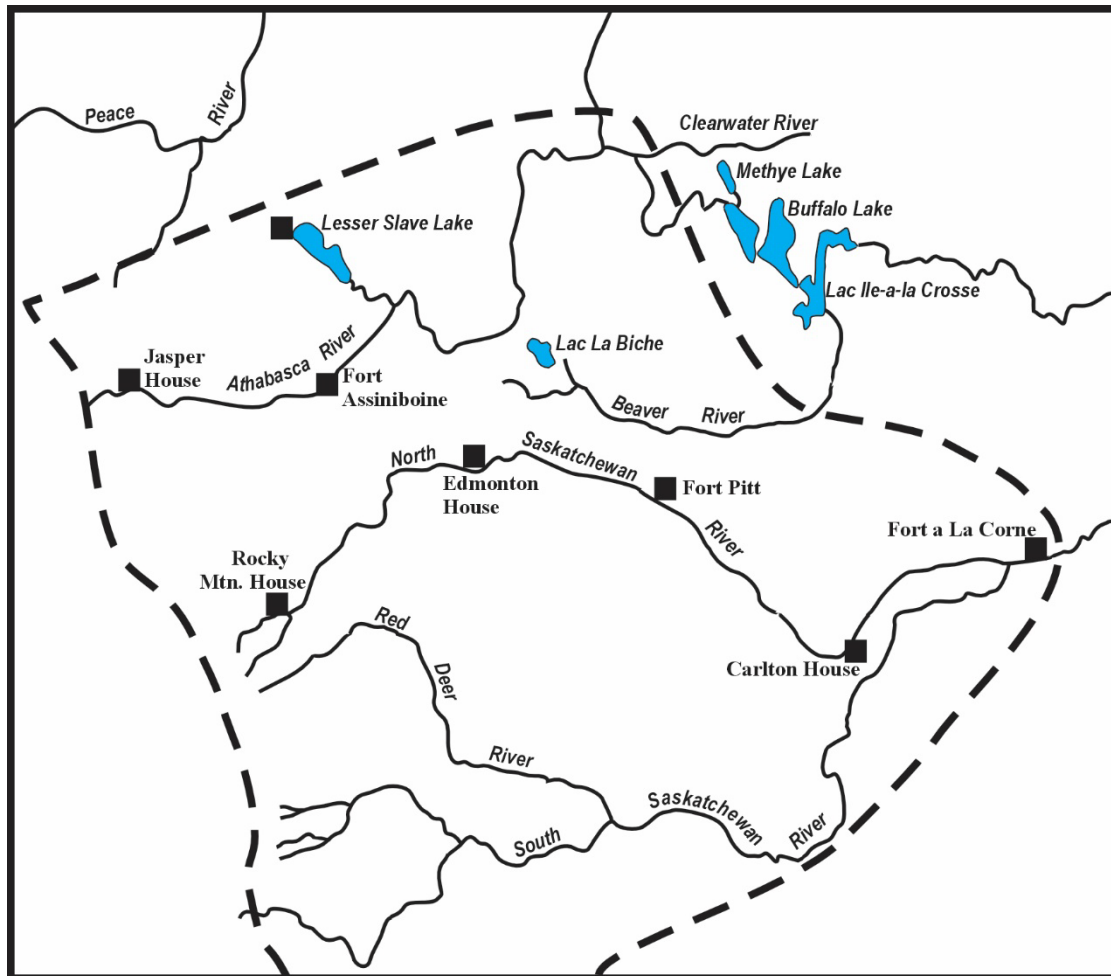


Figure 6-2 Saskatchewan District circa 1825

They would reach Carlton House around the end of May and would continue on to Norway House, running most of the rapids with the boats full, given they were travelling downstream, and the rivers were high in Spring. Even Grand Rapid could be run at high water in the Spring. The brigade would reach Norway House by about mid-June and there unload their provisions and buffalo robes and leave the extra boats they had built for the Northern Department. The reduced brigade (six to ten boats)

would then continue with their fur returns, reaching York Factory at the end of June and early July. There, the brigade would unload its furs, repair its boats, and load the Saskatchewan outfit.

Some indication of the scope of repairs of the Saskatchewan boats at York Factory can be gleaned from the accounts kept at York Factory for materials and labour for Saskatchewan York Boats (See Appendix 6-3). These included ten-foot-long planks (one to two inches thick), various sizes of nails, oakum, pitch, tar, and stem and stern plates, boat rudders, oars, sweeps, and other parts the substitution of which would have entailed considerable labour.³ As well, between the arrival and departure of the Saskatchewan Brigade from York Factory, and while their boats were being repaired and cargo exchanged, the Saskatchewan tripmen would relax and celebrate their journey with the regale of rum the HBC offered. When the brigades from the other districts arrived, the champions, or bullies, of each brigade would fight to establish a “champion.”⁴

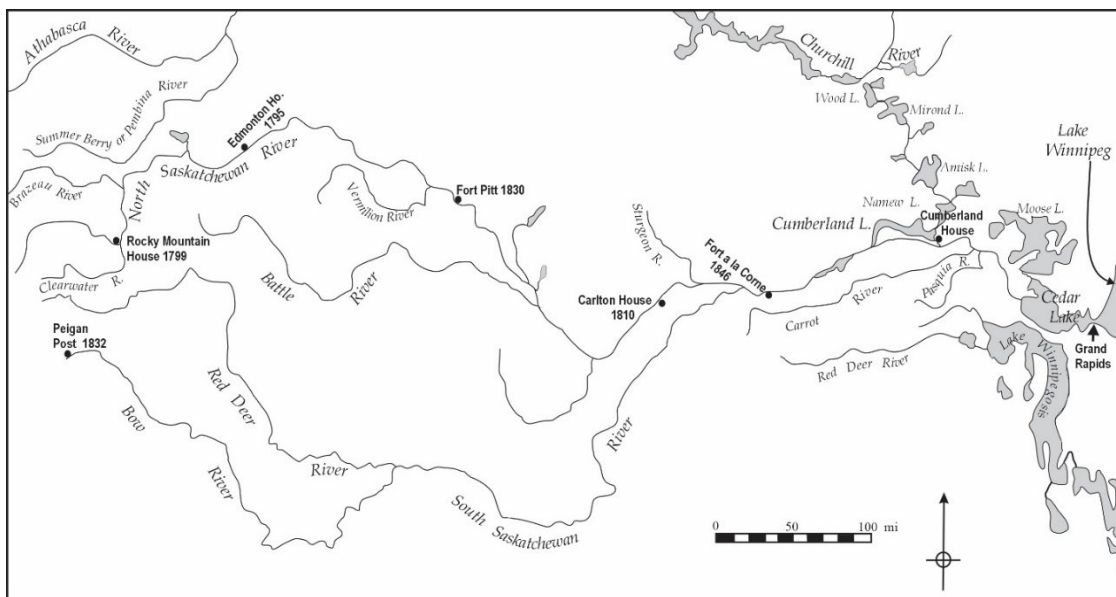


Figure 6-3 Saskatchewan River Posts 1821–1870

³ Materials for Saskatchewan Made York Boats, 1840–1841. B.239/d/597, fos 7-7d and 15d-16d.

⁴ J.J. Gunn, “The Tripmen of Assiniboia,” in J.J. Gunn, *Echoes of the Red* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), 55. See also John E. Foster, “Paulet Paul: Métis or ‘House Indian’ Folk Hero?” *Manitoba History*, no. 9 (Spring 1985), 2-7.

The brigade would depart York Factory around mid-July on its return journey and would be composed of six to fourteen boats carrying sixty to seventy-five pieces and manned by seven to ten per boat.⁵ As can be seen from Table 6-1, far more Columbia servants (Columbia/York Factory Express) were used to operate these boats on the Prairies than men from the districts through which they passed.

Table 6-1					
Saskatchewan York Boat Brigades and Boatmen Leaving York Factory 1825–1856⁶					
Year	Boats⁷	Saskatchewan Servants⁸	Columbia Servants	Freemen, Indian and Others⁹	Total no. Boatmen
1825	6	23 (50%)	15 (32.6%)	8 (17.4%)	46 (100%)
1826	8	25 (41%)	27 (44.3%)	9 (14.7%)	61 (100%)
1827	6	25 (54.4%)	18 (39.1%)	3 (6.5%)	46 (100%)
1828	9	36 (56.3%)	28 (43.7%)	0	64 (100%)
1829	9	31 (43%)	27 (37.5%)	14 (19.5%)	72 (100%)
1830	9	39 (49.4%)	32 (40.5%)	8 (10.1%)	79 (100%)
1831	8	44 (55%)	22 (27.5%)	14 (17.5%)	80 (100%)
1832	10	33 (43.4%)	29 (38.2%)	14 (18.4%)	76 (100%)
1833	9	44 (49.4%)	37 (41.6%)	8 (9%)	89 (100%)
1834	10	46 (48.5%)	39 (41%)	10 (10.5%)	95 (100%)
1835	9	51 (72.9%)	15 (21.4%)	4 (5.7%)	70 (100%)
1836	8	33 (52.4%)	18 (28.6%)	12 (19%)	63 (100%)
1837	No Details given				
1838	10	42 (50%)	29 (34.5%)	13 (15.5%)	84 (100%)
1839	8	37 (52.9%)	27 (38.6%)	6 (8.5%)	70 (100%)
1840	9	42 (51.1%)	32 (39.1%)	8 (9.8%)	82 (100%)
1841	10	39 (43.3%)	36 (40%)	15 (16.7%)	90 (100%)
1842	8	38 (56.7%)	24 (35.8%)	5 (7.5%)	67 (100%)
1843	8	41 (66.1%)	4 (6.5%)	17 (27.4%)	62 (100%)
1844	9	42 (48.3%)	28 (31.2%)	17 (19.5%)	87 (100%)
1845	9	37 (53.6%)	20 (29%)	12 (17.4%)	69 (100%)
1846	8	38 (58.5%)	18 (27.7%)	9 (13.8%)	65 (100%)
1847	10	46 (55.4%)	15 (18.1%)	22 (26.5%)	83 (100%)
1848	9	42 (54.5%)	21 (27.3%)	14 (18.2%)	77 (100%)
1849	10	43 (47.2%)	29 (31.9%)	19 (20.9%)	91 (100%)
1850	6	26 (46.4%)	12 (21.4%)	18 (32.2%)	56 (100%)
1851	11	47 (38.2%)	26 (21.1%)	50 (40.7%)	123 (100%)
1852	10	36 (40.5%)	8 (9%)	45 (50.5%)	89 (100%)

⁵ See Appendix 6-2. Until 1854, this included the men and luggage going to the Columbia District on the York Factory Express. It also included various passengers, including post factors, traders, and missionaries.

⁶ The start date of 1825 coincides with the beginning of the Columbia Express accompanying the Saskatchewan Brigade, and 1856 is the end date as the Bill of Ladings stops listing all boatmen on the boats.

⁷ This number does not include the “Fall boat,” which did not carry fur-trade pieces and only brought in new servants.

⁸ These are almost all Saskatchewan Servants but can include a few servants from Cumberland, other adjoining districts, and men on “General Charges.”

⁹ These were men who were not permanently employed by the Hudson’s Bay Company.

1853	9	48 (50.5%)	16 (16.8%)	31 (32.7%)	95 (100%)
1854	11	64 (65.3%)	1 (1%)	33 (37.7%)	98 (100%)
1855	11	60 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	30 (33.3%)	90 (100%)
1856	14	69 (61.6%)	0 (0%)	43 (38.4%)	112 (100%)
Source: Bill of Ladings. HBCA B.239/w/1-3; and listing of HBC Northern Department and Columbia Servants B.239/g/10-39. See also Appendix 6-2.					

From 1825 to 1852, when the Columbia Express began to be wound down, Columbia District servants made up from twenty to forty-four per cent of all boatmen in most years. After the Columbia/York Factory Express was shut down entirely in 1854, the required boatmen had to come from somewhere as there were not enough men employed in the Saskatchewan District to make up this shortfall. Increasingly, from 1847, but particularly from 1851, the Saskatchewan Brigade was forced to temporarily engage freemen and Indians for the passage. As noted later in this chapter, the change in brigade personnel would initiate most of the labour problems of the Saskatchewan Brigade.

The trip from York Factory to Edmonton House was a much harder passage than the trip out and involved poling, tracking, and innumerable portages, just as for all the other brigades passing from York Factory to Norway House (see previous chapter). The brigade would reach Norway House in early August and depart shortly thereafter, crossing the northern end of Lake Winnipeg. The process of getting past Grand Rapid involved carrying almost all the cargo for a mile and towing the boats by ropes over the rapids, with the men walking on the cliffs on the south side of the rapid. From there, the boats were rowed, tracked, or sailed from Cross Lake to Cedar Lake and up the Saskatchewan River. To ascend the rapids, the boats were tracked up with half a cargo. If the water was low, the boats would have to be poled or tracked by line against the current at a very slow pace. While the

Grand Rapid was the major obstacle on the Saskatchewan, the swift current rendered the entire ascent of the river one of labour and fatigue.¹⁰

Henry J. Moberly noted that the first post reached in the Saskatchewan District was Fort à la Corne. There, the outfit for the post would be unloaded, and the brigade would move on to Fort Carlton, where its outfit was unloaded. Two days were spent here re-arranging the cargo of the flotilla and partaking of a regale of rum, ending in a dance. From Carlton, it was on to Fort Pitt, a row that took another four days. There, the outfits of Fort Pitt and Lac La Biche were landed, and another regale and dance were held. About a month after leaving Norway House, the brigade reached Edmonton House. It usually arrived between early September and early October, and shortly after their arrival, outfits were sent to Lesser Slave Lake, Jasper House, and Rocky Mountain House.¹¹ In 1838, the outfit for Fort Assiniboine along with the York Factory/Columbia Express¹² was dispatched on eighty loaded horses, leaving Edmonton on September 10 and reaching Fort Assiniboine on September 15. On September 16, it took its departure from Fort Assiniboine in three boats and a canoe reaching Jasper House sixteen days later. From there, it crossed the mountains, reaching the Boat Encampment on October 13, where they found men from Fort Colville waiting for them.¹³ This York Factory/Columbia Express continued to operate until 1854, when George Simpson ended its

¹⁰ Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of The Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, 2 vols. (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle; Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1971), vol. II, 441-474. Irene Spry, ed., *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition 1857-1860* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968), 550-551.

¹¹ H.J. Moberly, "Reminiscences of a Hudson's Bay Company's Factor," *The Beaver* (Dec. 1921), 9-13. See also Appendix 6-2.

¹² From 1826 to 1854, the York Factory Express (Columbia Express) accompanied the Saskatchewan Brigade to and from York Factory. For the details of this Express see Nancy Marguerite Anderson, *The York Factory Express: Fort Vancouver to Hudson Bay, 1826-1849* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2021).

¹³ John Rowand (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Norther Department, January 5, 1839. HBCA D.5/5, fo. 88.

operation.¹⁴ As noted earlier, the Saskatchewan Brigade would have to operate without the extra men of the Columbia (see Table 6-1).

The Saskatchewan Brigade as Supplier of Pemmican and Boats to the Northern Department

The significance and value of the Saskatchewan Brigade has usually been underestimated, but it was, by far, the largest and most critical in providing boats, pemmican, and dried meat to all other brigades, and it did so in addition to bringing to the tidewater its district's furs and buffalo robes, and bringing back trade goods for the various posts in its district. The decision to make Saskatchewan the main district to supply York Boats to the HBC was directly connected to the district being the main supplier of provisions for the vast supply network of the company. A number of other posts or districts could have made new boats for the company, and indeed every district did build York Boats for its own use, but the number of pieces (pemmican and furs) that the Saskatchewan boats brought to Norway House and York Factory required a large number of boats heading east (up to twenty-seven boats), but many fewer boats were required to bring their outfits back (six to thirteen boats).¹⁵ This made the Saskatchewan District the natural spot to rebuild the HBC inland fleet each year and bring the new boats to Norway House with the provisions they also carried.

In order to keep its fleet of York Boats underway all Summer from the Mackenzie River to Red River, and from York Factory to the Columbia River, vast amounts of pemmican and dried meat were needed by the various brigades at various points. The most important of these "refueling" depots were located at Norway House and Cumberland House. To make sure there was always pemmican and dried meat on hand, the Council of the Northern Department made requisitions a year in advance

¹⁴ On June 28 of 1854, Simpson wrote to the Board of Management of the Western Department that it could no longer depend on the Northern Department for recruits, and that, by Dunvegan post (on Peace River), it must send out retiring servants who wanted to come to the east side of the mountains. HBCA B.226/c/1, fos. 407d-408. Dugald McTavish, of Fort Vancouver, wrote to Simpson on April 4, 1855 that, as directed, they would no longer be sending an Express to York Factory; neither would they look for an incoming brigade in the autumn. HBCA B.223/b/41, fo. 73d.

¹⁵ See appendices 5-1 and 5-2.

on the various pemmican producing regions.¹⁶ These included the Red River District, the Swan River District, and the Saskatchewan District. Of the three, it was the Saskatchewan District that provided the bulk of these; hence it needed a large fleet of boats (See Table 6-2). By the 1850s, the Saskatchewan District was asked to provide 80,000 lbs of pemmican a year to Cumberland and Norway House (close to 1000 pieces), and by the 1860s, close to 150,000 lbs (1800 pieces).

Table 6-2						
Requisitions of Pemmican (in pounds) 1821–1870						
YEAR	SASKATCHEWAN		SWAN RIVER		RED RIVER	
	Common	Prime	Common	Prime	Common	Prime
1821–22					72,000	
1822–23	90,000				Indefinite	
1823–24	63,000				45,000	
1824–25	19,800					
1825–26						
1826–17						
1827–28						
1828–29						
1829–30						
1830–31						
1831–32						
1832–33	54,000					
1833–34	54,000					
1834–35	54,000					
1835–36	54,000					
1836–37	54,000					
1837–38	54,000					
1838–39						
1839–40	49,500	3600			36,000	
1840–41	51,300	3600			36,000	
1841–42	46,800	3150			36,000	
1842–43	37,800	3150		450	45,000	
1843–44	19,800	3150			45,000	
1844–45	19,800	2250	6300	450	36,000	
1845–46	45,000	2880			27,000	
1846–47	60,300	2250	4500	630		
1847–48	103,500	3150	As much as possible			
1848–49	110,700	3150	As much as possible			
1849–50	62,100	2700		450	45,000	
1850–51	57,600	2700	4500	675	58,000	
1851–52	61,650	2700	4500	675	40,500	
1852–53	66,600	2565	4500	675	54,000	
1853–54	66,600	3600	3600	540	54,000	
1854–55	66,600	3420	2520		46,800	
1855–56	75,600	3420	900		54,000	

¹⁶ Minutes of The Council of the Northern Department. Minutes of Northern Council, 1821 to 1870. HBCA B.239/k/1-3

1856–57	83,000	3550	1800		60,000	
1857–58	81,000	3150	4500		60,000	
1858–59	74,700	4500	18,000		60,000	
1859–60	74,700	3510	18,000		63,600	
1860–61	76,500	3510	18,000		64,200	
1861–62	78,300	3510	18,000		65,400	
1862–63	78,300	3510	18,000		66,000	
1863–64	81,000	4185	18,000		76,000	
1864–65	90,000	5175	23,400		80,000	
1865–66	124,200	5175	18,000		75,000	
1866–67	117,000	5175	18,000		75,000	
1867–68	117,000	5175	18,000		90,000	
1868–69	142,110	5580	18,000		89,000	
1869–70	142,110	5580	18,000		75,000	
Source: Minutes of The Council of the Northern Department. Minutes of Northern Council, 1821 to 1870. HBCA B.239/k/1-3. Delivered to Cumberland and Norway House and calculated in pounds as there were bag weights of forty-five, ninety, and 100 lbs						

As the HBC moved to using York Boats in all of its communications after 1821, the Saskatchewan District became the favoured supplier of the craft. In 1822, the Saskatchewan District was asked to provide eight new boats to Norway House, but over time this increased to twelve, then fourteen, and even twenty. Other districts, such as Norway House, Swan River, and Cumberland House, were also asked to supply some, but nowhere near the number Saskatchewan was asked to supply (See Table 6-2).

Table 6-3 Requisition of New Boats¹⁷ by the Council of the Northern Department				
Year	Saskatchewan	Swan River	Norway House	Cumberland House
1822	8			
1823	8	2		
1824	8	4		
1825				
1826				
1827				
1828				
1829				
1830				
1831			6	
1832		3		
1833	8		8	
1834	10			
1835	12			
1836	12			

¹⁷ These boats were to be built with a keel of at least twenty-eight feet and be able to carry at least eighty pieces.

1837	14			
1838	8			
1839	8			
1840	8			
1841	12			
1842	12			
1843	12			
1844	12			
1845	12			
1846	14			
1847	20			
1848	17		2	
1849	20			
1850	14	4		
1851	20	4		4
1852	14			6
1853	14			6
1854	14			6
1855	16			6
1856	14			6
1857	14			6
1858	17			7
1859	12			7
1860	12			4
1861	12			4
1862	12			4
1863	12	2		6
1864	12	2		6
1865	12	2		6
1866	12	2		6
1867	12			6
1868	12			5
1869	19	2		
Source: Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department 1822 to 1869. HBCA B.239/k/1-2. These minutes record no requisitions for boats for the years 1825 to 1830.				

The large number of boats that made up the Saskatchewan Brigade (up to twenty-two in 1831 and twenty-seven in 1853)¹⁸ presented serious problems for John Rowand and his officers. As he noted in 1847, he had only forty men altogether in his command; consequently, his boats, carrying up to 120 pieces, were manned by only three to four men on the trip to Norway House. With these skeletal crews they had to get over rapids and brave Lake Winnipeg during storms.¹⁹ A year earlier

¹⁸ See appendices 5-1 and 5-2).

¹⁹ John Rowand to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Council of the Northern Department, January 1847. HBCA D.5/19, fo. 9d.

(1846), John Harriott had complained that he had left Carlton House with twenty-one boats heavily laden with only two oars per boat. As such, he had barely made it across Lake Winnipeg, being out of sight of land for twenty hours during a storm. He noted that his men would see the English River, Athabasca, and Portage La Loche brigades with only forty to fifty pieces per boat and five to six oars, while they had over 100 pieces per boat in their brigade, with only two oars per boat.²⁰ In early 1848, Harriott tried to make it even clearer to Simpson:

The Council has imposed a very large number of boats this outfit. How are we to take them down we require ten to return with. I think Norway House is as an eligible situation as any Post in the Country for building Boats they have every convenience and yet that duty is imposed on this District. It is an advantage to us to take down as many as we possibly can but it is impossible to take down so many the number mentioned in the last Minutes.²¹

There was, however, to be little relief. The Northern Department needed the provisions from the Saskatchewan and they needed new boats. The Saskatchewan District would have to supply them.

The Saskatchewan District as a Boat Building Centre

This requirement to provide from eight to twenty new inland boats for other districts in the Northern Department had a significant impact on the posts of Edmonton House and Rocky Mountain House. Their trading and provisioning roles now also included sawing and construction duties, and boatbuilding became a year-round activity. Sir Frederick Ulric Graham, travelling on a hunting expedition across western Canada in 1847, noted as he arrived at Edmonton House that “I hate the sight of these forts. Strange, large tumbledown places, like lumber-rooms on a vast scale.”²² Indeed, by 1847 Edmonton House had become a gigantic lumber yard and boatbuilding site.

²⁰ J.E. Harriott (Norway House) to George Simpson, July 2, 1846. HBCA D.5/18, fos. 2-3d.

²¹ J.E. Harriott (Edmonton House) to George Simpson, 7th Jan^y 1848. HBCA D.5/21, fo. 53d.

²² Frederick Ulric Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada 1847* (London: Printed for Private Circulation only, 1898), 74.

Table 6-4
Distribution of Boatbuilders Northern Department 1858 to 1870

District	1856 1857	1857 1858	1858 1859	1859 1860	1860 1861	1861 1862	1862 1863	1863 1864	1864 1865	1865 1866	1866 1867	1867 1868	1868 1869	1869 1870	1870 1871
Athabasca	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				1
Mackenzie R.	3	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
English River									1	1	1	1	1	1	
Saskatchewan	6*	3*	5**	4	4	3	4*	5*	4	6**	5**	5**	4	4	5
Cumberland	2	2	2	3*	3*	3*			1	1	1	1			
Swan River							1	1	1		1	1	2	3	3
Norway Ho.	1										1	2	2	3	4
Red River		1		1	1				1	1					
Lac La Pluie															
Island Lake					2*	2*	2*	1*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nelson River															
Trout Lake															
Churchill															
York Factory	1	1	1	1	3*	3**	3**	4**	3**	4**	4**	4*	4	4	5
Ungava															
Fret Est															
Gen. Charges							1	2	1						

Source: HBCA B.239/g/38-42; B.239/L/30-41.
 *Includes 1 Apprentice Boatbuilder
 **Includes 2 Apprentice Boatbuilders

Given the new status of the Saskatchewan District, more boatbuilders were sent to take up residence at Edmonton House and Rocky Mountain House. The majority of these boatbuilders came from the Orkney Isles or were young lads apprenticed to these Orkney builders and who, in time, became boatbuilders themselves. The Orkney builders included William Annal (S. Ronaldsay), William Brown (Stromness), Andrew Mowat (Birsay), Robert Johnston (Stromness), George Kirkness first and second (Stromness), John Flett (Birsay), William Macdonald (Stornoway), and James Moar (Stromness). The apprentice boatbuilders included Hector Finlayson (Native), William Gladstone (Montreal), George Hodgson (Native), Donald Todd (Native), John Fraser (Native), Simon Fraser (Native), and Norbert Bellerose (Native). Occasionally, Orkney men recruited as labourers would work their way up to become boatbuilders: George Gullion (Eday) and James Gullion (Eday) were two such. In addition to these, there were a few others: James Bruce (Wick, Scotland), Angus Campbell (Barras, Scotland), and Neils Mortensen (Norway).²³ As Chart 6-4 illustrates, after 1855, the Saskatchewan District outstripped every other district in boatbuilders.

²³ HBCA B.239/G/30-42.

The journals of Edmonton House are missing from 1835 to 1853, but when they resume in 1854, they detail these new activities. By then, there were always two to four men sawing in the fort's sawpit, and there were continual trips to the various pine hammocks and timber shanties. One of these pine hammocks was located on the far side of Long Lake,²⁴ north of the post, and another upriver several days' journey. Groups of five to six men were regularly sent up to these pine hammocks for weeks at a time to chop down logs, dig up roots for boat ribs, saw boat boards, and square keels. This work could be done in Summer or Winter, but only in Winter could ox teams be sent to Long Lake to sled home the lumber. Logs and wood from upriver would be rafted down to the post. By the late 1850s, there were two to four saws going regularly, and four to eight men were occupied daily with this laborious job. As a consequence, the job of sawing, which had been performed by labourers as part of their regular work, now earned them yearly gratuities, and by the 1860s the HBC was hiring designated sawyers, and sawyers received a dram every second day.²⁵

Table 6-5
Expansion of Sawing in Saskatchewan District 1858 to 1870

Year	Men Receiving Gratuities for Sawing	Number hired as Sawyers	TOTAL
1858-59	7	1	8
1859-60	5		5
1860-61	1		1
1861-62	1	1	2
1862-63		3	3
1863-64	2	1	3
1864-65	1	5	6
1865-66	1	14	15
1866-67		6	6
1867-68		1	1
1868-69		2	3
1869-70		3	3

Source: HBCA B.239/L/30-41; B.60/d/131-169.

Prior to 1858, sawing was not specified for gratuities or considered a category of employment, though the journals continually note that men had been sent to the sawpit to saw lumber.

²⁴ Long Lake was a small lake located between Edmonton House and Big Lake and was adjacent to the Horse Lakes. By the 1870s, there was a small Metis settlement here.

²⁵ These activities are detailed in the Edmonton House journals 1854 to 1869. HBCA B.60/a/29a-37. The remark noting that sawyers got a dram every two days comes from the Edmonton House Journal entry for November 11, 1858. HBCA B.60/a/30, fo. 8d.

As well, by the late 1860s, William Christie was hiring temporary labourers from among the miners and adventurers collected around Edmonton House. In 1866, he sent eleven of these men to Rocky Mountain House to saw boat wood. The reason was economic, for the men were paid only for what they sawed and the provisions they ate. Rocky Mountain house supplied them with pit saws, cross cut saws, axes, and files.²⁶

Boats were built in the boat sheds at Edmonton House and at Rocky Mountain House with Edmonton regularly building at least twelve a year²⁷ and Rocky Mountain House around five.²⁸ Though construction times could vary depending on the skill of the builder and the number of men working on a boat at one time, generally, a boatbuilder and two assistants could build a boat every eighteen or twenty-six days. Boats built at Rocky Mountain House were sent down to Edmonton with its returns every Spring in time for the dispatch of the boat brigade, and Edmonton House finished its boats – caulking, painting, and soaking them in the river – before the departure of the brigade.²⁹ In 1864, the Saskatchewan Brigade left Edmonton with twenty boats, sixteen of which had just been built. These boats, each manned by three men, took out the fur returns of Edmonton, Lesser Slave Lake, Jasper, Fort Assiniboine, Fort Pitt, Lac La Biche, and Carlton House. The brigade also carried out the pemmican, dried meat, and grease of the district. Along with the twelve new boats, these

²⁶ W.J. Christie (Edmonton House) to Richard Hardisty (Rocky Mountain House), December 4, 1866. HBCA B.60/b/2, page 617. By 1867, Christie was noting that it was difficult to get wood sawn at Edmonton for sixteen boats, and that it was an entire winter's work. What he needed, he said, was a sawmill that could saw all the company's wood and provide boards to settlers. W.J. Christie (Edmonton House) to Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry), January 5, 1867. HBCA B.60/b/2, page 645.

²⁷ W.J. Christie, Edmonton Report on District 1862, December 28, 1862. HBCA B.60/e/9, fo. 2d. In December of 1863, Christie noted that the Saskatchewan District had already built fourteen boats, and six more were to be made. W.J. Christie (Edmonton House) to James R. Clare (York Factory), December 10, 1863. HBCA B.239/c/14, fos. 326-326d.

²⁸ This information comes from Edmonton House journals and the William Gladstone memoir or diary printed in *The Rocky Mountain Echo* in 1903.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

returns and provisions were dropped off at Norway House. Eight boats returned to Edmonton House with a part of its 1865 outfit.³⁰

Problems of the Saskatchewan Brigade to 1852

By the 1840s, serious problems began to beset the Saskatchewan Brigade. It has already been noted that the brigade was always undermanned when it left Edmonton House in May, and the men on the brigade considered their work much harder than that of other brigades. In 1846, John Rowand complained to George Simpson that conditions were dire, and the district needed more and better men. He noted that no fewer than twenty men in his district had given notice that they were retiring in the spring of 1847. The men, he said, considered the pay insufficient given the comparative difficulty to labour on the Saskatchewan Brigade. He noted that for want of men and craft, he had that year left a large portion of the district's returns inland.³¹

In response to Simpson's earlier suggestion that he employ Indians and freemen to work on the boats taking their returns down to York Factory, he noted that few of the Saskatchewan Indians were "broke into" that kind of work and performed very badly. When he engaged some of The Pas Indians to make sufficient crews to take the boats across Lake Winnipeg, he had been stymied by York Factory officials who had refused to give him the goods to pay these Indians; moreover, he stated, they could not be depended upon again. He had tried to beg a few goods to pay them but got no more than half the articles they had agreed to work for. These Indians, he said, would not trust the company again. Much, he wrote, was demanded of the Saskatchewan District of late years (boats, horses, provisions), but for all that, the value of an awl was not allowed to the district to pay Indians who

³⁰ Memoranda of W.J. Christie for the Gentlemen in charge of the Saskatchewan District Brigade out to Norway House, March 8, 1864. Glenbow Archives, Hardisty Papers, M-477-29.

