(revised edition)

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Preface:

In April of 2007, Dr. Colin Gillespie, of Taylor McCaffrey LLP, approached Dr. Jennifer S.H. Brown and the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies to perform documentary research and create a report. The objective was to describe the history of the Pimicikamak people up to their entry into Treaty Five in 1875. Subsequently, Margaret Anne Lindsay was engaged to undertake secondary and primary source research, which she did during the months of April through July, accessing primary and secondary research material from a variety of printed and published sources as well as primary documents from Library and Archives Canada, The Archives of Manitoba, The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, and the United Church Archives (Winnipeg). To facilitate primary research at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Sally Nystrom was engaged to read through specific fur trade journals.

Documentary research is by its nature, prone to privilege certain viewpoints of history over others, and is constrained by biases and limited knowledge of the observers whose remarks have been preserved on paper. As well, fur trade documents tend to privilege in their reporting interactions with people who traded at fur trade posts, and events that occurred within a short distance of those posts. It was therefore important to consider the limitations of these observers and to analyze their observations with care, rather than taking them at face value. In transcribing documentary material for this research, some spellings, grammar and vocabulary from older sources do not conform to modern usage.

Transcriptions in this report aim to be as close to the original documents as possible.

Non-standard usages have not been indicated by the use of "sic" but have been left as found. Where a word is not discernable, or is difficult to determine from the original document, it has been included in a square bracket: "[word]". Square brackets have also been used where information not found in the original text is interpolated into the transcription for the sake of clarity.

Wherever possible, original primary source documents were used in the production of this report. It was not, however, possible to gain access to all sources from original manuscripts as some material was too fragile to be handled, and Library and Archives Canada material had to be obtained through interlibrary loan. In these cases, every effort was made to be as accurate as possible and use the best copies of sources. Some original documents could not be copied, and so only their transcriptions are included in the appendices.

Based on this research, Margaret Anne Lindsay drafted the first version of the research report, Dr. Jennifer S.H. Brown reviewed the material for content and offered suggestions for further secondary research. These sources were consulted and included in the following draft of the report. Dr. Brown then reviewed the material again and her editorial remarks were incorporated in the next draft. At this point, Sally Nystrom was engaged to proof-read the report and its appendix transcriptions, which she did with help in proof reading the secondary sources from Margaret Anne Lindsay. The resulting proofread draft was submitted to Dr. Brown who made further editorial

recommendations, and these recommendations were incorporated into another draft. Finally, after further editing and consultation, this report was submitted to Taylor McCaffrey in the care of Dr. Colin Gillespie. The original report, having been prepared for a specific and private purpose, is unpublished. Several Pimicikamak citizens who read it, however, expressed strong interest in making the information widely available in published form. Accordingly, this volume represents the same subject matter in an accessible and readable narrative format. Its objective is to make the history of the Pimicikamak people better known and more widely understood, both in their own homeland and across Canada. It has been an honour and a privilege to be entrusted with this research. We have learned much and are grateful for the opportunity.

Acknowledgements

This report was made possible through the efforts and support of a number of key individuals and institutions. The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at The University of Winnipeg provided access to research material. Sally Nystrom read through all available Norway House and Jack River Post journals from the late 1700s up to the time of treaty in 1875, making careful notes. United Church Archivist Diane Haglund and her staff at the United Church Archives in Winnipeg helped in identifying, locating and bringing in journals and registers that were vital to this research. The staff at the Archives of Manitoba and the Hudson's Bay Company Archives assisted in finding material, and went as far as to search through some collections to help track down documents. Library and Archives Canada staff assisted in identifying certain journals in their collections not listed in the Archivianet finding aids and searched for a map not found in their Finding Aids, and the University of Winnipeg Library Interloan staff made extra efforts in securing interloans of some material. Thanks are also due to the Manitoba Historical Society for allowing the reproduction of maps from their publications, and to Dr. Colin Gillespie for working to identify sources of maps, territory, and relevant material appearing in the maps appendix. Dr. Gillespie's assistants, Shannon Reimer and Danièle Hutlet provided clerical support for the production of the document.

Abbreviations used in this report:

Archives of Manitoba: AM

Hudson's Bay Company Archives: HBCA

Library and Archives Canada: LAC

United Church Archives (at the University of Winnipeg): UCA (Wpg.)

The Pimicikamak people have a rich oral tradition about their history that is preserved in the people, the land, and the water of the Pimicikamak region. In addition, the lives of the Pimicikamak in the area were noted by other people in other ways. For instance, the Pimicikamak people have a long history that can be traced back through documentary sources for hundreds and hundreds of years. This report highlights what can be found in such documentary sources.

I. Precontact Period

Centred north of present day Norway House, Manitoba, Pimicikamak traditional territory is located on the northwestern Canadian Shield, in northern Manitoba. The Canadian Shield covers about half of Canada, extending inland from the Hudson Bay Lowlands for hundreds of miles. Despite the size of this area, the archaeological assemblages through much of the Shield across both space and time are similar, giving evidence of deep cultural continuity in the region. As archaeologist James Wright noted in 1981, "The relatively close similarities of the archaeological assemblages throughout much of the

region...is undoubtedly the most striking single characteristic of Shield prehistory." Aboriginal occupation of the region began before 4000 B.C.E., according to Wright. ¹

During the Initial Woodland period (about 1000 BCE to 1000 CE), within this shield region, the first pottery appeared. It had a distinctive form and Wright suggested that this style of pottery may have been adopted from more southern peoples.² In the northwestern part of the Shield, a later complex called "Selkirk," which also included a distinctive type of pottery, originated as early as about 800 C.E.³ This particular form of pottery continued into the time of first European contact in the 1600s. Several proto- and post-contact archaeological sites that contain both Selkirk cultural material and European goods are associated with the Cree.⁴ Selkirk pottery, which has a distinctive fabric-impressed surface, has been found as far north as South Indian Lake and west to Lake Île-à-la-Crosse (Saskatchewan), east to Northwestern Ontario, and as far as south as the Saskatchewan River. Radiocarbon dating of Manitoba and Ontario Selkirk pottery suggests a range of dates from 810 to 1620 C.E. Wright noted that "In every instance the historic documents indicate that these historic sites are attributable to the Cree." ⁵

Based on modern studies, most scholars now agree that Cree people have been living in these regions a long time, certainly since before the fur trade period, and that earlier

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¹ James V. Wright. "Prehistory of the Canadian Shield," in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 6: *Subarctic*. June Helm, ed.. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, 86, 87-88, 88-89.

²Wright. "Prehistory," 88-89.

³ Wright, "Prehistory," 92.

⁴ For example, see: Kevin Brownlee and Leigh Syms. *Kayasochi Kikawenow: Our Mother from Long Ago: An Early Cree Woman and Her Personal Belongings from Nagami Bay, Southern Indian Lake.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, 1999, 49. Brownlee and Syms identify the Proto-contact Period as from 1654 to 1682, followed by the Post-contact Period, where trade with Europeans was more accessible and more direct.

⁵ Wright. "Prehistory," 92. See also James Smith cited later in this report.

interpretations of a westerly migration of Cree people into the region were mistaken. Anthropologist James G.E. Smith contended in 1981 that earlier interpretations of the Western Woods Cree as migrants from the east were incorrect. He claimed "that although the Swampy Cree were migrating during this [the fur trade] period, the Rocky and Strongwoods Cree had been long present in the west: it was apparently merely the name Cree that was at this time extended westward to apply to these divisions." ⁶ In support of the the view that the Cree occupied the northwestern boreal forest before contact, and were not late migrants to the area, Smith cited Bacqueville de la Potherie and David Thompson as documentary sources that support archaeological evidence. ⁷ David Meyer and Paul Thistle concur that throughout the Saskatchewan River valley region during the late precontact (Late Woodland) period, "Selkirk remains predominate... with the exception of the Grand Rapids region (just west of Lake Winnipeg), where Rainy River materials dominate." In particular, they add that many sites in the Grand Rapids region have yielded Rainy River pottery. The consensus, then, supports the idea of a long Cree occupation in northern Manitoba, during which time Cree culture changed, adapted and developed. Wright contended that "Although changes through time and some spatial

⁶ James G.E. Smith. "Western Woods Cree" in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 6: *Subarctic*. June Helm, ed.. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, 257-258.

⁷ Brownlee and Syms identify the year 1682 (when a fort at the mouth of the Hayes River was permanently established) to be the boundary between proto-contact, that is an era of minimal and indirect trading and post-contact, that is, where inland people could trade directly with Europeans. (Brownlee and Syms. *Kayasochi Kikawenow: Our Mother from Long Ago*, 49.)Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 258.

⁸ David Meyer and Paul Thistle. "Saskatchewan River Rendezvous Centers and Trading Posts: Continuity in a Cree Social Geography." *Ethnohistory*, 1995, 42:3, 403-444, 410.

⁹ Meyer and Thistle. "Saskatchewan River Rendezvous Centers and Trading Posts," 403-444, 413. Meyer and Thistle state, "Selkirk material culture in the Saskatchewan River valley is present by at least A.D. 1400, and elements of it were maintained well into the fur-trade period. The Rainy River composite was largely contemporaneous with Selkirk…and, in general, the distributions of these two composites are mutually exclusive." (Meyer and Thistle. "Saskatchewan River Rendezvous Centers and Trading Posts," 410.)

variations can be detected in the Selkirk assemblages, the development as a whole is characterized by a basic homogeneity." 10

The central Subarctic Canadian Shield can be seen as what James V. Wright calls "a distinct culture area." It exhibits linguistic, as well as material culture continuity of the people, who all belong to the Algonquian language family. One of these Algonquian languages is referred to in English as "Cree." The term Cree has also been used for a long time to refer to the people who inhabit the boreal forest in Pimicikamak territory. In a more general sense, it refers to a range of peoples who share a related culture and language, although dialect variations occur within this broad category. 11 As Robert Brightman wrote, it was "the name 'Cree' and not the people that initially migrated west, as traders successively applied it to the Cree-speaking Indians they encountered." At the very least, Cree people were living west of Lake Winnipeg/Nelson River for hundreds of years before the European fur trade began in the area. The use of the term Cree and related words such as "Kiristinon" spread west with Europeans. 12 "Kristinon" variously spelled), was a term that was used by the French, beginning in the 1600s, who applied it to several groups south of James Bay. Pentland believes that the name "derives from the name of an obscure band of Indians who roamed the region south of James Bay in the first half of the seventeenth century." As French traders moved west, the term, which linguist David Pentland identifies as possibly originally an Ojibwe term, was applied to many people the traders felt spoke a similar language. By the 1780s, Pentland notes that

Wright. "Prehistory," 92-94.Wright. "Prehistory," 96.

¹² Robert Brightman. Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships . Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2002, 4, 7-8.

"English traders had adopted the shortened form Cree as a generic term." As they moved inland, English speakers applied the term to "describe Cree speakers who lived throughout much of the subarctic and prairie regions of northern North America." Today the word "Cree," Brightman notes, is used to describe a group of "culturally and linguistically related native people inhabiting the subarctic boreal forest from Quebec on the east to British Columbia on the west." The name "Cree," however, is an outsiders' term, and not one of self-identification. As David Pentland notes, the "Cree" themselves use that term only when speaking with non-Aboriginal people.

The broader linguistic groups classified as "Cree" by non-Aboriginal speakers have their own terms of self-reference. Pentland states:

The Western Woods Cree usually refer to themselves as *ne hiyawak* (singular *ne hiyaw*, which becomes *ni hiyaw*, *ni hδaw* in the modern local dialects) 'those who speak the same language'.... a derivative of *ne hiyawew* 'w 'he speaks our language, he speaks Cree'. The name is often taken to be a derivative of Inah- 'proper, correct', whence the translations 'exact people' and 'precise speakers' but the Ojibwa cognate *ni δinawe* 'he speaks our language, he speaks Ojibwa' shows that this interpretation is incorrect. The Woods Cree form *ne hiδaw* (*e w*) appears as Nayhaythaways, 1690...Nahetheway, 1775 (miscopied with Nak-, Graham in Isham 1949: 311); Nahathaway, 1785 Thompson, 1962:12)....

The Western Woods Cree distinguished themselves from other Cree-speaking groups by the name *saka wiyiniwak* (Plains dialect), *saka wiŏiniwak* (Woods dialect) 'bush people', recorded as Sackaweé-thin-yoowuc (Richardson in Franklin 1823:108) and Saka-wiyiniwok The name Cree and its variants ... are seldom used without modifiers to refer specifically to the Western Woods Cree; however, compounds with translations of *saka wiyiniw* are common: French Cristinaux du Bois fort... and Cris des Bois... English Strong Wood Crees... and Thick Wood Crees..... ¹⁶

¹³ David Pentland. "Synonymy" in Honigmann, "West Main Cree" in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 6: *Subarctic*. June Helm, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, 227.

¹⁴ David Pentland. "Synonymy" in Honigmann, "West Main Cree" in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 6: *Subarctic*. June Helm, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, 227.

¹⁵ Victor P. Lytwyn. *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002, 4, 6.

¹⁶ Pentland. "Synonymy," in Smith, "Western Woods Cree," 267-268.

Classifications used by academics only partially coincide with the distinctions recognized by Crees themselves. Robert Brightman notes that the broad category of "Western Woods Cree" includes Swampy, Thickwoods, and Rock Cree all of whom speak different dialects. The Swampy Cree speak the *n*-dialect and live throughout not only the James Bay/Hudson Bay lowlands, but also in more inland locations throughout Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. They identify themselves as "Maskēkōwak 'swamp people', a name attested in "1700 by Bacqueville de La Potherie's reference (1931:258) to the 'Mashkegonhyrinis or Savannahs' living on the Nelson River and perhaps by even earlier forms." Thickwoods Crees use a variation of the y-dialect. The Thickwoods Cree today live in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and northwestern British Columbia. Their term for themselves is "Sakāw-iyiniwak, 'thick woods people', or, as attested in 1749 in French, "Christinaux du Bois fort." As Brightman notes, divisions today are the result of a long history of complex interactions and decision making, and names can reflect more than one level of social organization. Because of this, it is difficult to relate names or social organizations in use today to documentary sources from centuries past. ¹⁷ James G.E. Smith has made a similar point, noting that the ethnohistoric boundaries of these people do not correspond exactly with linguistic categories, and that in the post contact period, groups still seem to have moved a fair bit. Smith breaks the larger group of "Western Woods Cree" down into three main divisions, "The Rocky Cree, the western Swampy Cree, and Strongwoods or Bois Fort Cree." 18

¹⁷Brightman. *Grateful Prey*, 4-6.

¹⁸ Smith. "Western Woods Cree." 256.

Today, Western Woods Cree groups live in the boreal forest, their territory centring around Hudson Bay, and beyond it to the west and south. Some communities live beyond the margins of the forest, extending as far as the Rocky Mountains. The area of Pimicikamak falls in the region occupied by the Swampy Cree division of the Western Woods Cree, which Smith defines as "the region from James Bay, westward to Cumberland House, Saskatchewan." The Rocky Cree he places "in and west of the Nelson River drainage in northwestern Manitoba and Saskatchewan." The Strongwoods Cree now live in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta, but Smith also notes that locations and dividing lines may have differed in the past, as territorial changes occurred during the fur trade period. ¹⁹

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¹⁹ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 256.

II. Early Contact Period

Although the pre and post-contact people of the northwestern Shield country formed a continuous cultural group across space and through time, the advent of European trade did coincide with some movement and change.²⁰ Some Cree people within and beyond the Shield changed their subsistence patterns and areas of residence during the early contact period, although current scholarship challenges earlier ideas of large scale territorial loss and abandonment. In the early contact period, people lived by a combination of traditional means, including fishing, hunting, and gathering, but the fur trade may have encouraged more dependence on fur bearing animals than previously. The fur trade made new material goods available to Aboriginal people, and even before direct contact with Europeans, people to the west and north of Lake Winnipeg had access to trade goods through exisiting trade networks. By the beginning of the 1700s, the Hudson's Bay Company was well established along Hudson Bay, and was, by the mid 1700s, beginning to explore inland trade. French traders moved west from Lake Superior, and by 1751, they were trading as far as the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. After the Treaty of Paris (1763) and the fall of New France, as Smith notes, "the west was opened to the 'Montreal peddlers,' whose partnerships were the antecedents of the North West Company." ²¹ This aggressive push to trade directly with Aboriginal groups led the Hudson's Bay Company to move inland to better compete with the Montreal traders, and

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²⁰ Dale R. Russell notes that for this period "Ironically, in view of the few data we have on the Cree and Assiniboin from the French fur trade in the western interior, [1682-1720] the only general descriptions of the interior we have from the Bay, in the early period, are from French writers." Observations by French explorers and traders Antoine Silvy and Father Pierre-Gabriel Marest, and Claude-Charles Le Roy de la Potherie included general descriptions of the Cree who traded at the Bay. (Dale R. Russell. *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*. Archaeological Survey of Canada Mercury Series Paper 143. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991, 66, 68-72.)

²¹ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 258.

Aboriginal groups were able to trade closer to home, while increased competition led to lower prices and greater variety in the European goods available for trade. ²²Although the fur trade did undoubtedly bring changes to Aboriginal people, including the Cree, its effects have sometimes been overstated. Dale Russell notes that the biases of some European sources have led to an exaggerated view of "the dependency of the Cree on the fur trade." Russell takes issue with the idea that fur trade dependency caused the Cree to move or to engage in heightened conflict with other groups. He notes that the exact level of Cree involvement in the fur trade is not easy to define. In fact, the numbers of trading canoes reported in documentary sources suggest that only a very limited number of Cree were directly involved in the fur trade.²³

During the 1700s and 1800s, the Western Woods Cree were organized along several social lines. The close or nuclear family was the most basic social unit, but a number of families could come together in summer for various social and economic activities as a seasonal band. These bands were generally known by the name of a local feature, often the lake or river area they occupied.²⁴ Eighteenth century fur trader Andrew Graham noted that Aboriginal people along Hudson Bay "take their names from the lakes, rivers, or whatever kind of country they inhabit." Groups often identified strongly with river basin drainages. The Cree in the Albany River drainage, for example, were known by the name "Albany River Indians, *Kastechewan* [Swift Current] Indians" from the Cree name for the Albany River. Sometimes smaller local groups also had specific names. For

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²² Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 258.

²³ Russell. Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours, 11-12.

²⁴ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 269.

instance, along the Hayes River, the people were known as "*Penesewichewan*, or *Penesewichewan Sepee* Indians, after the name of the lower section of the Hayes River.²⁵

At least by 1770, some of the Pimicikamak people, who were associated with the watershed around what is today referred to as "Cross Lake," were trading at posts in Hudson Bay as an identifiable group. In the 1850s, using a 1770 list by HBC trader Thomas Hutchins, John Richardson listed the "tribes" trading into Hudson Bay. This list included the *Pemmichi-ke-mè-u* people, whom Richardson identified as from Cross Lake. Hudson's Bay Company writer Andrew Graham noted this same group in his observations in 1775 and again in 1791. Graham identified the Pimicikamak as part of the "Keishkatchewan Nation." This "Nation" lived in a large geographic area to the west and south of Hudson Bay, and was in fact, according to Lytwyn, really comprised of a large number of groups who had a common language.

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²⁵ Lytwyn. Muskekowuck Athinuwick, 8-9.

²⁶ Sir John Richardson. Arctic Searching Expedition: a Journal of a Boat-voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin. With an appendix on the physical geography of North America. Volume 2, New York, Harper, 1851, 37.

²⁷ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 269. See also Glyndwr Williams, ed., Andrew Graham. *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay 1767-91*. Ed Glyndwr Williams. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969, 206.

²⁸ Dale Russell states "That the Keskachewan were Cree is clear from an exchange of letters regarding the linguistic abilities of a Frenchman...seeking employment when the French withdrew from the west. The Factor at York Factory wrote that "he Knows or at Least Pretends to Know but Little of the Kaschachawan or at Least the Home [i.e. local Cree] Indian Language, tho he is Proficient in the Bungee [Ojibwa]." The factor at Churchill retorted that the Frenchman's not understanding "the Kissiskachewan or home Indian Language (as you Call it) which is Properly Called the Nehethaway Language is [false]" (Russell. Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours, 121-122.) See also Russell's reconstruction of groups trading at Hudson Bay page 123.

²⁹ Lytwyn. *Muskekowuck Athinuwick*, 12.

Andrew Graham's observations made in the 1770s suggest that the Cree in this period were expanding their territory. This was not a migration, however. In 1775, Graham wrote:

At the time the English first settled in Hudson's Bay different tribes of this nation inhabited the country from the sea-coast up to the Lakes; but either to avoid Europeans, or in order to search for furs to barter, or because food grew scarce by the large numbers of animals destroyed for their furs and skins, one or more of these reasons has caused them gradually to retire farther inland, until they came amongst the buffalo, and they now extend from the head of Nelson River down to the Grand Portage which is at the west end of Lake Superior. But a remnant remained about the Factories.... This nation is very numerous and divided into many tribes. A very small portion come down to trade at York and Churchill settlements, and which are the only settlements visited by them. Since they have inhabited the buffalo country where provisions are so plentiful, they have neglected trapping and catching furs, but barter at a great advance a portion of the goods purchased at the Factories with the Archithinue and Asinepoet Indians. With these skins they come down annually to the settlements, and as only so small a number as two hundred small canoes undertake the voyage, the others who remain inland send their goods with any of their acquaintance. So that the loading of one canoe may be the property of several families, whereas were they all to exert themselves and come down, the trade would be immensely increased. 30

Dale Russell concludes that Cree people were probably living in northern Manitoba around the Nelson River and west of Hudson Bay at least fifty years before French western expansion in the mid seventeenth century. ³¹

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³⁰ Williams, ed., *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay 1767-91*, 206, 191-193. Dale Russell states "It is probable that small children only rarely were brought on the long trip to the Bay which could take up to 12 weeks. The trips were dangerous because of the rapids in the Canadian Shield. Further, the journals of the inland winterers show that almost all groups underwent near starvation during the trip. Instead, as a contemporary wrote, the group consisted of "young hearty People who seldom brings their Children along with them, so that on their Journeying, to and again, with their goods, they can carry Canoes and goods all at once' " (Russell. *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 127.)

³¹ Russell. *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 66. For example, in 1697, Claude-Charles Le Roy de La Potherie "said that Nelson River was in the land of the Savannahs or Maskegon (Swampy Cree) who, today are still found in Northeastern Manitoba". (Russell. *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 71.)

Although Europeans established trade posts at Hudson Bay in the latter 1600s, early European attempts to describe the interior west of Hudson Bay depended heavily on hearsay, suggesting little or no direct European contact in those regions. As Dale Russell states: "Except for the three month journal kept by Henry Kelsey ... during his journey in eastern Saskatchewan in the summer of 1691, there is no detailed first-hand account of the western interior until Anthony Henday's journal written during his trip from York Factory to central Alberta in 1754-1755." Nicholas Jérémie, based near the later site of York Factory in the 1690s, attempted to describe the geography of the region west and south of Hudson Bay. His descriptions, unfortunately, are difficult to follow in detail, but it seems likely that he was trying to describe central and western Manitoba. Jérémie tried to send local Cree people to discover more information about the area inland, but a warring group prevented them from complying.³³

Beginning in the 1750s and 1760s, the Hudson's Bay Company, which previously had kept to its posts on the Bay, found it could no longer depend on Aboriginal middlemen to bring fur traders to its posts. This marked the beginning of a change in both the fur trade in general, and contact between European traders and inland Aboriginal people in particular. Under increasing pressure from Montreal merchants who had begun to push farther west and north, travelling to Aboriginal people for their trade, the Company began to send some of its men inland. These early attempts were still not aimed at establishing inland posts, though, but rather at recruiting Aboriginal middlemen to trade at the Bay. As geographer Richard Ruggles states, at first "the Company supported 'peaceful

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³² Russell. Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours, 7.

³³ Russell. Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours, 72-73.

penetration up-rivers' with a policy of kindliness and peace-making by inland wintering servants. Company officials were convinced that the best defence against competition was to outfit extensive inland journeys to draw the Indians to the Bay." ³⁴ In the vanguard of this movement were explorers and traders such as Anthony Henday, William Pink, Matthew Cocking, and Philip Turnor. ³⁵ Richard Ruggles states that "in eight seasons, from 1754 to 1762, six men made ten journeys inland.... most of them were headed beyond the Manitoba countryside into the plains or the Barren Grounds. ³⁶ Historian Scott Stephen notes Joseph Smith, Isaac Batt, Henry Pressick, Anthony Henday, John Taylor, Joseph Waggoner, Louis Primeau, James Dearing, Edward Loutit and James Allen, and William Pink all travelled inland in the mid eighteenth century. However, "European knowledge of inland regions was still slight. Hudson's Bay Company traders were unfamiliar with the most major travel routes and depended heavily on Native guides. ³³⁷

By 1772, Hudson's Bay Company travellers were somewhat better informed. They focused their interest on the waterways that proved best for inland access. In 1934, J.B. Tyrrell wrote about Matthew Cocking, who went inland in 1772-1773:

³⁴ Richard Ruggles in: John Warkentin and Richard I. Ruggles, eds. *Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969.* Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1970, 67.

³⁵ See Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 91-109. Russell states that between 1754 and 1775, "Some fifty-six trips were made inland but only a few employees were capable of writing even semi-literate journals." The journals were written about Anthony Henday's trip in 1754, "Joseph Smith in 1756, 1757, and 1763; Joseph Pink in 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769; William Tomison in 1767 and 1769; Matthew Cocking in 1772 and 1774; and Joseph Hansom in 1773." (Russell. *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 91.)

³⁶ Richard Ruggles in Warkentin and Ruggles, 67.

³⁷ Scott P. Stephen. "Masters and Servants: the Hudson's Bay Company and its Personnel, 1668-1782. Ph. D. Diss. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2006, 192, n.543. See also: Judith Hudson Beattie. "Indian Maps in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives: A Comparison of Five Area Maps Recorded by Peter Fidler, 1801-1802." *Archivaria* 21 (Winter 1985-86), 166.

Cocking left York on June 27 and started inland by the route which had been used almost exclusively up to that time by the Indians coming and going from and to the Saskatchewan river in their small canoes....Fifty-three servants of the Company had also already gone inland from Hudson Bay, mostly by this route, so that it was fairly well known. Starting from York, this route was up Hayes river to the mouth of Hill river, thence westward up Fox river, and thence south-westward up Bigstone river to Deer lake, on to Cross lake, through it to its western end, up Minago river to its source, over a portage to one arm of Moose lake, across it and up Summerberry river to the Saskatchewan. ³⁸

This route was abandoned when larger freighter canoes were adopted, and was for the most part forgotten by Europeans.³⁹ Even on waterways that continued to be used, traders attempting to reach their destinations before freeze-up travelled quickly along and seldom had extended contact with local people, particularly on the waterways between Hudson Bay and Lake Winnipeg. For example, as Barbara Belyea states, "[Matthew] Cocking's companions travelled fast enough to make him wonder if he could keep up with them."

While in the Pimicikamak region around present-day Cross Lake, Matthew Cocking recorded contact with only one person, and that person was alone:

[July 1772] 11. Saturday. This morning we discovered a poor Native seemingly at the point of death; his neighbours had left him behind, & we also did; paddled & carried the Canoes & Goods. Fish jumping in the Lake, but being cloudy we could not spear any; paddled about 12 miles in the river, which was very shoal: then entered Pimochickomow Lake.