³¹ John Rowand (Norway House) to George Simpson, June 27, 1846. HBCA D.5/17, fo. 413. John Rowand (Norway House) to George Simpson, August 9, 1846. HBCA D.5/18, fo. 123.

worked on the boats. In all, it was a great pity to have to rely on The Pas Indians. With fewer men, and less of everything, the Saskatchewan District had to bring in an untold number of pieces for various missionaries, forty packs of otters for the Columbia District, and passengers who increased the burden of the boats (see Appendix 6-4).³²

Throughout the late 1840s, Rowand kept asking Simpson for more and better men. What he said he was getting were weak men who did not know how to handle a boat: one a fool with a broken hand, one who was blind, and one who could not walk. Men were quitting/resigning left and right and the Saskatchewan had no more good steersmen or bowsmen fit to run a rapid without smashing the boat to pieces and wetting the goods.³³ Rowand laid it on the line on June 20, 1851. He and Harriott (and Sinclair from the Columbia) had just arrived at Norway House the day before but could have done so twenty days earlier. They had lost this time repairing their boats and drying their packs; every rapid had damaged them. His boatmen had never had an oar in their hands, and he had been forced to use weak middlemen to steer the boats. He was bringing out twenty-four boats, carrying ninety to ninety-five pieces each with only three oars per boat – this while the boats of English River and Cumberland were passing them carrying thirty to thirty-five pieces and five to seven men per boat. It was no saving using a “poor set of Indians” as tripmen, he said, as he was forced to pay about £350 for them that Summer.³⁴

Simpson had heard enough. He told Rowand there were problems hiring men in Canada, where there was abundant employment at good wages in the shanties, and on the railroads and other

³² John Rowand (Edmonton House) to George Simpson, December 19, 1846. HBCA D.5/18, fos. 534-536. John Rowand (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, January 1847. HBCA D.5/19, fo. 9d. John Rowand (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, December 30, 1848. HBCA D.5/23. Fo. 550d. See also J.E. Harriott (Norway House) to George Simpson, July 2, 1846. HBCA D.5/18, fo.2.

³³ John Rowand (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, December 30, 1848. HBCA D.5/23, fos. 551-551d. John Rowand (Norway House) to George Simpson, August 3, 1849. HBCA D.5/25, fo. 441.

³⁴ John Rowand (Norway House) to George Simpson, June 20, 1851. HBCA D.5/30, fos. 796-796d.

public works then in progress. In Britain, HBC service was not as popular as before; many men were dissatisfied and were spreading rumours, and the scale of wages was insufficient to compensate for this bad press. No matter what other people were saying about him (Rowand), he (Simpson) still looked upon him as an efficient man, well qualified for the charge of the Saskatchewan District.³⁵ That said, however, Rowand had to change his behaviour. The proportion of men quitting the Saskatchewan District, he said, was larger than from any other district in the HBC. The only conclusion he could draw was that some peculiarity in their duties and their position in that quarter rendered employment in the HBC so disagreeable as to prompt them to quit. This presumption, he said, was borne out by the fact that every retiring servant from the Saskatchewan District complained of the treatment he received there. These injurious rumours made it almost impossible to induce other men to enter HBC service there. Rowand's complaints of his men, Simpson opined, arose within the district, and it was there that the remedy had to be applied. In very insulting terms, Simpson then advised Rowand to rein in his personal abuse of his men, to speak more civilly to them, treat them more fairly, and better attend to the comforts and wants of their families. The Saskatchewan District, he said, possessed many advantages, making it a favourite wintering ground in the HBC.³⁶ This fatuous analysis and suggestion would soon be proven wrong.

John Rowand and the Saskatchewan Brigade Mutiny of 1853³⁷

³⁵ George Simpson (Lachine) to John Rowand, April 20, 1852. HBCA D.4/45, fos. 14-15d

³⁶ George Simpson (Lachine) to John Rowand, December 10, 1852. HBCA D.4/45, fo. 91d.

³⁷ There are several sources for this mutiny. The most extensive is the memoir of William Gladstone, the boatbuilder at Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House at the time. See William Gladstone, "The Gladstone Diary," serialized in the *Rocky Mountain Echo* (1903). Written long after the events it chronicles, it is not entirely trustworthy. Gladstone claims the mutiny happened in 1851, but it occurred in 1853. In 1851, Rowand did not travel with the brigade but travelled across land by horse. Eden Colville (Lower Fort Garry) to George Simpson, 24 August 1851. E.E. Rich, ed., *London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colville, 1849-1852* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), 243. As well, Jack Coghlan, the ringleader of the mutiny only completed his employment with the HBC at Edmonton in 1853, when he took the journey out with the brigade. Gladstone begins his account as he heard it from a tripman (he was not on the York Boat brigade), but later in his tale he switches to the first person as if he had been there. Despite these problems with his account, it is the one used here unless directly contradicted by other accounts.

While there are several accounts of this mutiny, none of which are entirely accurate or agree with the others, it is instructive to reconstruct the main aspects of this “emeute” to understand the degree to which the Saskatchewan Brigade had become dysfunctional and how John Rowand had become the lightning rod of employee dissatisfaction in the Saskatchewan District. As well, it should be noted that in 1853, the Saskatchewan Brigade was largely composed of freemen and Indians not in the regular employ of the HBC; consequently, it proved much more difficult to control (see Table 6-1).



Figure 6-4 Chief Factor John Rowand ca. 1847.
GA NA-1747-1

According to William Gladstone, a boatbuilder in the Saskatchewan District at Edmonton House and Rocky Mountain House, the mutiny centered around Jack Coghlan, a labourer from Montreal, who

had just finished his three-year engagement³⁸ and was retiring after his trip out with the Saskatchewan Brigade. According to Gladstone, he was a very popular Irishman,³⁹ but according to George Simpson he was a refractory servant who was in debt to the company for £10.⁴⁰ When the brigade reached Norway House, Coghlan left it to return to Canada, but, according to Gladstone, the chief factors, including, presumably, Rowand, did not want to let him go as they were short of men, and he was in debt to the HBC. Other accounts note that the difficulty was that he was contracted to complete the boat trip to York Factory, which he refused to do.⁴¹ Discharging himself (deserting), Coghlan took up residence with a group of freemen nearby, and his boat brigade continued without him to York Factory. After the brigade left, the chief factors sent a crew of clerks to arrest Coghlan and secure him to be tried by council. Unbeknownst to the Northern Council, however, a freeman was sent to alert the departed boat crew, who, when they heard the news, unloaded their boats where they were and hurried back to Norway House. Once there, they angrily confronted Rowand and the Northern Council, demanding the release of Coghlan. After some contretemps, Jack was released and allowed to return to Montreal, and the men were each given a quart of rum.⁴²

The Saskatchewan tripmen then pressed their advantage to win some other concessions from Rowand. First, they demanded a monthly stipend of tea for the time of their service, and second, they wanted relief from having to buy horses for their work. In the Saskatchewan District, the men were

³⁸ Jack Coghlan was hired in 1850 as a twenty-one-year-old labourer from Montreal. He was posted in the Saskatchewan District and was paid £20 a year. He completed his contract in June 1853. HBCA B.239/L/21-23.

³⁹ Gladstone's version of this mutiny shows up in a section of his memoir entitled "Mutiny Pays Big Dividends." Most of the account here comes from this memoir.

⁴⁰ George Simpson's comments appear in a letter to William MacTavish (York Factory). HBCA B.239/C/7, pp. 103-106. The comments on Coghlan appear on page 6, a sheet entitled "Men: Respecting retiring Winterers." On this sheet, Simpson comments that Coghlan should not be allowed to go to Canada but should be sent to Severn or Churchill to spend the winter there.

⁴¹ This argument appears in the account of John Rae, the explorer, who had just arrived at Norway House. See William Barr, ed., *John Rae, Arctic Explorer: The Unfinished Autobiography* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2019), 426. This is an argument also made in the folk history account of the mutiny. See J.J. Gunn, "Tripmen of Assiniboia," in J.J. Gunn, *Echoes of the Red* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), 43.

⁴² These events are also vouched for by J.J. Gunn in his "Tripman of Assiniboia," 43.

made to buy the horses they used to complete their duties. The cost was £2, which they were refunded when they returned the horse at the end of their service.⁴³ Presumably, this practice was intended to ensure the men did not overwork or mistreat company horses, but paying a price of £2 when they barely earned £20 per annum was considered a great imposition. There is no official record that these conditions were met, but Edmonton accounts, which note this practice, cease mentioning it after the outfit of 1853. According to Gladstone, Rowand agreed to all their conditions, and the brigade completed its trip. The other chief factors, he said, told Rowand that the mutiny would never have happened if he had treated his men decently. Even John Edward Harriott, one of Rowand's close associates, commented that he was "grieved to learn that Mr. Rowand has had such difficulty with his men, and I am afraid if what is said here (Red River) be true that his troubles are not over."⁴⁴

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the labour problems of the Saskatchewan Brigade and District were due alone to the actions and management of John Rowand.⁴⁵ Rowand would die in the spring of 1854⁴⁶ and be replaced first by Chief Factor William Sinclair (1854–1857) and then William Joseph Christie (1858–1872), and under these two men desertions from HBC service in the

⁴³ According to Eden Colville, this practice had been "a rule that has from time immemorial prevailed in the Saskatchewan, that each servant should keep a horse for the purpose of bringing home meat, for which he was charged £2 and on his leaving the district, and delivering up his horse, the same sum is placed in his credits." Eden Colville (Norway House) to Archibald Barclay (London), June 22, 1852. E.E. Rich, ed., *London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colville, 1849–1852* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), 131.

⁴⁴ J.E. Harriott (Red River) to William MacTavish (York Factory), August 4, 1853. HBCA B.239/c/7

⁴⁵ William Gladstone, in his memoir, blames almost all the problems in the Saskatchewan on Rowand, but his retirement from HBC service shortly after Rowand died gave him no basis to judge the post-Rowand era. In 1859, five years after Rowand died, the governor and committee were still having trouble finding recruits for the HBC in Norway and Scotland. To induce more men from Orkney, Shetland, the Western Isles, and the mainland of Scotland to enlist in their service, they determined to alter the terms of service: improving the wages to the men, and improving their food and comfort when in the interior. This last condition required that officers at the various posts treat the men with kindness and consideration, and supply them with more tea and sugar. Thomas Fraser (Secretary of the HBC at Hudson Bay House, London) to James R. Clare (York Factory) June 24, 1859. HBCA B.239/c/11, fos. 95d-96d.

⁴⁶ John Rowand (1787–1854) had announced his intention to retire in 1853 and was on his way out of the country when he died suddenly at Fort Pitt in May 1854. His body was eventually transported to Montreal, where it was interred at the Mount Royal Cemetery. Simpson, waiting for an overdue Rowand at Norway House and not knowing that he had died, wrote to him to tell him that his leave of absence had been granted by Council, and that he was being replaced by Chief Factor Sinclair. Simpson told Rowand that he need not accompany his brigade to York Factory but merely transfer command to Sinclair, after which he could go on to Red River. George Simpson (Norway House) to John Rowand, June 17, 1854. HBCA D.4/48, fo. 55.

Saskatchewan District only increased. While Rowand and the Saskatchewan District had suffered from manpower problems since the 1840s, these had arisen from retirements from HBC service. After Rowand's death, desertions and labour problems became endemic (see Table 6-6).

Table 6-6 Desertions from the Saskatchewan District by Year and Category of Employment		
Year	Number	Category of Employment
1851–52	1	Steersman
1852–53	1	Middleman
1853–54	1	Middleman
1854–55	8	Labourer (1) Middleman (6) Carpenter (1)
1855–56	4	Labourer (3) Middleman (1)
1856–57	4	Middleman (4)
1857–58	2	Middleman (2)
1858–59	18	Labourer (3) Middleman (10) Steersman (3) Sawyer (1) Boatbuilder (1)
1859–60	4	Middleman (4)
1860–61	1	Middleman
1861–62	3	Middleman (3)
1862–63	6	Middleman (4) Sawyer (1) Saddler (1)
1863–64	0	
1864–65	4	Labourer (1) Middleman (1) Sawyer (1) Steersman (1)
1865–66	8	Labourer (5) Middleman (2) Sawyer (1)
1866–67	12	Labourer (3) Middleman (5) Bowsman (1) Steersman (1) Blacksmith (1) Cattleherder (1)
1867–68	2	Middleman (1) Cattleherder (1)
1868–69	0	
1869–70	1	Labourer
1870–71	2	Labourer (1) Middleman (1)
Source: HBCA B.239/L/22-41; B.60/d/107-174		

The problems of 1858 are instructive. Returning late from York Factory with the Saskatchewan Brigade on October 12 and 17, Chief Factor Christie was beside himself. He had left York Factory on July 14 and had been over three months in reaching Edmonton. The problem he noted had been the desertion of all Indian tripmen engaged at forts Carlton, Pitt, and Lac La Biche. They had abandoned the brigade below Fort à La Corne, and the new hands who had just arrived at York Factory were unaccustomed to the hard work. Two guides were drunken rascals who should immediately be replaced, and the HBC should stop hiring Indian tripmen in the Saskatchewan District and hire as few freemen as possible. They seldom fulfilled their engagements for the trip from

Edmonton to York Factory and back, and had been a problem for several years. In 1857, one whole boat crew deserted the brigade at The Pas, and other Indians had to be hired at high wages to get the boats to Carlton. This year, nine tripmen left two boats below Fort à La Corne. Christie, himself, was also forced to dismiss two steersmen *en route* for gross misconduct. Isaac Daigneau was dismissed for refusing to embark a passenger at The Pas and throwing the passenger's luggage ashore against orders; Francois Deschamp was dismissed for disobedience and after striking Mr. McGillivray, and for stealing rum. Four other steersmen, he noted, should never be hired again (Olivier Vivier, Basil Larance, Charles Dumais, and Michel Vivier). All stole rum and were insolent. Strong measures needed to be taken, he said, or the outfits for Jasper House, Rocky Mountain House, and Slave Lake would not arrive before freeze-up.⁴⁷ Clearly, Rowand's treatment of employees had not the sole problem; the Saskatchewan Brigade itself was in crisis.

The Decline and Demise of the Saskatchewan Brigade 1859 to 1870

By 1859, George Simpson, now resident at Lachine, Canada East, could no longer tolerate the uncertainty of transport in the Saskatchewan District. The Saskatchewan Brigade, he directed, should still deliver its returns and boats to Norway House, but the majority of the outfit for the Saskatchewan District should be delivered by carts from Fort Garry. William Christie, the chief factor at Edmonton House, objected to this loss of control and instead urged that the whole outfit be delivered to the Saskatchewan Brigade at Norway House. If the Saskatchewan Brigade was no longer obligated to travel all the way to York Factory, he was sure the brigade would continue to make the voyage.⁴⁸ In consequence of the difficulties he had with his tripmen in the summer of 1860, Christie changed his mind and endorsed the plan suggested by Simpson. In 1861, he would send thirty-two men with the fourteen Saskatchewan District boats, provisions, and furs to Norway House and return with only

⁴⁷ Edmonton House Journal entries for October 12 and 17, 1858. HBCA B.60/a/30, fos. 4d-5.

⁴⁸ Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to J.R. Clare (York Factory), December 2, 1859. HBCA B.235/b/7, fo. 15.

four boats and part of the Saskatchewan outfit. The rest of the outfit would be sent from Red River by cart. William McTavish agreed to prepare 158 oxcarts to be forwarded across the plains from Fort Garry to the South Branch of the Saskatchewan. The carts would return from Fort Carlton with the buffalo robes from the Saskatchewan District; and these would be sent on to New York via St. Paul. The carts would be sent in three brigades: two with fifty-one carts, and one with forty-eight. There would be one driver for every three carts, and they would arrive at the South Branch between August 10 and August 20. The boats would carry 270 pieces, and the carts would take 1200, leaving about 130 pieces to be taken up in a second trip. In all, the Saskatchewan outfit would number about 1600 pieces. Beyond Carlton, the Saskatchewan District would be responsible for the arrangements to distribute the various pieces.⁴⁹

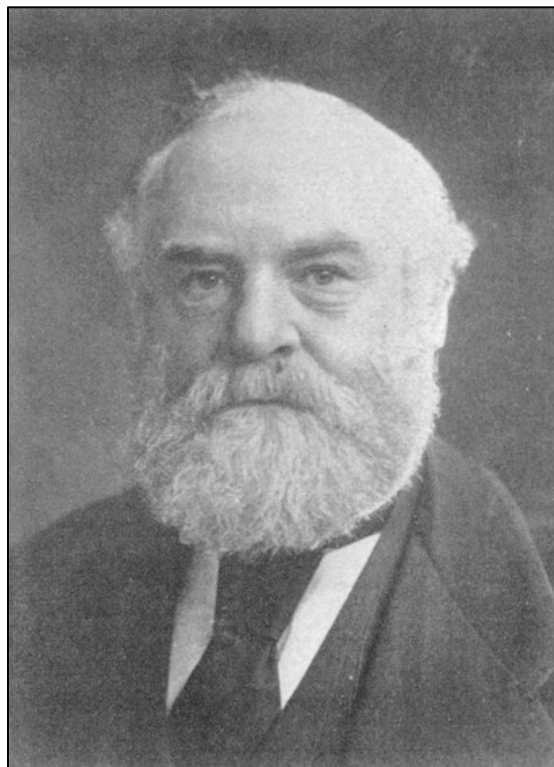


Figure 6.5 Chief Factor William J. Christie
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⁴⁹ Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to James R. Clare (York Factory), August 9, 1860. HBCA B.239/c/11, fo. 400d. Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to James R. Clare (York Factory), December 6, 1860. HBCA B.239/c/11, fo. 439d. Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to W.J. Christie (Edmonton House) December 5, 1860. HBCA B.235/b/8, fos. 11-11d. See also Appendix 6-1.

This was the plan, but not everything went accordingly. The goods for the Saskatchewan were brought to Fort Garry from Georgetown, Minnesota, by steamboats (carts from St. Paul to Georgetown) on the Red River run by the Minnesota company of R.C. and J.C. Burbank,⁵⁰ but not all arrived before the ox-cart brigades had to depart in the summer of 1861. Consequently, a part of the Saskatchewan outfit remained at Red River until the next season. The carts that did depart had a very long trip owing to high water and wet track, but two brigades did reach Carlton in good order and brought back 144 packs of buffalo robes, which were forwarded to New York.⁵¹ A brigade of six boats manned by tripmen and under the command of John Cunningham (clerk), were sent from Edmonton House to meet the ox carts at Fort Carlton. Because the second cart brigade was late arriving, and because of the great dissatisfaction that would arise among the tripmen if they had to wait for the carts, the boat brigade returned light to Edmonton but with enough goods to supply the upper posts. It departed Carlton House on August 14 and arrived at Edmonton House on September 2, 1861.⁵² The remainder of the outfit that arrived late was transported to Edmonton House by cart (see Figure 6-4).

There were other hiccups in this new plan. Although the cart brigades reached Carlton House in good order the next year (1862), and the boats delivered them to Edmonton House by September 13,⁵³ they were not as lucky in 1863. River transport from St. Paul to Fort Garry miscarried that summer due to the Sioux uprising in 1862–1863, and the goods had to be shipped by wagon from St.

⁵⁰ London Committee to Wm. McTavish and Council of the Northern and Southern Departments of Rupert's Land, April 17, 1861. HBCA B.239/c/12, fo. 41. The HBC had, by this time, made arrangements with the United States Treasury, to ship their goods in bond through the United States.

⁵¹ A.A. Den Otter, "Transportation and Transformation: The Hudson's Bay Company, 1857–1885," *Great Plains Quarterly* (Summer 1983), 173. Although Den Otter is accurate on the timing of various transportation events and has a good grasp of the introduction of steamboats to Rupert's Land, he is mostly wrong or inaccurate about the demise of the York Boat brigades. See also Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, December 5, 1861. HBCA B.239/c/12, fo. 271.

⁵² Richard Hardisty (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, January 6, 1862, fo. 8d.

⁵³ W.J. Christie (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, December 26, 1862, fo. 218.

Paul to Abercrombie, North Dakota. There, they were to meet the cart train going to Red River but missed the connection by more than six days. As a result of these difficulties, it was decided to send duplicate outfits for the Saskatchewan, Swan River, and Lac La Pluie via York Factory.⁵⁴ Despite these problems, Christie noted that Cuthbert Sinclair had arrived at Carlton on July 5, with the first brigade of carts containing part of the Saskatchewan outfit. Then, on July 22, five Saskatchewan boats arrived from Norway House on their way to Edmonton House with another part of the outfit. On August 8, a brigade of seven boats arrived at Carlton from Edmonton to pick up the outfit brought by the carts. Christie noted that each boat was loaded with seventy-five pieces, and that they left on August 10. Finally, he recorded that the second brigade of carts from Red River arrived at Carlton on August 14. Presumably, these supplies would be carted to Edmonton later, for the carts that had arrived had returned to Red River.⁵⁵

Despite the continued use of York Boats, tripmen continued to be extremely problematic. By 1867, the overland cart transport system was well entrenched, and in that year, the total of 320 carts were divided into four brigades. The last of these brigades went on to Green Lake with upwards of 300 pieces of the Athabasca outfit. The brigades completed their trips expeditiously, but the cargoes delivered to Carlton were found damaged in transport, and the oxen were found to be used up by the cruel and careless treatment of their drivers.⁵⁶ Christie was convinced that cart drivers and freighters engaged in Red River were growing too careless and thievish. He was convinced the HBC had to do its own transport with its officers as conductors. He suggested that the Saskatchewan District could take over that transport of its own outfit, as well as the goods for the Athabasca District, in carts from Fort Ellice as long as the HBC placed a steamboat on the Saskatchewan to ship the goods from

⁵⁴ Wm. McTavish (Fort Garry) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, December 9, 1863, fos. 322-322d.

⁵⁵ Wm. J. Christie (Carlton) to Governor Dallas (Red River), August 16, 1863. HBCA B.60/b/1, fos. 5-5d.

⁵⁶ William Cowan (Fort Garry) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, December 10, 1867. HBCA B.239/c/17, fo. 248d.

Carlton House and Edmonton.⁵⁷ This suggestion was a bit ahead of the capabilities of the HBC, and until the 1870s, goods were brought up to Carlton House by private freighters from Fort Garry, where they were picked up by ox carts from Edmonton House manned by HBC employees and hired tripmen.⁵⁸

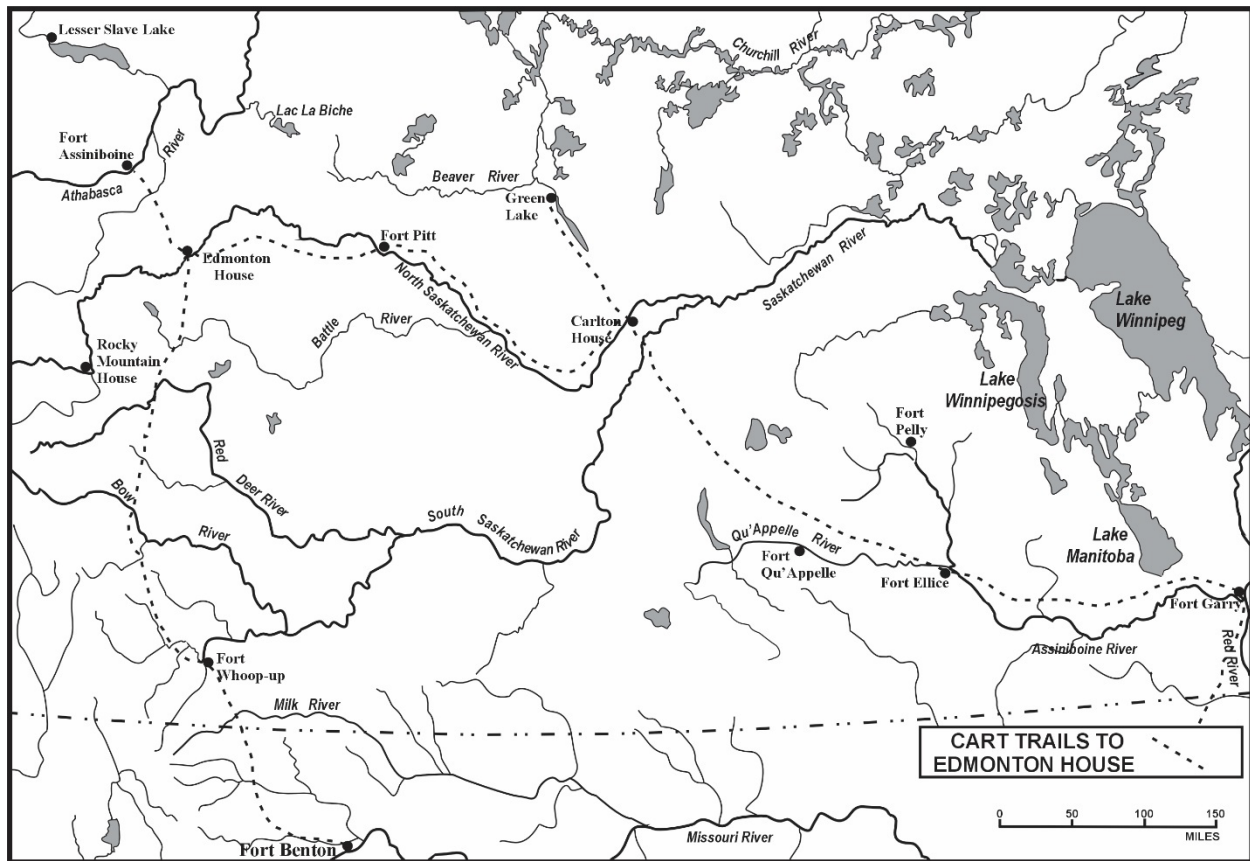


Figure 6-6 Cart Trails to Edmonton House⁵⁹

⁵⁷ W.J. Christie (Edmonton House) to William McTavish (Fort Garry), August 31, 1867. HBCA B.60/b/2, page 835. W.J. Christie (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, January 3, 1868. HBCA B.239/c/18, fo. 9

⁵⁸ Richard Hardisty (Edmonton House) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, January 6, 1869. HBCA B/239/c/18, fo. 215.

⁵⁹ Loaded carts from Fort Garry took about 35 days to reach Carlton House. At Carlton House, the carts would cross the North Saskatchewan and stay on the north side of the river until Fort Pitt. This route took about eight days. There, they would recross the North Saskatchewan to the south side and stay on that side until reaching Edmonton House, another ten day travel. The total distance from Fort Garry to Edmonton House with loaded carts (pulled by horses or oxen) at six to seven pieces per cart took a total of fifty-three days. Edmonton House Report on District 1862. HBCA B.60/e/10, fo. 1d.

While the land/cart transport of goods from Fort Garry to Carlton House was working at least satisfactorily,⁶⁰ the boat brigade bringing furs, provisions, and boats to Norway House from the Saskatchewan was on its last legs. Chief Factor Christie informed the Council of the Northern Department that no dependence could be placed on his brigade. The night before the brigade left Edmonton House in the spring of 1870, the French Metis engaged to manage the boats and bring out the returns refused in a body to embark unless paid higher wages (£4/month) regardless of their agreed-to engagement at £3/month. Having no alternative, Christie acceded to their demands; otherwise, furs, provisions, and boats would have remained inland. Further, he noted, no dependence could be put on HBC's European servants. These, he said, deserted and broke their engagements whenever it suited them.⁶¹ Unless some immediate steps were taken to render the company independent of these tripmen, he did not see how business could be carried on.⁶² John Henry McTavish,⁶³ the clerk in charge of Fort Garry in 1870, noted that it was plain to all concerned that unless a well-organized steam service were inaugurated throughout the country, the transport business of the HBC could not be carried on any longer.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ William Cowan (Fort Garry) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, December 10, 1869. HBCA B.239/c/18, fo. 447d.

⁶¹ Desertion and quitting the service had become much easier at Fort Edmonton since the early 1860s, with a settlement independent of the HBC forming in the area, and with a burgeoning Metis community at St. Albert. While employment opportunities were not plentiful, life was possible at Edmonton outside of the orbit of the fur-trade post.

⁶² W.J. Christie (Norway House) to the President, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, July 12, 1870. HBCA B.329/c/19, fos. 129-129d.

⁶³ John Henry McTavish (1838–1888) came from Lachine, Quebec, and entered the service of the HBC as an apprentice clerk in 1856. He was the accountant at Fort Garry from 1861–1870 and the clerk in charge there from 1870–1872, and he became a factor in 1871. From 1874 to 1880 he served as the chief factor of the Red River District at Fort Garry. HBCA Biographical Sheet.

⁶⁴ J. McTavish (Fort Garry) to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders of the Northern Department, December 10, 1870. HBCA B.239/c/19, fo. 238.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

It has been a verity of fur-trade scholarship, since at least the 1940s, that the HBC was hindered in moving inland and penetrating the west by the shortage of canoes, the lack of manpower, and a deficiency of skills at inland navigation. As well, it is generally agreed that the substitution of boats for canoes in the late eighteenth century, accelerating after 1821, was the crucial development that allowed the HBC to expand rapidly westward to the Rocky Mountains and northward into the Arctic. These boats, later to become known as York Boats, could carry more cargo than canoes, required fewer men to power them, were more seaworthy on Lakes, and were safer for novices to control than canoes.¹ The development of York Boats to 1821 has been generally, if disjointedly, summarized by John Alwin,² but their continued developments to 1870, and their increasing significance to the fur trade, has been largely ignored. In particular, the significance of York Boats brigades to the Saskatchewan District, particularly Edmonton House, has not been well understood. The ever-expanding use of York Boats (200 boats a year requiring 1200 men by the mid-nineteenth century)³ required large-scale construction sites, the creation of a specific work force (tripmen), and the organization of specific brigades. While the dominance of these York Boat brigades was relatively short-lived (1820s to 1870s), they had broad implications.

The expansion of the HBC trade after 1821 required increasing amounts of pemmican and dried to feed the large number of tripmen on the boat brigades. As well, given that York Boats only

¹ Richard Glover, "The Difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company's Penetration of the West," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Sept. 1948), 240-254. See also Richard Glover, "York Boats," *The Beaver* (March 1949), 19-23.

² John A. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670 to 1821," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978.

³ H.Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), vol. II, 103.

lasted about three seasons, there was a need for an extensive boatbuilding program. As this study has demonstrated, both the production of pemmican and York Boats fell increasingly to the posts in the Saskatchewan District. By the mid nineteenth century, Edmonton House had become a factory for the production of both, exceeding its importance as a fur trading post. As one traveller noted, Edmonton House had become a gigantic lumber yard and boatbuilding site.⁴ Besides housing and occupying a significant number of men who travelled to the various lumber camps around the post, it employed an ever-increasing number of sawyers who did little else. Boatbuilders and blacksmith were occupied year-round in building York Boats for other districts and brigades. This boatbuilding worked in tandem with pemmican production, the transport of which was aided by the delivery of boats to Norway House.