³⁹ J.B. Tyrrell "Introduction":in J.B. Tyrrell, ed., Samuel Hearne, Philip Turnor, *Journals of Samuel*

Hearne and Philip Turnor. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934, 13.

³⁸ J.B. Tyrrell "Introduction":in J.B. Tyrrell, ed., Samuel Hearne, Philip Turnor, *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934, 13.

⁴⁰ Barbara Belyea ed., Henday, Anthony. A Year Inland: the Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer. Ed. and Commentary Barbara Belyea. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000, 334. For example, see Matthew Cocking in Lawrence Johnstone Burpee, An Adventurer from Hudson Bay: Journal of Matthew Cocking, from York Factory to the Blackfeet country, 1772-1773. Reprinted from: Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, volume 2, 1908.; and Philip Turnor in: Tyrrell, ed. Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934.

- 12. Sunday. We did not proceed; several men went a Moose hunting; but without success.
- 13. Monday. We did not proceed; men went a hunting; they saw the tracks of several but killed none; Hungry times: A quarter of an Eagle, Gull or Duck is one persons Allowance pr day.

On 15 July, Cocking reported meeting with some Assiniboines travelling the same route: "At noon several Asinepoet Natives came up with us.⁴¹

Similarly, Philip Turnor's journal of his trip through the area made no mention of meeting local people, as in his journal entry for 16 June 1779, where he described only the geography:

.... at $4\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway and went NE 8 Miles and came to a river about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide at enterance and very strong current went 1 Mile E^t then 3 Miles SE in a part about 3 Mile wide and came to a fall about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile long which was shot by all the Canoes, then entered the Cross Lake and went 5 Miles E^t leaving the Lake about 4 Mile S^o and an opening N^o , then entered a Large river near $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile wide and exceeding strong current, went 1 Mile SE, 4 Miles E^t and 1 Mile S^o and came to the top of the Great Fall and carrying place... Latitude by Observation 53^o 12^*N^o Carried on the North side the fall $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile through a wood and put up on the lower side of the Carrg place at 3 PM g

Anthony Henday and William Pink also travelled in quick time and met with no one in the area. 43

The speed and focus of these trips inland are clearly reflected in the maps from the period. As Richard Ruggles notes, on maps created before 1731, "the representations of details of the interiors were either spurious or incipient in form." Later maps produced in

⁴³ Barbara Belyea in: A Year Inland: the Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer, 337.

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⁴¹ Burpee. *An Adventurer from Hudson Bay: Journal of Matthew Cocking*, 97. See also manuscript journal and 1771-1772 York Factory journal B.239/a/66, 1771-1772 and York Factory journal B.239/a/67.

⁴² Philip Turnor in: J.B. Tyrrell ed, *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*, 239-242.

this period reflect a focus on tracing only the major waterways, and a dependence on Aboriginal informants and guides. Until the late 1700s, direct European observation of Pimicikamak territory was very limited. 44

Like maps, written sources from the Hudson's Bay Company suggest little prolonged direct contact with inland areas. Before 1754, they contain very little substance or detail about inland areas. In 1755, the Hudson's Bay Company's London Committee complained that their information on the Hayes and Nelson rivers was not derived from their traders' own survey information, but rather was based on Aboriginal informants. The London Committee General Letter of 1755, stated, "Nelsons River on your said draught must be laid down from Indian information only, and how much that is to be depended on, we are Annually convinced, and doubtless so are you to[o]." Belyea commented, "The following year, the Committee's response to Henday's year inland was no more confident "...we apprehend Henday is not very expert in making Drafts with Accuracy or keeping a just Reckoning of distances other than by Guess which may prove Erroneus." 45

Published and archival maps all show that the newcomers' understandings of
Pimicikamak territory emerged gradually and tentatively, moving from the coast of
Hudson Bay inland, and following along the major water routes. (See Appendix A for a
summary of maps and the information and detail they reflect about the Pimicikamak
region) From a non-Aboriginal perspective, areas beyond the main water routes through

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⁴⁴ Warkentin and Ruggles, *Historical Atlas of Manitoba*, 9.

⁴⁵Barbara Belyea in: A Year Inland: the Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer, 325-326.

Pimicikamak territory remained poorly known into the twentieth century. In 1875, the Methodist missionary George Young noted, after travelling in the region, "the maps gave a very inaccurate idea of Lake Winnipeg, and its accessories." As late as 1889, parts of the region were still understood only by Aboriginal people. In his 1889 Norway House District Report, Isaac Cowie noted that:

Very little time spent in examining the Hardup and Grassy Rivers, which are the only parts not on the regular canoe route, would decide the questions and I intend to have it settled before boat navigation begins. There is said to be a yet shorter route known by Indians which would leave the Nelson at the third rapid below Cross Lake. Should this route prove practicable a saving of nearly half the present freight charges would likely be the result.⁴⁷

In 1934, geologist J.B. Tyrrell stated, "In fact, portions of the route northeast of Cross lake have not been explored or surveyed up to the present time." **48

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⁴⁶ "Six Weeks' Travel." *Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg, February 6, 1875, 5.

⁴⁷ Hudson's Bay Company Archives [hereafter: HBCA], London Correspondence, D. 20/53/3, Norway House Report of District, 1889, Isaac Cowie, 16 March 1889, f. 323d.

⁴⁸ J.B. Tyrrell. "Introduction" in: Tyrrell, ed. *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*. 13.

III. The Move to Local Inland Trading Posts

During the late 1700s, in escalating efforts to beat out their competitors, both Hudson's Bay Company and Montreal-based fur traders pushed inland hoping to trade as close to Aboriginal hunters as they could. Their activities brought the fur trade directly into Pimicikamak territory, and by the 1790s North West Company, its rival the XY Company (until 1804), and other traders from Montreal were opposed by Hudson's Bay Company traders in the region north of Lake Winnipeg. In 1798, HBC trader William Sinclair established a post at Oxford Lake, and although the Company abandoned a post at the mouth of the Gunisao River in the spring of 1799, it proposed to open another post at present day Gunisao Lake (then called Jack Lake) in the fall of the same year. 49 In 1799 HBC trader James Halcro was put in charge of the outfit for Jack Lake, but was only able to get as far as present-day Molson Lake. The Nor'Westers at Cross Lake responded by sending eight men to build next to him. In 1801 William Sinclair sent men to establish Jack Lake House, and the HBC traders returned in 1802-1803, showing that the Hudson's Bay Company was beginning "to look more seriously at the country east and north of Lake Winnipeg as a fur trade district. William Sinclair was of the opinion that Island Lake should be the next location for a fur trade post."⁵⁰

Over time, various fur trader/ explorers, including Peter Fidler and David Thompson, building on information supplied by local Aboriginal people, contributed to European knowledge of the region, and maps from this period reflect a growing information base.

⁵⁰ Lytwyn. *The Fur Trade of the Little North*, 102.

⁴⁹ Victor P. Lytwyn. *The Fur Trade of the Little North: Indians, Pedlars, and Englishmen East of Lake Winnipeg, 1760-1821.* Winnipeg: Rupert's Land Research Centre, 1986,101.

(See Appendix A)⁵¹ Fidler surveyed the east coastline of Lake Winnipeg in 1808, but inland, especially to the east of the lake, the land was still unmapped. In 1814-15, Hudson's Bay Company trader George Holdsworth reported a few details about the country and the principal rivers in the area. But his information was tentative; he could only estimate that "the Gunisao [River] descended from an area five days' journey to the east, or a distance of sixty to seventy miles. At its source lay Jack Lake (present Gunisao Lake)."⁵² In the same year, James Sutherland was able to supply a little more geographic detail, stating:

Jack River Empties itself into the S.E. side of Play Green Lake opposite to the Island upon which Jack River House is situated. It has been navigated by large Canoes to its source at Jack Lake it is not above 50 or 60 yards wide and is said to be one continued rapid with but very few falls.... Jack Lake is a deep rocky Lake about 22 Miles long and 7 Wide it runs North & South along the Hight of Land... ⁵³

David Thompson spent the winter of 1792-1793 at Sipiwesk Lake. J.B. Tyrrell, who published the first edited volume of Thompson's *Travels*, summarized Thompson's stay at Sipiwesk:

On September 5, 1792, [David Thompson] left York Factory with two canoes, descended Hayes river, rounded the point in Hudson Bay, and ascended the Nelson river, making a survey of the route as he went. On September 28 he reached Split lake, and on September 30 the "Saskatchewan River." A little farther up stream William [Hemmings] Cook with one of the canoes turned up Grass river to Chatham House on Wintering lake, but Thompson with the other canoe kept on up the main stream, and on October 8 arrived at a rocky point on the west side of Sipiwesk lake, where he built a trading post. During the winter he took no less than twenty-eight lunar observations for longitude. However, this proved to be a poor place for either

⁵¹ HBCA E.3/4, Peter Fidler, Journals of Exploration and Survey 1809, f. 3d-6d. See also: Tyrrell, ed. *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812.* Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916.

⁵² Lytwyn. The Fur Trade of the Little North, 142.

⁵³ HBCA, B.154/e/1, Jack River House District Report, June 1st 1815, by James Sutherland, f. 1d.

fish or game, and on several occasions he was obliged to go to Chatham House, which was only about thirty miles away, and seek provisions from his friend William Cook....In the following spring, when the river was clear of ice, he started from Seepaywisk House, and descended to the lower end of the lake, carried over Cross Portage... ⁵⁴

In the latter 1700s and early 1800s, seasonal fur trade posts existed in the Cross Lake, Setting Lake, and Sipiwesk Lake areas, as well as Jack River, and present-day Molson Lake. Cross Lake journals exist for 1795-1796 (Hudson's Bay Company) and 1805-1806 (North West Company). At Cross Lake in 1796, Hudson's Bay Company trader James Tate was opposed by two Canadian houses with "16 Frenchmen," and a journal has survived from Wegg's House on Setting Lake for 1795-1796.

HBC journals for this period mentioned "French" [Canadian] traders in the area. These may have been people from the XY or North West Company, or perhaps a few independent traders. William Sinclair at Wegg's House had "French" visitors in September 1795

[7 September 1795] ...at 4 PM two french men arrived at the house they were starving, the Indian that arrived yesterday set off to his relations

[9 September 1795] ...sent two Indians a hunting, at 10 AM the two french [men] set off back again.

[28 September 1795]at 4 P.M. six french men arrived from the grand Portise with trading goods in one large Canoe at 6 P.M. they set off higher up the Country to winter being apprehensive of Starving at this place

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⁵⁴ J.B. Tyrrell in: *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812,* lxvilxvii

⁵⁵ LAC, Masson Collection: Journals, "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake by an unidentified wintering partner." MG 19, C1, vol. 9.;

HBCA B.268/a/1, [Cross Lake] Post Journal, 1795-1796.

⁵⁶ Joseph Colen to Governor and Committee York Fort 16 Sept 1795. HBCA B.239/b/79, York Factory Correspondence, f. 8; James Tate to Joseph Colen Apsley House 26 May 1796 B.239/b/58 f. 94, both quoted in HBCA Search File: Cross Lake; HBCA B.228/a/1, Wegg's House Post Journal, 1795-1796 by William Sinclair.

[29 January 1796] ... at 9 AM, sent four men to fetch deers meat and a few deer skins &c..sent Rob^t Garroch to french Indians to entice them to come to the house.

[25 May 1796] At 9 AM two french men came to the House from cross lake – to wait for one of there canoes that intends to come this way this spring

[27 May 1796]at 10 AM the two french men set off to cross lake⁵⁷

The Hudson's Bay Company Cross Lake journalist for 1795-1796 also noted opposing traders when he wrote: "1795 Sept 11th Frideay....at A11 am 3 Canows of Canedians Arived" 58

Traders occupied posts at Sipiwesk Lake off and on during the 1790s. On 20 July 1794 Joseph Colen ordered James Tate "to proceed to Seepewisk Settlement.... [and see] to the removal of the goods to the Cross Lake where ... to build a House" The Jack Lake journals for 1796-1797 and 1798-1799 recorded trading activity in the area:

[Aug. 15, 1796]...one man left here which arrived from the Cross Lake⁶⁰

[Sept. 23, 1798].... Hugh Sabbeston returnd after following the Canadians thro the Cross river leading to Cross Lake and Informs us they are going to Settle There and at the three Points or Nistowyo

[Nov. 5, 1798].... 2 Men Arrived from M^r M^cKays at Cross Lake with 2 Chests that they Left a Little below this house When on their Passage to the Cross Lake to Take Care of till he Comes this way in the Spring...⁶¹

Despite increased direct trade, knowledge of the inland regions of the northwest Canadian Shield country remained poor. As Lytwyn noted, "the council of senior officers

⁵⁸ HBCA B.268/a/1, [Cross Lake] Post Journal, 1795-1796, f. 4d.

⁵⁷ HBCA B.228/a/1, Wegg's House Post Journal, 1795-1796, by William Sinclair, F. 5, 5d, 6d, 13d, 20d.

⁵⁹ HBCA, York Factory Correspondence, B.239/b/55 f. 24 quoted in HBCA Search File: Cross Lake. On the 26th of July, the York Fort Journal recorded "Sepawisk Settlements... abandoned this Season." HBCA, B. 239/a/96, York Factory Post Journal, 1794-1795, 48-48d.

⁶⁰ HBCA B.154/a/1, Jack River [later Norway House] – Post Journal 1796-1797, by Henry Hallet, 2d.

⁶¹ HBCA B.154/a/3, Jack River [later Norway House] – Post Journal, 1798-1799, by Charles Thomas Isham, f.s 6, 10.

at Albany [in ca. 1801-03] were even unsure of the geographical situation of their own trading posts in the Lake Sanderson District."62

In 1805-1806, the Nor'Wester (possibly William McKay) who wintered at Cross Lake mentioned in his journal a Hudson's Bay Company post already at Sipiwesk. At the end of his journal, the trader specifically mentioned that Hudson's Bay employee Laughton Leith was trading there. 63 Peter Fidler mentioned Leith's House and included its location on his map of the area in 1809.⁶⁴ David Thompson's map of 1794 also shows a post in the area.⁶⁵

On his way from Cross Lake to Sipiwesk, the North West Company's 1805-1806 Cross Lake journalist wrote: [1805 September] "Thursday 19.... I went off without guide or any one that [k]now thi[s] way excepting that I had past one'd 12 yrs ago, we Came down to the 3^d Portage from Cross Lake that day" The same journalist mentioned that he had been in the area some years previous: "[1805 September] "Sunday 22^d we set off and went to a place where I wintered Some years ago and found more fresh Tracks look^d about all that day but found none "66"

In 1809, Peter Fidler mentioned a place where Hugh Sabbeston wintered in 1806, and noted 20 canoes of Indians who traded with "Laughlan Leigh [Laughton Leith]" (at Sipiwesk). Fidler's map of the area showed "Leigh's" [Leith's] house on Sipiwesk Lake.

63 Library and Archives Canada [hereafter: LAC], Masson Collection: Journals "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake by an unidentified wintering partner." MG 19, C1, vol. 9.

⁶² Lytwyn. *The Fur Trade of the Little North*, 102.

⁶⁴ HBCA E.3/4, Peter Fidler, Journals of Exploration and Survey 1809, f. 5d.

⁶⁵ HBCA, Maps – G.2/18 [David Thompson].

⁶⁶ LAC, Masson Collection: Journals "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake by an unidentified wintering partner." MG 19, C1, vol. 9, ff. 5, 6.

Fidler indicated that Leith and two men were remaining at his house, and that John McNab Jr wintered at Cross Lake [1808-1809]⁶⁷ Fidler also noted that the "French" [Montreal traders] had wintered at Sipiwesk Lake two years previous; that is about 1806-1807.

The trade of the region declined in the early 1800s, and fur trade posts were closed or moved out of the Pimicikamak territory. According to James Sutherland, by 1815, the only Hudson's Bay Company-operated posts left in the district were at Jack River and Berens River, and the Canadian traders had left the region:

No Canadians at Present occupy any part within the district, they have had many establishments in several parts of it, but about eight Years ago they abandoned the Whole, as they considered it a ruined Country, having made considerable losses for the last years they occupied it.⁶⁹

When the smaller XY Company was absorbed by the North West Company, William McKay remained in the area in charge of the North West Company's Lac Ouinipique Department. In 1805 he wintered at Cross Lake, in charge of eighty-five men in 13 canoes, trading from at least eight posts. ⁷⁰ In 1815, the only Hudson's Bay Company post in the area north of Lake Winnipeg was at Jack River (near present-day Norway House), "on a small Island in the south east side of Play Green opposite the mouth of Jack River about 20 Miles from the outlet of Lake Winepeg." ⁷¹ It appears that no new posts were

⁶⁹ HBCA, B.154/e/1, Jack River House District Report, June 1st 1815, by James Sutherland, 6.

⁶⁷ HBCA, Peter Fidler, Journals of Exploration and Survey 1809, E.3/4, June 13, 1809, f. 5d. Laughton Leith was a native of Firth and entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service in 1791 at the age of 20. HBCA Servants' Contracts 1791-1793, A.32/4 f. 95.

Contract Laughton Leith of the Parish of Firth aged 20 years 5 year term 2nd June 1791; HBCA A.30/5 Servants' Accounts, 1791-1793. He spent much of his career with the Hudson's Bay Company inland. HBCA Servants' Contracts 1791-1793, A.32/4 f. 95 to A.30/10, 1800 f. 34.

⁶⁸ Lytwyn. *The Fur Trade of the Little North*, 132.

⁷⁰ Lytwyn. *The Fur Trade of the Little North*, 113, see also map page 115.

⁷¹ HBCA, B.154/e/1, Jack River House District Report, June 1st 1815, by James Sutherland, f. 4d.

opened in Pimicikamak territory in the Norway House District from that time until 1849, when a fur trade post was opened briefly at Cross Lake. The post closed after only one season.⁷²

 $^{^{72}}$ HBCA Post History: Cross Lake.

IV. Social Organization and Land Use during the Fur Trade Period

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, fur trade journals from the Pimicikamak territory detailed the interactions between Aboriginal people who chose to engage in the fur trade and the traders who operated inland trading posts. Most transactions occurred at the posts. These visits tended to be brief and involved only a few members of a group or family. A few visits of longer duration involved most or all of a family and the giving of gifts, suggesting that some traders may have developed kinship ties in keeping with Cree cultural practices. Traders did also occasionally travel to tents, sometimes at the request of Aboriginal people, and a few wintered with a trading group, also reflecting adaptation to local practices and mirroring the Canadian traders' practice of trading *en derouine*. The North West Company journal (1805-1806) has the largest number of references to travelling to the local people without being specifically invited to come, but Hudson's Bay Company journals also show a few instances when traders went, when invited, to the camps of Aboriginal hunters to trade. ⁷³

In 1795-96 Hudson's Bay Company trader William Sinclair recorded the trade at Wegg's House (to the north and west of Cross Lake). Typical of many fur trade journal accounts of such transactions the following entries show the brief and purposeful nature of these interactions:

October 9 Friday ...the Indians that took debt yesterday set off to there famalies...

October 18 Sunday...the Indians that came yesterday took up Debt

⁷³ See Appendix B, C, D, (Post Journals), for full transcriptions of journals from Setting Lake and Cross Lake covering the years 1795-1796 and 1805-1806.

October 19 Monday... at 8 AM the Indians set off to their famalies...

[1796] April 27 Wednesday....at ½ 6 AM the Indian set of to his tent at 10 A.M. three Indians came to the house with 60 beaver skins and three beaver coats, gave them all coats, the, above three Indians hast not traded at any of your, Honors Settlements these many years, which makes me be at great expenses with them

April 28 Thursday....the Indians that came yesterday set off to there famalies, I have received from the above Indians 200 MB^r this winter⁷⁴

And the Hudson's Bay Company Cross Lake journal recorded similar activities the same year:

[1796] Janury 24th Sundeay At 8 pm on Indian Arived brought 6 baver 100 lb of gren Mauus flessh

Janury 25th Mondeay....at 6 am I set of with the Indian that arrived yesterday and waked till 9 pm then Arived at the Tent and Marked 3 baver cotes also Traded 7 beaver Also 2 Caneadians Arived at 3 pm returned

Janury 26th Tusdeay....at 7 pm I arrived at the House⁷⁵

The North West Company journal for 1805-1806 recorded much the same sort of descriptions, as in 1805 when the journal noted

[October] Sunday 13...2 Young Men Came and brought 3 Beaver 50 M rats I given them 2 Gal Rum and amunition for them and Sent some Tobacco to the others & ${\rm c}^{76}$

For many Cree people, much of the year could be taken up with activities not directly related to the fur trade. In summertime, Cree families gathered into larger bands for several months. Summer settlements tended to be located at lakes where fish, game, and berries were available to support the larger group. During this time, as families joined

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⁷⁴ HBCA B.228/a/1, Wegg's House Post Journal, 1795-1796, by William Sinclair, F. 7, 7d, 19.

⁷⁵ HBCA B.268/a/1, [Cross Lake] Post Journal, 1795-1796, F. 10d.

⁷⁶ LAC, Masson Collection: Journals, "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake by an unidentified wintering partner." MG 19, C1, vol. 9, F. 13.

each other, socializing included the "reinforcement of social ties, realignment of families, and planning for the winter dispersal." ⁷⁷

As resources began to dwindle and the weather turned colder, larger regional groups broke into smaller local bands anxious to reach wintering territories while the water was still open. Until freeze-up occurred, movement was limited. In the early winter, hunting was an important activity. In the coldest period, however, even local travel was difficult. The long winter nights were times for storytelling. When the weather improved, hunting and trapping took up the people's time. During breakup in the spring, travel was limited, but once the waterways opened, people returned to their summer camping sites. It was at this time that some people travelled to trading posts, including those on Hudson Bay. These people might trade their own goods, or act on behalf of others who did not travel to the posts. By the late 1700s, more inland trading opportunities arose with the movement of European traders inland, so that people did not have to make the long and possibly dangerous trip to Hudson Bay if they wanted to trade.⁷⁸

The annual rhythm of the trading posts corresponded closely to the Cree annual cycle. Summer settlements usually involved the same families meeting at the same sites, year after year. As Brightman states:

In the aggregate, these families probably composed named regional bands identified with particular rivers or lakes and habitually exploiting the environing territories. Graham (1969 [1767-1791]:171) wrote that the Crees remained around lakes and rivers in the summer subsisting on fish, caribou, and buffalo, "but in winter they move about continually to where provisions are to be had, seldom abiding a fortnight in one place." Thompson (1962)

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⁷⁷ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 260.

⁷⁸ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 260.

[1784-1812]:79), however, contrasted the Crees who were "scattered by three or four families over a wide extent of forest" with other Indians who sometimes assembled for two or three months, suggesting more mobility and residential dispersal in summer than is usually presumed.⁷⁹

An example from the 1805-1806 North West Company Cross Lake journal demonstrates the relationship between the seasonal activities of the the local people and European fur traders. The following excerpts are illustrative (for a transcription of the journal, see Appendix D). ⁸⁰

[1805 September] Friday 20...we set off and mad out to Come to the nixt Lake when I found awouned goose which I kill^d & found that hi had not been long wouned we campt that night at the enterence of the Lake of <u>Cepiwisk</u>

Saturday 21... we set [off] and found where 2 men had been hunting not long before, we Coasted along till [folio 6] we Came to the old forts where we Campt that night fired Guns &c &c

Sunday 22^d ... We Set off and went to a place where I wintered Some years ago and found more fresh Tracks look^d about all that day but found none

Sunday 22^d ...on our way down towards the long Portage I heared agun we fired and was answered by the Indians _ we found 2 Lodges, say 13 Men that was waiting for the English I given them 2 Large kegs Rum and Cloth-ed the Chiefs and all their Children & prevailed on them to Come up and winter with me at Cross Lak or duck Lake

Tuesday 24... about midday I got thim off we past by the English House where the Indians put Marks for the English that they mite find them on their arrivall _ I sent thim all off & [folio 7] remained behind for we was only 2 men in the [large] Canoe all this day as I was obliged to put the men in the Indian Canoes to get them on as the one half of them was drunk _ after they were all gone I Turned all their marks quite the other way _ and did not tutch any thing in the House for if I had they would know that some of <u>our</u> people had been that way I got that night neir out of the Lak for I made all hast possible to get them out of the way

⁷⁹ Brightman. *Grateful Prey*, 9-10.

⁸⁰ LAC, Masson Collection: Journals "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake by an unidentified wintering partner." MG 19, C1, vol. 9.

Sunday 29... I wanted to know where they wished to winter they [folio 9] they told me that one Lodge woud winter in Cross Lake, and that the other wished to winter in duck Lake and if I woud Sen aCanoe with them that they woud give me all their trade I told them that I woud and that I woud go and build the house at Duck Lake and have people there, and Come back and winter heare myself which they were verry well pleased at &c.

[October] Sunday 13...2 Young Men Came and brought 3 Beaver 50 M rats I given thim 2 Gall Rum and ammunition for thim and Sent Some Tobacco to the others &c

[November] Friday 15...Too Indians arrived and brought 5 Beavers 3 Mink & 44 M rats for which I given them Strauds and 2 Gal Keg Rum & Tobacco

[December] Sunday 1st December ...we Set our Nets under the Ice we got good many fish Nothing New the Cold is Set in So that I'll keep an account of the Cold [thermometric readings recorded left margin, are not transcribed here. These run in the pages following as well]

Sunday 8...2 Indians Came and brought afew Skins and want 2 Men to go and get what the other Indians had &c

Munday 9...I sent 2 men with the Indians Nothing more that day

...Tuesday 10The men that went for the Skins Came back and brought 100 M rats and 3 Minks 1 Otter and told me the Indians were going to Pine River to hunt &c

Wednesday 11...I sent off 2 men with the Indians to mark the roade So that I [caud] Sen whom I pleased to their Lodges in the Winter &c

[1806 February] Wednesday 19...a man Came from DLake and informed me that their Indians had been in but made but Verry poor [folio 30] hunt and that they were all Starveing and had fel in with the only one Indian the English had just dieing with hunger So much reduced that he Coud Not Walk, he or any one in the lodge

[March] Tuesday 4... I got the Indians off by Sending men with them to haul fish, lookly them and us that we had plenty &c

[May] Sunday 4...2 Indians Came and brt a few Skins & 6 Geese I killd 3 Ditto

Wednesday 21 ...[I Set of to go to Pike River to make the Packs and Settle] with the Indians and Sen off The Canoes _ & I got hurt in Saving of the Canoes from upsetting &c &c

Thursday 22 ...in the Morning I arived where the people and Indians of Pike River were I Settled with them and Sent them off _ and Came of my Self _ Came that Night to the last Portage _ &c with Lorin

Saturday 24...I set off for H.B. with 7 men and 3 Kegs Salt fish – which is all the provisions we had for that Voyage – we came that night to Wolfe River where I found all the Indians _ I given them 2 Kegs Rum and Clothe^d 3 of them _ &c

Sunday 25...remand with the Indians till 1 O'Clock AM in hoping to Speer Some Sturgeon but got None _ but Set off on my way I met M^r Leith of the H.B. C^o ["Service" inserted] _ whom winter^d at Sepewesk _ I got flints and Shot from him which I wanted _ we Campt that Night about 7 Miles below Sipiwisk at 7 [interleaved between lines: "to Set our net got 1 Sucor_"] O Clock PM _

In the Pimicikamak territory, as in the region generally, detailed cultural information for the early contact period is limited. According to Smith, both fur bearing and big game populations declined as local people and European traders both drew on the animals for food and fur. These pressures combined to encourage the movement of Cree hunters, including Swampy Cree and others onto the plains in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Smith notes:

For example, at Norway House in 1815, the chief factor reported only 26 (Swampy) Cree families in his district, most having come from the York Factory district because of the poor game and fur supply. The former inhabitants of the Norway House district had left for the west to seek better hunting and trapping grounds At the same time, the factor at Swan River (west of Lake Winnipeg) reported that of the newly arrived Cree, some were hunting on the Plains with Saulteaux and Assiniboin, while others were hunting and trapping in the forest 81

Smith states that the presence of a similar *y*-dialect in both the Strongwoods and Plains Cree supports the idea that at least some of the Plains people had come from the Strongwoods Cree of northern Alberta and Saskatchewan. ⁸²

⁸¹ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 264.