This boatbuilding and pemmican production were crucial in the evolution of Edmonton House beyond a simple “trading post.” By 1874, Edmonton House and its neighbourhood (excluding St. Albert) had a population of around 200 people,⁵ and it required an ever-increasing number of carpenters and blacksmiths to build and repair York Boats, and sawyers and eventually sawmills to produce the lumber to build them. These developments presaged the occupational specialization needed to become “urban.” As Paul Voisey has commented, the existence of a specialized work force provided the key to Edmonton’s transformation from trading post to city “because it offered trades and activities with the potential to serve functions beyond the fur trade itself.”⁶

The yearly employment of 1200 tripmen to man these York Boats also created a new element in the social system of the fur trade. Mostly unconnected to the ordinary labour of the fur-trade post,

⁴ Frederick Ulric Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada 1847* (London: Printed for Private Circulation only, 1898), 74.

⁵ Census of Edmonton House and Neighbourhood, April 1874. Glenbow Archives. Hardisty Papers, M-477-560.

⁶ Paul Voisey, “Unsolved Mysteries of Edmonton’s Growth,” in Bob Hesketh and Frances Swyripa, eds., *Edmonton: The Life of a City* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1995), 318.

these tripmen were usually Metis and Native labourers who were distinct from the buffalo-hunting Metis. By the 1840s and 1850s, they made up to fifty per cent of the Saskatchewan Brigade.⁷ This development heralded a new phase in the labour force of the HBC, one that developed its own *Esprit des Corps*⁸ and produced a group deeply hostile to the HBC. Their hostility developed because of the backbreaking hard work and the perception that the company was not compensating them fairly. The HBC would disband most of the important York Boat brigades by 1870 because they had become too unreliable and rebellious. Indeed, most observers have noticed that the bulk of Louis Riel's "army" in 1869–1870 was composed of the poorer Metis who worked on the annual boat brigades. It is not coincidental that the Riel Resistance began in October and November, after the conclusion of the freighting season. As I have noted in another work, the tripmen of the boat brigades were exactly suited to Riel's needs and purposes. They were a volatile group with few loyalties to the HBC and, by the 1850s, were prone to mutiny. They were the type of men who, on completion of their summer labours, looked for excitement and would agree to be Riel's soldiers in exchange for provisions through the winter.⁹

Though often refractory and rebellious, many of these tripmen came to depend on this seasonal labour to survive. When the HBC decided to replace many of their York Boat brigades with steamships on Lake Winnipeg, and the Red, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca rivers in the 1870s, many Native families had trouble surviving. During the negotiations at Norway House leading to the signing

⁷ In 1856, the last year in which all tripmen were named on the Saskatchewan Brigade, there were 112 boatmen. Of these, 43 or 38.39% were natives who were not employed year-round by the Saskatchewan District (See Table 6-1). HBCA B.239/w/3 & B.239/L/28. On some brigades, particularly the La Loche Brigade and the York Factory/Red River Brigade, the proportion of Native tripmen was even higher.

⁸ The folk historian of these tripmen has noted that the hardships and thrilling experiences common to a tripman's life in the four to five months a year he worked on these brigades gave a decided colour to the rest of the year, and left him a tripman and nothing else. "The nature of the work unfitted him for the more prosaic walks of life, even if he had any inclination for them, which was not often." J.J. Gunn, "The Tripmen of Assiniboia," in *Echoes of the Red* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), 35.

⁹ Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 135-136.

of Treaty Five, Alexander Morris noted that a “Christian Chief” had told him that some of his band wished to take treaty to migrate to Lake Winnipeg where they could make a living by farming and fishing. This was necessary the chief said, “as they could no longer count on the employment in boating for the Hudson’s Bay Company, owing to the introduction of steam navigation.”¹⁰

York Boats and York Boat brigades, though only prominent in the North-Western Territories from the 1820 to the 1870s, were crucial to the massive expansion of the HBC after the union of the NWC and HBC in 1821. They were not only crucial to the new transportation logistics of the HBC, but they shaped individual behavior and influenced broad social change.

¹⁰ Alexander Morris to the Minister of the Interior, October 11, 1875. In Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territory* (Toronto: Belfords, Clark & Co., 1880), 148.

Appendix 4-1 Terms and Definitions

Carvel Construction - A method of constructing an Inland boat's hull by fixing planks to a frame/timber so that the planks butt up against each other, edge to edge, gaining support from the frame and forming a smooth hull. Such planking requires caulking between the joints over and above that needed by the clinker-built boat. Although of greater weight than a clinker-built boat, it has a stronger hull.

Caulk [Calk] – To drive oakum, moss, animal hair, or other fibrous material into the seams of planking and cover it with pitch to make the seams watertight.

Ceiling – The internal planking of a vessel. This prevents cargo from falling between the frames. It is usually made from relatively thin planking and does not contribute to the strength of the hull structure.

Clinker Construction – This is a method of construction where the boat's planks run fore and aft and are imbricated, that is, with the lower edge of the plank overlapping over the upper edge of the next below, like the slates on the roof of a house. York boats or Inland boats were not clinker-built.

Deadwood

A heavy timber fillet that fills the angle between the keel and sternpost/stempost. This timber is to strengthen or reinforce the joint between the post and keel to which the lower plank ends are fastened.

False Keel [Shoe] – A plank or timber attached to the bottom of the keel to protect it in the process of hauling the boat over a portage. This false keel is sometimes called a shoe.

Frames or Timbers – Frames are transverse ribs set at a ninety-degree angle to the keel. The frames are shaped to a curve determined by the boat's plan or mould. The frames determine the "fullness" of the hull.

Garboard Strake – The first range or strake of planks laid upon the boat's bottom next to the keel throughout the length of the boat. The edge of this plank is let into a groove in the side of the keel, which is called the rabbet of the keel.

Gunwale [Gunnel] – A square piece of wood running round the inside of the boat at the top of the planks. The upper edge of a vessel's side. The term comes from sixteenth-century vessels in which the guns rested against the wale.

Hog – A piece of wood secured to the inside of the keel from the fore deadwood to the aft deadwood, and to which the garboard strake is fastened, as well as the floors and timbers.

Keel – The lowest part of a York Boat forming the backbone on which the boat is built.

Keelson – An internal longitudinal timber or piece of wood mounted atop the frames along the centerline of the keel. This provides additional longitudinal strength to the bottom of the hull serving as an internal keel. The mast is secured to the keelson.

Knees – Pieces of wood shaped to secure the thwarts or tafts to the sides of the boat.

Mold [Mould] – A pattern used to determine the shapes of frames or timbers. The process of shaping outer frame surfaces with molds was known as beveling. Moulding was a process to determine the transverse shapes of hulls by means of one or more standard mould.

Oakum [Oakham]. Caulking material made from rope junk, old rope, and rope scraps; the rope was unwound and the fibers were rolled and soaked in pitch before being driven into planking seams.

Pitch [Tar] – A dark, sticky substance used in caulking seams or spreading over the inner or outer surfaces of a boat's hull as waterproofing and protection. Pitches were variously derived from the resins of certain evergreen trees, from bitumen, such as mineral pitches, or from the distillation of coal tar or wood tar.

Planking – A longitudinal board fastened to the outside of the frame to form the outer lining, or shell, of the hull. A strake can be made up of one or more planks.

Rabbet – A groove or cut made in a piece of timber in such a way that the edges of another piece could be fit into it to make a tight joint. Generally, the term refers to the grooves cut into the sides of the keel, stem, and sternpost, into which the garboards and hooding ends of the outer planking were seated.

Stem Plate/Stern Plate – An iron plate or strip fashioned or shaped by a fur-trade post's blacksmith. It attaches to the bottom of the stem, sternposts and keel to reinforce them and protect these wooden posts from impact and abrasion when the boat is grounded or dragged ashore. It is attached by screws and other mechanical fasteners.

Stem Post – An extension of the keel at the bow of the boat projecting at an angle of forty-five degrees to which planks are attached. The forward end of a ship's planking terminates at the "rabbet," an angled groove cut into the stem, where the ends of plank strakes are firmly fastened in place.

Stern Post – An extension of the keel at the aft of the boat projecting at an angle of forty-five degrees, to which the planks are attached. The rudder is usually mounted on the stern post as well.

Strake – A continuous longitudinal run of hull planking. A strake can be either a single plank or more than one plank fastened end to end.

Sweep or Steering Oar – A large oar used to steer a York Boat from the stern.

Thaft – This is an old English variant of “Thoft”, “Thwart” or a rower’s bench. That is a cross member in a York Boat that helps hold the boat’s shape. It is the word used in the early 19th century by Peter Fidler and others in the fur trade.

Thole Pins – Wooden pins, shipped in the gunwale in order to work the oars with.

Thwarts – A cross-member in a boat that helps hold the hull’s shape and provide lateral stiffness. One of the thwarts also supports a mast. Usually, a thwart doubles as a bench on which boatmen sit.

Appendix 4-2

Notes on building two York Boats at Buckingham House in 1796–1797¹

October 21, 1796. Nicol Spence & his mate got keels for 2 Batteaux and the Men brought them home.

October 26, 1796. Nichol Spence & his mate making Clams for the Boats and sharpened their tools.

October 27, 1796. The Carpenter sawing wood for Boats.

October 31, 1796. 3 men picking Oakum from the fittles of the kegs to caulk the Boats with in Spring. . . The Carpenters, one repairing & changing a Grindstone The other working at the Timbers² and making preparations for laying the keel of one boat.

November 3, 1796. Carpenters laid the Keel of One Boat and set the Stem³ & Stern⁴

November 4, 1796. Carpenters putting several Timbers on the Keel.

November 6, 1796. Carpenters putting in Timbers into the Boat.

November 8, 1796. Carpenters put in 4 boards into the Boat.

November 11, 1796. Carpenters putting boards into the Boat – they have only 2 on each side from head to Stern the boards breaking so frequently when turning.

November 14, 1796. Carpenters put in 4 boards into the Boat. There is now three tiers round –

November 15, 1796. Carpenters put a board all-round the Boat – The Men returned with the last of the wooden work – 5 Loads for Gunwails⁵ – one Sledge of Splinters – One Sledge of Timbers.

November 19, 1796. Carp^{rs} put another board round the Boat.

¹ These notes were made by Peter Fidler, who, though stationed at Buckingham House, entered these notes in the Cumberland House Journal of 1796–1797 (October 20, 1796 to July 12, 1797). HBCA B.49/a/27b, fos. 22d-58d. Repetitious entries have been left out.

² Generally, timbers referred to all pieces of a wooden hull; specifically, they consisted of all those wooden members that formed the frames of a hull. The frames are transverse ribs set at ninety-degree angles to the keel. The frames are shaped to a curve and determine the “fullness” of the hull.

³ The Stem or Stem Post was a heavy timber forming the extreme bow of the York Boat extending at a forty-five-degree angle from the keel. The forward end of the boat’s planking terminated at the “rabbet”: (see entry for in Appendix 4-1).

⁴ The Stern, or Stern Post, is a heavy timber secured at its lower end to the aft end of a keel. It supports a number of structural members that make the boat very strong and rigid at this part of the hull. The aft end of lower hull planking terminates at the rabbet in the stern post, and plank strakes are securely fastened to it. The rudder is attached to it.

⁵ Gunwale (Gunnel) The upper edge of the boat’s side. (See entry for in Appendix 4-1).

November 21, 1796. Carpenters made one Boat ready for Clinker work⁶ & putting in some timbers in the bottom –

November 24, 1796. Carpenters finished putting in the floor Timbers.

November 26, 1796. Carpenters swing boards for the Boats.

November 28, 1796. 2 Carpenters at the Saw & N^L Spense hewing the Stem for the other Boat –

December 3, 1796. Carpenters . . . finished sawing sticks enough for to finish one Boat.

December 5, 1796. Carpenter began the Clinker work & put a board round the Boat –

December 12, 1796. Carpenter put on gunwale of the Boat.

December 17, 1796. Carpenters getting stuff for Thafts.⁷

December 20, 1796. Carpenters making Thafts for the Boat.

December 30, 1796. Carpenters putting in the flooring into the Boat.

January 2, 1797. N^L Spense at work at the lockers of the Boat.

January 6, 1797. Sent 4 men to saw wood to finish the boats and for stuff for others next year.

January 27, 1797. Sent 7 Men to fetch home boards for the boats & they returned with them & oars.

February 8, 1797. The men cut wood & fetched home all the stuff to finish two Boats –

February 9, 1797. The Carpenters, N^L Spense, John Moore and John Davey taking a few Timbers on side of the river –

February 14, 1797. Smith & one Man at work making Iron work for the boats – N. Spense & John Moore got the first Boat off the Stocks ready for caulking & dressing off – the Stern sheet, flooring & caulking not yet done.

February 15, 1797. Taylor & one man making 40^d nails for the Boat – Carpenters cleaning the bottom of the Boat and took it off the Stocks.

February 16, 1797 – Carpenters put on the other Keel on the Stock.

February 17, 1797. Smith & one Man making plates of Iron for the Stem & Stern of the Boats.

February 18, 1797. Carpenters putting in Timbers to the Boat

February 22, 1797. Carpenters put 4 boards to the Boat, one strake⁸ round.

⁶ The top two strakes of a York Boat were clinker-built (See entry for in Appendix 4-1). Below these upper two strakes, the York Boat was carvel built or planked so that the seams were smooth or aligned.

⁷ A Thaft/Thwart is a structural crosspiece, sometimes forming a seat for the rower of the boat and sometime supporting the sail mast.

⁸ A strake on a boat is a longitudinal plank that runs along the hull from the bow to the stern.

February 24, 1797. Carpenters put boards into the river to steep.

March 2, 1797. Carpenters put the bilge plank⁹ to the boat.

March 3, 1797. John Irvin at work making a Sail . . . Wm Rich also at work with John Irvin making a Sail for the Boat

March 4, 1797. Carpenters finished the bottom of the Boat ready for Clinker work.

March 8, 1797. Carpenters finished putting in the floor timbers & turned 4 boards of the Clinker work two at each end.

March 11, 1797. Carpenters as before finished the last Strake of the last boat..

March 28, 1797. Carpenters putting in the Stage before the Stern Lockers –

March 29, 1797. Carpenters made the rudder for one Boat & put the plank one being broke.

March 30, 1797. Carpenters . . . put the Iron work on the Stem & Stern –

March 31, 1797. Carpenters making oars

April 1, 1797. Carpenters and Canoe builders planing splinters & put the timbers into the river to steep.

April 4, 1797. Carpenter making oars & nailing Tin on the blades to prevent their splitting.

April 5, 1797. Carpenters making Pitch for the Boats.

April 6, 1797. Smith afterwards made a Caulking Iron for Jn^o Moor . . . The Carpenters caulking the boat.

April 7, 1797. Smith & one Man finishing the Gunwails ready to put in the Thafts.

April 10, 1797. The Carpenters finished caulking the first Boat turned her up & pitched bottom – & put the other on the blocks ready for caulking.

April 11, 1797. Carpenters put the Iron work to the Last boat & painted the last of the Oars.

April 12, 1797. Carpenters caulking the Boat & made a rudder.

April 21, 1797. Carpenters finished caulking the Boats & put part of the Ceiling¹⁰ into one.

April 24, 1797. Carpenters finished the Ceiling of one of the Boats & pitched them & put them into the Horse Yard ready for painting.

April 25, 1795. Carpenters ceiling the last Boat & put in Lockers.

April 26, 1797. Carpenters painted nearly both boats –

April 27, 1797. Carpenters finished the Boats – all but the Masts & Yards.

⁹ These were the lowest planks of the boat's hull (see entry in Appendix 4-1).

¹⁰ The internal planking of the boat.

April 28, 1797. Carpenters served the oars with thick parchment & they went in the afternoon & brought home Masts & Yards –

May 1, 1797. Carpenters finished both the Boat Masts –

May 2, 1797. The Carpenters made the upper Yard for the Boats & putting by their Tools.

May 3, 1797. All hands took the Boats down to the Water's Edge.

May 5, 1797. Sent off the 2 Boats for Edmonton. Smith making the Iron work to fix false Keel¹¹ on the Boats, to save them when taken over Carrying Places.¹²

¹¹ See entry in Appendix 4-1.

¹² A marginal note on folio 51 records that there was a green boat and a black boat headed for Edmonton House. There were seven men in the Green boat and seven men in the Black boat.

Appendix 4-3

York Boat Building at Norway House 1833–1834¹

September 23, 1833 – Sent Ritch Daunais William Brown, Thomas Brown Mourne & Gunn – with a Boat down toward Sea River Carrying Place to procure Timber for Boat and House building – Laverdure, Cursater and George Donald Commenced building a Chimney in the Boat Shed [30]

September 28, 1833 – Ritch and his party returned with a Boat load of Timber [31]

September 30, 1833 – Sent Rich, Daunais, Gunn Mourne W Brown & J Brown to the wooding Tent, took down the Oxen to haul out the Logs [31]

October 3, 1833 – Robert Wilson Carpenter George McKay Blacksmith David Isbister and Andrew Linkletter Pork Eater were left here by Mr. Christie [p. 32]

October 5, 1833 – Sent a Boat, 6 men down to the wooding Tent for Logs [p. 33]

October 6, 1833 – The Two Boats returned with Logs during the last night [p. 33]

October 7, 1833 – Sent 11 Men down to the wooding tent – 6 of them to remain there and 5 to boat home the timber [p. 33]

October 12, 1833 – The men came up from the wooding Tent with a Boat load of Logs [p. 35]

October 17, 1833 – Sent two Boats down to the wooding Tent to bring home logs. – The Men from the Tent came up with a Boat load of Timbers [logs coming up most days] [p. 36]

October 24, 1833 – the boats arrived in the night with 47 Logs and sent off two for the last of them. [p. 37]

October 25, 1833 – The Boats returned with the last of 200 Sawing Logs [p. 38]

October 31, 1833 – William Brown, Thomas Brown and Gunn with Mourne mudding the Building Shed. – Riche and Wilson Cutting a large door in the end of it for letting out the Boats. [p. 40]

November 7, 1833 – Wilson, Ritch and Gunn arranging the Steam Box. [p. 42]

¹ This description is found in the Norway House Journal of 1833–1834. It was written by Donald Ross (1797–1852), the chief trader in charge of the post at the time. HBCA B.154/a/24, 30-88. Ross was born at Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, Scotland, to Roderick Ross and Janet Mackenzie. He joined the HBC in 1816 as a writer, and was posted first to York Factory. In 1817–18, was posted to Cumberland House where he stayed as a Clerk until 1823. In 1821–1822, George Simpson noted that he was a very promising steady young man, and a good Clerk. In 1824, he returned to York Factory, where he stayed until 1828. In that year, he accompanied George Simpson, as his secretary, to the Columbia District, wintering at Fort Vancouver. When Ross returned to the Northern Department, he was promoted to chief trader and granted a furlough to Scotland. When he returned to service, he was put in charge of Norway House, where he remained for the rest of his career. He became a chief factor in 1840 and he stayed at Norway House until 1850, when he was granted another furlough. This furlough was extended in 1851 for reasons of ill health and he would stay at Lower Fort Garry until he died in 1852. He married Mary McBeath in 1820, and they had at least five children. HBCA B.239/d/188-216a; B.239/g/2-39; B.239/f/12. Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), 198.

- November 11, 1833** – Wilson and Ritch arranging their tools – Gunn and Mourne Sawing [p. 42]
- November 18, 1833** – Wilson & Ritche making Timber Moulds. . . Mourne and Gunn Sawing Boat Wood [p. 44]
- November 20, 1833** – Wilson & Ritch commenced dressing Keels for the new Boats. Mourne and Gunn sawing planks for floor timbers [p. 45]
- November 23, 1833** – The Carpenters finished dressing the Keels for 8 Boats. Mourn and Gunn sawing [p. 45]
- November 26, 1833** – Ritche and Wilson dressing the Stem and Stern Posts for the new Boats [p. 46]
- December 2, 1833** – Ritch and Gunn preparing to lay down the keel of a boat [p. 48]
- December 9, 1833** – Ritche, Wilson and Gunn boat building [p. 51]
- January 3, 1834** – The Carpenters finished the first boat [p. 54]
- January 6, 1834** – The Carpenters laying down the Keel of another Boat [p. 55]
- January 27, 1834** – McKay and Donald making the Stem and Stern plates for the New Boats [p. 59]
- February 1, 1834** – The Carpenters finished the 2nd Boat [p. 60]
- February 3, 1834** – The Carpenters laid down the Keel of the Third Boat [p. 60]
- February 21, 1834** – The Carpenters finished the 3rd Boat [p. 64]
- February 22, 1834** – The Carpenters laid down the Keel of the the 4th Boat [p. 64]
- March 11, 1834** – Sent Mourn, Brown, Lourion, Linkletter and Daunais to the Islands to establish sawing tents and cut down Logs [p. 68] also cutting down and squaring Oars and Sweeps [p. 69]
- March 17, 1834** – Boatbuilding and Squaring Oars, and collecting logs for saw pit [p. 70]
- March 18, 1834** – The Carpenters finished the 4th Boat [p. 70]
- March 19, 1834** – Laid down the Keel of the fifth Boat [p. 70]
- March 22, 1834** – Sawing Tent some 7 or 8 miles distant from Fort [p. 71]
- April 8, 1834** – Finished the 5th Boat and commenced the 6th [p. 75]
- April 24, 1834** – The 6th Boat finished [p. 80]
- April 25, 1834** – Wilson and Gunn laid down the keep of the 7th Boat [p. 80]
- May 10, 1834** – 7th Boat finished [p. 84]
- May 12, 1834** – Keel of 8th Boat laid down [p. 84]
- May 19, 1834** – Lesperance and McDougall making the Masts and Yards for the New Boats [p. 86]

May 20, 1834 – Lesperance and McDougall finished making 60 Oars, 8 sweeps and 8 Masts and Yards [p. 87]

May 24, 1834 – Finished building the 8th and Last Boat [p. 88]

May 26, 1834 – The Carpenter commenced Caulking the new Boats and others working at the rigging [p. 88]

Appendix 4-4
John Brown Contract to saw wood p[er] 12 Boats @ Whitemud – 1870¹

I, John Brown hereby Contract and agree to supply and get sawn the Boards and other Timber required p[er] 12 Boats, as p[er] list annexed hereto, and to deliver the same on the Bank of the Saskatchewan River some where near the old Fort at Whitemud River at the following rate.

£10/ Ten pounds Sterling for every hundred Boards or pieces as they come, say 72 assorted boards & 1 Keel for every Boat, and for the 12 Boats in all about 900 pieces or boards.

Good Serviceable slabs to be taken at 30/ (Thirty Shillings) p[er] hundred.

The use of an ox, and Hay for the same to be supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company free of charge, to get the Logs hauled to the Pits, and the Boards and Slabs from Pits to the Bank where they can be rafted.

The following tools & articles for use, to be supplied by The Hudson's Bay Company free of charge Vzt.

- 5 Large cast steel Lge Head American Axes
- 1 broad Squaring Axe
- 3 Pit Saws & 1 dozen files
- 1 X Cut Saw & ¼ Dozen Files
- 1 Grindstone
- 4 Iron Dags
- 2 Drawing Knives
- 2 Compasses
- 1 foot Rule 2 ft
- 1 hand Saw & 1 File
- 2 Cooking Ketchs & 1 Ketch p[er] Tea

Old Bedding, Provisions & Articles p[er] use &c to be sent up to the Place where we are to get out the wood.

The wood to be examined and passed as Serviceable p[er] boat building by a Boat Builder, before being assumed by the Company. Boards condemned p[er] Boat building to be taken by the Hudson's Bay at the value p[er] other purposes.

¹ Glenbow Archives: Hardisty Fonds. M-477-62

List of Wood Required for a Boat of 30 feet Keel

20 Boards 18 feet [4 – 8x1] [5 – 9 ½ x1] [4 – 11 ½ x 1] [1 – 11 ½ x 1 ¼] [6 – 12x ¾]

22 Boards 16 feet [6 – 11x1] [4 – 11 ½ x 1] [6 – 11 ½ x 1 1/8] [6- 12 x ¾]

2 Boards 13 feet 11 ½ x 1 ½ inches all over

--- For Floor Timbers ---

5 Planks 16 feet long 8 x 2 inches

1 Plank 16 feet long 9 x 2 inches

1 Plank 16 feet long 10 x 2 inches

2 Planks 16 feet long 12 x 2 inches

2 Planks 10 feet long 9 ½ x 2 inches

1 Plank 10 feet long 12 x 2 inches

1 Piece hewn to 6 inches by 3 inches 40 feet sawn in two for Gunwales

1 Board 24 feet long 8 x 1 inches for Wereing

1 Board 24 feet long 8 x 1 ½ for Keelson

8 Boards 22 feet long 8 x ¾ inches for Ceiling

1 Board 16 feet long 12 x 1 ¼ inches at one end & 1 ½ at the other end for Rudders

1 Board 16 feet long 12 x 1 1/8 inches for Stern Sheet Wings

3 Boards 12 feet long 8 x 1 inches for Stern Sheet

1 Keel 30 feet Long

Wood for 12 Boats required

The wood to be examined and passed by a Boatbuilder before receiving it. Not bound to take condemned wood at Boat Wood prices.

Appendix 5-1 Athabasca York Boat Brigades 1826 to 1870						
Year	Pieces	No. of Boats	Men per Boat	Arrival Norway Ho.	Depart Norway Ho.	Guides
1826	165	3	7	June 20	July 29 From YF ¹	Cunningham ² Lalonde ³
1827	215	4 and 1 Canoe	7	July 2	August 7 From YF	Hodgson ⁴ Lalonde
1828	200	4	7	July 3	August 6 From YF	Hodgson Lalonde
1829	220	4	7.5			Hodgson Lalonde
1830	220	4	7.5	July 15	July 31	Hodgson Lalonde
1831	225	4	7.5	July 16 ⁵	August 3	Hodgson
1832	200	4 ⁶	7			Hodgson
1833	200	4	7	July 12	July 18-20	Lalonde
1834	200	4	7	July 6	July 21-26	Lalonde
1835	250	4	7.5	July 12	July 22	Lalonde
1836	250	4	7.5	July 12	July 20	Lalonde Cadotte ⁷
1837	250	4	7.5	July 15-22	July 24-26	Lalonde ⁸ Cadotte
1838	250	4	7.5	July 11	July 19	Cadotte
1839	250	4	7.5	July 8	July 16	Tourangeau ⁹
1840	250	4	7.5	July 7	July 11	Tourangeau
1841	250	4	7.5	July 11	July 17	Tourangeau
1842	190	3	7	July 20	July 26	Tourangeau
1843	180	3	7	July 18	July 14	Tourangeau
1844	180	3	7	July 13	July 23	Tourangeau
1845	180	3	10	July 1	July 14	Tourangeau
1846	180	3	7	July 5	July 16	Tourangeau
1847	180	3	10	July 12	July 19	Tourangeau
1848	240 ¹⁰	4	7	July 12	July 19	Tourangeau

¹ Until 1830, at least some of the Athabasca Brigade went all the way to York Factory to deliver their fur returns before returning to Fort Chipewyan.

² Patrick Cunningham was a Boat Guide at Fort Chipewyan. The next year, he would become the postmaster at Churchill Factory. He was born in Ireland, was thirty-seven years of age in 1826, and had been in the HBC for fourteen years.

³ Pierre Paul Lalonde was born in Canada and was forty-two years of age in 1826, and had been in the fur trade for twenty-two years.

⁴ Thomas Hodgson was a Boatbuilder and Guide in the Athabasca District. He was born at Albany Factory about 1790 and entered the service of the HBC in 1800. He was stationed at Fort Chipewyan from 1824–1836.

⁵ Forty-nine days from Fort Chipewyan.

⁶ One boat wrecked, and one was filled with water and much broken on Lake Winnipeg.

⁷ Laurent Cadotte (1786–1874) was a Native who entered the fur trade with the NWC in 1811 as a Steersman. He joined the HBC after the merger and had previously worked on the Portage La Loche Brigade from 1826 to 1833.

⁸ Last trip by Lalonde as Guide. He died at Fort Chipewyan on May 21, 1843, when he was upwards of sixty years of age.

⁹ Jean Baptiste Tourangeau was born about 1803. He entered the fur trade with the NWC and was posted to Fort Chipewyan by the HBC in 1824. He became a Guide in 1839.

¹⁰ Transporting thirty pieces for the Mackenzie District and supplies for the Admiralty expedition of Sir John Richardson and HBC Chief Factor John Rae, who travelled to the northern continental coast in search of the missing expedition under the command of Sir John Franklin.

APPENDIX 5-1 ATHABASCA YORK BOAT BRIGADES 1826 TO 1870

1849	240 ¹¹	4	7 ¹²	July 5	July 16	Tourangeau
1850	280 ¹³	4	7 ¹⁴	July 6	July 17	Tourangeau
1851	280	4	7 ¹⁵	July 1	July 12	Tourangeau
1852	280	4	7	June 29	July 6	Tourangeau
1853	280	4	7 ¹⁶	July 1	July 11	Tourangeau
1854	280	4	7 ¹⁷	June 29	July 10	Tourangeau
1855	280	3 ¹⁸	7	July 5	July 12	Tourangeau
1856	350	4 ¹⁹	7	June 28	July 10	Tourangeau
1857	420	5 ²⁰	7	July 1	July 9	Tourangeau
1858	480	5	7	No Journal	No Journal	Tourangeau
1859	420	5	7	No Journal	No Journal	Tourangeau
1860	420	5	7	No Journal	No Journal	Tourangeau
1861	420 ²¹	4	8	July 4	July 12	Tourangeau
1862	420 ²²	4	8	June 30	July 17	Tourangeau
1863	420 ²³	4	8	July 5	July 13	Tourangeau
1864	420 ²⁴	4	8	July 11	July 18	McKay ²⁵
1865	500 ²⁶	4	8	July 8	July 15	McKay
1866	550 ²⁷	4	8	July 10	July 19-20	McKay
1867	550 ²⁸	4	8	July 2	July 11-12	McKay
1868	600 ²⁹	4	8	July 11	July 20	McKay
1869	600 ³⁰	4	8	July 14	July 22	Roy ³¹
1870	600 ³²	4	8	No Journal	No Journal	Roy
Sources: Minutes of Council Northern Department. HBCA B.239/k/1-3 Norway House Journal 1826–1870. HBCA B.154/a/12-69 Fort Chipewyan Journal 1826–1870. HBCA B.39/a/24-47 Athabasca District accounts 1826–1870. HBCA B.39/d/25-137						

¹¹ Transporting some of the supplies for Mackenzie District and Admiralty expedition.

¹² Includes seven freemen.

¹³ Also transporting some of the supplies for Mackenzie District.

¹⁴ Includes seven freemen.

¹⁵ Includes seven freemen.

¹⁶ Includes seven freemen.

¹⁷ Includes seven freemen.

¹⁸ One Athabasca boat sent along with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

¹⁹ One Athabasca boat sent along with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

²⁰ One Athabasca boat sent along with the Portage La Loche Brigade

²¹ Surplus pieces sent with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

²² Surplus pieces sent with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

²³ Surplus pieces sent with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

²⁴ Excess pieces sent with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

²⁵ Ignace McKay was a Native who entered the HBC in 1864 as a Guide at Fort Chipewyan. He would go free three years later.

²⁶ Excess pieces sent with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

²⁷ Excess pieces sent with the Portage La Loche Brigade.

²⁸ Excess pieces sent by boats from Green Lake.

²⁹ Excess pieces sent by boats from Green Lake.

³⁰ Excess pieces sent by boats from Green Lake.

³¹ Francois Roy

³² Excess pieces sent by boats from Green Lake.