⁸² Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 264.

In the 1800s, band mobility may have declined as the coalition of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies in 1821 led to rationalizations and cutbacks in the fur trade. Smith argues that the resultant reduction in the number of posts led to a decrease in the movement of some Cree groups, and that this trend for bands to orient themselves around a post was the "first stage in the process of sedentarization." While family hunting territories existed by the end of the nineteenth century. Smith found no documentary evidence of family hunting or trapping territories at this earlier time. Although some groups did begin to associate more with specific posts, other Aboriginal people during this period moved within and even beyond the territory they had previously occupied. It was at this time that some of the Swampy Cree moved west. Epidemic disease, including the smallpox that decimated the Aboriginal population in the early 1780s took a huge toll, and after the smallpox outbreak of the 1780s many Cree appear to have moved south and consolidated around the Saskatchewan River drainage basin. By the end of the 1700s, however they seem to have moved back to the more northern areas they had previously controlled.83

By the 1770s, when the Hudson's Bay Company began to establish itself inland, the Cree controlled the territory around the Hayes, Nelson, and Churchill drainage areas. Lytwyn notes that:

According to Andrew Graham, the Upland Cree were known as the *Pimmechikemow, Poethinecaw, Missinepee*, and *Wenunnetowuck*. The Upland Cree probably occupied a larger territory, including an area east of

83 Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 258-259, 264.

Lake Winnipeg, prior to the northwestward migration of the Northern Ojibway. ⁸⁴

Upland Cree oral history supports Graham's observations. Saukamappee, an elder whose family had moved from the territory around the confluence of the Saskatchewan and Pasquia rivers, told David Thompson that his family had moved, pushed by people from east of Lake Winnipeg, from the Saskatchewan River drainage to an area west of the Eagle Hills in present-day Saskatchewan. At the same time, while some Crees were moving westward, others moved toward or within Pimicamak territory.⁸⁵

Documentary sources such as fur trade journals and reports can provide valuable insights. But because documentary information for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is based largely on the reports of fur traders, these sources tell mostly about those Natives who traded at the posts, possibly missing families and people who did not trade directly (or at all) with the Europeans. As well, traders may have been in the area only a short time, and so may not have understood complex social relationships and family structures. In 1815, James Sutherland, a newcomer to the district, showed little grasp of Cree patterns of movement when he stated in his Jack River [Norway House] District Report that: ⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Lytwyn. *Muskekowuck Athinuwick*, 55.

⁸⁵ Lytwyn. *Muskekowuck Athinuwick*, 55; and Raymond Morris Shirritt-Beaumont. "The Rossville Scandal, 1846: James Evans, the Cree, and a Mission on Trial." MA Thesis [Winnipeg]: University of Manitoba: University of Winnipeg, 2001, 38.

⁸⁶ Chief in charge of Winnipeg District, James Sutherland also stated: "My short residence here has not given me the opportunity of making many remarks or acquiring much knowledge of the Country around, the only attainable information is from the Indians who in many things are defficient and in others erroneous, It is therefore Impossible for me to describe this Intricate part of the Country with that minuteness that may be expected, or I would wish. The tract of country I shall attempt to describe, will take

This last year their were 26 families who traded at this post among them 34 men and lads capable of Hunting, but their numbers always vary as they wander from one district to another as their capricious fancy leads them. Part of these Indians are from the sea coast about York Factory and the others from the head waters of Severn River. The Original inhabitants of this place seem to have all emigrated to the Westward and within this few years back several families have left this place and gone to Swan River & Cumberland House. the poverty of the country for animals induces them to leave their native soil. 87

Yet it is possible to trace some families who hunted in Pimicikamak territory and traded persistently at the Jack River/Norway House post over five decades, beginning twenty years before Sutherland's statement. Raymond Shirritt-Beaumont states that:

Kee kee wa thinish was the first name on the list of hunters Sutherland attached to his 1815 [District] Report. Although Swampy Cree, he was not a member of the York Factory Home Guard in 1794, when his name was first mentioned in HBC correspondence. In the winter of 1794-1795, "Kekeekathinue and his followers" were in the vicinity of Cross Lake, apparently provisioning the HBC outpost there. However, by the following winter "KeKethine" had reportedly "drawn every Indian that he could to the Canadian House" of opposition trader, William McKay. In 1823, the NWC was gone, but Kee kee wa thinish was still living at Cross Lake, with a wife and son. 88

The 1823 District Report for Norway House included a census of the Natives trading at the post along with their families, and also noted the hunting territories of each group. This record makes it possible to identify families who hunted in Pimicikamak territory. A comparison of those families specifically identified in 1823 as hunting at Cross Lake (the census also included Jack Lake, Jack River, Limestone Lake, and present day Molson Lake, known then as "Little Winnipeg") with those mentioned in censuses in the 1815

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a boundary line, running from the Outlet of Lake Winepeg in a easterly direction to Jack Lake, from thence N.W. along the Height of land that divides the waters that fall into Hays River and that which falls into Nelson River, this height of land stretches with a curve along the painted stone carrying place, and from thence Westerly towards large Cross Lake where it disappears; from Cross Lake the boundary line will run in a Southerly direction and again fall upon Lake Winepeg." HBCA, B.154/e/1, Jack River District Report, Jack River House 1 June 1815, James Sutherland, f.1.

⁸⁷ HBCA, B.154/e/1, [District Report for Winnipeg District] Jack River House 1 June 1815 by James Sutherland, f. 5d.

⁸⁸ Shirritt-Beaumont. "The Rossville Scandal, 1846," 139-140.

Jack River District Report and various post journals and accounts for the years 1812 to

1827 indicates that a number of families persisted in the area over this period:

Cross Lake Families in Hudson's Bay Company records, 1812-1827:

Source	Date(s)	Names
HBCA	1812-1813	"West Winnipeg"
B.154/d/1		
JackRiver [Norway House]		Keekeekuthinis ⁸⁹
Account Book		" [Keekeekuthinis] his
folio 15		wife
		" [Keekeekuthinis] his
		daughter
		Misakickaneb
HBCA	1814-1815	1. Kekeckuthinisk
B.154/d/2b		2. Misakickaneb
folios 53d-54		4. Musquash
JackRiver [Norway House]	G ^N	26. Pekeecan
Account Book		
HBCA	1815	Ke-kik-oo-ethinus
B.154/e/1		Mis-a kik-aneb
Jack River Report		Pekican
James Sutherland	39	
HBCA	1816-1817	2. Keekeeckuthinisk
B.154/d/3b	.0	3. Misakickaneb
folio36d	57,,	5. Musquash
JackRiver [Norway House]	3	6. Do [Musquash] Wife
Account Book	0)	28. Waccaiaccunagan
HBCA	1817-1818	2. Keekickuthinisk
B.154/d/5		3. Misakickaneb
folio 7d-8		5. Musquash & Wife
JackRiver [Norway House]		26. Waccaiaccoonagan

⁸⁹ Raymond Morris Shirritt-Beaumont states that Miskika nib had 2 wives; "Lucy?" the daughter of Pekekan and "Jane?", daughter of Keekee wa thinish. One of Miskika nib's daughters with his first wife, the daughter of Kee kee wa thinish, Flora (May-chi-ki-h-kwah-nay-p[b]), married Boujaun or Boodjum [John Wesley], and she and her husband were early Methodist converts. Flora was the sister of Eliza Miskika nib (Majekekwanab), who was involved in the Rossville mission in its early days, and sister-in-law of another Methodist convert, Adam Moodie. Flora and Eliza were either sisters or half sisters to Mary (May-chi-ki-h-kwah-nay-p[b]), who was baptized in 1840 at the age of thirteen. Mary married Amos "Keakesas" in 1844. Eliza married John Nabaisse and moved to Cumberland House where her descendants still live. She was still alive in the 1890s. While these daughters of Miskika nib had a connection with the Rossville Mission, it is interesting to note that Flora chose to resolve the information she received from the missionaries prior to her conversion through a vision quest. Keekee wa thinish's son "Nuay coo wayow" had two wives, one of whom was Elizabeth Budd, sister or half sister of the native missionary Henry Budd. Nuay coo wayow's sons Adam Moody and "Boodjum" (John Wesley) who was married to Flora Miskika nib, were also involved in the mission at Rossville. Shirritt-Beaumont. "The Rossville Scandal," 40, 41, 48, 51, 60-61, 98, 137, 140.

Source	Date(s)	Names
Account Book		
HBCA B.154/a/7	1818-1819	Keekeeckuthsisk [fo. 19d]
Norway House-Post Journal		Mistenesk [fo. 10d]
By Mr. Jas Kirkness		Misakickaneb [fo. 14]
		Pekeecan [fo. 20]
HBCA	1818-1819	1. Musquash
B.154/d/7		4. Keekeeckuthinisk
folio 77d		5. Misakickaneb
Norway House Account		6. Pekeecan
Book		7. Waccaiaccoonaga

HBCA B.154/e/2 Norway House District Report Joseph McGillivray 1822-1823 Folios 20-21

		Heads of	Women	Boys	Girls	Tribes	Hunting
		Families					Grounds
8	[Kee kee wa	Head of	1	1		[Maskegon]	Cross
	thinish]	a Family	XS				Lake
11	Musquash		1	1	2	[Maskegon]	Cross
			(0)				Lake
12	[W]accain	0	1	1	1	[Maskegon]	[Cross
	comagan						Lake]
22	Peke kan	Head of	2		1	Pelican ⁹⁰	Cross

⁹⁰ Shirritt-Beaumont states: "The one family of Pelicans [who became associated with the Rossville Mission]... consisted of "Pekekan," his son "Nec aw nee," and son-in-law, Miskika nib," whose polygynous marriages connected them to most of the nearby Cree. Miskika nib, for instance, had two wives, one of them a daughter of Pekekan, the other a daughter of "Keekee wa thinish," a leading Cree hunter at Cross Lake. Miskika nib's numerous children included Flora, an early Christian convert at Norway House, and Eliza Majekekwanab..." "Rossville" 40. Shirritt-Beaumont also states: "Why Pekekan and Miskika nib were living at Cross Lake is not immediately obvious, but the fact that Miskika nib had two wives provides a clue." Shirritt-Beaumont suggests that Pekekan and Miskika nib, listed as "Pelicans," were living with their Cree relations by marriage. (Shirritt-Beaumont. "The Rossville Scandal," 38-39). This is supported by James Sutherland's 1815 District Report: "They seldom chastise their children for a fault, the consequence is they neither fear nor respect their parents, and the boys before they come to the age of puberty get a girl for their Intended wife, then they invariably attach themselves to her relations and become careless and neglectful of those that brought them into existance." (HBCA B.154/e/1, Jack River House June 1st 1815, James Sutherland, 5d). What Sutherland was describing was matrilocal residence, that is, the new couple would live with the parents of the bride. Anthropologists Charles A. Bishop and M. Estellie Smith state that "...there is evidence that the Cree emphasized matrilocal residence patterns (cf. Tyrrell 1931: 229-230) rather than patrilocality like the Ojibwa and Assiniboin. ("Early Historic Populations in Northwestern Ontario: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Interpretations." American Antiquity, 1975, 62.) Shirritt-Beaumont identifies Miskika nib's two wives as "Lucy?", the

		a Family					Lake
23	Miskika nib 1 st son		2	"[3]	4	[Pelican]	[Cross
	[Pake kan]						lake]

Source	Date(s)	Names
HBCA	1826-1827	Pee Kee can
B.154/d/26		Mis keck a neb
1826-1827		Wai cai oh ca nagan
Norway House Account		Mass skee e nish
Book		
folio 15		0

The Indian Census for Norway House in 1838 showed "Miskeecunib" as a Head of Family, with 2 wives, 4 sons, and 3 daughters. In 1845, the Norway House post journal noted that on Saturday 31 May"Mis a kequenib and Tepastanum" (a noted spiritual leader who would later enter into treaty on behalf of the Pimicikamak people) "arrived with furs, from outward appearance chiefly Beaver we shall however see on Monday morning_" Shirritt-Beaumont notes that available sources suggest that Mis a kequenib's first wife, whom he married around 1815, was a daughter of Kee kee wa thinish, while his second wife, who he entered into a relationship with around 1818 was a daughter of Pekekan." Documentary evidence, then, shows that this family already resided in the Cross Lake area in 1794, and persisted into the mid-nineteenth century.

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daughter of Pekekan, and "Jane?" the daughter of Keekee wa thinish, thus linking the Cross Lake hunting families by marriage. (Raymond Morris Shirritt-Beaumont. "The Rossville Scandal, 1846," 40, 139.) Shirritt-Beaumont states "Keekee wa thinish had a son named "Nuay coo wayow," one of whose wives was probably a daughter of Porcupine, who hunted at Limestone Lake southwest of Norway House. The other was Elizabeth Budd, whose father, "Uchegun" *alias* Curleyhead, apparently arrived in the area from York Factory in about 1811. Nuay coo wayow's family was deeply involved in the religious changes at Norway House. His sons Adam Moody, who had been converted at Red River and "Boodjum" *alias* John Wesley, whose wife Flora was mentioned above, became leaders in the church." Shirritt-Beaumont. "The Rossville Scandal," [40?].

⁹¹ HBCA B.239/z/10, York Factory Miscellaneous, 1838, [f. 84d.]. See also Appendix I for instances where these and related names occur in the Norway House journals.

⁹² HBCA B.154/a/43 Norway House Post Journal, 1844-1845, f. 30.

⁹³ Raymond Morris Shirritt-Beaumont. "The Rossville Scandal,"139.

As in earlier times, family hunting groups were a fundamental social unit for Aboriginal people in the area. Documentary sources for the late 1700s and early 1800s provide some limited insight into local socio-political structure and leadership patterns, but their information is fragmentary, as outside observers seldom had a good grasp of the flexibility and seasonality of Western Woods Cree social organizations. The smallest social unit in wintertime might consist of a husband, wife, and children. It could also be a polygynous unit with a second wife (who was often the sister of the first wife), and a great man might have, perhaps, up to seven wives. The total household might consist of a lodge with 10 to 14 relatives, but in rare instances might have twice that number. 94

In the fall, in more moderate winter weather, and again in spring, local bands of from two to four or five families, numbering perhaps 10 to 30 people or even more would hunt and forage together. They were led, consensually, by a man whose experience, judgement, and proven spiritual powers were respected by the band members. If the qualifications of this *okima* 'w declined, he might be replaced, or the local band might disperse, as families joined other bands. In summer, local bands gathered on the shores of lakes and rivers where fisheries, hunting, and gathering could support their numbers, and where the open spaces along the shores allowed breezes to blow away the biting insects that plagued summer travel in the bush. These larger bands were led, again, by an *okima* 'w. Like local hunting bands, these regional bands varied in size, ranging up to a few hundred people. Their numbers depended on environmental conditions, the power of the leader, and the

⁹⁴ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 259.

extent of his family relationships. Smith states that "The flexibility of band size and composition was directly related to the environmental exploitation and seasonal adaptations." ⁹⁵

Cree culture in areas around Hudson Bay and in northern Manitoba consistently exhibited a leadership structure that eschewed coercion. Speaking about the Eastern Cree in the 1930s, Regina Flannery found that "overseeing" "was foreign to Cree notions of leadership and respect for individual freedom." Cree people's idea of leadership differed from what fur traders expected, but they nonetheless had leaders. Morantz describes Eastern Cree leadership as consisiting of "definite, recognizable leaders exercising influence in the place of authority." Some leaders also "chose to aggrandize their positions when they could, as did the trading captains." Among the Rock Cree, local hunting bands, and possibly larger regional groups, had leaders whose influence, according to Robert Brightman, came "from age and foraging expertise." What little actual control any one person held over another occurred in families, with older family members having a limited ability to direct young, unmarried relatives. The Cree distinguished themselves from the Chipewyan by decrying what they saw as the poor treatment of women by Chipewyan men.

⁹⁵ Smith. "Western Woods Cree," 259.

⁹⁶ Regina Flannery. *Ellen Smallboy: Glimpses of a Cree Woman's Life*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995, 70.

⁹⁷ Toby Morantz. *The White Man's Gonna Getcha: the Colonial Challenge to the Crees in Quebec.* Montreal: McGill-Oueen's University Press, 2002, 21.

⁹⁸ Brightman. Grateful Prey,11.

Cree Elder Louis Bird describes the Omushkego or Swampy Cree leadership style as very different from what was understood by Europeans, or later imposed by the Department of Indian Affairs:

....I did get the information from the elders, how was the leadership elected long time ago. They did not have to practice democratic system, no. Do you know why? Because they never lived together. The Omushkegos always moved with four seasons, and always in the individual family. So democratic system wasn't required in that time. The only thing that requires that kind of thing is whenever they get together in the short time in season, maybe a few days in some place where they meet, that's where sometimes a leader is looked at. But the leader usually is an elder who knows about life, knows about the procedures about getting together, how to do things together, and temporary; people have someone to look at, someone to listen to what should be done. And they don't have to vote, they don't have to do anything at all, it just happened automatically, it is there by cultural practice that an elder or someone who is fully skilled in doing things become a leader. So that's what it was; it was almost like in the wildlife. For example, for the herds of caribous in the mating season, there are females, there are males, so the strongest of the bulls happen to be lucky and serves the harem....And that was exactly what happened to the Native people. People automatically know who is strong and who is healthy and who is wise; when something requires somebody to lead, it is always that person. You don't have to vote, you don't have to pull sticks or anything. It just happens automatically.

Sometimes only one person will mention that and then everybody would agree. That was a traditional system in selecting a leader. But the band council system which has been created by the Department of Indian Affairs, that did not apply. It never was in force to any members of the First Nations, those who still exercise their culture, living by the land. In Winisk area, the Winisk River system people, they move with the season, they only begin to settle in community by 1955. So they'd been using that old system, long time ago, until late 1970. That's when they began to use voting.

The leaders of the winter hunting groups of the Swampy Cree did not hold coercive power over band membership or residence. Both families and individuals often moved

⁹⁹ Louis Bird. *Telling our Stories: Omushkego Legends and Histories from Hudson Bay*. edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown, Paul W. DePasquale, and Mark F. Ruml; with contributions by Roland Bohr, Anne Lindsay, and Donna G. Sutherland. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005, 241.

between regional bands that were based in the different river basins. Victor Lytwyn cites the perceptive comments of two HBC officers in their respective district reports of 1815:

In his report on the York Factory district in 1815, Chief Factor William Hemmings Cook wrote, "there are no Chiefs or men of consequence among them, they assert no claim or prescriptive right to the country they inhabit. The best Hunter is the most independent and respectable man. He is looked up to as the father of the family, is permitted to regulate domestic concerns and determine the route they must take in their Hunting Excursions." In the 1815 Severn House District Report, James Swain made similar observations about the lack of exclusive hunting territories among the Lowland Cree. "The Indians of this Country have not the smallest idea of exclusive rights to any particular hunting Grounds," he noted, "but Travel about in these parts where there is the greatest probability of success."

On the nature of Cree leadership, Lytwyn states that:

European observers were impressed by the lack of a rigid, hierarchical political order among the Indians. William Falconer wrote that "they are subject to no foreign power, neither have they any Monarch of their own, every man being sole Governor of his family," and Andrew Graham remarked, "The father or head of a family owns no superior, obeys no command." ¹⁰¹

Some scholars have concluded from such observations that the Lowland Cree and their neighbours lacked any sort of leadership before European contact. Lytwyn challenges this idea, suggesting that European records actually give evidence for a strongly developed leadership pattern among these groups at the time of earliest contact. European observers were in fact recording not a lack of leadership, but rather a lack of European-style leadership. Cree leadership was consultative and consensual. Individuals made their own decisions, although those decisions were made with respect for the opinions of others. Lytwyn quotes Zachariah Gillam, who led one of the earliest European expeditions to Charles Fort in eastern James Bay in

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¹⁰⁰ Lytwyn. Muskekowuck Athinuwick, 11-12.

¹⁰¹ Lytwyn. Muskekowuck Athinuwick, 20-21.

1668, on Cree governance: "As to their government, they have some chief men above ye rest, yet working as ye rest." 102

Cree leaders led in areas where they had particular skill or power. A "trading captain" gathered the furs of others and spoke for his group in trading relationships. While European traders conferred the title, "Captain," on certain men,and may have seen themselves as "creating" these positions, the captains could not function unless the groups that they represented acknowledged their roles and leadership in that domain. "Trading Captains," the Hudson's Bay Company hoped, would increase their trade by drawing in the business of their extended families. But their influence among their own band members was generally limited to the activities related to trade, including travel to the post, their conduct at the post, and the return trip after trading.

Traditional leaders, in contrast, were created by their own bands, according to Henry Ellis, because of "the Esteem which the People have for [them]." European observers such as Ellis sometimes described such leaders as "Captains of Rivers." Ellis observed that a Captain of a River was "the leading Indian of the Indians about that River, or a Person whom the others consult in such Affairs as they think his Advice necessary in; and they will attend to what he at any Time may propose, as to going in Parties to Hunt, to War, or Trade." While leadership was based on ability and related qualities, familial connections also played a role. Leadership roles commonly passed from senior to junior males within families along patrilineal lines. Traders perceived Captains of Rivers as holding such power and influence that they often sought to cement relationships with

¹⁰² Lytwyn. Muskekowuck Athinuwick, 20-21.

them with gifts such as clothing, as when William Sinclair wrote from Wegg's House in 1795-1796:

[1795] October 8 Thursdayemployed giving the Indians debt gave a few presents to some of the chiefs

[1796] April 12 Tuesday.... At 11 AM six Indians and therre famalies came to the house with 150 MB^r and 10 pounds of Castorum &C, rig[ge]d two of the oldest Captains – and gave some of the young men coats as encouragement brandy tobacco &c.

May 28 Saturday.... At 2 PM 12 Canoes of Indians Arrived with 500 beaver and 20 pounds of Castorum_rig,d two of the Oldest Indians and gave Coats to many of the children 103

And at Cross Lake a North West Company trader journalist wrote on 6 April 1796, "At 5 am the 2 men arived from the Indians brought 20 baver thes day I gave riging to A Chieef Leding Indian" ¹⁰⁴

And a North West Company wintering partner, possibly the same man, wrote in 1805:

[1805 September] Munday 23^don our way down towards the long Portage I heared agun we fired and was answered by the Indians _ we found 2 Lodges, say 13 Men that was waiting for the English I given them 2 Large kegs Rum and Cloth-ed the Chiefs and all their Children & prevailed on them to Come up and winter with me at Cross Lak or duck Lake¹⁰⁵

HBC traders writing in the Cumberland and Norway House districts, as in areas closer to Hudson Bay, also recorded a similar disparity between European and Cree ideas of leadership. The Cumberland House District Report for 1815 noted the Cree leaders lacked coercive power. Several "Chiefs" had "adherents" who traded at Cumberland House, "but tho these old men assume the title of Chiefs they have no right to it as they

¹⁰³ Lytwyn. *Muskekowuck Athinuwick*, 21, 22-23; HBCA B.228/a/1, Wegg's House Post Journal, 1795-1796, by William Sinclair, F. 7, 18, 20d.

¹⁰⁴ HBCA B.268/a/1, [Cross Lake] Post Journal, [author unidentified],1795-1796, F. 14, 17.

¹⁰⁵ LAC, Masson Collection, Journals, "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake by an unidentified wintering partner." MG 19, C1, vol. 9, F. 6.

have no controul over the young men whom they call their adherents, there is Thirty five Indians attached to these old men who trade with us at Cumberland." 106

In 1815, fur trader James Sutherland described Cree leadership patterns in the Jack River District, which included Cross Lake on its northeastern boundary. Sutherland found that the advice of the "old men" was listened to "with attention." However, the advice of these leaders was not coercive.

There are no chiefs here that has any influence over the rest, further than age may entitle them to, The opinion and advice of the old men are listened to with attention, but never put in practice by the hearers further than is advantageous or convenient for themselves. 107

In the 1823 Norway House District Report, Joseph McGillivray again emphasized the non-coercive nature of group membership and leadership in the area:

It is one of great difficulty to procure authentic information concerning Tribes, in an uncivilised State, and to discover their Characters under this rude form, detect the features by which they are distinguished, requires a person possessed of impartiality and penetration. Their political union is so deficient that people in this state must be regarded as independent agents than members of a regular community....

Their political union is destitute of concert or association - no distinctions can arise from the unequality of possessions – all are freemen, and assert with firmness the rights belonging to that Condition. They are unacquainted with control, and [do] not willingly submit to correction, under this view they may be considered as individuals not members of a Society. No Chief is acknowledged among them.

If blood is shed, or any insult committed, revenge is on the Spur, and the relatives of the injured or slain will avenge the Wrong – And it is seldom they will escape with impunity. Their resentments are implacable and everlasting. 108

¹⁰⁶ HBCA, B.49/e/1, Cumberland House District Report, 1815, f. 5.

¹⁰⁷ HBCA, B.154/e/1, Jack River District Report, Jack River House June 1st 1815, by James Sutherland, f.6.

¹⁰⁸ HBCA B.154/e/2, Norway House Report of District, 1822-1823, Joseph McGillivray, f. 14d-16d.

European traders, as they tried to make sense of a system foreign to them, produced reports that were at times inconsistent. While stating that the Swampy Cree lacked "leaders", they identified certain people as "Chiefs" or "leading men," and sought their favour with gifts and special treatment. And just as Cree leadership patterns challenged traders' understandings, the role of women in Cree society was also unfamiliar to them. European observers found fault with what they perceived to be the women's hard life, but seldom recognized the relative freedom and self-determination within their own spheres that they had when compared with European women. In 1815 in the Norway House region, James Sutherland noted: "The Indians are fond of their Children but treat their women more as menial servants than Companions and oblige them to do all the labarious duty. Hunting and fishing excepted and hunger often induces them to assist in the latter." In 1823, Joseph McGillivray remarked on Cree men's attitudes towards women: "The passion implanted in their natures are not ardent. They view their women with a Coldness bordering on indifference, and the duties of Women are Severe. Yet when they have a progeny no people exceed them in tenderness and care." ¹¹⁰

Yet the Cree distinguished themselves from the Chipewyan by rejecting what they considered the harsh treatment of women by their traditional enemies. Cree women also enjoyed a degree of autonomy that confounded European men who married Aboriginal women. Historian Sylvia Van Kirk states that European traders were at a loss to understand or fully explain Aboriginal women's autonomy in their own spheres.