Appendix 5-2 Portage La Loche York Boat Brigades 1826 to 1870 Delivering Mackenzie River Outfits from Norway House to Portage La Loche							
Year	Pieces	Number of Brigade	Number of Boats	Men per boat	Way out to Portage From Norway House	Return to Norway Ho. From Portage and to YF	Guide
1826	146	1	3	7 ¹	June 18		Mr. Small ²
1827	140	1	3	7 ³	June 19	August 22	
1828	170	1	3	7 ⁴	June 14		Cadotte ⁵
1829	200	1	4	7 ⁶	June 20		Cadotte
1830	250	1	4		June 20		Cadotte
1831	280	1	5	8 ⁷	June 15	August 18	Cadotte L'Esperance ⁸
1832	250	1	4	7 ⁹	June 16		Cadotte L'Esperance
1833	260	1	4	7 ¹⁰	June 10	August 27	L'Esperance
1834	250	1	4	7 ¹¹	June 15	August 22	L'Esperance
1835	200	1	3	7 ¹²	June 11	August 27	L'Esperance
1836	250	1	4	8 ¹³	June 11	August 23	Sanderson ¹⁴
1837	250	1	4	8 ¹⁵	June 16	August 26	L'Esperance
1838	250	1	4		June 12		L'Esperance
1839	250	1	4	8 ¹⁶	June 4	August 14	L'Esperance
1840	250	1	4	8 ¹⁷	June 16	August 14	L'Esperance
1841	300	1	5	8 ¹⁸	June 15	August 13	L'Esperance
1842	300	1	5	7 ¹⁹	June 15	August 13	L'Esperance
1843	300	1	5	7 ²⁰	June 16	August 24	L'Esperance

¹ Guide and eleven men recruited at York Factory and two men each from Severn, Churchill, Island Lake, Nelson House, and Norway House.

² Patrick Small (1789–1846). Born at Î-à-la-Crosse, Small entered the fur trade with the NWC in 1804. After the merger he served as a Clerk, mostly in the Saskatchewan District. In 1826, he was listed as having sundry debts at Norway House. HBCA B.239/L/2.

³ Guide and eleven men recruited at York Factory and two men each from Severn, Churchill, Island Lake, Nelson House, and Norway House.

⁴ Guide and eleven men recruited at York Factory and two men each from Severn, Churchill, Island Lake, Nelson House, and Norway House.

⁵ Laurent Cadotte (1786–1874) was a native who entered fur trade with NWC in 1811. He served as a Guide in the Portage La Loche Brigade until 1833. From 1836 to 1839, he worked as a Guide in the Athabasca Brigade.

⁶ Twelve of the twenty-eight men to be winterers on contracts for a term of three years at least.

⁷ Three boats of eight tripmen each to be engaged at Red River and the other two boats by servants of the HBC.

⁸ For Alexis L'Esperance (1796–1890) see above, Chapter 4, note 36.

⁹ Three boats of seven tripmen each to be engaged at Red River, and the fourth by seven servants of the HBC.

¹⁰ Three boats of seven tripmen each to be engaged at Red River, and the fourth by seven servants of the HBC.

¹¹ Three boats of seven tripmen each to be engaged at Red River, and the fourth by seven servants of the HBC.

¹² Sixteen tripmen recruited in Red River, and five men under contract in Mackenzie District.

¹³ Twenty-five tripmen hired in Red River, and eight men under contract in Mackenzie District.

¹⁴ George Sanderson.

¹⁵ Twenty-seven tripmen hired in Red River and six servants under contract.

¹⁶ Twenty-five tripmen hired in Red River and six servants under contract.

¹⁷ Twenty-four tripmen hired in Red River and nine servants under contract.

¹⁸ Twenty-four tripmen hired in Red River and nineteen servants under contract.

¹⁹ Thirty tripmen hired in Red River and six servants under contract.

²⁰ Thirty tripmen hired in Red River and six servants under contract.

APPENDIX 5-2 PORTAGE LA LOCHE BRIGADES 1826 TO 1870

1844	300	1	5	7 ²¹	June 13	August 20	L'Esperance
1845	370	1	6	8 ²²	June 7	August 16	L'Esperance
1846	370	1	6	8 ²³	Delayed Measles	August 25	L'Esperance
1847	370	1	6	8 ²⁴	June 11	August 21	L'Esperance
1848	400	1	6	8 ²⁵	June 12	August 16	L'Esperance
1849	500	1	7	7 ²⁶	June 15	August 25	L'Esperance
1850	600	2	8	7 ²⁷	June 16	August 20	Bruce ²⁸ L'Esperance
1851	600	2	4 5	7 ²⁹ 7	June 12 June 15	August 18 August 18	Bruce L'Esperance
1852	600	2	4 5	7 7	June 12 June 15	August 8 August 11	Bruce L'Esperance
1853	600	2	4 5	7 7	June 14 June 16	August 16 August 20	Bruce L'Esperance
1854	560	2	4 4	7 7	June 11 June 12	August 6 August 7	Bruce L'Esperance
1855	600	2	4 5	7 7	June 11 June 13	August 13 August 14	Bruce L'Esperance
1856	700	2	5 5	7 7	June 9 June 10	August 7 August 11	Bruce L'Esperance
1857	700	2	5 5	7 7	June 17 June 22	August 15 August 23	Bruce L'Esperance
1858	700	2	5 5	7 7	June 14 No Journal	No Journal No Journal	Bruce L'Esperance
1859	700	2	5 5	7 7	No Journal No Journal	No Journal No Journal	Bruce L'Esperance
1860	700	2	5 5 ³⁰	7 7	No Journal No Journal	No Journal No Journal	Bruce L'Esperance
1861	750	2	7 7 ³¹	7 7	June 6 June 15	August 9 August 18	Bruce L'Esperance
1862	900	2	8 ³² 7	7.5 7.5	June 9 June 13	August 13 August 15	Bruce L'Esperance
1863	900	2	8 7	7 7	June 8 June 11	August 18 August 18	Bruce L'Esperance
1864	900	2	8 7	7 7	June 11 June 15	August 17 August 23-23	Bruce L'Esperance
1865	900	2	6 6	7 7	June 13 June 23	August 23 August 30	Bruce L'Esperance
1866	900	3	6 5	7 7	June 18 June 20	August 18 August 24	Bruce L'Esperance

²¹ Thirty tripmen hired in Red River and six servants under contract.

²² Thirty-eight tripmen hired in Red River and ten servants under contract.

²³ Thirty-eight tripmen hired in Red River and ten servants under contract.

²⁴ Thirty-eight tripmen hired in Red River and ten servants under contract.

²⁵ Thirty-eight tripmen hired in Red River and ten servants under contract.

²⁶ Thirty-eight tripmen hired in Red River and ten servants under contract.

²⁷ Forty-eight tripmen hired in Red River and eight servants under contract.

²⁸ Baptiste Bruce (1809–1890) was born at Île-à-la-Crosse, in the English River District, and began working on the boats of that district in 1826 and on the northern rivers, chiefly as a Guide on the Laird River. In 1849, he became a Steersman on the Portage La Loche Brigade and in 1850 became a Guide on one of the divisions of the brigade. He would serve as such until at least 1870.

²⁹ Fifty-one tripmen hired in Red River and twelve servants under contract.

³⁰ In addition to those listed here, seven men were hired to take one more boat to the Athabasca District.

³¹ One boat taken for the Athabasca District.

³² Two boats taken for the Athabasca District.

APPENDIX 5-2 PORTAGE LA LOCHE BRIGADES 1826 TO 1870

			6 ³³	7	July 3	August 24	Fidler ³⁴
1867	900	2	8 7	7 7	June 20 June 24	August 25 ³⁵ September 12 ³⁶	Bruce Fidler
1868	1000	3	4 4 9	7 7 7	June 9 June 10 June 13	August 16 August 22 August 29	Fidler Morgan ³⁷ Bruce
1869	1000	3	4 4 7	7 7 7	June 8 June 19 June 20	August 28 September 12 September 22 ³⁸	Fidler Morgan Bruce
1870 ³⁹	1000		15		August 26 August 28		Bruce Fidler
*Men recruited for La Loche Brigade from York Factory and Norway House							
Sources: Minutes of Council Northern Department 1826 to 1870. HBCA B.239/K/1-3. Norway House Post journals 1826 to 1870. HBCA B.154/a/11-69.							

³³ Extra Boats for the Athabasca Brigade.

³⁴ Jack Fidler. Fidler was the guide for the third division of the La Loche Brigade. Some of his men rebelled and refused to go on to York Factory; consequently, they were sent to Red River in a boat on August 25.

³⁵ Only two of Bruce's eight boats went to York Factory; the other six left their furs at Norway House and proceeded empty to Red River on August 26.

³⁶ Fidler continues to York Factory with only two boats.

³⁷ George Morgan.

³⁸ Arriving too late, these last six boats returned to Red River.

³⁹ Little information for this year in the Norway House Journal. It is noted that Old Bruce returns with only one boat from Portage La Loche, and that Fidler returns with only two boats. There is a note that there was an outbreak of small-pox on the Saskatchewan River; moreover, it is notable that this was the time of the Riel Red River Rebellion.

Appendix 5-3 Brigades Travelling from Portage La Loche to York Factory 1858 to 1869						
Year	Brigade/Guide	Boat	Pieces ¹	Steersmen	Departure Portage LL	Arrival York Fact.
1858	Baptiste Bruce	1	35	Baptiste Bruce	July 30	August 27 ²
		2	36	Alexis McKay	July 30	August 27
		3	36	Francois Roussin	July 30	August 27
		4	36	Baptiste Ducharme	July 30	August 27
		5	36	Ed Stevenson	July 30	August 27
		6	36	Ignace McKay	July 30	August 27
1858	Alexis L'Esperance	1	36	Alexis L'Esperance	August 1	August 28
		2	36	Andre Carriere	August 1	August 28
		3	36	Francois Savoyard	August 1	August 28
		4	36	Francois Bouche	August 1	August 28
		5	36	Humphrey Favel	August 1	August 28
1859	Baptiste Bruce	1	28	Baptiste Bruce	July 28	August 26
		2	38	Baptiste Ducharme	July 28	August 26
		3	38	Louis Ducharme	July 28	August 26
		4	37 ½	James Sinclair	July 28	August 26
		5	38	Andre Carriere	July 28	August 26
		6	38	Ignace McKay	July 28	August 26
1859	Alexis L'Esperance	1	39	Alexis L'Esperance	July 30	September 2
		2	36	John Lambert	July 30	September 2
		3	37	Humphrey Favel	July 30	September 2
		4	38	Michel Dumas	July 30	September 2
		5	39	Francois Savoyard	July 30	September 2
		6	36	Alexis Parisien	July 30	September 2
1860		1	30	Ignace McKay	August 2	August 29
		2	30	John Wesley	August 2	August 29
1860	Baptiste Bruce	1	30	Baptiste Bruce	August 5	August 29
		2	30	Joseph Huppe	August 5	August 29
		3	30	Baptiste Huppe	August 5	August 29
		4	30	Andre Carriere	August 5	August 29
		5	29	Baptiste Shiver	August 5	August 29
1860	Alexis L'Esperance	1	30	Alexis L'Esperance	August 6	August 31
		2	31	Paul Bouche	August 6	August 31
		3	31	Michel Dumas	August 6	August 31
		4	31	Francois Savoyard	August 6	August 31
		5	29	Alexis Parisien	August 6	August 31
		6	28	L. Laferte	August 6	August 31
1861	Baptiste Bruce	1	32	Baptiste Bruce	July 25	August 20
		2	32	Andre Carriere	July 25	August 20
		3	32	James Sinclair	July 25	August 20
		4	32	Baptiste Lavalle	July 25	August 20
		5	32	Baptiste DuChevre	July 25	August 20
		6	32	Ignace McKay	July 25	August 20
		7	32	Edward Daniel	July 25	August 20

¹ In addition to these pieces, there were also passengers in every brigade. These included retiring servants, family members, and officers travelling to Norway House for council meetings of the Northern Department.

² About forty packs were wet and damaged.

APPENDIX 5-3 BRIGADES TRAVELLING FROM PORTAGE LA LOCHE TO YORK FACTORY 1858 TO 1869

1861	Alexis L'Esperance	1	33	Alexis L'Esperance	July 29	*August 31
		2	33	Baptiste Dubois	July 29	*August 31
		3	33	Charles Minnie	July 29	*August 31
		4	33	Michel Dumas	July 29	*August 31
		5	34	Francois Savoyard	July 29	*August 31
		6	32	Alexis Parisien	July 29	*August 31
		7	32	Lacoute	July 29	*August 31
1862	Baptiste Bruce	1	34	Alex McKay	July 23	*September 4
		2	34	Baptiste Rochleau	July 23	*September 4
		3	34	Baptiste DuChevre	July 23	*September 4
		4	34	James Sinclair	July 23	*September 4
		5	35	Baptiste Bruce	July 25	*September 4
		6	35	Andre Carrier	July 25	*September 4
		7	34	Edward Daniel	July 25	*September 4
		8	34	Charles McNab	July 25	*September 4
1862	Alexis L'Esperance	1	33	Alexis L'Esperance	July 27	August 24
		2	35 ½	Charles LeBlanc	July 27	August 24
		3	35	Jean L'Esperance	July 27	August 24
		4	34	James White	July 27	August 24
		5	35	Baptiste Dubois	July 27	August 24
		6	33	Edmund Stevenson	July 27	August 24
		7	35	Alexis Parisien	July 27	August 24
1863	Baptiste Bruce	1	35	Baptiste Bruce	July 26	August 30
		2	35	Baptiste DuChevre	July 26	August 30
		3	35	James Sinclair	July 26	August 30
		4	35	Baptiste Rochleau	July 26	August 30
		5	35	Andre Carrier	July 26	August 30
		6	35	Edward Daniel	July 26	August 30
		7	35	Charles McNab	July 26	August 30
		8	35	L. Carriere	July 26	August 30
1863	Alexis L'Esperance	1	32	Baptiste Morin	July 30	August 30
		2	32	Baptiste Dubois	July 30	August 30
		3	34	Francois Piche	July 30	August 30
		4	32	Michel Dumas	July 30	August 30
		5	33	Jean L'Esperance	July 30	August 30
		6	32	A Richard	July 30	August 30
		7	32	Francois Sayis	July 30	August 30
1864	Baptiste Bruce	1	36	Baptiste Bouvier		August 29
		2	36	Andre Carriere		August 29
		3	36	Louison Carriere		August 29
		4	36	Thomas McNab		August 29
		5	36	George Morgan		August 29
		6	36	Sayer		August 29
		7	36	James Sinclair		August 29
		8 ³	36	Francois Roussain		August 29
1864	Alexis L'Esperance	1	35	Alexis L'Esperance	August 2	September 2
		2	37	Pierre Berrard	August 2	September 2
		3	35 ½	Joseph Flammand	August 2	September 2
		4	37	Joseph Cameron	August 2	September 2
		5	36	Alexis Parisien	August 2	September 2

³ Since Bruce's eighth boat was left at Norway House, its cargo was distributed among the other seven boats.

APPENDIX 5-3 BRIGADES TRAVELLING FROM PORTAGE LA LOCHE TO YORK FACTORY 1858 TO 1869

		6	36	Paullette Piche	August 2	September 2
		7	36	Francois Sahys	August 2	September 2
1865	Baptiste Bruce	1 ⁴	37	Thomas McNab	July 28	September 6
		2	37	James Sinclair	July 28	September 6
		3	37	Baptiste Rocheleau	July 28	September 6
		4	37	Francois Roussain	July 28	September 6
		5	38	Baptiste Bruce	August 2	September 4
		6	38	Charles McNab	August 2	September 4
In 1865, there is no L'Esperance Brigade listed for boats leaving Portage La Loche [B.167/z/1], but York Factory records note that five boats of the L'Esperance Portage Brigade left York Factory on September 12, 1865. [B.239/W/4] From this year, the records of Bills of Lading from Portage La Loche are incomplete.						
1866	Baptiste Bruce	1	33	Baptiste Bruce	July 28-29	August 24
		2	35	Louis Carriere	July 28-29	August 24
		3	35	Alexis Parisien	July 28-29	August 24
		4	35	Francois Rousseau	July 28-29	August 24
		5	35	Antoine Pillon	July 28-29	August 24
1866	Jack Fidler ⁵	1	33	Jack Fidler	August 1	September 6
		2	33	James Thomas	August 1	September 6
		3	34	Paswab	August 1	September 6
		4	34	Sandy Thomas	August 1	September 6
		5	34	Morrison West	August 1	September 6
		6	34	Angus Prince	August 1	September 6
1868	George Morgan	1	40	George Morgan	August 1	
		2	42	W. Prince	August 1	
		3	40	Humphrey Favel	August 1	
		4	40	James Star	August 1	
1869	Jack Fidler	1	40 ¼	Thomas Fidler		
		2	43	Morrison West		
Source: Bills of Lading, Portage La Loche 1858-1869. HBCA B.167/z/1 *Indicates the date of leaving York Factory. HBCA B.239/W/4						

⁴ The first four boats of Bruce's brigade left for Norway House with the returns of Athabasca District

⁵ This brigade was reduced to five boats due to sickness among the men.

Appendix 6-1 – Saskatchewan Brigade Leaving for York Factory 1825–1870					
Outfit	No. of Boats	Edmonton House Departure	Men/Boat	Pieces/Boat	Sources
1825	14				NHJ
1826	12				NHJ
1827	14	May 23-26, 1827	3	50	EHJ
1828	16	May 20, 1828	3-4	80	EHJ, NHJ
1829	15	May 9-18, 1829	3	110	EHJ, CHJ
1830	--	--	--	--	
1831	22 ¹				NHJ
1832	19	May 4-24, 1832	3-4	100	EHJ, CHJ, NHJ
1833	19	May 14-20, 1833	3-4	70	EHJ, CHJ, NHJ
1834	22	May 5-19, 1834	4-5	80	EHJ, CHJ, NHJ
1835	19				NHJ
1836	21		3-4		CHJ, NHJ
1837	22				NHJ
1838	24				CHJ, NHJ
1939	21				NHJ
1840	21				NHJ
1841	17				NHJ
1842	21				NHJ
1843	24			100	HBCA D.5/8, Fos. 406-406d
1844	--				
1845	25				NHJ, D.5/14, pp. 125-26
1846	24		3	100	NHJ, D.5/8, Fos. 2-3
1847	24				NHJ
1848	20				NHJ
1849	27				NHJ
1850	18				NHJ
1851	26 ²		4	90-100	FPJ, D.5/30, Fos. 796-97
1852	21				NHJ
1853	27				NHJ
1854	25				NHJ
1855	22	May 7-14, 1855			NHJ, EHJ
1856	25	April 23-May 8, 1856		40	EHJ, NHJ
1857	24	May 13-15, 1857		40	EHJ
1858	--				
1859	27	May 12-23, 1859		40	EHJ
1860	25	May 11-18, 1860			EHJ
1861	14				NHJ,
1862	12	May 16-20, 1862			EHJ
1863	15	May 18-20, 1863		65	EHJ
1864	27	May 14-16, 1865			NHJ, EHJ
1865	21	May 18-19, 1865			NHJ, EHJ
1866	15	May 19, 1866			NHJ, EHJ
1867	12	May 16, 1867			NHJ, EHJ
1868	12	May 19-20, 1868			NHJ, EHJ
1869	11	May 6-13, 1869			NHJ, EHJ
EHJ= Edmonton House Journal; CHJ=Cumberland House Journal; NHJ=Norway House Journal; FPJ= Fort Pitt Journal					

¹ Includes 1000 pieces pemican and provisions.² Includes 1100 pieces pemican, 2300 pieces furs.

Appendix 6-2 – Saskatchewan Brigade Departures from York Factory 1825–1860						
Outfit	No. Boats	Men/Boat	Pieces/Boat	Date Left	Return to Edmonton Ho.	Guide
1825	6	7	39	July 21, 1825	September 19	Laurent Cadotte ¹
1826	8	7.25	60	July 8-14, 1826	September 9	
1827	6	7.8	65	July 8-14, 1827	September 10	
1828	9	7	59		September 26	
1829	9	8	68	July 21, 1829		Thomas Firth ²
1830	9	8.7	61.5	July 12, 1830		Andre Chalifoux ³
1831	8	10	60	July 9, 1831		James McKay ⁴
1832	10	7.6	65	July 17, 1832	September 20-21	James McKay
1833	9	9	69.2	July 1-10, 1833	September 6	Thomas Firth
1834	10	9.5	71	July 4-10, 1834	September 4	Louis Laplante ⁵
1835	9	7.5	70	July 15, 1835	September 14	Louis Laplante
1836	8	8	70	July 10, 1836	September 7	Louis Laplante
1837	9	--	75	July 18, 1837		Louis Laplante
1838	10	8.3	79	July, 1838	September 6	Louis Laplante
1839	9	8.75	61	June 29- July 5, 1839	August 29-30	Louis Laplante
1840	9	9	65.3	July 7-11, 1840	September 12	Louis Laplante
1841	10	9	71	July 10-14, 1841	September 12	Louis Laplante
1842	8	8.37	63.6	July 12-16, 1842		Louis Laplante
1843	8	7.5	70	July 14-17, 1843	September 22	Louis Laplante
1844	9	9.6	44.6	July 8-10, 1844	Early September	Louis Laplante
1845	9	7.6	51.5	July 9-12, 1845		Louis Laplante
1846	8	8	67	July 17, 1846		Louis Laplante
1847	10	8.3	60	July 13, 1847	September 22	Peter Calder ⁶
1848	9	8.5	75	July 12-14, 1848	September 14	Peter Calder

¹ Laurent Cadotte (1786-1874) was a Native who entered the fur trade with the NWC in 1811. From 1822 to 1826 he served as a Bowsman in the Columbia District. In that year, he took the brigade from York Factory to the Columbia. He would later serve as a Guide in the Portage La Loche Brigade, and from 1836 to 1839, he worked as Guide in the Athabasca Brigade.

² Thomas Firth was born around 1796 in the Orkney Islands. He entered HBC service in 1815 as a 5' 9 1/2" Labourer in the Red River District. In 1818, he was a Bowsman at Beaver Creek and in 1820 was transferred to Edmonton House. From 1820 to 1834, he served as a Steersman and Guide in the Saskatchewan Brigade. He went free to the Red River Settlement in 1834.

³ Andre Chalifoux (1789–1851) came from Sorel, Quebec and worked for the NWC from 1815–1821. After the merger, he joined the HBC and worked as a Steersman/Guide in the Columbia. In that year, he guided the Saskatchewan Brigade from York Factory to Edmonton before crossing the mountains to the Columbia. He retired from the HBC in 1840, settling in the Willamette Valley.

⁴ James McKay was born about 1797 and came from Farr, Scotland. He entered the HBC in 1815 as a Middleman. From 1821 to 1833, he served as Steersman and Guide on the Saskatchewan District York Boat Brigade. In 1833, he was transferred to Royal Navy Commander George Back's Arctic Expedition, serving as Steersman, Guide, and Fisherman until 1834. From 1834 to 1836, he worked as Steersman at Edmonton House on general charges, and in 1836 he became the Guide on the Arctic Discovery Expedition led by HBC Chief Factor Warren Dease and Thomas Simpson. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1840, when he married his common-law wife. In 1844, he was recommend to serve on the new Arctic Expedition.

⁵ Louis Laplante was born about 1794 and came from Sorel, Quebec. He entered the fur trade with the NWC around 1811 and after 1821 worked as Steersman and Guide at Edmonton House until he retired to the Red River Settlement in 1847.

⁶ Peter Calder was a Native and was born in Rupert's Land sometime after 1800. He entered HBC service in 1826 as an apprentice working in the Columbia District. He was still an apprentice there in 1835, but in 1837, shows up in the records as a Middleman at Edmonton House. In 1838, he became a Bowsman there and in 1839 was promoted to Steersman. In 1847, he became the Guide of the Saskatchewan District Brigade until he died on January 23, 1851.

APPENDIX 6-2 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE DEPARTURES FROM YORK FACTORY 1825 TO 1860

1849	10	9	71.3	July 17, 1849		Peter Calder
1850	6	10	74	July 8-9, 1850	September 10	Peter Calder
1851	11	11	65	July 17-19, 1851		Olivier Vivier ⁷
1852	10	9	68	July 1852		Paulette Paul ⁸
1853	10	10.5	70	July 7, 1853		Paulette Paul
1854	11	9	68.5	July 15-17, 1854	October 4	Paulette Paul
1855	11	8	68	July 2-4, 1855	September 20	James Short ⁹ and Olivier Vivier
1856	14	8	68.8	July 1-4, 1856	September 17	James Short and Olivier Vivier
1857	12	8.4	75	July 14-15, 1857	October 5-6	James Short and Olivier Vivier
1858	13	8.5	75	July 10-12, 1858	October 11-17	James Short and Olivier Vivier
1859	13	8	66	July 12-13, 1859	September 27	James Short and Olivier Vivier
Saskatchewan Boats quit travelling to York Factory in 1859, going only so far as Norway House after that date. These figures exclude the Fall boat which carried only recruits inland. As well, not all pieces went to the Saskatchewan District. Some were dropped off at Norway House and some went to the Columbia. Source: Bills of Lading, York Factory. HBCA B.239/w/1-4; Edmonton House journals; Annual letters to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders. HBCA B.5/4-10, 21-30.						

⁷ Olivier Vivier, a Native, was born in the Northwest ca. 1803. He is first mentioned in Edmonton House accounts as a “Red River half breed” accompanying John Edward Harriott to Bow Fort in 1833–1834. Thereafter, he remained in the Saskatchewan District until 1867, when he died. From 1836 to 1844, he earned £20 per annum as a Bowsman. In 1844, he became a Steersman earning between £22 and £25 per annum. In 1855, he was promoted to Guide earning £30 per annum, and in 1859, he was designated “Hunter & guide” for Fort Pitt, also at £30 per annum. He died on 28 December 1867. HBCA B.239/u/1-2; B. 239/L/10-38; B.239/f/19; B.60/d/44-90; B.21/d/2; A.32/57.

⁸ Paulet (Paulette) Paul was born around 1805 and was a long-time Saskatchewan Brigade Steersman. He was eventually promoted to Guide in 1852. He was the Native-born son of a Freeman and an Indigenous woman, born somewhere along the Beaver River northeast of Edmonton House after the turn of the century. He was listed as twenty-one years of age when he was first hired by the HBC as Bowsman in 1826. By 1833, he had been promoted to Steersman in the Saskatchewan Brigade and served briefly as Guide from 1852 to 1855, earning £30 per annum. He flourished in the years ca. 1830 to ca. 1854 and would become an enduring folk-hero amongst numbers of the Plains Métis. He died from the wounds inflicted by a “Patenaude” sometime between 1854 and 1855. HBCA A.32/49-84; B.239/u/1, fos. 269-270; B.239/u/2, fos. 275-276; B.239/L/25; D.4/50. fo. 67. For more on Paul, see: John E. Foster, “Paulet Paul: Métis or House Indian Folk-Hero?” *Manitoba History*, Number 9, Spring 1985.

⁹ James Short was born around 1811–1815 to an Orkney man, James Short, and Betsy Sauteuse. When he signed up as a Guide for the Saskatchewan Brigade in 1855, he claimed to be thirty-nine years of age. He was paid £30 per annum until 1858, when his wage was reduced to £25. He was then demoted to Steersman in 1860 (£25) and Bowsman in 1861 (£20). He was considered a poor Guide as having no control of his men. He married Charlotte Gladu (daughter of Charles Gladu and Marguerite Ross) in 1832. When she died, he married Angelique Maskutepwan in 1849. After 1862, he moved back to the Red River Settlement and died in 1870. HBCA B. d/138, 142; B.239/u/2; B.239/L/27-33.

Appendix 6-3 York Boat Materials 1840–1841 (for repairs)¹**Saskatchewan boats July 8, 1840**

6 Planks	10 feet Long 7x1 inches
2 Planks	10 feet long 7x1 ¼ inches
1 Plank	10 feet Long 5x4 = 1 ½ 7—2
3 Planks	10 feet Long 7x2 inches
8 Planks	10 feet Long 6x ¾ inches
1 Plank	10 feet Long 11x1 = 1 ½
9 lbs	5½ inch patent Cut Nails
3 lbs	3 inch patent Nails
7 lbs	20 ^d fine Drawn Nails
4 lbs	12 ^d Sharps Nails
3 lbs	6 inch Knee Nails
6 lbs	30 ^d Flates Points Nails
10 lbs	Oakum
1 ½ lbs	Thrumbs
200 lbs	Pitch English
12 ½ Gallons	Tar
7	Stem Plates
8	Stern Plates
316	Stem Nails
1	Stern Ring & Boat Rudder [Fo. 7]

Saskatchewan Boat August 19, 1840

4 Planks	10 feet long 7x2 inches
1 Plank	10 feet long 7x1 inches
2 lbs 3½ inch	Patent cut Nails
1 lb	Oakum
64 lbs	English Pitch
4 Gallons	Tar
6 Oars	
1 Hand Saw	
1 Clinch Hammer	
1/8 Socket	Chisel
1 Gimlet	
1 Jack Plane	[Fo. 7d]

Saskatchewan Aug 24

36 Boards	10 feet long 8x1
2 Boards	14 feet long 7x1½
5½ lbs	20 ^d fine Drawn Nails

¹ York Factory Accounts 1840–1841. HBCA B.239/d/597, fos. 7-7d, 15d-16d.

1 Stem Plate & 1 lb Stem Plate Nails
 3 9 inch Spike Nails & 1 Steer Ring
 1 lb 10d fine Drawn Nails
 4 Bolts 11 inches long & 34 lb Pitch
 3 Gallons Tar
 5 lbs Oakum
 ¼ lb Thrums
 1 Bow ? Sec^d Hand Goods Com??
 1 Sweep & 8 Oars – 1 Sail and Rigging
 2 Planks 14 feet long 7x1½
 6 Days Work one Man
 P[er] rec^d every Boat
 1 lb Hoop Iron 2 lb Nailrod
 8 lbs Round Iron [Fo. 15d]

Saskatchewan Boats 1841

June 23 Planks 10 feet long 9x1
 July 12 12 lb Oakum
 24 lb of 20^d fine Drawn Nails
 220 lbs of English Pitch
 26 Gallons of Tar
 5 Stem Plates
 14 lbs Stem Plate Nails
 3 Stern Plates
 8 lbs of 10^d fine Drawn Nails
 7 lbs of 31 Plate Point Nails
 14 Spikes 8 inches long
 3 pieces quartering 12 feet long 3x4
 20 Knee Nails 6 inches long
 6 Crooks for Knees
 4 Planks 10 feet long 7x1½
 2 Planks 14 feet long 7x1½
 3 Stern Plates
 7 Planks 10 feet long 8x1
 16 Planks 10 feet long 6x¾ [Fo. 16]
 3 Stem Plates
 6 lbs of Stem Plate Nails
 2 Stern Plates
 4 lbs of 30^d Flat Point Nails
 4 lbs of 20^d Fine Drawn Nails
 12 lbs of English Pitch
 1 Steer Ring
 1 Rudder
 1 lb of Thrums
 13 days work one Man [Fo. 16d]

Appendix 6-4 Saskatchewan Boat Brigades and Members Leaving York Factory 1822-1859 ¹		
Bow River Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 20-22, 1822 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 William Taylor – Steersman James Morwick Constant Lonatin Antoine Leveille Joseph Salois Thos. Fontain Will Flett Jos. Maniant Hyp. Brielle J. Bte. Robidoux Antoine Archambault Ant. Briere 44 pieces – Some freight for Cumberland and New Caledonia	Boat 2 George Sinclair – Steersman Hyacinth Larivie Louis Chouinard Antoine Mallette Wiliam Wilson Charles Gouin Fras. Lafrance Pierre Pappin Jos. Tournon Chas. Pichette Amable Marchand J.E. Baume 50 Pieces – Some freight for Cumberland and New Caledonia	Boat 3 John Ashburn – Steersman Michel Leberge J. Bte. Peuquette Felix Laval Edward Shield Stanislaw Prudhomme Augt. Trudeau Charles Berrard Charles Delorme Charles Bourgard François Gervais Pierre Chause 45 pieces – Some freight for Cumberland and New Caledonia
Boat 4 James McKay – Steersman Chas. Botquin dit Patnaude St. Nolin Fayaint Isaac Fowler J. Bte. Bone Kenneth McDonald Ett. Trudeau Fras. Larocque Jos. Beaudin J. Bte. Navanne Pierre Gerrard Louis Tremble 44 pieces – Some freight for Cumberland and New Caledonia	Boat 5 John Morwick – Steersman Alexis D'eau Jos. Mallette B Jos. Portelance John Tait Charles Hoole Pierre Aubin dit Paradis Augt. Robidioux Paul Vermette Ambe. Hogg Fras. Pichette Jos. Primeau Junr. 41 pieces – Some freight for Cumberland and New Caledonia	Boat 6 William Borwick William Stocken Benj. Proulx Jos. La Pierre J. Bte. Gagnon Chas. Landre Jos. La Tendu Chas. Duford P. Pichette Geo. Munro Jos. Eneau J. Bte. Gaubin 31 pieces – Some freight for Cumberland and New Caledonia
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 22, 1822 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Thomas Firth – Steersman Donald Sinclair – Bowsman Chas. McKenzie Jas. Johnston Geo. Ross Simon Breband Chas. Fontaine J. Bte. Latendre 47 pieces – Some private property	Boat 2 James Whiteway – Steersman William Gibson – Bowsman William Leask James Leith James McKay Allan Ross J. Bte. Morreau Antoine F. Delorme 54 pieces	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 24-25, 1823 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Louis Laplante – Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsman Pierre Vandal Joseph Godin Charles Gouin Charles Bourgard Louis Portneuf Augt. Robidoux 55 pieces – some Freight for Norway House and Private	Boat 2 Antoine Mallette – Steersman Antoine Dajenais – Bowsman Joseph Salois Hyp. Brissette James Tournon Jacques Goulet Joseph Mallette Fras. Roi dit Portelance 51¼ pieces – some freight for Norway House and private	Boat 3 Donald McDonald – Steersman Am. F. Delorme – Bowsman Louis Chouinard Ed. Gilbeault Frs. Lafrance James Mowat Pierre Girard Francis Evert 51½ pieces – Some freight for Norway House and private
Boat 4 Thomas Firth – Steersman	Boat 5 James McKay – Steersman	

¹ From 1860 onwards, the Saskatchewan Brigade stopped travelling to York Factory and instead picked up its outfit at Norway House and immediately returned to Edmonton House.

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Hugh Fraser – Bowsmen Charles McKenzie Joseph Lepine J. Bte. Navanne John Spence Louis Bruneau Charles Landrie 54½ pieces – Some freight for Norway House and private	Simon Breband – Bowsmen François Gendron Joseph Primeau Rene Beauvais Martin Robert Charles Duford Bte. Iroquois J. Bte. Yartin 38 pieces and Mess^{rs}. Rowand and Finlayson Passengers	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 26, 1824 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 James McKay – Steersman Thomas Firth – Bowsmen Charles Bourgard Rene Beauvais Jos. Salois Pierre Vandal 40 Pieces Mess^{rs} Stuart and Rowand Passengers	Boat 2 Donald McDonald – Steersman George Ross – Bowsmen John Spence – Boatbuilder James Mowat – Cooper John McIntosh Alexander Ross – Tailor 39 ½ Pieces and 16 pieces for Lower Red River (Norway House)	Boat 3 Louis LaPlante – Steersman Joseph Primeau – Bowsmen Frances Everad Charles Landrie Modeste Cantara Paul Brown 40 Pieces and 11 Pieces for Lower Red River (Norway House)
Boat 4 Antoine Mallet – Steersman Antoine Dajinai – Bowsmen Joseph Arpent Louis Portneuf Joseph Tournon Michel Laval 38 Pieces and 19 Pieces for Lower Red River (Norway House)	Boat 5 Joseph Golin – Steersman Hyc. Larive – Bowsmen Charles Gouin Sol. Goulet Fras. Bibeau Augt. Carriere 40 Pieces and 17 Pieces Lower Red River (Norway House)	Boat 6 William Ballendine – Steersman William Stockan – Bowsmen Edward Guilbeau William Johnson Antoine Archambault 39 Pieces and 14 Pieces Lower Red River (Norway House)
Boat 7 Simon Breband – Steersman J. Bte. Iroquois² – Bowsmen Fras. La France Jos. La Verdure Dominique Farren Abrah. Vincent 39 Pieces and 16 Pieces for Lower Red River (Norway House)		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 21, 1825 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Joseph Gobin/Gaubin – Steersman Pierre Laval – Bowsmen Martin Laval J. Bte. Dubois (Columbia) Antoine Gobin (Columbia) Antoine Auger François Hamlin 55 pieces	Boat 2 Thomas Firth – Steersman George Ward – Bowsmen James Mowat Rene Beavais Ant. Cantera (Columbia) Vincent Beaudin (Columbia) Jacques Le Herondelle William Annal – Carpenter 44 Pieces and 5 Pieces Private Mr. Kennedy's Family	Boat 3 Laurent Cadotte – Guide (Columbia) Canate Umphreville – Bowsmen (Columbia) François Deschamp – (Columbia) Pierre Chartier – (Columbia) François Xavier Tauhonga (Columbia) Jerome Cloutier – (Columbia) Gilbert Powers John Rendall/Randal (Columbia) 28 Pieces and 9 Pieces for Columbia and 3 Pcs Private - Mess^{rs} McLeod and Black passengers
Boat 4 Antoine Mallette – Steersman Joseph La Douceur – Bowsmen Michel Bousquet Jean Marie Tessier Etienne Joyalle – (Columbia) Pierre Dubois – (Columbia) Bourassa (Freeman) John Spence (Carpenter) (Columbia) 43 Pieces	Boat 5 James McKay – Steersman Will Ballendine – Bowman François Boucher Como (Columbia) Pierre Vandal François Plante Charles Beauchamp Michel Laval	Boat 6 Louis Laplante – Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsmen Joseph Tournon Joseph Vallois Charles Landrie Modeste Cantara Charles Bourgard 31 Pieces and 4 Pcs Lesser Slave Lake

² Names in red indicate that the boatman could not be found in HBC employment lists.

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Mess ^{rs} E. and F. Ermatinger Passengers	37 Pieces and 5 Pcs Lesser Slave L and 6 pcs Private Property - John Stuart Passenger	Mess ^{rs} MacMillan and Rowand Passengers
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 8 and 14, 1826 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Antoine Mallette – Steersman Pierre Laval – Bowsman François Lafrance Charles Beauchamp Baptiste Patnaude Joseph Touron 57 Pieces and 14 Pcs Red River (Norway House)	Boat 2 Simon Brebant – Steersman Antoine Savard – Bowsman René Beauvais Laurent Sauve (Columbia) Félix Larante Pierre Vandalte 59 Pieces and 12 Pcs Red River (Norway House)	Boat 3 Donald McDonald – Steersman William Stokan – Bowsman Pierre Papin — Giroux (Antoine) Auger Gilbert Powers — Loyer (Freeman) 59 Pieces and 12 Pcs Red River (Norway House)
Boat 4 Thomas Firth – Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsman Modeste Cantara Jean Bpte. Gadoua François Bourgard Bidou Delorme Aug. Rasette Gonzague Zastre (Columbia) Duncan Campbell – A boy 25 ½ Pieces and 20 Pcs for Red River (Norway House) - John Stuart and John Rowand Passengers	Boat 5 Canate Humphryville – Steersman (Columbia) Tanihonago – Bowsman (Columbia) Pierre Chartier (Columbia) Louis Lapierre (Columbia) Jacques Perrault (Columbia) J. Bte. Etue (Columbia) François L'Ecuyer (Columbia) Basil Larance (Columbia) Peter Taylor (Simpson's Serv.) (Columbia) 25½ Pieces and 20 Pcs for Red River (Norway House) - C.F. McMillan and Lieut. Simpson Passengers	Boat 6 James McKay – Steersman George Ross – Bowsman Joseph Cornoyer (Columbia) Abraham Vincent (Columbia) François Clairmont (Columbia) Angus McDonald (Columbia) Louis Gagnon (Columbia) Louis Lefevre (Columbia) 21½ Pieces and 34 Pcs for Red River (Norway House) - C.F. McGillivray and François Bouvet Passengers
Boat 7 Joseph Gaubin – Steersman Joseph Salois – Bowsman Ambroise Marquette Joseph Arpin Peter Grant (Columbia) Amable Arquette (Columbia) Louis Boisvert (Columbia) James Baker (Columbia) 21 ½ Pieces and 39 Pcs Red River (Norway House) - Clk James McDougall Passenger	Boat 8 Antoine Perrault – Steersman (Columbia) Claude Lacourse – Bowsman (Columbia) George McDonald William Bruce (Columbia) Olivier Bouchard (Columbia) Joseph Letendre (Columbia) Ewen Taylor (Columbia) McLaughlin – A Boy - Sinclair's son 23 Pieces and 32 Pcs for Red River (Norway House) - Clk Bernie and Sloopmaster Sinclair Passengers	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 8 and 14, 1827 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Thomas Firth – Steersman George Ross – Bowsman René Beauvais Pierre Papin François Lafrance (Columbia) William McMillan Pierre Denomme 70 Pieces	Boat 2 Pierre Laval – Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsman Antoine Auger François Portelance dit Roy Bap. Eno dit Delorme Michel Lavalte Joseph Rocquebrun (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 3 Antoine Savard – Steersman Joseph Touron – Bowsman Michel Otoclanie (Columbia) François Lepine (Columbia) Joseph Lapierre (Columbia) Pierre Boucher (Columbia) Jean Bte. Roy Michel Falardeau (Columbia) 64 Pieces - William Todd Passenger
Boat 4 Basil Larance – Steersman Jean Bpt. Jolibois – Bowsman (Columbia) Jean Bpt. Boisseau (Columbia) Louis Thaigarkatita Etienne Pepin (Columbia) Louis Asslin Ant. Eno dit Canada (Columbia) John Simpson (Columbia) 58½ Pieces and 7 Pieces for Columbia	Boat 5 James McKay – Steersman Edouard Guilbeault – Bowsman Pierre Gilbot (Columbia) E.F. Laderoute Pierre Karaganiate (Columbia) Pierre Desaire (Columbia) Henri Lacharite (Columbia) William Annal Mr. E. Ermatinger Passenger 57 pieces and 5 pcs for Ermatinger	Boat 6 Louis Laplante – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman François Gendron August Racette Pierre Therrien (Columbia) Baptiste Patenaude Jean Bte. Obichon (Columbia) François Plante John Rowand and J.E. Harriote passengers - 48 pieces and 15 pcs for passengers

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 17 to July 20, 1828 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 James McKay – Steersman Baptiste Patenaude – Bowsman J. Bte. Brasconnier (Columbia) Ant. Plouffe (Columbia) Mich. Bousquet Mich. Patenaude Richard Cook (Columbia) 57 pcs and 10 Rolls Tobacco for Columbia	Boat 2 Baptiste (Bazil) LaRance – Steersman John Favell – Bowman (Columbia) Louis LaBonte (Columbia) Joseph Gagnon (Columbia) J. Bte. Gagnon (Columbia) Jacques Bibeau (Columbia) Toussaint Lucier (Winnipeg) Mr. G. Taylor and family and luggage 56 pieces	Boat 3 Joseph Gaubin – Steersman Joseph Salois – Bowsman Joseph Brunnelle (Columbia) Frans. Portelance dit Roy Rene Beauvais James Flett Tappage dit Regnier 57 pcs and 10 Rolls Tobacco for Columbia
Boat 4 Maurice Picard – Steersman Pierre Karaganiate – Bowsman (Columbia) Luc Gagnon (Columbia) Edouard LaBarre (Columbia) Augustin Racette Denoyes dit Pouyack Pierre Martinau (Columbia) 61 pcs	Boat 5 Ant. Savard – Steersman Edouard Gilbeau – Bowsman Frans. Plante Bte. Eno dit Delorme J. Bte. Fleurie (Columbia) Joseph Martelle (Columbia) Joseph Tourond J. Bte. Allard (Columbia) 63 pcs	Boat 6 T. Pisque Kipling – Steersman (Columbia) Michel Plante – Steersman (Columbia) Antoine Plante (Columbia) John Simpson (Columbia) Joachim Lafleur (Columbia) Pierre Papin Narcisse Portelance (Columbia) Mr. D. Ross and Baggage 38½ pcs and 16 pcs for Columbia
Boat 7 Louis Loyer – Steersman François Gendron – Bowsman Gilbert Powers Charles Beauchamp Pierre Gouin (Columbia) Pascal Caye (Caille) (Columbia) Thomas Smith (Columbia) 61½ pcs and 3 pcs for Gov. Simpson	Boat 8 Donald McDonald – Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsman Hugh Fraser Gonzague Zastre Louis Proveau (Columbia) Bte. Lajois (Columbia) Joseph Clairmont (Columbia) J.E. Harriotte and Baggage - 57 pcs	Boat 9 Thomas Firth – Steersman Am. Fafard Delorme – Bowsman Modeste Cantarah Augustin Robidoux J. Bte. Gadoua Charles Bourgard Antoine Auger John Rowand and Family of Mr. R. Grant Passengers and Baggage - 48½ pcs
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 21, 1829 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 James McKay – Steersman Gonzague Zastre – Bowsman J. Bte. Gadoua Mod. Cantara Hugh Fraser Ant. Auger Bte. Patenaude Wm. McMillan J. Rowand Passenger - 47½ pcs and 5 Bales Cumberland	Boat 2 Antoine Savard – Steersman Fran. Laframboise – Bowsman James Flett Joseph Boucher dit Masqua Jean Monde (Columbia) Antoine Rocbrune (Columbia) Antoine Rocbrune fils (Columbia) David Robertson (Columbia) James Amderson, Jack Calder, Duncan McGillivray passengers - 27 pcs, 37 pcs for Cumberland, 4 pcs Columbia	Boat 3 Andre Jollifoux – Steersman (Columbia) Thos. Ichowatasse – Bowsman Joseph Spence (Columbia) Etienne Joyalle (Columbia) Joseph Le Verque Nicholas Auger (Columbia) J. Bte. Poirier (Columbia) Amable Petite (Columbia) Chief Trader A. Fisher and 2 Indian Lads passengers - 36 pcs and 12 pcs Columbia
Boat 4 Thomas Firth – Steersman Joseph Monique – Bowsman (Columbia) Tappage dit Regnier François Larance Pierre Brassard (Columbia) Ken McKay -Mr. Heron's servant (Columbia) Magnus Mecuras (Columbia) Charles Levesque Mr. Heron, Wife and Family passengers 55 pcs, 15 pcs Columbia	Boat 5 Bazil Larance – Steersman François Laplante – Bowsman Pierre Girard Paul Lamothe (Columbia) Augustin Lafleche François Charlebois (Columbia) Joseph Fleurie (Columbia) Charles Chase (Columbia) 73 pieces	Boat 6 Joseph Gaubin – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman François Portelance dit Roy Gilbert Powers Joseph Bastien (Columbia) Jean Bte. George (Columbia) Joseph Bourgeau (Columbia) Sylvan Bourgeau (Columbia) A pair of Indian Prisoners - 57 pieces
Boat 7 François Gendron – Steersman Charles Beauchamp – Bowsman Eno Delorme Pouyack Denoyer Pierre Belisle (Columbia) François Gingras (Columbia) Pierre Laplante Augustin Patenaude	Boat 8 Maurice Picard – Steersman Louis Iroquay – Bowsman Charles Arahota (Columbia) Michel Bousquet Michel Bourassa Andre Rielle J. Bte. Prevort Misticocanish (Columbia)	Boat 9 Edward Gilbeau – Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsman Taquatain Duplessis Jacques Cardinale Ekabo Dumont Andre Gagnon Joseph Proux (Columbia) Pennis Godreau dit Brien

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Mr. Frobisher's Sons Passengers - 73 pieces	Mr. A. Roussin passenger - 73 pieces	73½ pieces
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 12, 1830 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Gonzague Zastre – Steersman Fran. Laframboise – Bowsman Baptiste Parisien Gilbert Powers J. Bte. Valois (Columbia) Olivier St. Pierre (Columbia) Will. Walles (Columbia) Jean Rassier dit Noyer Mod. Cantarah 56 pcs, 2 cases guns for Columbia, 2 bales for Cumberland and 6 kegs for Lower Red River	Boat 2 James McKay – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman J. Bte. Gadoua Hyacinthe Larive Hugh Fraser Antoine Auger François Plante François Gendron John Rowand and J.E. Harriott passengers 43 pcs, 1 pc. for Columbia and 2 Kegs for Lower Red River	Boat 3 Bazil Larence – Steersman Gonzague Ayotte – Bowsman Michel Bousquet Lacomble Thibault François Prudhomme (Columbia) François Henrie (Columbia) Will Norquay (Columbia) James Wilson (Boatbuilder) passenger 20 pcs, 1 case guns Columbia and 43 pcs for Cumberland
Boat 4 Donald McDonald – Steersman George Ross – Bowsman James Flett Francois Lafrance Colin Leslie (Columbia) Michel Fleurie (Columbia) François Decoigne Will Anderson John MacKay (Columbia) Mr. Linton passenger 60 pcs and 1 keg for L. Red River	Boat 5 Thomas Firth – Steersman Bte. Patnaude – Bowsman Ekabo Dumonde François Portelance dit Roy Pemis Godreau dit Brien Bellonie Fleurie (Columbia) Henri Bennaquay (Columbia) Will Urquhart (Columbia) Louis Chastelain (Columbia) Richard Grant Passenger 59½ pcs and 1 keg for L. Red River	Boat 6 Louis Loyer – Steersman Joseph Salois – Bowsman J. Bte. Eno dit Delorme Jacques Archimmes (Columbia) Hypolyte Brullette (Columbia) Joseph Mousette (Columbia) Joseph Maurice (Columbia) James Sinclair (Columbia) John Tait (Columbia) 58 pcs, 1 case guns for Columbia, 5 pcs for Cumberland, 1 Keg for L. Red River
Boat 7 Thomas Petit – Steersman Dom. Monique – Bowsman (Columbia) Michel Patnaude Pierre Papin Dick Layland Joseph Despard (Columbia) Jacques Ross (Columbia) James Randelle (Columbia) James Linklater 55 pcs, 2 cases guns for Columbia, 1 Bale for Cumberland and 7 Kegs for Lower Red River	Boat 8 Andre Chalifoux – Guide (Columbia) Edouard Guilbeault – Bowsman Paulet Paul Joseph Lacharite (Columbia) Pierre Moison (Columbia) Joseph Turgeon (Columbia) Herculle LaBrun (Columbia) J. Bte. Regnier dit Tappage Olivier Birron – sick 51 pcs, 15 pcs for Columbia	Boat 9 Louis Laplante – Steersman Martin Laval – Bowsman Augustin Patnaude Hyacinth St. Denis Pierre Gardepie (Columbia) J. Bte. Gagnier (Columbia) Felix LeBrun (Columbia) Ant. Normandin (Columbia) Al... Laval – A boy free 49 pcs, 2 cases guns for Columbia, 3 bales for Cumberland and 2 kegs for Lower Red River
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 9 and Aug. 29 1831 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 James McKay – Guide Charles Bourgard – Bowsman Will McMillan Antoine Auger François Roy dit Portelance Frans Hunter Will Rowland Toussainte Prevost (Columbia) Pierre Girard Joseph Maxwell – Hughes servant John Rowand and Jamy Hughes passengers. 51 pieces	Boat 2 Louis Laplante – Steersman Marron Ducharme – Bowsman (Columbia) — Morreau — Mondoux George Ballendine Will Rowland J. Bte. Arrarrayonton (Columbia) Augustin Lambert fils (Columbia) Pierre Latourdelle John Williams (Columbia) Will McKintosh Passenger - 10 pcs and 3 Kegs for Sask - 43 pcs for Cumberland	Boat 3 François Gendron – Steersman Hugh Fraser – Bowsman J. Bte. Eno dit Delorme Will Craigie Michel Bousquet Bourassa George Berger John Ballendine Jacques Taketsarongard (Columbia) Burney Hilley P.C. Pambrun passenger - 61½ pieces
Boat 4 Andre Chalifoux – Steersman (Columbia) Rhene Selahoanay – Bowsman (Columbia) John Simpson (Columbia) Pierre Chalifoux Charles Beauchamp Narcisse Charron Ducharme (Columbia) Louis Segohanonchta (Columbia) Michel Turgeon (Columbia) William Brown (Columbia) Joseph Dube (Columbia)	Boat 5 Thomas Firth – Steersman Fran. Laframboise – Bowsman Modeste Cantarah Pouyack Denoyer Michel Laval James Flaws Paul Sohocasta Isidore Asselin (Columbia) François Laframboise Jacques Cardinal	Boat 6 Joseph Salois – Steersman J.B. Boucher dit Lamalice – Bowsman George Ward Pierre Papin Sacaste Dumond Ekabo Dumond Andrew Hackland David Robertson (Columbia) Louis Atrahronguard (Columbia) Pierre Laval

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

D. Finlayson and James Douglas passengers 49½ Pieces	Richard Grant passenger 61 pieces	55 pcs and 10 pcs for Cumberland
Boat 7 Bazil Larance – Steersman Edouard Gilbeault – Bowsman Frans. Lafrance Richard Layland Joseph Brulez Joseph Secunosogan Eustache Morrisseau (Columbia) Ant. Petit dit Gobin Joseph Plouffe (Columbia) Joseph Porgud John Byas passenger 64¾ pieces	Boat 8 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsman Michel Patnaude Pemis Godreau dit Canadien Augustin Patnaude Joseph Seccanosocan Joseph Colin dit Laliberte (Columbia) Louis Lahaie dit Gardinier (Columbia) Pascal Dupres (Columbia) François Gardupie (freeman) 66 pieces	Boat 9 – Fall Boat J.B. Gadoua – Steersman Paulette Paul – Bowsman Angus McLeod Donald Martin Roderick McLeod John McAulay Donald McDonald John McKenzie Will McDonald Donald McLean John Sinclair Colin Fraser passenger – 1 piece
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 17 and Aug. 28 1832 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Andre Chalifoux – Steersman (Columbia) Antoine Dejenais – Bowsman (Columbia) John Auld (Columbia) Hypolite Brissette (Columbia) Donald Martin (Columbia) Murdoch MacKay (Columbia) Olivier Vivier Olivier Daubin CT Heron and Clerk passengers 46 pcs and 20 pcs for Columbia	Boat 2 Joseph Salois – Steersman Antoine Auger – Bowsman John McAulay (Columbia) Donald McDonald (Columbia) Pierre Chalifoux (Columbia) Joseph Schwantos Ignace Harohahoma 64 pieces	Boat 3 François Gendron – Steersman Gonzaque Ayotte – Bowsman Charles Bourgard Michel Bousquet J. Bte. Corbeille (Columbia) J. Bte. Lapierre (Columbia) J. Bte. Lavigne (Columbia) 64 pieces
Boat 4 J. Bte. Lamalice dit Boucher – Steersman J. Bte. Eno dit Delorme – Bowsman Michel Laval Pierre Dubois (Columbia) Louis Lucier (Columbia) Fabian Malois (Columbia) François St. Pierre (Columbia) 65 pieces	Boat 5 James McKay – Steersman Fran. Roy dit Portalance – Bowsman Jacques Hyrondelle (Columbia) John MacKay (Columbia) Joseph Prevost (Columbia) François Quintalle (Columbia) Antoine Minstral John Ballentine Chief Trader and 2 Clerks passengers 40 pcs and 25 pcs for Columbia	Boat 6 Bazil Larance – Steersman Pierre Papin – Bowsman Dick Layland Antoine Charbonneau Joseph Anaw____ Lazard Oneaste (Columbia) ____ Morrisseau 66 pieces
Boat 7 Wishewicapor Indian Steersman Hyacinth Larive – Bowsman Edouard Guilbault Will Craigie John Mackenzie Will Raymond (Columbia) Joachim Thybault Fran Souliere (Columbia) 66 pieces	Boat 8 Francois Laframboise – Steersman J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman Pierre Bibeau (Columbia) Olivier Laferte (Columbia) Joseph Courtemanche (Columbia) Pierre St. Andre (Columbia) ____ Lavallier Olivier Dauphine (Columbia) 66 pieces	Boat 9 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman Antoine Patnaude Etienne Mercier William An____ James H____ Edward Monk (Columbia) William Rowland John Isbister passenger 58 pcs and 5 pcs for Cumberland
Boat 10 Thomas Firth – Guide George Ward – Bowsman Mistwaskanish Saskaste Dumond J. Bte. Petit dit Gobin Modeste Cantara William Rowland François Plante J.E. Harriott and R. Grant passengers – 63 pcs	Boat 11 – Fall Boat Paulet Paul – Steersman Donald McAulay Donald Mackenzie Murdo McDonald William Maciace Murdo Suqusanl Donald Macdonald Donald Buchanon For Oxford House Donald McLean Murdo Morrison Hugh Fraser – Bowsman John Macphail Malcolm Smith John McLennan Malcolm Smith 2 nd Norman Morrison Philip MacKay Allan McLeod 17 pcs for Land Arctic Expedition	

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 1,6, 10, and Sept. 10, 1833 –B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Thomas Firth – Guide Augustin Patnaude – Bowsman François Laval (Free) Murdoch McDonald Will McIver Pierre Papin J. Bte. Parisien Norman McIver (Columbia) 58 pcs and 12 pcs for Norway Ho.	Boat 2 Bazile Larance – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman Jacques L'Hyrondelle J. Bte. Raymond Donald McKenzie John McLennan (Columbia) John McKenzie Thos Andersson (Columbia) 70 pieces	Boat 3 François Gendron – Steersman Hyacinth LaRive – Bowsman Pierre Girard John McAulay (Columbia) John McPhail (Columbia) Malcom Smith (Columbia) Olivier Bellerose 70 pieces
Boat 4 Fran Laframboise – Steersman Ekabo Dumond – Bowsman Michel Bousquet Wastayapp Mondioin John McLean Donald McDonald (Columbia) Philip McKay (Columbia) John Ballendine 70 pieces	Boat 5 J.B. Boucher dit Lamalice – Steersman J.B. Eno dit Delorme – Bowsman Narcisse Raymond (Columbia) J. Bpt. Lafleur dit Gagnon (Columbia) Ignace Lazure (Columbia) Louis Latour dit Ballard (Columbia) Joseph Lebrun (Columbia) Simpn Vizina (Columbia) Edouard Dufrene William Donald (Cumberland) 60½ pcs and 8½ pcs for Cumberland	Boat 6 Jean Bte. Patnaude – Steersman Fran. Roy dit Portelance – Bowsman Augustin Martelle (Columbia) John Finlay (Columbia) Olivier Roy dit Portelance (Columbia) Charles Proulx (Columbia) J. Bpt. Benoit (Columbia) Charles ____ (Columbia) J. Bte. Lefevre Pierre Corbin 70 pieces
Boat 7 Andre Chalifoux – Steersman (Columbia) ____ Champagne – Bowsman (Columbia) Charles ____ (Columbia) Augustin Millejours (Columbia) Bazil Brusseau dit Lafleur (Columbia) Jules ____ (Columbia) Benjamin Douglas (Columbia) Louis Settlemeuf J. Bte. Bertrand Henri Brien Charles Thomas (Cumberland) 59 pcs and 5 pcs for Columbia	Boat 8 Joseph Salois – Steersman Andre Auger – Bowsman Richard Leyland Joseph Clairmont (Columbia) Antoine Azure (Columbia) Joseph Mackay Antoine Keagle (Columbia) Joseph ____ (Columbia) Joseph ____ (Columbia) Mistickokanish Joseph Martelle (Columbia) Abraham Lefrain (Columbia) Narcisse Montigny (Columbia) Clerk Douglas and Postmaster McBean passengers 45 pcs and 25 pcs for Columbia	Boat 9 Louis Laplante – Steersman Paulet Paul – Bowsman François Lucier Jr. James Shaw Louis Chastellain Will Andrews J. Bte. Gadoua Thomas Lark Edouard Cantarah Philippe Brien George Ballendine William Hogg (Columbia) John Drolette John Rowand, John Grant Jr. and Richard Grant passengers 59¼ pcs
Boat 10 – Fall Boat J. Bte. Boucher – Steersman Edouard Guilbeault – Bowsman Robert Anderson Will Daniel Malcolm Daniel Thomas Flett James Folster James Hontow John Johnston Will Johnston Magnus Louittit Thomas Linklater Will Merriman Will Horwick Henry Mowat James Taylor 2 Clerks passengers – 5½ pcs for Cumberland and 1½ pcs for Norway House		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 4, 10, and Sept. 2, 1834 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Louis Laplante – Guide Antoine Auger – Bowsman Charles Chartier (Columbia) Farquar McDonald (Columbia) Donald McAulay (Columbia) Will Davie (Columbia) Olivier Bellerose Michel Bousquet Donald McKenzie 70 Pieces	Boat 2 J. Bte. Lamalice dit Bouche – Steersman Richar Layland – Bowsman Pierre Corbin Henri Brien Pierre Leveiller (Cumberland) Malcolm Davie (Columbia) J. Bte. Sylvestre (Columbia) John McLean (Columbia) James Taylor (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 3 François Laframboise – Steersman Ecabo Dumond – Bowsman J. Bte. Lefevre Will McMillan Baptiste Beaubieu [Babue] (Cumberland) Laurent Gautier (Columbia) Will Merriman (Columbia) Murdo McLeod (Columbia) John Johnston (Columbia) 70 Pieces
Boat 4 Bazil Larance – Steersman	Boat 5 François Gendron – Steersman	Boat 6 Paulet Paul – Steersman