Observers noted women, despite what Van Kirk calls "the onerous burdens inflicted upon

¹⁰⁹ HBCA B.154/e/1, Jack River District Report, Jack River House June 1st 1815, by James Sutherland,

¹¹⁰ HBCA B.154/e/2, Norway House Report of District, 1822-1823, by Joseph McGillivray, f. 16.

[them]," still held influence. ¹¹¹ Van Kirk attributes the apparent dichotomy to the division of labour needed to survive the seasonal lifestyle the people enjoyed. ¹¹²

Fur trade journals and accounts from the Pimicikamak territory reflect this sort of autonomy, showing women travelling to fur trade posts unescorted, and trading on their own behalf. Examples include remarks by William Sinclair in 1795-1796:

[1795] September 21 Monday ...at 8 AM a Indian woman came to the house with three geese

[1796] Feby 22nd Monday....at 1 PM two Indian wemon [women] came to the house with 55 pounds of venison and six beaver Skins

[1796] March 8 Tuesday... at 6 AM two Indian wemon came to the house with 75 pounds of half dried Deers meat

[1796] March 9 Wednesday.... The Indian wemon set off to there tent¹¹³

The North West Company wintering partner at Cross Lake noted in 1805-1806:

[1806 March] Saturday 8...I sent 2 men with fish to the Indians and Sent them ward [folio 32] word that if they coud not kill any thing to Sen their women for fish as I Coud not Spare the men &c

[1806 March] Thursday 20...3 women Came from the other Indians for fish they had kill^d Nothing but 5 minks_

[1806 April] Friday 11...The Indian women Came for fish & brought 4 Cats for which I given them 2 Gall [Rum inserted] &c Tab, &c¹¹⁴

And the Norway House Account books for 1812-1813 and 1816-1817 note accounts held by women including the wife and daughter of Keekeekuthinis in the trading year 1812 to 1813, and the wife of Musquash in 1816-1817.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Sylvia Van Kirk. *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-trade Society, 1670-1870* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980, 83.

¹¹² Sylvia Van Kirk. *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-trade Society, 1670-1870* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980, 83.

¹¹³ HBCA B.228/a/1, Wegg's House Post Journal, 1795-1796, by William Sinclair, f. 6, 15-16.

¹¹⁴ LAC, Masson Collection, Journals, "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake" by an unidentified wintering partner, MG 19, C1, vol. 9. f. 31-33, 36.

Until the mid-1800s, both men and women in Pimicikamak territory maintained considerable independence. The people focused their seasonal rounds on fishing, sometimes to the frustration of fur traders who would have preferred them to focus their efforts on winter fur-bearers. In his District Report for 1824, Colin Robertson described a people who were able to meet their own needs, and chose when, where and whether they would interact with the fur trade. Robertson's report also articulated the family-based structure of interaction that the Cree preferred to enter into, and showed that fur traders, if they wanted to prosper, were compelled to adapt to Cree cultural expectations:

The frequent changes have been prejudicial to its Trade _ an Indians wants are few and if he has cause to be dissatisfied with the Individual in charge. he will clothe himself and family in Leathers, and simply kill a sufficient quantity [of Furs] to purchase a little _ Ammunition _ But on the contrary should he consider our House as a kind of home and our People a sort of Relatives, and that encouragement waits him should his conduct merit it. such will stimulate his Industry and call forth his exertions. _ It is an erroneous idea that an Indian is void of feeling, and good or bad treatment has no effect on the Returns of a Post. while you have no opposition to contend with as the produce of an Indians hunt never exceeds his wants. on the contrary I have known an Indian who was in the habit of killing from Fifty to Seventy made Beaver annually. take only ten Skins in Debt. and this trifling Debt he discharged in small Peltries. being indifferent to augment our Returns as we were to contribute to his comfort. _ 116

Earlier, in 1815, James Sutherland had described the life of the local people. Sutherland's report recorded the harsh winters the people were able to survive, and traditional subsistence strategies, notably fishing, that complemented rather than accommodated the fur trade:

 $^{^{115}}$ HBCA B.154/d/1, Norway House Account Book, f. 15; and HBCA B.154/d/3b, Norway House Account Book f. 36d.

¹¹⁶ HBCA B.154/e/3, Norway House Report of District, 1823-1824 by Colin Robertson, f. 1.

The Condition of the Indians here is often miserable their means of Subsistance being very precarious, and few of them able by their Hunts to to [sic] clothe themselves and family comfortably. It's true in the summer season they think themselves happy in being able to endulge themselves in their ruling passion of Sloth and Idleness, their little clothing serves them, and they can with little labour paddle about collect eggs, kill young game & spear or angle fish in every Lake, then they might provide themselves with stocks of dried fish for the Winter but they are so very improvident that I never knew any of them make the attempt. The never think of winter untill its's approach then it is frightful to them, Ill provided with clothing and leather to defend them from the severity of that season, they get dispirited and nothing rouzes them to exertion, but the cravings of hunger or a hope of being able to purchase spirituous Liquour. Their principal dependance for food in the winter is fish & when this fails them they are often reduced to scanty meals and sometimes to want for days. Some of the best Hunters do at times depend on the Hunting of animals, but from their prevailing scarcity they are often reduced to the Horrors of famine, and obliged to fly to the nearest fishing place where they can angle a fish to preserve life. 117

In 1823, Joseph McGillivray wrote in a similar vein:

.... They entirely depend upon the bounty of Nature for Subsistence, discover no Solicitude, and Scarcely excite any industry to secure what is necessary for their support. They neither sow nor plant, and are entirely unacquainted with any species of cultivation. The prolific quality of the Rivers and Lakes where fish is so abundant is theire chief subsistence, and they exclusively depend on what the waters supply. Hunting animals appears not to be their employment, and as the former occupation requires so little exertion or activity where the demands of men are so few and moderate as to be gratified without trouble or any effort, indolence is rather encouraged – and is peculiarly characteristic of the Natives – accordingly the Provision for subsistence from habits of supineness often reduces them to great distress, and many instances could be pointed out where they have literally starved to death. Improvident to an excess their scanty Stock of Fish, which is obtained in the Fall, is soon exhausted He then roams from Lake to Lake and purchases a most precarious means of living. It would be a fallacious idea to imagine that Indians who are reduced to their extremities can direct their attention to Furs, he never bestows a thought on the Subject. Gentlemen who have wintered here may find the [Colouring] overcharged. I give what has

¹¹⁷ HBCA B.154/e/1, Jack River District Report, Jack River House June 1st 1815 by James Sutherland, f. 5d. Brian J. Smith notes that "A common theme presented by early ethnographers using historical accounts to enhance their ethnographies is that fish was considered an inferior food, or one taken only out of necessity, suggesting starvation." Smith concludes, though, that "The choice to fish, then, probably represented conditions that were not life-threatening...." (Brian J. Smith. "The Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the use of Fish as an Alternate Subsistence Resource among Northern Plains Bison Hunters." In: Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen, eds. *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 44, 45).

fallen under my own observation without presuming to decide, for when an investigation is from its nature so intricate and obscure as to preclude the possibility of arriving at conclusions, there may be some satisfaction in pointing out such as are probable.....

A singular custom prevails, and which is peculiar to them alone, they will leave their Families on the borders of a lake or river in fishing _ Whilst the men from a desire of Eating Flesh, will sleep out five or six nights, and probably succeed in killing an animal. Thus their whole and undivided attentions are directed on subsistence _ The winter is the Season devoted to pleasure, and the few enjoyments possessed are gratified without restraint. An immoderate love of play predominates, and they have several games of hazard, not very complicated 118

In 1840, a Methodist mission station was opened at Norway House. Besides the fur trade, the arrival of missionaries represented another significant source for potential contact between Europeans and Aboriginal people in the region. There is little evidence, however, that many of the people residing at Cross Lake or "John Scott's Lake" (Setting Lake) had much interaction with missionaries before the 1870s. Norway House Methodist baptismal and marriage records date the first baptism of a person from Cross Lake to 1874. (See Appendices E and F for a transcription of baptisms and marriages from Methodist records that specifically mention Cross Lake or John Scott's Lake). The

¹¹⁸ HBCA B.154/e/2, Norway House Report of District, 1822-1823 by Joseph McGillivray, f.s 14d, 14d-15d.

¹¹⁹ John Scott's Lake was a local name for Setting Lake, north of Cross Lake. A number of people who would become members of the "Cross Lake Band" after treaty were from John Scott's Lake. See later in this report. (James Vidal Dillabough. *Transportation in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Economic Survey Board, 1938, 127.) Penny Ham states: "Setting, lake, northwest of Cross Lake -....The lake, on the Grass River route, owes its name to the fact that the Indians used to set their fish nets in the lake. The name is a translation of the Cree *pukitawagan*." (Penny Ham, *Place Names of Manitoba*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980, 119.) In *Geographical Names of Manitoba*, the authors note under the entry of "Setting Lake": Ross (1892) John Scott's Lake." (A. P. Buchner, ed. Manitoba Geographical Names Program, 2000, 247.) The local name likely comes from a Hudson's Bay Company employee, John Scott, who operated an outpost from Split Lake at "Net Lake" 1819-1820 and 1824-1825. Scott was in the Split Lake area from 1814 until he returned to Scotland in 1825. (Harvey Fleming "John Scott", in R. Harvey Fleming, ed. Rupert's Land Northern Dept. Council. *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1940, 453-454; and HBCA B.207/a/2, Split Lake House Post Journal, 1824-1825, by Roderick McKenzie, f.s 2-21d.)

¹²⁰ One previous entry, apparently by the minister E.R. Young is undated. See Methodist baptisms transcriptions in Appendix F.

first Methodist marriage of people identified as from John Scott's Lake or Cross Lake was in 1863. 121

The relative lack of mission influence at Cross Lake is reflected in the fact that numerous men in that locale continued to have more than one wife for some time after the practice faded among other Crees. In the 1930s, anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell noted this persistence of polygynous marriages in the post-treaty Cross Lake population:

Polygyny is absent in all of the Cree groups with the exception of the bands at Cross Lake and Moose Lake. That this fact is connected with missionary efforts there is no reason to doubt. In 1840, with Norway House selected as the base of operations... the British Wesleyan Missionary Committee inaugurated the first attempt to Christianize the native Cree in the neighbourhood of northern Lake Winnipeg. Some of these Cree bands, then, had had missionaries in residence for as much as thirty-five years. The two bands mentioned were not among these, however, and despite their proximity to Norway House, the Cross Lake Cree are referred to by Commissioner [Alexander] Morris at the time of the treaty as the "Wood or Pagan Indians of Cross Lake." 122

Fur trade activity in the area after the late 1700s was also limited. For the most part, from the early 1800s until the early 1860s, Hudson's Bay Company traders made only brief trips to the area around Cross Lake, visiting specific hunting groups to collect furs. The Hudson's Bay Company's presence at Cross Lake increased somewhat in the early 1860s. The Hudson's Bay Company staff at Norway House undertook a number of trips to Cross Lake, and a journal entry in November 1862 suggests that some sort of post

¹²² A. Irving Hallowell. "The Incidence, Character, and Decline of Polygyny among the Lake Winnipeg Cree and Saulteaux." *American Anthropologist*, 1938, 238-239.

¹²¹ UCA (Wpg.), Wesleyan Missionary General Register, 1840-1892, Original Registers of Marriages, Rossville.

¹²³ See Appendix H, Norway House Journal Transcriptions, references to Cross Lake and John Scott's Lake.

may have been initiated at that time: "Mess^{rs} Ross & M^cKenzie started this morning for Cross Lake where the latter is to remain in charge – Mr. Ross is expected back about the beginning of the week" Nothing more was said of this venture. ¹²⁴ In the 1860s contact between the Pimicikamak people and fur traders and missionaries increased gradually, but it was not until the 1870s that a significant change in relationships would occur as the Rupert's Land transfer and the social, political and economic changes it set in motion created the need to negotiate new relationships between the Pimicikamak people, the Crown, and the people of the newly formed nation of Canada.

¹²⁴ HBCA B.154/a/65, Norway House Post Journal, 1861-63, 21 November 1862, f. 62. See Appendix H for references from the Norway House Journal to Cross Lake, and John Scott's Lake. Note that Sipiwesk Lake was not mentioned in these journals. Hudson's Bay Company and subsequent free trader and Hudson's Bay Company interest in setting up a regular trade in the Cross Lake area, as opposed to brief trading trips, continued into the treaty period.

V. Treaty Five

In 1869, the HBC sold its interest in its charter over the territory of Rupert's Land to Great Britain, which then transferred the region to the new dominion of Canada. Following the transfer, the federal government quickly began entering into treaties with local Aboriginal bands, in an effort to extinguish Aboriginal title. Treaties One and Two were negotiated in 1871, and Treaty Three in 1873. The Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories, initially showed no interest in treating for the land north of Lake Winnipeg. According to historical geographer Frank Tough, Morris saw no need for a treaty in that area at the time, as the land was not suited to agriculture. Tough notes, however, that, prompted by some difficulty in defining the northern boundaries of Treaties One and Two (which could, of themselves, have been addressed with negotiations with the people at Berens River and Island Lake), and the arrival of Icelandic immigrants interested in settling on the western shores of Lake Winnipeg, Morris had reversed himself by 1874. ¹²⁵

The 1870s brought many unsettling changes for Aboriginal people, including those in the Norway House area, and for the fur traders and missionaries with whom they were associated. Changes in transportation meant that people who had depended on the Hudson's Bay Company for employment for at least part of their subsistence were congregating at Norway House. With few options to support themselves and their families, and the continued pressure on the land, the Crees found that local animal

¹²⁵ Frank Tough. "Economic Aspects of Aboriginal Title in Northern Manitoba: Treaty Five Adhesions and Métis Scrip." *Manitoba History*, 15, Spring 1988, 4.

populations were pressed beyond the limit to support so many people, adding to the unease.