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Joseph Gaubin – Bowsman Olivier Vivier John Ballendine Charles Ducharme Donald McLean (Cumberland) Thomas Linklater (Columbia) Louis Miny (Columbia) Will Johnson (Columbia) 70 pieces	J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman Joseph Vivier Will Rowland Samuel Mercier Andrew Ritchie (Columbia) Will Mowick (Columbia) Will McLeod (Columbia) Augustin Patnaude 70 pieces	Jean Bte. Eno dit Delorme – Bowsman Will McIver J. Bte. Raymond Donald Ducharme Thomas Flett (Columbia) Robert Anderson (Columbia) Henry Mowat (Columbia man) Wastihap – free inland 70 Pieces
Boat 7 Joseph Salois – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman Will Craigie Will Andrews Joseph McKay Hugh Fraser Pierrich Cadien Bernard Duprey (Columbia) Edouard Denoyer (Columbia) Francois Gothier (Columbia) Donald McDonald – Invalid (Columbia) John Rowand and W. G. Rae passengers – 70 Pieces	Boat 8 Andre Chalifoux – Guide (Columbia) Andre Picard – Bowsman (Columbia) David Allarde (Columbia) George Kateman (Columbia) Michel Iroquois Pierre Iroquois ____ Iroquois August Lambert (Columbia) Robert Johnston (Columbia) Joseph ____ (Columbia) Xavier Vautrin (Columbia) Robert Cowie and Ben McKenzie passengers – 50 pcs and 21 pcs for Columbia and 6 Bales for Cumberland	Boat 9 J. Bte. Patnaud – Steersman Michel Patnaud – Bowsman James Flaws Antoine Lapierre François Portelance dit Roy Pouyack Denoyer François Villeneuve Nicolas Dupuy (Columbia) Joseph Maurice (Columbia) Donald McDonald J.E. Harriott and John Rowand Jr. passengers – 70 Pieces
Boat 10 Thomas Firth – Guide George Ross – Bowsman Donald McLean John McKenzie Philip Brien Theophile Robert Isaac Caille (Columbia) Julien Raymond Joseph Raymond 50½ pcs for Cumberland and 20 pcs for English River	Boat 11 – Fall Boat ____ Guilboche – Steersman William Gullion – new John Gray – new James Logee – new Alexander Gibson – new Malcolm Groat – new Blind Indian Lad 3½ pcs Passenger to Oxford House and 2 families, 14 Dogs and a young woman from Orkney to Norway House for Red River Pierre Papin – Bowsman William Campbell – new Thomas Balfour – new John Linneard – new William Symison – new William Pottenger – new	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 15-16 and Sept. 1, 1835 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 – Columbia Andre Chalifoux – Guide (Columbia) Joesph Dejalais – Bowsman Charles Martin (Columbia) Antoine Chartier (Columbia) Antoine Petit dit Gobin (Columbia) Ignace Ussagore (Columbia) William Rowland Norman Henry (Columbia) Duncan Finlayson, James Douglas and Archibald McKinlay passengers 52 pcs and 24 pcs for Columbia	Boat 2 Louis Laplante – Steersman Joseph Monique – Bowsman (Columbia) Louis Sagohandsta (Columbia) Poyack Denoyer Pecoose Denoyer William Symison Modeste Cantarah Michel Tokatani (Columbia) John McIntosh passenger 63½ pieces and 8 pcs for Columbia	Boat 3 J. Bte. Lamalice – Steersman Richard Layland – Bowsman Donald McLean Murdoch McDonald Louis Decelles Louis Assincharee (Columbia) Baptiste Daigneau 68 ¼ pcs and 2 pcs for Columbia
Boat 4 Francois Laframboise – Steersman Joseph McKay – Bowsman Donald Buchanan Charles Ducharme Ignace Tongochta John Linnard (Columbia) William Campbell 66 pcs and 2 pcs for Columbia	Boat 5 Josph Gaubin – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman Pierre Thibert Pierre Corbin Pouyack Denoyer William Symison Modeste Cantarah Michel Tokatane (Columbia) 71 pieces	Boat 6 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Pierre Papin – Bowsman Augustin Patnaude Olivier Vivier Edouard Dufrene William McKay (York Factory) Ignace Teotoronto Martin Laval Nephew of Martin 71 pieces
Boat 7 Joseph Salois – Steersman William Craigie – Bowsman Louis Chastellain Vincent Chalifoux (Columbia) Ienace Kainhenrat (Columbia)	Boat 8 Bazil Larance – Steersman ____ Bouchard – Bowsman J. Bte. Lefebvre Olivier Bellerose Iame Logee	Boat 9 Paulette Paul – Steersman Antoine Auger – Bowsman Philippe Brien François Tranquille Henri Brien

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Alexander Gibson John Ballendine — Klyne (free) Richard Grant and William Thew passengers – 64 pcs	Antoine Duquette (Columbia) J. Bte. Raymond 72 pieces	John McKenzie Donald McKenzie Antoine Lapierre John Rowand passenger 70 pieces
Boat 10 – Fall Boat		
James McKay – Steersman Peter Croy Joseph Dickson David Flett Robert Garrock William Johnstone Lewis Louttit John Ross	J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman Hugh Cormack William Flett Adam Gunn William Halcro James Lessk John Merryman William Scott (Cumberland)	
Private Property		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 10, 1836 – B.239/w/1		
Boat 1 Louis Laplante – Guide Joseph McKay – Bowsman Ignace Iroquois Picose Denoyer Joseph Sayayankas (Columbia) James Dickson (Columbia) Josep Dickson (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 2 Bazil Larance – Steersman J.B. Gadwa – Bowsman Alexander Gibson Michel Bousquet Joseph Duquette Thomas Agoniasta (Columbia) James Craigie (Columbia) Ignace Segoganekas (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 3 Thomas Larke – Steersman Charles Bourgard – Bowsman Murdoch McDonald J.B. Raymond Peter Calder William Campbell (Columbia) J.B. Savoie (Columbia) Thomas Sahoyawatha (Columbia) 70 pieces
Boat 4 Paulet Paul – Steersman Olivier Vivier – Bowsman Ignace Iroquois Charles Cummings John Ballenden Jack Calder (Columbia) William Johnson (Columbia) Charles Ducharme 70 Pieces	Boat 5 Joseph Salois – Steersman Pierre Thybeault – Bowsman Modeste Cantarah William Symison Samuel Loutit William McIver Michel Ferguson James Dickson (Columbia) 70 pieces	Boat 6 Richard Layland – Steersman J. B. Champagne – Bowsman Pierre Corbin Louis Lorion Henri Brien J.B. Lafevre (Columbia) François Richard J.B. Bonest 10½ pcs, 40 pcs to RR, 3½ to Norway Ho, 10 pcs for Lac la Pluie
Boat 7 – Columbia Boat Joseph Tayantas – Guide (Columbia) Pierre Sakoiaroka – Bowsman (Columbia) Thomas Agoyowatha (Columbia) Hugh Cormack (Columbia) — Lachapelle (Columbia) Donald Buchanan Edouard Dufrene François Tranquille 48 pcs and 22 pcs for Columbia	Boat 8 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Augustin Lambert – Bowsman Augustin Patnaude Philip Brien Donald McKenzie Antoine Lapierre William Lamalice William Rowland 61 Pieces John Rowand Passenger	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 18, 1837 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Louis LaPlante – Guide No other men Listed 75½ Pieces	Boat 2 Paulet Paul – Steersman No other men listed 75½ Pieces	Boat 3 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman No other men listed 75½ Pieces
Boat 4 Bazil Larance – Steersman No other men listed 75½ Pieces	Boat 5 G. Rochleau – Steersman No other men listed 75 Pieces	Boat 6 Antoine Auger – Steersman No other men listed 75½ Pieces
Boat 7 Joseph Tayantas – Steersman (Columbia) No other men listed 74¾ Pieces	Boat 8 Baptiste Lamalice – Steersman No other men listed 71 pcs and 4 pcs for Cumberland	Boat 9 – Cumberland Boat John Ballenden – Guide (Cumberland) George Ballenden – Bowsman Bapte. Babu (Cumberland) Joseph McLellan (apprentice) (Cumberland) Joseph Turner (Cumberland) Two Cumberland Indians

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

		— Craigie (freeman) Thomas Anderson 75¼ Pieces
Boat 10 Joseph Sallois – Steersman No other men listed 72½ Pieces		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July and Sept. 4, 1838 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Louis Laplante – Guide Peter Calder – Bowsman Pierre Chalifoux Edouard Dufrene Louis Valle Charles Cummings Ottasohwahpoo Joseph Patnaude 77 Pieces	Boat 1 J. Bte. Lamalice – Steersman Antoine Lapierre – Bowsman Alexander Gibson Pouyack Denoyer John Begg William McIver Donald Buchanan 77 Pieces	Boat 3 Bazil Larance – Steersman J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman William Symison Charles Ducharme Pemis Godreau dit Cadien dit Brien Murdoch McDonald Joseph Labrie 77 Pieces
Boat 4 Antoine Auger – Steersman Pierre Thibert – Bowsman Michel Bousquet Lewis Louttit Pierre Slave Lake Joseph Duquette Jean Bte. Raymond 79 Pieces	Boat 5 Paulet Paul – Steersman Philippe Brien – Bowsman Pierre Bourassa Joseph McLennan Narcisse Fallardeau (Columbia) Louis Fallardeau (Columbia) Hilard Gilbeau (Columbia) John McLean (Columbia) 70 pcs for Cumberland and 12 pcs for Saskatchewan	Boat 6 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Michel Patnaude – Bowsman Jean Bt. Babue (Cumberland) Cloise Mathe (Columbia) Maxime Mathe (Columbia) Joseph Arvin Amable Lacourse (Columbia) Joseph Turner (Cumberland) Angus McPhail (Columbia) 66½ pcs for Cumberland and 15 pcs for Saskatchewan
Boat 7 Pierre Sakoiarokon – Steersman Oliver Vivier – Bowsman Pierre Laliberte Fabian Vital (Columbia) Edward Cruete (Columbia) Pierre Dechamps (Columbia) Jean Bte. Lapatac Jean Rivard (Columbia) Kenneth McDonald (Columbia) 72 Pieces	Boat 8 Andre Chalifoux – Steersman (Columbia) Charles Ducharme – Bowsman Charles Belanger Baptiste Daigneau (Columbia) Edward Alin (Columbia) Joseph Allard (Columbia) Frederick Minie (Columbia) Joseph Bourdon (Columbia) Oliver Seguin (Cumberland) 77½ pcs and 4 bales for Cumberland	Boat 9 Joseph Tayentas – Steersman (Columbia) Ignace La Rouge – Bowsman Pierre Corbin (Columbia) Joseph Rocher (Columbia) Casar Joseph Champagne (Columbia) Etienne Fortier (Columbia) Alan Morrison (Columbia) Donald Smith George Barthelemy (Columbia) 69 pcs and 12¼ pcs for Columbia
Boat 10 Joseph Sallois – Steersman Augustin Lambert – Bowsman Augustin Robidoux Joseph McKay Cumberland Indian Cumberland Indian François Denoyer (Columbia) Pierre Papin Olivier Brisbois (Columbia) Neil McAulay (Columbia) 74 Pieces	Boat 11 – Fall Boat Charles Bourgard – Steersman John Hay – Saskatchewan James Ballenden – Sask John Stensgair – Sask Thomas Stensgar – Sask James Millar – Sask Antoine Gouin – Sask Magnus Brown – McKenzie William Robertson – McKenzie Mr. Finlayson Passenger Joseph Mallette – Bowsman William Rowland – Sask Thomas Anderson – Sask John Stenger – Sask William McKay – Sask Geroge Stanger – Sask Jean Bte. Belleau – McKenzie William Rennie – McKenzie George Folster – McKenzie 9 pcs luggage	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory June 29, July 4-5, and August 24, 1839 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Michel Patnaude – Bowsman Joseph Patnaude Peter Croy Oliver Bellerose Pierre Bourassa Laurent Lajou	Boat 2 J. Bte. Lamalice – Steersman Charles Ducharme – Bowsman Charles Ducharme Bazil Belanger Joseph Duquet William McIver Ignace Guimet	Boat 3 Louis Laplante – Guide Peter Calder – Bowsman Assawoppie Mondion John Begg Dominique Leclair (Columbia) Oliver Martineau (Columbia) Louis Dupuis (Columbia) Augustin Levigne (Columbia)

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

70 Pieces	70 Pieces	Louis Trudille (Columbia) Murdoch Nicholson (Columbia) 63 pcs and 4 pcs for Cumberland Crews
Boat 4 Bazile Larance – Steersman Augustin Patnaude – Bowsman Pemis Goudreau dit Cadien/Briere Andre Balshasard (Columbia) Michel Loumire John Flett (Columbia) Philip Smith (Columbia) Louis Leclair (Columbia) George Stanger 62 pcs and 5 pcs for Cumberland	Boat 5 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Olivier Vivier – Bowsman Louis Valle J. Bte. Raymond Theodore Leclair (Columbia) Gabriel St. Gre (Columbia) J. Bte. Degre (Columbia) J. Bte. Trudelle (Columbia) Thomas Stanger 62 pcs and 4 pcs for Cumberland	Boat 6 Antoine Auger – Steersman Antoine Lapierre – Bowsman Michel Bousquet Alexander Leith David Leclair (Columbia) Louis Montret (Columbia) Louis St. Gre (Columbia) Michel Lacroix (Columbia) James Garson (Columbia) G. Hartley and family passengers 55 pcs and 10 pcs luggage
Boat 7 Joseph McKay – Steersman Petit (Philip) Brien – Bowsman John Leask J. Bte. Parisien Bazil Bellanger Augustin Neron (Columbia) Felix Bergevin (Columbia) Abraham Raba (Columbia) J. Bte. Dupuis (Columbia) 63 pcs and 3 pcs for Cumberland	Boat 8 Paulet Paul – Steersman Augustin Lambert – Bowsman Lowe Loutit François Villeneuve Edward Dufrene Augustin Garant (Columbia) Charles Labonte (Columbia) François Presse (Columbia) Joseph Allard (Columbia) Murdoch McDonald 22 pcs and 4 pcs for Cumberland, 10pcs for passage of J.E. Harriott and 15 pcs for Columbia voyageurs	Boat 9 No tripmen listed John McLoughlin and Roderick Finlayson passengers 23 pcs and 2 pcs for Cumberland and Columbia allowances
Boat 10 – Fall Boat Pierre Sakoirokan – Steersman George Garson John Spence James Spence Andrew Louttit David Anderson James Spence John Finlayson passenger Various packages for Individuals inland		J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman William Millar Magnus Harvey William Wyllie Henry Flett Alexander McKay Donald McDonald
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 7 and 11, and August 18, 1840 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Louis Laplante – Guide Peter Calder – Bowsman Poyacck Denoyer Pierre Lamai dit Delorme J. Bte. Raymond Modest Cantarah Maxime Lavoie (Columbia) J. Bte. Leonard (Columbia) Pierre Roi (Columbia) Henry Collie (Columbia) Mess ^{rs} Clouston and Ogden passengers – 8 pcs Luggage – 61 Pieces	Boat 2 Antoine Auger – Steersman Charles Charlebois dit Ducharme – Bowsman Edouard Dufrene Kenneth McAulay Charles Michon (Columbia) Louis Leclair (Columbia) Edward Martin (Columbia) Xavier Sicard (Columbia) 67 pieces	Boat 3 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Antoine Lapierre – Bowsman William McIver Bte. L'Herondelle (Columbia) Joseph Derosier Joseph Dupere (Columbia) Guillaume St. Aubin (Columbia) Pierre Girard 71½ pieces
Boat 4 Bazil Larance – Steersman Philippe Brien – Bowsman Michel Lavallee François Plante Joseph Goudrie Pierre Beauvais (Columbia) Isaac S _____ Charles Deroche (Columbia) Joseph Swanston (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 5 Jean Bte. Lamalice – Steersman Pierre Thybert – Bowsman Pierre Bourassa Bazil Bellanger Joseph Duquette Felix Dudoire (Columbia) Denis Durval (Columbia) Abraham Charbonneau (Columbia) Louis Dauny (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 6 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Michel Patnaude – Bowsman Joseph Patnaude Charles Ducharme Narcisse _____ Jacques Couturier (Columbia) Charles Barron Pierre Vaudrie (Columbia) Narcisse Bastien (Columbia) Joseph Dechamps 2 Passengers and 60 Pieces

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Boat 7 Paulet Paul – Steersman Olivier Vivier – Bowsman Michel Bousquet John Stanger François Cote (Columbia) Pierre Parisien (Columbia) Leon Morel (Columbia) Joseph Savard (Columbia) Pierre Cadotte (Columbia) 71 Pieces	Boat 8 – Columbia Boat Joseph Tayantus – Guide (Columbia) J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman Alexander Leith Pierre Slave Lake Maurice Chalifoux (Columbia) Octave Martel (Columbia) John Kaau (Columbia) Charles Fiset (Columbia) Thomas Brown (Clerk) (Columbia) 64 pcs and 8 pcs for Columbia	Boat 9 Joseph Sallois – Steersman Augustin Lambert – Bowsman François Villeneuve John Cunningham Joseph Grey Louis Valle Joseph McKay Murdoch McDonald Augustin Racette Assawhappe Mondion John Rowand and Rundle passengers and 13 pcs of their luggage 39½ pcs and 3 Bales for Cumberland and 1 pack Otters for Columbia
Boat 10 – Fall Boat Pierre Sakoirakan – Steersman William Rowland (c) François Frammard Peter Mathison Angus McLeod Donald McLeod Angus McDonald Alex Morisson John Montgomery William Rowland (b) – Bowsman Donald McDonald Roderick McAulay Donald McKay Donald McLeod Neil McLeod Donald Matheson Angus Matheson Norman Montgomery 2 pcs as well as various pcs of luggage and allowance for passage of Rev. Evans		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 10, 12, 14, and August 13, 1841 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Bazil Larance – Steersman Joseph Grey – Bowsman Charles Ducharme Murdoch McLeod François Beaudoin (Columbia) Louis Dubeau (Columbia) Narcisse Brien Isaac Labelle (Columbia) Alexis St. Gelen (Columbia) 75 pieces	Boat 2 Augustin Lambert – Steersman J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman Kenneth McAulay Michel Bousquet Joseph Boyer (Columbia) Rocque Duchessay (Columbia) Gidgeau Gravelle (Columbia) Cassimir Gardipue (Columbia) Joseph Thibaeault (Columbia) 75 Pieces	Boat 3 Joseph McKay – Steersman Baptiste Delorme – Bowsman Joseph Duquet Donald McKay Edouard Cournoyer (Columbia) Benjamin Ferrier (Columbia) Cassimir Hebert (Columbia) Octave Collette (Columbia) Felix Trudeau (Columbia)
Boat 4 – Columbia John Ballenden – Steersman and Guide Marcielle Guilbauch – Bowsman Pierre Seguin Joseph Irvine J. Bte. Babeau Arch. McLennan An Indian An Indian An Indian 73 Pieces	Boat 5 Louis Laplante – Guide Charles Ducharme – Bowsman Thomas Nepesinque Angus McDonald Leon Arcouet (Columbia) John Cumming (Columbia) Angus Montgomery (Columbia) William Campbell Joseph Bourdon 73 Pieces	Boat 6 Louis Loyer – Steersman Pierre Thibert – Bowsman Olivier Bellerose Angus McLeod Donald McLeod Toussaint Peltier (Columbia) William Louttit (Columbia) Charles Bayfield (Columbia) J. Bte. Dechant (Columbia) 75 Pieces
Boat 7 Antoine Lapierre – Steersman Joseph Turner – Bowsman (Cumberland) J. Bte. Raymond Donald McLeod John Montgomery (Columbia) Charles Parisien (Columbia) ____ Duchamps (Columbia) Antoine Miron J. Bte. Lamalice dit Boucher (sick) 73 Pieces	Boat 8 Antoine Auger – Steersman Olivier Vivier – Bowsman Puro Roderick McAulay Peter Matheson (Columbia) Thomas Stripes (Columbia) J. Bte. McKay (Columbia) Alexis Larente Pierre Marceau 74 Pieces	Boat 9 Paulet Paul – Steersman Alexis Nault – Bowsman Edouard Dufrene John Stanger Marie Haquet (Columbia) Theodore Lacourse (Columbia) John Wapping (Columbia) Neil McLeod (Columbia) Pierre Laurant 50 Pieces
Boat 10 Pierre Sakoirahon – Steersman (Columbia) Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Bte. L'Hirondelle Murdoch Macdonald	Boat 11 – Fall Boat J. Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman Murdoch McLeod Angus McDonald ____ Mackay – Bowsman Donald McIver Donald Campbell	

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Antoine L'Hussier (Columbia) Joseph Bergevin (Columbia) Alexander Morrison (Columbia) William Swanston (Columbia) Adolph St. Germain 60 pcs and 5 Packs Otters for Columbia – Passengers Manson and Allen 20 pcs luggage	Murdoch McDonald (Laborer) Malcom Paterson (Laborer) Angus McLeod (new) Norman Martin George Stanger (Norway Ho.) 10 pcs goods for J.E. Harriott, Donald Ross, John Rowand, and Wm. Rowland – 10 pcs for Rev. Evans and wife – 6 pcs personal luggage and 10 pcs for passengers	Allan Campbell (Laborer) John Maccaskill (new) Malcolm McKay (new) John Macdonald _____ (Norway House)
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 12, 14, 16, and August 23, 1842 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Joe Grey – Bowsman Bte. L'Hyronnelle Pierre St. Sauveur Joseph Seguin dit Laderoute Henry Beardy (Columbia) J. B. Desjardins (Columbia) Thomas Bai (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 2 Louis Loyer – Steersman Petit Parun – Bowsman Thomas Nepesingue Alexander Larante John Whitford (Columbia) William Wentzel (Columbia) Pierre Beland (Columbia) Baptiste Suprenant (Cumberland) 70 Pieces	Boat 3 Augustin Lambert – Steersman Alexis Nault – Bowsman Poyuck Denoyer Antoine Miron Roderick McAulay Griddy Demarais (Columbia) J. Bte. Lingai (Columbia) Simon Gonceille (Columbia) 70 Pieces
Boat 4 Louis Laplante – Guide Charles Ducharme – Bowsman Antoine Regnier (Rennier) Angus McDonald Pirro Angus McLeod Angus McDonald (Columbia) Ignace Assimette (Columbia) Alexis Belcourt 70 Pieces	Boat 5 Joseph Salois – Steersman (retiring) Antoine Auger – Steersman Jen Bte. Gadoua – Bowsman J. Bte. Raymond Edouard Dufrene David Munro (Cooper) (Columbia) Charles Favel (Columbia) Murdoch McDonald 67 Pieces	Boat 6 J. Bte. Lamalice dit Boucher – Steersman Joseph McKay – Bowsman Charles Ducharme Donald McLeod Joseph Duquette Alexander Morrison (Columbia) Damase Therouac (Columbia) Pierre Voyer (retired) 70 Pieces
Boat 7 Paulet Paul – Steersman Pierre Thibert – Bowsman Thomas Anderson William Rowland John Cunningham Malcolm McKay (Columbia) Angus McLeod (Columbia) John McLeod (Columbia) John Stanger J.E. Harriott and McPherson passengers – 46 pieces and 4 packs Otters for Columbia	Boat 8 – Columbia Boat Joseph Tyantas – Guide (Columbia) Olivier Vivier – Bowsman Antoine Gouin Murdoch McLeod Joseph Landrie (Columbia) Donald McIvor (Columbia) Murdoch McLeod (Columbia) John McDonald (Columbia) John McLeod (Columbia) 47 pcs and 5 Bales Otters for Columbia	Boat 9 – Fall Boat Basil Larance – Steersman Baptiste Delorme – Bowsman James Corrigan Jacob Ballantyne John Goudie John Hunter Lawrence Jamieson Andrew Mowat John More William Scott James Sinclair Thomas Slater Halcro Umphray Daniel Wilson James Anderson (Norway Ho.) Hector McKenzie passenger to Cumberland 10 pcs and 5 pcs baggage
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 14, 15, 17, and August 26, 1843 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Joseph Tynetas – Guide (Columbia) Pemis Cadien dit Godreau/Briere – Bowsman Murdoch McDonald Michel Turgeon (Columbia) Joseph Beauchamp Columbia) Edward Genereux Joseph Paquette An Indian 55 pcs and 18 pcs for Columbia passengers	Boat 2 Peter Calder – Steersman Charles Ducharme – Bowsman John Calder (Columbia) William McIvor John More/Moar (Norway House) Donald McLeod Francois Proulx 73 Pieces	Boat 3 Antoine Lapierre – Steersman Antoine Auger – Bowsman Antoine Auger Jr. Pierre St. Sauveur Angus McLeod J. Bte. Raymond Wa-me-kis-a-koop Antoine Jacques 73 Pieces
Boat 4 Louis Laplante – Guide Thomas Nepesingue – Bowsman Alexis Nault Narcisse Mousette	Boat 5 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Peur – Bowsman Asinaboine Roderick McAulay	Boat 6 Charles Bourgard – Steersman J. Bte. Delorme – Bowsman Baptiste L'Hyronnelle Michel Calehoe

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

J. Belcourt Joseph Boucher Murdoch McLeod An Indian 72 Pieces	Louis Charlo Edward Dufrene Jean Leroux James Newbird (a boy) 72 Pieces	Young Musqua Antoine Miron Her__ Mauce 72 Pieces
Boat 7 Bazil Larance—Steersman Joseph McKay – Bowsman Humphray Joseph Duquette Charles Ducharme Joseph Dubois James Sinclair 72 Pieces	Boat 8 Louis Loyer – Steersman Joseph Grey – Bowsman William Rowland John Stanger John Cunningham Andrew Mowat Angus McDonald Young Munro __ Rowland Jr. 49 Pieces	Boat 9 – Fall Boat Olivier Vivier – Steersman Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Adam Bainstone (New hands) John Craigie (New hand) William Craigie (New hand) John Goudie (New hand) Andrew Harvey (New hand) George Harvey (New hand) Simon Horie (New hand) John Kirkness (New hand) John Leask (New hand) Thomas Slater (New hand) James Bichan (New hand) William Corzy (New hand) John Inkster (New hand) Passengers Mr. Bourke and Mr. Grahame – Luggage for Passengers and Saskatchewan
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 8, 9, 10, and August 20, 1844 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Peter Calder – Steersman Charles Charlebois dit Ducharme – Bowsman William Craigie (Columbia) John Goudie (Columbia) Marleau L'Hyrondele (Tripman) Andrew Mowat Paul Charlebois J. Bte. Ledoux (Columbia) Xavier Laplante (boy) (Columbia) 52 Pieces	Boat 2 Augustin Lambert – Steersman Antoine Auger – Bowsman Antoine Auger Jr. Donald McLeod Murdo McLeod Simon Horie (Columbia) François Proux (Columbia) William Cromartie (Columbia) Joseph Legarde (Boy) 52 Pieces	Boat 3 Olivier Vivier – Steersman Thomas Nipesangue – Bowsman Alexander Larente Pierre St. Sauveur Angus McLeod George Harvey (Columbia) Andrew Harvey (Columbia) Michel Dechamp (Columbia) Alexander Gardupie (Boy) (Columbia) 39 Pieces
Boat 4 Louis Laplante – Guide Alexander Nault – Bowsman Narcisse Moussette Joseph Boucher (Columbia) Pierre Dul__ Joseph L'Hyrondele Michel Proulx Adam Brunstone Edward Dagneau (Columbia) Louis Aime Daunais (Columbia) 50 Pieces	Boat 5 Baptiste Patnaude – Steersman Pemis Godreau dit Cadien/Briere – Bowsman John More Joseph Dubois Edward Dufrene Jean Leroux Neil __ Onizime Carriere (Columbia) Pierre Duperron (Columbia) Jacques Lapurdrig blanc (boy) (Columbia) Mr. Pelly and Mr. Charles Passengers 45 pcs and 10 pcs passengers	Boat 6 Bazil Larance – Steersman Augustin Patnaude – Bowsman J. Bte. Raymond Thomas Slater (Columbia) Daniel Wilson Severin Masse Antoine Tucquis Matthew Nelson (Columbia) Pierre Moysse Jules Martin 43 Pieces
Boat 7 Paullet Paul – Steersman Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Joseph Musqua William Sabiston John Leask (Columbia) Edward Generoux Charles Mare Suplien Dagenais (Columbia) Joseph Cedrahe Joseph Dauphine 52 Pieces	Boat 8 Joseph Tyentas – Guide (Columbia) Charles Minie – Bowsman Charles Ducharme Joseph Duquette Joachim Laferte (Columbia) Palm Saunders (Columbia) Joseph Malette (Columbia) Joseph Couture (Columbia) François Bolduc (Columbia) Dumet Moysse 35 pcs and Mess ^{rs} Dougald, McTavish and Graham passengers.	Boat 9 Louis Loyer – Steersman Joseph McKay – Bowsman John Stanger Murdoch McDonald John Cunningham Bte. L'Hyrondele James Sinclair Angus McDonald J. Bte. Bolne (Columbia) Louis Loutit Passengers Rev. Mason and J.E. Harriot 24 Pieces
Boat 10 – Fall Boat Charles Bourgard – Steersman Magnus Flett (New Hand)	William Rowland – Bowsman William Corrigan (New Hand)	

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Thomas Fouls (New Hand) John Craig (New Hand) Daniel Gunn (New Hand) David Cursitor (New Hand) William Hackland (New Hand) Peter Hunton (New Hand) Daniel Murray (New Hand) Edward Oman (New Hand) Peter Laughton (Norway Ho.) Alex. McArthur (Blacksmith)		
Rev. James Hunter and Wife passengers with 30 pcs luggage 7¼ pcs for Saskatchewan		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 9, 10, and 12, 1845 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Louis Valle – Bowsman Michel Bousquet William McIvor Narcisse Mousset John Greig (Columbia) Joseph Raymond (Columbia) Alex Johnson (Columbia) 55 Pieces	Boat 2 Peter Calder – Steersman Charles Ducharme – Bowsman Daniel Wilson J. Bte. Bourassa Daniel Murray (Columbia) Magnus Flett (Columbia) J. Bte. Paquette (Columbia) John Cunningham (retired) 55 Pieces	Boat 3 Augustin Lambert – Steersman (retired) Antoine Auger (a) – Bowsman Antoine Auger (b) John More David Cursitor (Columbia) Andrew Mowat Louis Pelltier (Columbia) Thomas Bates (Columbia) 55 Pieces
Boat 4 Louis Laplante – Guide Alexis Nault – Bowsman Joseph McKay Pierre Pelissier Noel _____ Peter Hunter (Columbia) Donald McIvor (Columbia) 53 Pieces	Boat 5 Baptiste Patnaude—Steersman Augustin Patnaude – Bowsman Joseph Patnaude William Rowland Alexander Larente William Davis (Columbia) John Scott (Columbia) 51 Pieces	Boat 6 Basil Larance – Steersman Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Joseph Dauphine Joseph Duquette J. Bte. Raymond Joseph Cook (Columbia) George Groom (Columbia) 51 Pieces
Boat 7 Olivier Vivier – Steersman Petit (Philip) Brien – Bowsman Bte. Suprenant Pierre St. Sauveur William _____ Charles Turnbull (Columbia) Jacob Lowe (Columbia) 51 Pieces	Boat 8 Michel _____ Guide (Columbia) Charles Minie -- Bowsman John Dorion Charles Ducharme Edward Oman (Columbia) Charles Chiffmanaplin François X. Cabana (Columbia) 51 pcs including 5 packs of Otters for Columbia	Boat 9 Paulet Paul – Steersman Thomas Nipesingue – Bowsman Murdoch McDonald James Sinclair Michel Calehee (Tripman) Alexis Bellerose (Tripman) Bapt. Bellerose (Tripman) Joseph Bellerose (Tripman) Joseph Boucher (Tripman) Charles _____ 2 pcs for Sask, 3 pcs allowance for Mr. Ross, 25 pcs for passengers and 4 packs Otter Skins for Columbia
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 17, 1846 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Bazil Larance – Guide Isaac Daigneau – Bowsman J. Bte. Bourassa Jean Bte. Raymond Young Beaudry J. Bte. Kanatskanda (Columbia) J. Bte. Paquette (Columbia) Henri Hainault (Columbia) 72 Pieces	Boat 2 Olivier Vivier – Steersman Louis Vallee – Bowsman Joseph Belcourt Antoine Plante (Columbia) Magnus Ritch (Rich) Charles Jeansakarata (Columbia) Seraphim Amas (Columbia) Thomas Roy (Columbia) 72 Pieces	Boat 3 Joseph McKay – Steersman Antoine Auger – Bowsman Joseph Masqua Daniel Wilson James Eunson Noel (Trip Boy) Joachim Teyoharase (Columbia) J. Bte. Brjiniere (Columbia) 72 Pieces
Boat 4 Paulet Paul – Steersman Charles Charlebois dit Ducharme – Bowsman Joseph Dauphinais Maxime Vennance Edouard Dufrene Alexander Larente François Guillemette (Columbia) Young Courtepatte (a boy) Michel Proulx 74 Pieces	Boat 5 Louis Laplante – Steersman Baptiste Suprenant – Bowsman François Plante J. Bte. Paul dit Frederique Narcisse Mousette Canard Mowat John Rowland Janish Yukkuss (Columbia) 72 Pieces	Boat 6 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Joseph Duquette Charles Ducharme Henry Smith Gaddy Desmarais (Columbia) François Robere (Columbia) Robert Pether (Columbia) 72 Pieces

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Boat 7 Joseph Ononanoron – Guide Columbia Charles Minie James Morwick Hugh Craigie Louis Areuhunta (Columbia) Bte. Dejardins (Columbia) James Ballantyne Joseph Anarize (Columbia) R. Lane passenger 69 Pieces	Boat 8 Peter Calder – Steersman Alexis Nault – Bowsman James Sinclair Bte. L'Hyronnelle Murdo McDonald John Moar (More) Peret Bran Thomas Nepesingue John Rowand passenger 59 Pieces	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 13, 1847 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Peter Calder – Guide Joseph Dauphinais – Bowsman Murdoch McDonald Michel Proulx Gaddy Edouard Dufrene Joseph Allard Joseph Paquette Daniel Wilson Messrs O'Brian and Ross passengers – 64 Pieces	Boat 2 Alexis Nault – Steersman Baptiste Fredrique – Bowsman Narcisse Mousette Frederick Laderoute James Corrigan Claude B. Hamilton Henry Smith 59 Pieces	Boat 3 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Michel. Calchou (Calchouis) – Bowsman Antoine Gallerneau J. Bte. Deschamps Baptiste L'Hyronnelle A. Savard Andrew Ritch (Rich) John Moar (More) 59 Pieces
Boat 4 Sawanne – Steersman Antoine Gouin Nipisanguie Courtepatte Chakaboy Maxime Vanand François Villeneuve Louis Chastellaine Alexander Larante Dick Courtepatte John Rowand passenger - 61 Pieces	Boat 5 Charles Minie – Steersman Josep B. Aideson – Bowsman Antoine Plante Seraphin Amos James Sinclair John McDonald Donald McIvor James Morwick 58 Pieces	Boat 6 Louis Loyer – Steersman Joseph Chartier – Bowsman Baptiste Belcourt Alexis Belcourt Patrick Barritt (Columbia) Joseph Teroniakdentonion (Columbia) Joachim Lepine (Columbia) 59 Pieces
Boat 7 Olivier Vivier – Steersman Philip Brien – Bowsman Charles Ducharme Joseph Sabiston (Columbia) Joseph Collette Baptiste Suprenant Narcisse Kanatasse (Columbia) J. Bte. Chabotte Joseph Maloney 59 Pieces	Boat 8 Charles Ducharmedit Charlebois – Steersman Antoine Auger (a) – Bowsman Antoine Auger (b) J. Bte. Raymond Joseph Musqua dit Bouche Jean Marie Bouche (Columbia) Louis Charlo James Ballendine Pierre Lafrance 59 Pieces	Boat 9 – Columbia Boat Michel Kaonasse – Guide (Columbia) Pierre Thayronequante – Bowsman Henri Henault dit Deschamps John Allerie (Columbia) J. Bte. Kiororote (Columbia) Joseph Tanarison (Columbia) Thomas Bates (Columbia) Robert Harvey (Columbia) Alexander Latreille (Columbia) Messrs Lowe and McKenzie passengers and 61 Pieces
Boat 10 Isaac Daigneau – Steersman Pemis Godreau – Bowsman Massan Joseph Duquette Louis Rousselle Pierre Turcot (Columbia) Joseph St. Arnaud (Columbia) William Sabiston 59 Pieces		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 12, 14, and August 25, 1848 – B.239/w/2		
Boat 1 Joseph McKay – Steersman Joseph Duquette – Bowsman Joseph Allard Louis Dauphinais	Boat 2 Charles Minie – Steersman Ant. Gallarneau – Bowsman Toussaint Biron Atha_wa Cardinal	Boat 3 Isaac Daigneau – Steersman Narcisse Moussette – Bowsman Seraphim Amos Joseph Godin (Columbia)

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Pierre Frichette (Columbia) Edouard Generoux James Robertson (Columbia) Wawatch 75 pcs and 1 pack Otters for Columbia	François Guillet Lachasse J. Bte. Lagrave (Columbia) Wm. Lawrenceson (Columbia) J. Bte. Raymond 75 pcs and 1 Pack Otters for Columbia	John Inkster (E) Columbia Allan McLeod (Columbia) Joseph Sabiston Onseine Varrieur (Columbia) 75 pcs and 1 Pack Otters for Columbia
Boat 4 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Noel Courtapatte – Bowsman Baptiste Courtapatte John Foley Frederique Laderoute John Montgomery (Columbia) Moosewa Xavier Sylvestre 75 pcs and 1 Pack Otters for Columbia	Boat 5 Peter Calder – Guide Joseph Dauphine – Bowsman Vital Bouchez (Columbia) John Fraser (Columbia) James Morwick Michel Proulx Magnus Rich Louis Rouselle Pierre Laperdrix (Columbia) 75¼ pcs and 1 Pack Otters for Columbia	Boat 6 Charles Charlebois dit Ducharme – Steersman Augustin Patnaude – Bowsman N. Beaudrie Gaddy Demarais Emeline's Son William Gladstone Benjamin Rainé (Columbia) Pierre St. Sauveur Jeremie Sereurier (Columbia) 75¼ pcs and 1 Pack Otters for Columbia
Boat 7 Alexis Nault – Steersman Assiniboine Patnaude – Bowsman Pierre Couturier (Columbia) Pierre Lafrance Joseph Robilliard (Columbia) Abraham Salois Henry Smith Norman Smith (Columbia) 74½ pcs and 1 Pack Otters for Columbia	Boat 8 Michel Kaonaxxl – Guide (Columbia) Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Edouard Dufrene Moise Dumet (Columbia) Antoine Godin Michel (Jaspers House) Jean Marie Musqua John Scott (b) (Columbia) Joseph Serard (Columbia) 75 pcs including 4 Packs Otters for Columbia	Boat 9 Olivier Vivier – Steersman Michel Calehouis – Bowsman Calionacawayo Pierre Ladebouché Felix Munro John Rowland William Rowland Antoine Savard François Villeneuve 75 pcs including 1 Pack Otters for Columbia
Boat 10 – Fall Boat Louis Chastellain – Steersman James Henry (New Hand) George Kirkness (New Hand) Robert Massy (New Hand) John Mowat (New Hand) Thomas Russell (New Hand) Arthur Sanderson (New Hand) Jean Bte. Fortier Joseph Aideeson – Bowsman Daniel Jameson (New Hand) Edward Anderson (New Hand) John Mitchell (New Hand) Toussaint Moriset (New Hand) John Robertson (New Hand) Daniel Manson (Eng River) Mr. A. Christie passenger 5¼ pcs and various luggage		
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 17 and August 23, 1849 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Peter Calder – Guide Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Michel Proulx Massan Broth Mittoni Broth Magnus Rich Antoine St. Amour Antoine Danneau (Columbia) Charles Hamel (Columbia) 70½ Pieces	Boat 2 Michel Kaonasse – Guide (Columbia) Pierre Ladebouché – Bowsman Nabaise Gladieu Louis Cardinal (Columbia) Louis Aruihunta (Columbia) Pierre Anatakarias (Columbia) Pierre Anarachtagara (Columbia) Joseph Morelle (Columbia) Leon Lebine (Columbia) Thomas Emmett (Columbia) 71 pcs including 10 pcs for Columbia and 8 for passengers	Boat 3 Joseph McKay – Steersman Joseph Duquette – Bowsman Baptiste Carlton William Rowland Edward Generoux Jean Gginaque (Columbia) Isidore Larose (Columbia) Toussaint Mousette (Columbia) John Robertson (Cumberland) 70½ Pieces
Boat 4 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Antoine Auger Sr. – Bowsman Antoine Auger Jr. Frederique Laderoute Joseph Paquette Wapumoon Cyprien Dionne (Columbia) Augustin Courtoie (Columbia) Joseph Cadorette 71 Pieces	Boat 5 Charles Minie – Steersman Antoine Galarneau – Bowsman Joseph Allard Joseph Rondeau Louis Gotier Louis Leandre Parente (Columbia) Joseph Gabourie (Columbia) Alexandre Gilbeault Gadoux (Pas Indian) 70½ Pieces	Boat 6 Alexis Nault – Steersman Assiniboine Patnaude – Bowsman Baptiste Dumond Francois Dumond Bte. Hamelin Louis Rouselle Pierre Boucher (Columbia) Edouard Dufrene John Ward (Columbia) 71 Pieces

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Boat 7 Isaac Daigneau – Steersman Narcisse Moussette – Bowsman J. Bte. Raymond Robert Massy Martin Vadeboncour Augustin Sevigny (Columbia) François Lacourse (Columbia) Louis Grandmaison (Columbia) Joseph Racette 71 Pieces	Boat 8 Charles Ducharme – Steersman Pierre L'Iroquois dit Charlebois – Bowsman Pierre Beaudrie Antoine Godin Pierre Lafrance Pierre Hamelin Firmin Ayotte (Columbia) Joseph Dusseau (Columbia) Muskakepoowal 70 ½ Pieces	Boat 9 Michel Calehouis – Steersman Baptist L'Hyrondelle – Bowsman Thomas Calihoe John Foley Toussaint Biron Edras Boisclair (Columbia) Norbert Saucier (Columbia) Adolphus Tenon (Columbia) Lesser S. Lake (Indian) 71 Pieces
Boat 10 Olivier Vivier – Steersman Antoine Auger Jr. – Bowsman Joseph Grey James Morwick J.M. Boucher (Columbia) Abraham Salois Bte. Courtepatte François Villeneuve Andre Lamarche (Columbia) 69 Pieces	Boat 11 – Fall Boat Joseph Aideeson – Steersman George Thompson (Blksmith) Donald McAulay Allan McIsaac John McIver Ewan McLeod Thomas Morrison Angus Shaw John Smith 11 Pieces private property	Joseph Dauphine – Bowsman William Brown (Boatbuilder) Angus McDonald James McIver Archibald McLeod Murdo McLeod (e) John Norris George Sinclair
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 8-9 and August 19, 1850 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Peter Calder – Guide Antoine Auger (B) – Bowsman Michel Proulx John Foley George Kirkness Louis Rouselle Bazil Fontaine Henry Leask (Columbia) Samuel Moore (Columbia) Pa-chus-coo-pais 76 Pieces	Boat 2 Michel – Guide (Columbia) Pierre Ladebouché Angus McDonald (Columbia) Archibald McLeod (Columbia) Claude Fournier Hugh McLeod M. Isaac Allan Angus Shaw (Columbia) James McIver (Columbia) 76 Pieces	Boat 3 Olivier Vivier – Steersman Assiniboine Patnaude – Bowsman Donald McAulay Joseph Cadotte Louis Gotier Toussaint Biron Thomas Morrison (Columbia) Chipewan Slave Pierre Tourageau Gadoua 77 Pieces
Boat 4 Isaac Daigneau – Steersman Joseph Duquette – Bowsman William Rowland François Laverdure Alexis Gilbeault La -Sah-ga-mosse Samague Le-___ -que-cau Murdo McLeod E (Columbia) 76 Pieces	Boat 5 Michel Calehea (Calehouis) – Steersman Antoine Savard – Bowsman Alexis Savard Dominique Giroux John Smith (Cumberland) Murdo McLeod (D) Columbia John McIver (Columbia) Baptiste Carlton Servinahgoose Martin Vadeboncoeur 70 Pieces	Boat 6 Tomma Neppusanguou – Steersman Baptiste Courtepatte – Bowsman Robert Massy Pierre Hamelin Antoine Godin Joseph Allard Joseph Racette Jonathan Moar (Columbia) 70½ Pieces
Boat 7 – Fall Boat Joseph Dauphine – Steersman James Baikie (New) William Craigie (New) Thomas Foubister (New) John Garriock (New) Norman McAskill (New) Kenneth McDonald (New) John McDonald (New) John McKay (New) 22 Pieces	Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Alexander Harold (New) Archibald Foubister (New) James Hast (New) George Gullion (New) Alexander McDonald (New) Norman McDonald (New) Malcolm McIver (New)	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 17-19 and August 20, 1851 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Joseph McKay – Steersman Joseph Duquette – Bowsman François Laverdure	Boat 2 Michel Calihoe (Calehouis) – Steersman Joseph Racette – Bowsman Cornelius Coglân	Boat 3 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Joseph Bellerose – Bowsman Ant. Trotter

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

P__ Cher Bte. Carlton Sa-sah-ga-moose Ap-tah-sah-coup Kes-Kah-hoose Whes-cah-cha Donald McAskill James Sabiston (Columbia) 70½ Pieces	Robert Massy Martin Vadeboncour Claude Fournier Pierre St. Sauveur Bte. Calihoe Alexis Andrew Hughson (Columbia) Donald Walker (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Louis Gotier Edward Anderson Ant. St. Amour George Kirkness George Sinclair Bte. Bellecour J. Bte. Leveillee Alexander Bonnet 70 Pieces
Boat 4 Joe Gray – Steersman Pierre LeBrun – Bowsman Ma-ya-wa-ste-quon Pe-we-nah-goose Pe-te-qua-cas Gros mouth Joseph L'Hyronnelle Ignace L'Hyronnelle Mis-se-ne-pee Augustin Auger James Thompson (Columbia) 70½ Pieces	Boat 5 Thomas Stevenson – Steersman Joe _____ – Bowsman St. Pierre Hamlin Perish Hamlin Lamaigre William Craigie (Columbia) John Gruwich Andrew Hunter (Columbia) Hugh Mowat (Columbia) Peter Irvine (Norway House) Francis McLennan (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 6 Olivier Vivier – Guide Antoine Gouin – Bowsman Joseph Cadorette John Foley Louis Roussell Antoine Munro Alexis Bellecour Massan The Slave Ahcange _____ Pierre Cadotte (Norway House) 67 Pieces
Boat 7 Charles Ducharme – Steersman Andre Lamarche – Bowsman John Norris John McKay (Columbia) The Fish Antoine Mis-tah-____-a-____ppe Malcolm McLeod (Columbia) William Yates (Columbia) Gaddy Desmarais (Columbia) Etien Lambert (Columbia) 57 Pieces	Boat 8 Assiniboine Patnaude – Steersman Nicolas Courtel – Bowsman Pierre Meagun Sah-Chus Pat-chu-coot-pais Se-ca-a-quitch Che-pis Pe-yea-sa-can-ra-wop To-ta-ye-nee Gilbert St. Luc James Linklater (Columbia) 55 Pieces	Boat 9 James Hope – Steersman Baptiste Paul dit Frederique – Bowsman Antoine Godin Pe-yea-tas Rec-se-con-wo-suppe Sa-kee-tewa- wa-son Kenapic-wean Alexis Cardinal Alexander Harrold Wah-pa-soose James Williamson (Columbia) 67 Pieces
Boat 10 Pierre – Guide (Columbia) Pierre Ladebouché – Bowsman (Columbia) John Slater (Columbia) James Baikie (Columbia) Alexander Foubister (Columbia) Thomas Foubister (Columbia) James Hagel Michel Kanowuciur Michel Sag _____ John Clouston (Columbia) David Smith (Columbia) James Hunter (Columbia) 59½ Pieces	Boat 11 Edward Stevenson – Steersman Paulet – Bowsman Michel Proulx William Rowland Norman McDonald Joseph Alard Toussaint Biron Simon Roy Louis Gladue John McDonald (Columbia) Alex McDonald (Columbia) Frederique Laderoute 33 pcs Sask, 8 pcs Wesleyan Mission, 20 pcs passengers	Boat 12 – Fall Boat Antoine Gallarneau – Steersman Antoine Auger (a) Bowsman Nicholas Courtelle John Baikie (new man) William Bentson (new man) Magnus Edgar (new man) John Flett (new man) Gilbert Goudie (new man) William Goudie (new man) Thomas Harvey (new man) John Leith (new man) Joseph Millar (new man) James Driver (new man) William Norquay (new man) John Spence (new man) 6¼ pcs private property and numerous cases for individuals
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July and August 25, 1852 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Carloush (Olivier Vivier) – Steersman Ah-cau-ge-let – Bowsman John Norris G. Haray Peechus Couhais Charles Hamlin Secan Quith Bte. Hamlin Antoine Trottier 71 Pieces	Boat 2 Assiniboine Patnaude – Steersman Noel Courtepatte – Bowsman Chelpis Ra-Quache John Rowland William Norquay (Columbia) Nep-tee-cappe May-cegar Thomas Calchoe 71 Pieces	Boat 3 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Bte. L'Hyronnelle – Bowsman Louis Gottier/Gotier Frederique Laderoute Old Dog Pierre L'Hyronnelle Massan J. Flett Charles Reyson 72 Pieces

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Boat 4 Joseph Boiley – Steersman Louis Iroquois – Bowsman James Nerat William Benston (Columbia) Moostace Tipe Laventure Alexis Bellecour Bte. Soulier Pierre Versaille 71 Pieces	Boat 5 Paulet Paul – Guide Andre Lamarche – Bowsman Bte. Laveille Malcolm McIvor William Gladstone Big Mouth James Drever John Foley William Flett 70 Pieces	Boat 6 Charles Ducharme – Steersman Baptiste Paul dit Frederique – Bowsman Kenneth McDonald Pe-yea-se-ca-wop Me-ga-wa-ste-quan George Gullion Bte. Chalifoux Robert Massy Moc-Koe-Marie-cus-gripe 70 Pieces
Boat 7 Baptiste Peltier –Steersman Nabais Gladue – Bowsman Alexis The Hand John Spence (Columbia) Alexis Courterville Norman McDonald Phineas Manson (Columbia) Timothee Bloyan (Columbia) 70 Pieces	Boat 8 Bazil Norquay – Steersman Pierre Lebrun – Bowsman Louis Loyer Alexander Leward François Lamire Oc-ma-kis William Spence (Columbia) John Moar (Columbia) Pierre Obuo 70 Pieces	Boat 9 Michel Calchoe (Calchouis) – Steersman Paulet Simon Roi Louis Rouselle François Villeneuve Andre Brazeau Andre Roi Jacques Langlois 58 Pieces
Boat 10 Joe Cole – Guide (Columbia) Antoine Auger Jr. – Bowsman Gilbert Goudie Joseph Allard Wawasis Lermagie Bte. Culchloe Cornelius Coghlan Joe Secours 56 Pieces	Boat 11 – Fall Boat Antoine Galarneau – Steersman Donald Gunn (new) Angus McAskill (new) John McIvor (D) (new) John McLeod (B) (new) Donald McLeod (A) (new) John McPhail (B) (new) John Morwick (new) Murdo Morrison (new) P_ Morrison (new) Malcolm Ross (new) Peter Linklater (Cumberland) John McLeod (D) (Cumberland) Antoine Auger – Bowsman Murdo Mathieson (new) Norman McIvor (new) John McLean (new) John McLeod (C) (new) Murdo McLean (G) (new) John Martin (new) Norman Morrison (new) Malcolm McRay (new) Robert Robertson (new) John Sabiston (new) Duncan McDonald (Cumberland) Private property for John Rowand, J.E. Harriott, John Rowand Jr., Ben Sinclair, J. Bell, Ed McGillivray, W. Spencer	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 7 and August 27, 1853 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Olivier Vivier – Guide Ah-can-ge-let – Bowsman Charles Hoole Masssan Cardinale Pierre Wolf Chache Louis Iroquois John Foley James Moar (Boatbuilder) Donald Gunn (Columbia) John McLeod 74 Pieces	Boat 2 Baptiste Peltier – Steersman Jose Bellecour – Bowsman Pe_____goose _____Pepaquit Curley head Gilbert St. Luc Louis St. Arnaude Louis Comptois (Columbia) Robert Robertson (Columbia) Pierre Delorme (Columbia) 71 Pieces	Boat 3 Tomma Nipissingue – Steersman Noel Courtepatte – Bowsman Jose Nooske Tomma Bouche Louis Nipesingue Ekinoos Lamdre Lamouche Tocpis Louis Gladu John Sabiston (Columbia) 70 Pieces
Boat 4 Bazil Norquay – Steersman Peerish Hamlin – Bowsman Lonbelais _____ Standing Man John McPhail Finlay Munro David Heddle Michel Lacuillere Baptiste Morin (Columbia) Murdoch Matheson (Columbia) John Marwick	Boat 5 Paulette Paul – Guide Harry Ekencappo – Bowsman Malcolm McIvor Louis Paul Norman Morrison Edouard Generoux Ka-ke-noose James Richards Joseph Beauchaine Augustin Lajeunesse John Johnston (Columbia) 69 pcs and Missions 3 pcs	Boat 6 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Baptiste L’Hyronnelle Maskwa-coo-pass Tekak Louis Loyer Ka-wa-ka-sow John Carlton Carpet Ladouceur Baptiste Versailles (Columbia) Kenneth Morrison (Columbia) 67 pcs and 4 pcs for Missions

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

67 pcs and Finlay Munro's family as passengers 4 pcs		
Boat 7 Individuals not entered 67 pcs and 3 pcs for Missions	Boat 8 Alexis Nault – Steersman Michel Proulx – Bowsman John Dorion Joseph Colon Charles Hamlin Ignace Jaspers Frederique Laderoute Bazil Malatterre Joseph Valette (Columbia) John Sutherland (Columbia) 65 pcs and 4 pcs Missions	Boat 9 Michel Calehouis – Steersman Paulette – Bowsman François Vallencour Kenneth McDonald Norman McDonald Antoine Brazeau John Norris Thomas Cameron Narcisse Miner Charles Johnston François Villeneuve 37 pcs and 8 other pcs 20 pcs for passengers John Rowand, P.C. Pambrun and Wm. Spencer
Boat 10 Joe – Guide (Columbia) Baptiste Paul – Bowsman Joseph Allard George Gullion St. Pierre Hamlin Augustin Auger John Martin James Drever François Cire (Columbia) John McIver (Columbia) Murdoch Matherson (Columbia) 22 pcs and 12 pcs for Athabasca, 8 pcs for McKenzie River, 8¼ pcs for Columbia and 15 pcs for passengers	Boat 11 – Fall Boat Louis Rouselle – Steersman Gilbert Anderson Murdoch Morison Alexander Grahame Alexander McDonald (B) Kenneth McLeod Malcolm McMillan Donald McRitchie Angus Morrison Donald Stewart William Johnston (Eng River) Murdoch Nicolson (Oxford Ho) Alexander ____ (Oxford Ho) Antoine Auger – Bowsman Murdoch McLeod William Borwick John Grahame Allen McIver Norman McLeod Duncan McPhail James Marwick John Murray (B) Angus Campbell Murdoch Munro (Oxford Ho) Angus Smith (Oxford Ho) Various pcs private property and some for Cumberland Ho	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 15 and 17, 1854 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Olivier Vivier – Guide Michel Proulx – Bowsman Edouard Genereux John McPhail Louis St. Arnaude Kenneth McDonald Alexis St. Sauveur Michel E-Sa-Korch 63 pcs and 5 pcs for passenger P.C. Pambrun	Boat 2 Baptiste Peltier – Steersman Charles Hamlin – Bowsman Ma-me-no-wa-toom John Rowland Jacques Cardinelle Angus Campbell Charles Hoole Ma-e-wa-ste-quon 59 pcs and 9 pcs for R.C. Mission at Lac La Biche	Boat 3 Harry Ekenecappo – Steersman My-yous-kus-cal-pow – Bowsman James Ward George Ward Le Maigre Ka-me-ke-oswan-ate Joseph Hamlin Murdo Morrison Alexis Cardinall 68 Pieces
Boat 4 Ah-cangelet – Steersman Joseph Bouchez – Bowsman Ka-kake Me-coo-sit Kay-you John Murray Duncan McPhail Antoine Charlo Alexis Cardinale 64 pcs and 3¼ pcs for R.C. Mission at Lac Ste. Anne	Boat 5 Thomas Cameron – Steersman Pierish Hamlin – Bowsman John McLeod Norman Morrison Alexaner Harrold Che-pevois-kan Nag-e-how Charles Quintall 68 Pieces	Boat 6 Alexis Nault – Steersman Jack Spass – Bowsman John Foley John Norris John McLean George Gullion Norman McDonald Antoine Brazeau Francois Courchene Alexander McDonald 56 pcs and 2 pcs voyage allowance for Moberly and Servant and 10 pcs for baggage of C.F. Sinclair
Boat 7 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Joseph Valiere – Bowsman Jean M. Desjarlais Nee-pee-tay-cah-pow Ignace Iroquois Augustin Lajeunesse Edward Anderson	Boat 8 Joe – Guide (Columbia) Gilbert St. Luc – Bowsman Joseph Beauchamp Carpet Ladouceur Malcolm McMillan Murdoch McLeod Frederique Laderoute	Boat 9 Paulette Paul – Guide Louis Rousselle – Bowsman James Richards George Ma-koo-kes E-sol-Koech Malcolm McIvor Norman McLeod

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

James Marwick Kah-pea-ccc-ccc-setu 63½ pcs and 3 pcs allowance for passage of Mr. Spencer	Isaac Eastien James Drever 61 pcs and 2 pcs for Columbia and Mr. H. Shuttleworth Oregon Dept with 5 pcs	Massan Cardinelle Louison Paul 66 pcs and 2¼ pcs for Wesleyan Mission
Boat 10 Bte. L'Hyronnelle – Steersman Dominique Groulx – Bowsman St. Pierre Hamlin St. Pierre Decoigne Me-Sons-Kor-ce-wap Ne-Can-Ea-Pea-how John Baikie Louis Loyer I-am-e-ha-gan 66 pcs and 2 pcs for Ben Sinclair order for Wesleyans	Boat 11 Antoine Auger Sr. – Steersman Narcisse Miner – Bowsman Felix Munro John Grahame Peter McIver Kenneth McLeod Jose Indian Kah-Kee-too-but Alexander McDonald 68 Pieces	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 2 amd 4, 1855 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Olivier Vivier – Guide Antoine Guoin Alexis Cardinal John Rowland William Rowland Murdo Morrison Tripper Tripper Tripper 68 Pieces	Boat 2 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Joseph Gladeau (tripman) John Graham Augustin Lageunesse John Gladeau (tripman) Paullet Gladeau (tripman) Joseph Colin (tripman) Antoine Chastellain (tripman) 69 Pieces	Boat 3 William Calder Antoine Godin David Sinclair Joseph Pruno (freighter) Alexis Pruno (freighter) Bte. Calehouis (freighter) Cameron C___ (freighter) Otas-to-paw-___ (freighter) 49 pcs and 15½ pcs for Lac La Biche R.C. Mission – Mr. John Sinclair passenger
Boat 4 Harry Ekancappo Edouard Generoux Norman McLeod Tripman Tripman Tripman Tripman Tripman 68 Pieces	Boat 5 Charles Dumais John McPhail Gilbert Anderson Malcolm McMillan Alexander McDonald Pierre La Bland (freighter) Joseph Racette (freighter) J. Cardinal (freighter) 69 Pieces	Boat 6 James Short – Guide Thomas Cameron Norman Morrison James Swain John Murray Kenneth McLeod John Marwick James Short Jr. Peter McIver 68½ Pieces
Boat 7 Antoine Gallarneau Louis Rouselle – Bowsman Gilbert St. Luc Augustin Racette Isaac Eastien François Dusond Jacko Dummond Malcolm Ross 69 Pieces	Boat 8 Ducharme Edward Corrigan George Robertson Joseph Vallier François Lamire Charles Quintal Joseph Cardinal Antoine St. Amour 69 Pieces	Boat 9 Antoine Plante Antoine Savarad – Bowsman Antoine Brazeau Joseph Beauchaine Joseph Beauchamp Alex Savard Freighter 69 Pieces
Boat 10 Baptiste Peltier John McLean Frederique Laderoute Duncan McPhail John McLeod Murdoch McLeod Angus Campbell Jean Bte. Bouche (Freighter) 54 pcs and 9½ pcs for St. Anns Mission and 4 pcs for passenger Louis Chastellain	Boat 11 – Light Boat Michel Calehouis Michel Proulx George Gullion Abraham Salois Kenneth McDonald James Richards John Pelly Louis Lafrance 53 pcs and 4¾ pcs for H. Steinhauer Mission and Wm Sutherland and others	

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 1, 2, and 4, 1856 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Olivier Vivier – Guide Massan Cardinale George Robertson Louison Paul Edward Corrigan Charles Hoole Me-ous-koo-se-wap Me-wais-te-quon 64½ pcs and 5½ pcs for Mr. Woolsey's Mission	Boat 2 Charles Ducharme dit Charlebois – Steersman Pierish Boucher Antoine Leblanc Tongue Bte. Shaw Charles Quintalle L'Aventure Cardinale Naaheew 65 pcs and 5 pcs for Lac St. Ann Mission	Boat 3 Charles Bourgard – Steersman Antoine Brazeau John Graham Peter Ma-ko-kis Murdo Morrison Augustin Auger Toussaint LeBonne Pierre Labonne 56 pcs and 12 pcs for Lac La Biche Mission
Boat 4 – Fort à la Corne Boat Isaac Daigneau – Steersman Pierish Hamelin Norman McLeod Murdoch McLeod Joseph McGillivray Qua-qua-hoo Pierre Mingan Pe-tris-qua-ka 69 ½ pcs	Boat 5 James Short – Guide Bte. Carleton James Short Jr. Pierre Guard Angus Campbell Peter McIver Che-pis Ah-tai-you-ka-nap 65 pcs and 2 pcs Fort à la Corne and 3 pcs Edmonton Wesleyan Mission	Boat 6 Antoine Savard – Steersman Gilbert St. Luc Noo-noo-nin Alexis Auger Carpet Ladouceur Ne-ka-no-pa-hac John Murray Mus-coo-a-wa-sis 67 pcs and 3 pcs Wesleyan Missions
Boat 7 Bte. L'Hyrondele – Steersman Louis Rouselle Ignace Karagantie Cook-so-bein Lajeunesse Baptiste Lafleur John Foley 56 pcs and 11 pcs for Missions	Boat 8 Thomas Hodgson – Steersman Joseph Cameron James Swain Ka-qua-che-tait Charles Johnston Malcolm Ross Norman Morrison Kenneth McLeod 67 pcs and 3 pcs for Missions	Boat 9 James McNab – Guide and Steersman Henry Howse William Bear Cornelius Pruden Ka-ka-koo-wa-tum Antoine Leblanc Thomas Cameron Baptiste Larocque 60 pcs and 5 pcs Missions
Boat 10 Antoine Plante – Steersman Michel Gauche Charles Gauche Na-pa-sis Joseph Beauchamp St. Luc Cardinale Bazil Cardinale Joseph Noose-ke-ga 64 pcs and 5 pcs Missions	Boat 11 Charles Dumais – Steersman Louis Campbell Malcolm McMillan Louis St. Arnaude Nay-ne-ka-ta-wap Jacques Cardinale Mas-ta-quon-uch John McPhail 51 pcs and 7 pcs Missions and various bales	Boat 12 Baptiste Peltier – Steersman Thomas Cameron Alexander McDonald Joseph Beauchaine Pierre Cardinale Che-peves-kun Gilbert Anderson Athabasca 62 pcs and 8 pcs allowances for passengers Moberly and Watson
Boat 13 Michel Calihoo – Steersman George Gullion John Rowland James Richards Michel Cardinal Alexis Cardinal Kenneth McDonald John McLean 55½ pcs and 10 pcs allowance for C.F. Sinclair	Boat 14 William Calder – Steersman Antoine Gouin Sr. David Sinclair Finlay Munroe James McLeod Joseph Allard Duncan McPhail Louis Lafrance Antoine Gouin Jr. (sick) 70 Pieces	
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 14 and 15, 1857 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Olivier Vivier – Guide Masan Cardinal – Bowsman Iroquois Cardinal Michel Vivier Paulette Gladue Pierre Mithegan Pierre Delorme	Boat 2 Francis Deschamp – Steersman James Richards – Bowsman Henry Johnstone James McLeod John Paul Ra-kee-coo-wattum Cornelius Pruden	Boat 3 Antoine Gouin – Steersman No other men listed 75 Pieces

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Chepes Young Vivier Johan Gehrcke 76¼ Pieces	Berent Anderson No-can-a-poyas 75 Pieces	
Boat 4 William Calder – Steersman Thomas Cameron – Bowsman Alexander McDonald Louis Lafrance Norman McLeod Johan Christiansen Johan Olsen David Sinclair 75 Pieces	Boat 5 Michel Calihoe/Calehouis – Steersman Bazil Larance – Bowsman Kenneth McDonald Joseph Collin John McLean Norman Morrison Louis Larance 75 Pieces	Boat 6 Charles Ducharme dit Charlebois – Steersman Bte. Larocque – Bowsman Wa-ches-Coopus Wapassmun Malcolm McMillan Duncan McPhail Jacob Red deer Ka-pee-mas-tee-mat 75 Pieces
Boat 7 James Short – Steersman No other men listed 45 pcs and 25½ pcs for John Palliser	Boat 8 George Gullion – Steersman No other men listed 55 pcs and 14 pcs for Missions	Boat 9 Henry Ekenecappo – Steersman No other men listed 61 pcs and 14 pcs for Missions
Boat 10 Antoine Savard – Steersman No other men listed 56 pcs and 10 pcs for Missions	Boat 11 Pierre LeBrun – Steersman No other men listed 70 pcs and 6¼ pcs for Missions	Boat 12 Alfred Laferte – Steersman No other men listed 78 Pieces
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 11, 12, and August 18, 1858 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 Olivier Vivier – Guide Francois Lennie – Bowsman and 8 men not listed 70 pcs and 5 pcs for passage of Mr. Chastellain	Boat 2 George Gullion – Steersman Antoine Brazeau – Bowsman and 6 men not listed 74¾ Pieces	Boat 3 Louis Rousell – Steersman Andrew Sinclair – Bowsman and 6 men not listed 75¼ Pieces
Boat 4 Charles Dumais – Steersman James Ward – Bowsman and 6 men not listed 75½ Pieces	Boat 5 Francois Deschamp – Steersman Paulette Blondin – Bowsman and 6 men not listed 75½ Pieces	Boat 6 Antoine Savard – Steersman Charles Hamlin – Bowsman and 6 men not listed 72 pcs and 3¼ pcs for Missions
Boat 7 James Short – Guide J.B. Gladioux – Bowsman and 7 men not listed 61¼ pcs and 9½ pcs for Missions	Boat 8 Bazil Larance – Steersman Augustin Auger – Bowsman and 7 men not listed 76 pcs and ¾ pcs for Missions	Boat 9 Isaac Daigneau – Steersman Alexis Landrie – Bowsman and 7 men not listed 67¼ pcs and 2 pcs for Missions and 3 pcs for J.E. Brazeau and 2½ pcs for Colin Fraser and 1 pc for Richard Hardisty and 1 pc for H. Moberly and E. McGillivray
Boat 10 Pierre Lebrun – Steersman Pierre Hamlin – Bowsman and 6 men not listed 59½ pcs and 16¾ pcs for missions and various others	Boat 11 Pierrish Boucher – Steersman Baptiste Courtepatte – Bowsman and 7 men not listed 57½ pcs and 18½ pcs for Missions	Boat 12 Michel Calehuis – Steersman Thomas Cameron – Bowsman Bernard Tekeritontie Francois X. Sowatha Baptiste Calehoes Louis Larance Francois X. Jolie dit Lepine Bourgard (boy) Carl Evenson (servant) 47½ pcs and 17 pcs John Palliser and 10 pcs for passenger C.F. Christie and 1¼ pcs other
Boat 13 William Calder – Steersman Joseph Cameron – Bowsman David Sinclair Joseph Beauchaine Neils Mortensen	Boat 14 – Fall Boat Alfred Laferte – Steersman Edward Johaneson Ole Olsen Ho_____ Hans Rassmussen Donald Morrison (Oxford Ho) James Richards – Bowsman Erik Anderson Lars Jensen Thomas Johnston Colin Grant (Oxford Ho.)	

APPENDIX 6-4 SASKATCHEWAN BRIGADE MEMBERS LEAVING YORK FACTORY 1822 TO 1859

Norman McLeod Daniel Olsen Martin Anderson 69 pcs and 5 pcs for passage Mr. Crowe	Alexander McLeod (Oxford Ho) Towers (YF Indian) 5 pcs for passenger Ewan McDonald	Petter Tellesen (Oxford Ho) Gelvors (YF Indian)
Saskatchewan Brigade – Leaving York Factory July 12 and 13, 1859 – B.239/w/3		
Boat 1 James Short – Guide and 7 men not listed 75 Pieces	Boat 2 Bte. L'Hyronnelle – Steersman and 7 men not listed 75 Pieces	Boat 3 Charles Bourgard – Steersman and 7 men not listed 75 Pieces
Boat 4 Bernard Tekeritontie – Steersman and 7 men not listed 75 Pieces	Boat 5 Henry Ekenecabbo – Steersman and 7 men not listed 75 Pieces	Boat 6 Pierre LaBrain – Steersman and 7 men not listed 73 Pieces
Boat 7 Antoine Savard – Steersman and 7 men not listed 75 Pieces	Boat 8 Alfred Laferte – Steersman and 7 men not listed 75 Pieces	Boat 9 Michel Calchouis – Guide and 8 men not listed 62 pcs and 13 pcs for Missions
Boat 10 George Gullion – Steersman and 6 men not listed 61 pcs and 9½ pcs for Missions and 5 pcs for passenger L. Chastellain	Boat 11 Louis Rouselle – Steersman and 7 men not listed 69 pcs and 11 pcs for Missions	Boat 12 Joseph Favell – Steersman and 7 men not listed 67 pcs and 8¼ pcs for Missions
Boat 13 – Light Boat William Calder – Steersman and ____ men not listed 53 pcs and 4½ pcs for Missions and property of officers and 10 pcs for C.T. Christie		

Appendix 6-5 Biographies of Saskatchewan Brigade Guides 1825 to 1870

As noted earlier, the Guide was a brigade's senior and most knowledgeable Steersman. Serving as the brigade's commander, he knew the route and dangers of the river, and he transacted the business of the brigade at the various posts. Although there were guides on the Saskatchewan Brigade immediately after George Simpson had re-organized the transportation network in 1825, the first guides were not from the Saskatchewan District; rather, the first guides listed were Laurant Cadotte (1825) and Andre Chalifoux (1830–1831), both of whom wintered in the Columbia District but accompanied the Saskatchewan Brigade from York Factory to Edmonton House.¹

The first two guides of the Saskatchewan Brigade who wintered in the Saskatchewan District were Thomas Firth and James McKay.

Thomas Firth (b.c. 1799–1875) – Guide 1829 to 1834

Thomas Firth was the first recorded guide of the Saskatchewan Brigade, wintering in that district. He was born in Stromness, Orkney Islands, in about 1798–1799 (he claimed to be twenty-three years old in 1821). He joined the HBC in 1815, working as a Labourer at Red River (1815–1816), Swan River (1816–1817), and Fort Hibernia (1817–1818). In 1818, while at Beaver Creek, he was promoted to Bowsman and was sent to Edmonton House in 1820. There, he became a Steersman in 1823–1824.² He was listed as 5 foot 9 ½ inches tall, and he was an active servant, helping to build

¹ By 1825, Simpson realized that there were large cost savings to be had by transporting furs and outfits from York Factory to the western districts by York Boats instead of canoes. York Boats could transport from York Factory to Edmonton House the outfits of the Saskatchewan District and part of the cargo of the Columbia District, as well as new recruits. From there, the Columbia men and brigade would travel by land from Edmonton to Fort Assiniboine, and from there by York Boat again up the Athabasca River to Jasper House, where they would take to snowshoes or horses to cross the Athabasca Pass and reach Boat Encampment, at the northernmost bend of the Columbia River. As a result, from 1825 into the 1850s, the Saskatchewan Brigade would depart York Factory in company with both boats and men bound for the Columbia. The number of these Columbia men was much higher than has usually been reckoned (thirty to forty-five per cent of the entire Saskatchewan Brigade – see Chapter 6).

² HBCA Biographical Sheets; Edmonton House accounts. B.60/d/9-27.

boats, sending and returning horses to Fort Assiniboine, and sawing timber for boats when he was not working on the boats to York Factory.³

In 1829, he was listed as a Steersman but was paid a gratuity of £3 that year for serving as a Guide on the brigade to York Factory.⁴ From that time until he went free in 1834, he served as a Guide for the Saskatchewan York Brigade.

In 1834, Firth settled in the Red River Colony at St. Andrew's. There, he married his long-term partner, Eliza Boucher, on December 13, 1838.⁵ Together, they had at least eight children.⁶ He died on May 8, 1875.⁷

James McKay (1797–1887) – Guide 1831 to 1833

James McKay was the second Guide of the Saskatchewan District who wintered there. He was born around 1797 in Farr, Scotland, and entered the HBC in 1815. By 1818 he was posted to Edmonton House as a Middleman. By 1821, he had become a Steersman, and in 1822–1823, he served as a Steersman on the Bow River Expedition. By 1831, he was listed as a Steersman and Guide in the Saskatchewan District, and he served as Guide again in 1832–1833, but in 1833, was transferred to Royal Navy Commander George Back's Great Fish River Expedition. From 1834 to 1836, he served as Steersman and Guide on general charges, and from 1836 to 1840, he worked as Guide on the HBC's Arctic Discovery Expedition under the leadership of Chief Factor Peter Warren Dease.⁸

³ Edmonton House journals 1821-1834. HBCA B.60/a/20-28.

⁴ HBCA B.239/L/3-6.

⁵ St. Paul's Marriage Register. Archives of Manitoba

⁶ St. Andrew's Baptismal Register. Archives of Manitoba

⁷ Scrip Application of Thomas Firth, Original White Settler. LAC RG 15, D-II-8-a, vol. 1320.

⁸ HBCA Biographical Sheets.

In 1840, he retired to the Red River Colony and the 1843 Census of the settlement lists him as married with four sons under sixteen years of age, two sons over sixteen years of age, and two daughters over the age of fifteen.⁹ He had married Marguerite Gladu while he was at Edmonton House and the couple had at least seven sons and two daughters, several of whom were born at Edmonton. These included James McKay (1828–1879), a prominent fur trader and guide for the Palliser Expedition, as well as a politician in Manitoba. He married Marguerite Rowand, the daughter of John Rowand the chief factor of the Saskatchewan District. The other son born at Edmonton House was Angus McKay (1836–1897) who later became an Indian Agent.

Late in life, James McKay resided in Prince Albert. He died at the home of Rev. John McKay, another son, on the Mistawasis Reserve, eighty kilometres west of the city, and was buried there.¹⁰

Louis Laplante (b.c. 1794–1795) – Guide 1834 to 1847

Louis Laplante was the longest serving Guide on the Saskatchewan Brigade, acting in that capacity from 1834 to 1847. He was born around 1794 and listed his parish/country of origin alternatively as Canada,¹¹ Indian Territory,¹² or St. Annes.¹³

He entered the fur trade with the NWC around 1811, and began to work for the HBC in 1821 at Dog Rump House in the Saskatchewan District. By 1823, he was listed as a Steersman out of Edmonton House,¹⁴ and in 1832 he served at Peigan Post south of Edmonton. In 1834, he became

⁹ HBCA E.5/11

¹⁰ *Saskatchewan Times*, (Dec. 16, 1887) 1, 3.

¹¹ HBCA B.239/g/4 and B.60/d/12.

¹² HBCA B.60/d/49 and 54.

¹³ HBCA B.239/g/16 and 26.

¹⁴ HBCA B.60/d/15.

the Guide for the Saskatchewan Brigade to York Factory. Paid £27 per annum, he served in that role until 1847 when he went free to the Red River Settlement.¹⁵

His retirement was a real loss for the Saskatchewan Brigade as he was one of the best Steersmen and Guides, and, in April 1747 Rowand complained to Simpson that he was now finding it hard to get good men to man his boat brigade as twenty men, if not more, were leaving the service.¹⁶ Edmonton House journals noted that Laplante was an excellent servant, and as early as 1826 he had been granted permission to go to Red River to bring out a wife, but owing to a dispute with the Roman Catholic priests there, he was not allowed to marry; consequently, he returned along to Edmonton.¹⁷ During the winters when he was not guiding the brigade, he was employed in various capacities, including carpenter, bushman, and cart builder, and frequently he was sent to Rocky Mountain House and Fort Assiniboine to transport horses back and forth.¹⁸

On arriving Red River in 1847, he and his family settled on HBC lots 288 and 289 in St. Boniface, buying them from Alexis Henry.¹⁹ The 1849 census of the settlement lists Laplante living with his wife and four children, cultivating six acres with a house and stable, four horses, sixteen mares, two cows, one ox, one calf and two pigs. He also owned three carts and a canoe.²⁰

Thereafter, we lose sight of Laplante and his family, but they are clearly no longer in the settlement by 1858 when his lots are transferred to John Desmarais.²¹ A hint at the identity of his wife occurs in the scrip application of Olivier Laplante from Pembina, North Dakota. Olivier lists his

¹⁵ HBCA B.239/g/1-26; B.239/L/1-17.

¹⁶ John Rowand to George Simpson, April 7, 1847. HBCA D.5/19, fo. 487.

¹⁷ Edmonton House Journal, entry for October 15, 1827. HBCA B.60/a/25, fo. 24d.

¹⁸ Edmonton House journals 1826 to 1834.

¹⁹ HBCA Register Book 'B'. E.6/2. These lots would become lots 4 and 5 St. Boniface under the Dominion Land Survey after 1870.

²⁰ Archives of Manitoba, MG 2, B3.

²¹ Archives of Manitoba, Parish Lot files for Lot 4 St. Boniface.

parents as Louis Laplante (Half Breed) and Josephthe Lapierre (Half Breed), and he notes that he was born in the North West in 1829.²²

Peter Calder (b.c. 1801 – 1851) – Guide 1847 to 1851

Peter Calder was a Steersman on the Saskatchewan Brigade from 1841 to 1851, and Guide of the Brigade from 1847 to 1851. He was born around 1801 to Captain James Calder (1775–1824) and Nancy Lindsay (b.c. 1786–1826). His father was an HBC employee from Burra, Ronaldshay, Orkney Islands, and his mother was a Metis from the Hudson Bay region. Peter entered the service of the HBC as an apprentice in the Columbia District in 1826.²³

In 1836 he was promoted to Middleman and posted to the Saskatchewan District. He became a Bowsman at £20/annum in 1838. In 1841, he became a Steersman on the Saskatchewan Brigade (£22/annum), serving in that capacity until 1847, when he became a Guide of the Brigade (£27/annum). He died in the Saskatchewan District on January 23, 1851.²⁴ His employment details can be gleaned from HBCA B.239/g/16-30.

Calder married a woman in the Pacific Northwest at the beginning of his career (Marguerite, the daughter of Chief Cassino, with whom he had one child), but he married again after he was transferred to the Saskatchewan District. There, his bride was Louise Gadbois dit Bouquet, with whom he had a son, William, who was baptised at Edmonton House in 1845. That same year, he married his third wife, Isabelle Lussier. After he died in 1851, she married William “Piscan” Munro on June 7, 1852. She died in 1881.²⁵

²² Scrip Application of Olivier Laplante. LAC RG 15, D-II-8-a, vol. 1322.

²³ HBCA Biographical Sheet.

²⁴ HBCA B.239/L/21, fo. 10.

²⁵ HBCA Biographical Sheet.

Olivier “Carlouche” Vivier (b.c. 1803–1866) – Guide 1855 to 1866

Olivier Vivier was a Steersman in the Saskatchewan District from 1844 to 1855 and a Guide of the Saskatchewan Brigade from 1855 to 1866. He was born about 1803 in the Northwest to Alexis Vivier (1768–1862) and Marie Anne Assiniboine (1784–1874). He is first mentioned in HBC accounts in 1833 as a Red River “Half Breed” accompanying John Edward Harriott on the Bow River Expedition.²⁶ He then continued on in the Saskatchewan District as a Middleman²⁷ and remained in that district until he died December 28, 1866.

In 1844, he became a Steersman (£25/annum), and in 1855 he was promoted to Guide of the Saskatchewan Brigade (£30/annum).²⁸ During the previous year, he had been given a gratuity of £5 for acting as a Guide.²⁹ The slow demise of the Saskatchewan Brigade and its problems of getting good boatmen were evident in Vivier’s career. In the 1858 trip to York Factory and back, when desertions and poor behaviour had delayed the return of the brigade to Edmonton House, Vivier received his share of blame for drunkenness on the trip, and he was accused of stealing rum. The officer in charge of the brigade suggested that Vivier’s services be dispensed with after the expiration of his contract.³⁰ In 1861, it was noted that Vivier and Felix Munro were retiring to Big Lake,³¹ but subsequent employment records show that retirement did not happen; rather, the difficulty in finding reliable boatmen and steersmen resulted in Vivier’s continued employment as Guide and hunter at Fort Pitt until his death.³²

²⁶ HBCA B.21/d/2.

²⁷ HBCA B.239/g/13.

²⁸ HBCA B.60/d/115.

²⁹ HBCA B.239/L/25.

³⁰ Edmonton Journal entry for October 17, 1858. HBCA B.60/a/30, fos. 4d-5.

³¹ Edmonton Journal entry for 1861. HBCA B.60/a/31, fo. 83.

³² HBCA B.60/d/115-169; B.239/g/32-42.

Olivier Vivier married Louise Valle (1817–1880) on September 27, 1842 at Edmonton House, and they had at least ten children.

Paulette Paul (b.c. 1804–1855) – Guide 1852 to 1855

Paulette Paul was a long-time Steersman on the Saskatchewan Brigade (1834–1846), and he became a Guide on the brigade in 1852. He was born around 1803–1804³³ somewhere along the Beaver River to a Freeman and an Indigenous woman. Though listed as “Native” from 1830–1834, he listed his home parish as St. Ours.

He is first listed in HBC records in 1823 as a Middleman in the English River District.³⁴ By 1831, he was listed as a Bowsman in the Saskatchewan District, earning £20 per annum.³⁵ He was promoted to Steersman in 1834, earning £22 per annum. He remained in the Saskatchewan District until 1843, when he went free to the Red River Settlement.³⁶ He was hired back as a Steersman for the Saskatchewan Brigade in 1844 and continued in that role until 1847, when he went free again.³⁷ From 1847 to 1852, he would work out of Red River as a Steersman for the Red River Brigade and the Portage La Loche Brigade.³⁸

In 1852, he again moved to Edmonton House and became a Guide for the Saskatchewan Brigade at £30 per annum.³⁹ In early 1855, while still employed in that role, he died from wounds inflicted by a rival. George Simpson noted on June 28, 1855 that “In the event of the death of Paulette

³³ His birthday cannot be exact. In 1824, he was listed as twenty years old (B.239/g/4). In 1830, he was listed as twenty-one years old (B.239/g/10).

³⁴ HBCA B.239/g/3-4.

³⁵ HBCA B.239/g/11.

³⁶ HBCA B.239/g/22.

³⁷ HBCA B.239/g/27.

³⁸ HBCA B.239/w/1-3.

³⁹ HBCA B.239/g/32-35.

Paul from the wounds inflicted by the man Patenaude it would be proper to bring the latter to Norway House next summer for trial.”⁴⁰ While the identity of this “Patenaude” is not definitively known (he was never brought for trial), J.J. Gunn noted years later that Paul had been killed by a rival who hoped to succeed him as a Guide.⁴¹ There was a Patnaude at Edmonton at the time known as Louis dit Assiniboine Patnaude (b.c. 1824), who was a Steersman for the Saskatchewan Brigade until 1854, when he was demoted to Middleman and who, in 1855, quit the brigade. He died shortly before 1863.

Paulette Paul was known to have had several wives among whom might have numbered Marguerit Laval, a Josephte, a Betsy, and Madeleine Vivier.⁴²

James (Jamy/Jimmy) Short (b.c. 1810– 1870) – Guide 1855 to 1862

James Short was born in the Upper Red River District around the Brandon/Qu’Appelle posts. His father, James Short, Sr. (1767–1840), came from Orphir, Orkney Islands, and was hired by the HBC in 1791. James Sr. worked at Albany Factory (1792–1810) and Upper Red River (1810–1823) until he retired to the Red River Settlement. James Junior’s mother was Betsy Sauteaux, whom his father married in 1821.

James Short, Jr. was an interesting example of the religious and ethnic instability of the Northwest. After his parents moved to the Red River Settlement in 1823, settling at White Horse Plains (later, the Parish of St. Francois Xavier), the family was categorized as Orkney and Protestant.⁴³ James Jr. was baptized as a Protestant by Church of England missionary Rev. John West in 1821, but

⁴⁰ George Simpson to William Sinclair, June 28, 1855. HBCA D.4/50, fo. 67. William Sinclair (b.c. 1794-1798) was the chief factor of the Saskatchewan District residing at Edmonton House. With the death of John Rowand in 1854, Sinclair had been assigned as his replacement.

⁴¹ J.J. Gunn, “Tripmen of Assiniboia,” in *Echoes of the Red*, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), 54 and 57.

⁴² See Scrip Applications of Michel, Paul, Johnny, and Madeleine Paul, and Catherine Gladu. For more on Paulette Paul, see John E. Foster, “Paulette Paul: Métis or ‘House Indian’ Folk Hero?” *Manitoba History*, no. 9 (Spring 1985), 2-7.

⁴³ Red River Census of 1827. HBCA E.5/1.

when he determined to marry Charlotte Gladu (a Roman Catholic), he was rebaptized as a Roman Catholic by Father Belcourt on November 25, 1830.⁴⁴ Interestingly, these actions also changed the religion and ethnicity of his father, who in the 1821 census was listed as a Roman Catholic from Ireland.⁴⁵

After his marriage, James Short, Jr. never took up farming but worked as a tripman on the York Boats of the HBC, and though he is listed in several censuses of the Red River Settlement, he never had any land under cultivation. In the census of 1843, he is listed as living with his brother-in-law H. Ross.⁴⁶ The Bills of Lading for York Boats leaving York Factory list him as a Middleman and then Steersman for private freighters transporting supplies between York Factory and the Red River Settlement. He is listed as working for James Sinclair and Donald Bannerman from 1838 to 1852.⁴⁷ J.J. Gunn noted that “Then too, there was Jimmy Short, otherwise known as Checkam, who could also put up an ugly fight – when he could not get out of it. He too stood up for the honour of the Taureau [Red River Brigade] against Paulet [Saskatchewan Brigade] only to be knocked out.”⁴⁸

After Short’s first wife, Charlotte Gladu, died in 1847, he married Angelique Saulteaux at St. Francois Xavier on February 11, 1849.⁴⁹ Then, in 1855, after nearly twenty years of seasonal work on the Red River Brigade, Short signed a contract to be a York Boat Guide on the Saskatchewan Brigade for £30 per annum.⁵⁰ This more permanent employment was enough for him to relocate his family to Edmonton House.⁵¹

⁴⁴ St. Boniface Parish Register. Archives of Manitoba.

⁴⁵ Red River Census of 1831. HBCA E.5/5.

⁴⁶ Archives of Manitoba, MG 2, B3.

⁴⁷ HBCA B.239/w/1-3.

⁴⁸ J.J. Gunn, “Tripmen of the Assiniboia,” in J.J. Gunn, *Echoes of the Red* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), 57.

⁴⁹ St. Francois Xavier Parish Register. Archives of Manitoba.

⁵⁰ HBCA B.239/g/35. This hiring was probably brought on by the Saskatchewan District’s shortage of qualified steersmen.

⁵¹ The Edmonton House Journal notes in 1855 that Short had set up a house for his wife and family, and that both he and his son worked for Edmonton House. HBCA B.60/a/29a, entry for November 5, 1855. On November 1, 1856, his wife gave birth to a girl at Edmonton House. HBCA B.60/a/29b, fo. 12.

There were probably also some deficiencies in Short's character that accounted for his change of locale. In 1858, after the York Boats were late in arriving at Edmonton House, W.J. Christie, in charge of the post, noted that Short was a poor Guide and had no command of his men, who did as they liked with him.⁵² Not surprisingly, his wage was reduced to £25 per annum,⁵³ and in 1861, he was demoted to Bowsman, earning only £20 per annum.⁵⁴ In 1862, he was listed as a Freeman going to the Red River Settlement. He died in the Red River Settlement in 1870.

Michel Kwarakwante dit Calehouis/Callihoo (1823–1911) – Guide 1859 to 1872

Michel Kwarakwante dit Calehouis/Callihoo was born on October 1, 1823 to Louis Kwarakwante (Calehouis) and Marie Patenaude. His father worked for the NWC at Fort Augustus, and, later for the HBC at Edmonton House and Fort Assiniboine. Michel entered the service of the HBC in 1847 as a Middleman at Edmonton House. In 1850, he was promoted to Steersman, and in 1859, he became a Guide of the Saskatchewan Brigade. From at least 1852, he supplemented his Steersman/Guide wage of £25-30 per annum by fishing for the HBC at Lac Ste Anne in Fall and Winter, for which he was paid an extra £3 each year. In 1861, he went free for a year, but in 1862 he returned to the HBC at Edmonton House as a Guide and Fisherman. He would continue in these roles until he retired in 1872.⁵⁵

⁵² Edmonton House Journal entry for October 12, 1858. HBCA B.60/a/30, fo. 3d.

⁵³ HBCA B.239/g/38.

⁵⁴ HBCA B.239/g/41.

⁵⁵ HBCA B.239/g/27-49; B.239/23-40.

Michel's first marriage was to Marie Savard (1828–1869), the daughter of Antoine Savard and Marie Anne Vallee. After she died in 1869, he married Philomene Collins (1848–1932); he had numerous children with both wives.⁵⁶

On September 23, 1878, Michel signed Treaty 6 on behalf of a band of Cree, Iroquois, and Metis relatives, and in 1880, a reserve was surveyed for them, and known as the Michel Reserve (I.R. 132). Comprising 40 square miles on the Sturgeon River about eight miles upriver from the Roman Catholic Mission at St. Albert. In 1958, the entire band was “enfranchised” and the reserve was dissolved.

After he died on April 8, 1911 at his home, he was buried in the St. Albert Cemetery.

Baptiste Courtepatte (1829–1918) – Guide 1868 to 1870

Baptiste Courtepatte was born at Jasper House in 1829 to Jean-Baptiste Courtepatte and Jane Briere. He entered the employ of the HBC as a Bowsman in the Saskatchewan District in 1858. The next year, he became a Steersman on the brigade for £25 per annum. By 1860, he was supplementing this by serving as a fisherman for the company in Fall and Winter at Lac Ste. Anne. For this service, he was paid a gratuity of £3 per annum. By 1860, his Steersman wage rose to £30 per annum, and in 1868, he became a Guide for the brigade.⁵⁷ He went free in 1870 and thereafter farmed at St. Albert.⁵⁸

He married Josephte Bellecourt at Lac Ste Anne on December 28, 1850. She was the daughter of Joseph Bellecourt and Catherine L'Hyronde.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Gail Morin, *Company Men Volume 24: Louis Calehue* (2029); Trudy Nicks, “Callihoo (Calehue, Kalliou), Louis,” *DCB Online*; Elizabeth Macpherson, *The Sun Traveller: The Story of the Callihoo in Alberta* (St. Albert: St. Albert Musée Heritage Museum, 1998).

⁵⁷ HBCA B.239/g/38-46; B.239/L/30-40.

⁵⁸ Census of St. Albert, May 1874., Hardisty Papers, Glenbow Archives. M-477-562.

⁵⁹ Scrip Applications of Baptiste Courtepatte and Josephte Courtepatte. LAC RG 15, D-11-8b, vol. 1326.

Joseph Favell/Favel (1828–1892) – Guide 1870 to 1876

Joseph Favell was born on January 1, 1828 in the Red River Settlement to Thomas Favel (1781–1848) and Sally Trout (1780–1874), both natives of the country. His father worked for the HBC until 1822, when he went free to settle at Red River.⁶⁰

It would seem that Joseph was a boatman from an early age, working the York Boats out of Red River. When he was hired by the HBC for the Saskatchewan Brigade in 1859, it was as a Steersman.⁶¹ Prior to this employment, he married Margaret Dubois on March 1, 1849. Shortly after she died on August 4, 1856,⁶² he married Margaret Moar on January 15, 1857.⁶³ In 1859, he moved with his family to Edmonton House to work on the Saskatchewan Brigade as Steersman from 1859 to 1869 (£25-28 per annum), and as a Guide from 1870 to 1876 (£35-45 per annum). During these years, he wintered at Carlton House and Victoria Post (Saskatchewan River). He briefly went free in the Saskatchewan District in 1874–1875, but returned thereafter.⁶⁴ In 1876, he was appointed as Clerk and was put in charge of the Victoria Post for a year.⁶⁵

When the first steamboat was launched on the Saskatchewan River in 1873–1874, Favel became the Pilot⁶⁶ while wintering at Victoria. In his last year of piloting steamboats on the river, he earned \$4486.67 per annum. His contract there expired in 1883.⁶⁷ In 1884, he accepted the position of Pilot of the HBC's *S.S. Grahame*, a steamboat plying the waters of the Athabasca and Peace rivers,

⁶⁰ HBCA Biographical Sheets.

⁶¹ HBCA B.239/g/39. He was paid £25 per annum.

⁶² St. Andrew's Parish Registers. Archives of Manitoba.

⁶³ St. Paul's Parish Register. Archives of Manitoba.

⁶⁴ For his career in the HBC see HBCA B.239/g/39-39; B.239/L/35-40; B.235/g/1-4.

⁶⁵ HBCA B.60/f/1, fo. 15.

⁶⁶ He was the Pilot of the *Northcote* and *Lily* in the years 1874 to 1883. HBCA B.60/f/1, fos. 15-24. A Steamboat Pilot steered and navigated steamboats, was responsible for navigating hazard on the rivers and lakes. The captain, on the other hand, was the overall commander of the vessel and responsible for its management, not its navigation.

⁶⁷ HBCA B.60/f/1, fo. 24.

and of Lake Athabasca.⁶⁸ He continued in this position while wintering at Edmonton until 1891, when he fell ill. He attempted to return to work but died at Athabasca Landing on June 25, 1892.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Saskatchewan Times*, April 11, 1884, p.3. *The Leader Post* (Regina), August 2, 1887, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Edmonton Bulletin*, June 29, 1892, p.1.