In the summer of 1873, Church of England Church Missionary Society minister James Settee arrived at Norway House hoping to establish a mission in the Split Lake region. Settee had been born in the Split Lake area, and was related to the "Nelson Indians" as he described them in his letters. 126 This group included Tapastanum and his relatives, who hunted in the area around John Scott's Lake (Setting Lake, Nett Lake). 227 Settee's interaction with the local people demonstrates the control they excercised on matters relating to the area. Settee stated in a letter from Norway House to Archdeacon Cowley, dated August 21st 1873, that the Nelson Indians had agreed to support a church, had wanted the church to be built "above Split Lake where the Nelson Indians have fixed upon" and that Tapastanum, "the head conjurer of the Nelson River," would travel with him to determine the place where the church should be established. 128

The mission was short lived, however. In Settee's Annual Letter of 1874, he told the Church Missionary Society that, although the mission seemed to be going well, the Nelson River elders, returning with their hunting groups at Christmas time, met to tell

¹²⁶ Annual Letter, James Settee, Sr., to Mr Fenn, Church Missionary Society (CMS) Microfilm Reel A101, November 30th 1874, Folio 29ff.

¹²⁷ The local name for the lake was Pukatawagan, or "Net Setting Lake." There was another lake by that same name that retains the name "Pukatawagan" today, but it is not the same lake. See Methodist Baptisms, Tapastanum and his family were noted as from "John Scott's Lake in these records, although Ruttan, in his letter describes them as from "Split Lake" in his published letter. Ruttan may have used Split Lake in his letter as a larger and therefore better known lake in the area. See HBCA Biographies: Scott, John, and HBCA Post Histories: Split Lake. The Split Lake Post was closed at this time. See also James Vidal Dillabough, Transportation in Manitoba. Winnipeg: Manitoba Economic Survey Board, 1938, 127. Lewis G. Thomas, "Settee, James". Dictionary of Canadian Biography online: http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html.

⁸ James Settee Sr. to Cowley, Norway House August 21st 1873, Church Missionary Society Reel A100, f 79 ff.

him they had decided that, considering local conditions and opportunities, they would prefer to have a mission farther south where there were better options for employment and farming. Settee took a petition to Lieutenant Governor Morris on behalf of the "Nelson Indians" and those around Norway House. The petition asked for a grant of land "either in this province or in Saskatchewan to make it a home for themselves and families." Settee went on to say that "on my arrival I presented the Petition, the Governor received very graciously, he said, the Petition would receive every attention, the reply would be given in Autumn, or early in the winter." Settee added that "The Nelson Indians would have followed me to the province [of Manitoba], but the trader objected ... if they would follow me." 129

There can be little doubt that Roderick Ross, the HBC factor at Norway House was concerned about losing the local hunters and trappers who dealt with the post. And Ross was also worried that large numbers of people, who had formerly derived at least part of their income by working for the Company, were now unemployed and congregating at the post and mission. As well, the close proximity of Treaty Three territory to the Berens River area meant that some of the hunters from Little Grand Rapids on the eastern side of the District had moved to Lac Seul, to take advantage of the benefits of entering into Treaty Three. This reduced both the fur returns and the customer base of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Berens River portion of the Norway House District, while the people displaced from the fur trade looked outside the district (for example, to Red River) for suitable places to settle and support themselves by farming, possibly further

¹²⁹ Annual Letter, James Settee, Sr,. to Mr Fenn, CMS Microfilm Reel A101, November 30th 1874, Folio 29ff. Manitoba, known as "the postage stamp province" at the time, was much smaller than it is now, centered around Winnipeg, in the south of what is Manitoba today.

undermining the Ross' potential trade. ¹³⁰ In his 1875 District Report, Ross informed his employers:

You are aware that the operation of the Treaty recently effected with the Indians of Lac Seul has tended to the withdrawl of a large section of the [Little] Grand Rapids Indians who have been included in that treaty as at one time belonging to the former post. Hence has chiefly arisen the great contraction in the Returns of the Grand Rapid, of late years....

Hitherto profitably employed in the summer transport, each able-bodied man in this way earning from £ to £20 during the season, it now becomes a serious guestion how the crowd of Indians collected here can earn a living for themselves and families when deprived of the principal and almost sole means of earning a livelihood. It is clear that as a first measure of relief, many of them must leave this vicinity; and duly impressed with the necessity of this an emigration - movement encouraged by the [Methodist] missionaries [at Rossville], was set on foot and all but carried out in the early spring of this year. The objective point was White Mud River on the borders of the Province of Manitoba, where it was reported the Government was willing to make them grants of land, and to assist them with seed, agricultural implements, cattle and in many other ways. Beyond encouraging all the miserable halfbreed families who were settled here to move off to their own country I certainly could not approve of a scheme that once initiated and sanctioned by the Government would speedily depopulate the whole low country from Churchill to Lake Winnipeg. The project may now be considered all but abandoned. 131

Despite the failure of the plan to move to White Mud River, the Norway House group associated with the Methodist mission at Rossville continued to pursue the goal of finding a place where they could try to support themselves by farming. Morris had already approached the federal government on this matter in December of 1874. ¹³² In February of 1875, the group, assisted by Henry Prince of Treaty One, and likely by the

¹³⁰ HBCA, B.154/e/11, Norway House District Report, 1874, by Roderick Ross, f. 1-3d.

¹³¹ HBCA, B.154/e/13, Norway House District Report, 1875, f. 1d-3d. Little Grand Rapids was known as "Grand Rapids" during this period, see HBCA Post Histories: Little Grand Rapids."

¹³² Archives of Manitoba [hereafter: AM], Calendar of Alexander Morris Papers: Lieutenant Governor's Collection 1872-1877, MG12 B1, 980 April 6, 1875, Langevin to Morris: "Received disp. 54 NW re Minute of N.W. Council of Dec. last recommending Swampy Cree Indians of Rossville and Norway House be permitted to remove to some other locality."

Reverend John Ruttan, the Rossville Methodist minister at the time, sent a letter to the

Free Press that was published in March 1875:

Norway House, Rossville, Feb 22nd, 1875. To the Editor of the Free Press

Sir,- We are not known to you personally, but we trust upon your generous and charitable characters being of the white men, who have ever been friends to the poor red men. Our desires are that you may have the goodness to insert these few lines into your paper, that all your good English friends the philanthropists of the poor human race may learn under what difficulty we are labouring in our efforts to form a village for the preservation of our lives and our children. You have heard of Christian village on the north end of Lake Winnipeg a settlement of the Swampy Crees, a community of consisting of nearly eight hundred souls, all baptized into our one common faith of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ and his blessed spirit by the labours of those devoted missionaries of the church of England and the Wesleyan who taught us to worship the one living and true God.

Our settlement is increasing, our kindred from the north regions of the Hudson's Bay are coming up higher to escape from starvation and cannibalism and to adopt the means employed by the white man to preserve life by disturbing the soil and raise food out the ground. The soil where our settlement is planted is small, the surface of the ground being principally stone and a marsh. The climate is neither well favourable for raising crops. Under these disadvantages we assembled among ourselves last summer, and drew up a petition to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and consigned the petition to the care of one friend, the Rev James Settie [Settee], whom we believed presented it to Governor Morris. We there asked His Excellency to grant us the same privilege as any of Her Majesty's subjects to seek for a place the land and climate are favorable for agriculture, we asked for a tract of land on the borders of the Lake Winnipeg called Grassy Narrows or in the Saskatchewan District. We are confident that the Lieutenant Governor who is appointed as the representative of our Sovereign Oueen Victoria cannot turn a deaf ear to the cries of so many poor creatures. We shall wait to hear from Manitoba if steps is to be taken to our help and support. May the Almighty bless our Oueen, and the rulers of this land. We ask our friend Mr Henry Prince to ask the printers to insert this in their paper.

Signed by David Randal [Rundle] on behalf of all the Swampy Crees of Norway House and Nelson River. 133

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¹³³ Letter to the Editor, *Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg, Thursday, March 27th, 1875, page 5.

Six weeks later, Ruttan wrote from Rossville to Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris that thirty families wanted to move to White Mud River or Grassy Narrows. He noted that steam navigation had led to unemployment and that the land around Norway House was not good for agriculture. ¹³⁴

In August of 1875, a deputation from the Norway House group travelled to Red River and approached Morris on the subject. As Morris reported on 5 October 1875 to the Minister of the Interior:

I proceeded to the St. Peter Reserve on the 5th of August and encamped near the Indian tents....

A party of Norway House Indians were present and asked for a reserve at the Grassy Narrows. I informed them that one could not be granted at that place, and learning from them that the Chief at Norway House was about leaving there with a party of Indians to confer with me, I engaged three of the Indians present to proceed at once to Norway House and inform the Indians that I would meet them there about the middle of September.

I have since learned that they met the Chief after he had left Norway House [for] Fort Garry, and caused him to return.

I have the honor to be, etc., Alexander Morris, *Lieut.- Governor*¹³⁵

Treaty Five was negotiated because the Aboriginal participants desired to enter into a relationship with the Crown similar to the agreements that other groups had already negotiated (the people at Berens River indicated they wanted "the same amount of Treaty money as had been given to the other Indians around us" as well as "a lengthy list of construction tools they wanted the government to supply"). For its part, the Canadian

¹³⁵ Alexander Morris. The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, including the negotiations on which they were based, and other information relating thereto. Toronto: Belfords, Clarke & Co, 1880, 132.

¹³⁴ Archives of Manitoba [hereafter: AM], Calendar of Alexander Morris Papers: Lieutenant Governor's Collection 1872-1877, MG12 B1, 981. April 6, 1875, John Ruttan, Rossville, to Morris.

government wanted to gain access to land and waterways for development. In 1874, Methodist missionary E.R. Young, who had by that time moved from Norway House to Berens River, informed the Lieutenant Governor on behalf of the Berens River Ojibwe that they had waited in vain in 1873 for the treaty commissioner to arrive, until food supplies were so depleted that they were forced to leave. Young stated that they "were somewhat soured in their minds and think they have not been dealt with in that straightforward manner which they expect from the Great Men who carry out the wishes of their Great Mother across the waters," but that they were still open to negotiating a treaty. ¹³⁶

At first, the Canadian government considered including the Norway House District people in Treaties One or Two, but that plan was not realistic given the great distance people would have had to travel to collect their annuities at Lower Fort Garry or Manitoba House, where the treaties had been negotiated. Lieutenant Governor Morris's initial intentions in entering into treaty in the Rossville/Norway House area were based on the pleas of the "Christianized Indians" associated with the Rossville mission. The Minister of the Interior, David Laird, had suggested that the Berens River people might sign an adhesion to Treaty One, but Morris disagreed, believing that increasing pressure to exploit the region and the need to find a new location for the Norway House band required a much larger and more comprehensive agreement. Morris wrote to ask for permission to enter into negotiations for a Lake Winnipeg treaty: "for the surrender of

¹³⁶ Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison. *Treaty Research Report: Treaty Five (1875)*. Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1986, 8.

¹³⁷ Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison. *Treaty Research Report: Treaty Five (1875)*. Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1986, 8.

the Territory uncovered by previous Treaties." Even at this point, Morris expected to be treating with fewer than 200 families. Morris' arguments prevailed, and Laird in turn quickly received governmental permission to send Morris and James McKay to negotiate the new treaty. ¹³⁸ The federal cabinet approved the plan for what would become Treaty Five on 2 July 1875. ¹³⁹

Coates and Morrison contend that

Because the general conditions for Treaty Five had been set by Laird and Morris before actual negotiations began, it was evident that the Native people would have little actual input into the treaty itself. Nonetheless, the treaty commissioners would go through an elaborate procedure of explaining the terms, asking for Native suggestions, and securing their acceptance of the package. But there were, in fact, few substantive negotiations; such matters as the election of the chief and the selection of the reserve sites were the only ones about which the Native people had much choice. ¹⁴⁰

Yet, when the party reached Norway House, they were to find that not all negotiations were solely in the hands of the Crown.

On 17 September 1875, the Treaty Commissioners left Fort Garry onboard the HBC steamer *Colvile*. The treaty negotiation at Berens River was brief, and from there they proceeded to Norway House. ¹⁴¹ When Morris arrived at Norway House, he evidently was not aware that the Cross Lake people planned to meet him there, and based on its communication with Morris, the federal government had approved a treaty area that did not include Pimicikamak territory. In a memo of 2 July 1875, David Laird, Minister of the Interior, stated:

¹³⁸ Mc Kay was a member of the Executive Council fo Manitoba, and an advisor to Lieutenant Governor Archibald. Coates and Morrison. *Treaty Research Report: Treaty Five (1875)*, 10-13.

¹³⁹ Coates and Morrison. Treaty Research Report: Treaty Five (1875), 10-13.

¹⁴⁰ Coates and Morrison. Treaty Research Report: Treaty Five (1875), 10-13.

¹⁴¹ Coates and Morrison. Treaty Research Report: Treaty Five (1875), 10-13.

The undersigned has the honor to report that His Honor the L^t Governor of the North West in his despatch of the 31st May last reports the necessity of negotiating a Treaty during the present year with the Indians on either side of Lake Winnipeg so as to include the territory lying north of that already included in Treaties No^s 2, 3, and 4 and East and West of Lake Winnipeg.

His Honor states that the progress of steam navigation on Lake Winnipeg, the Establishment of Missions, and of Saw mills, the discovery of Minerals on the shores and in the vicinity of the Lake as well as the proposed migration of the Norway House Indians, all point to the necessity of such a Treaty being concluded without delay.

His Honor states that the Indians included in this territory, [crossed out: which may be approximately estimated at about [line here] across] are Saulteux and Swampy Cree Indians and number in all about two hundred families.

The undersigned entirely concurs in the views of His Honor as to the necessity of negotiating the proposed Treaty during the present year and would respectfully recommend that His Honor the L^t Governor of the North West, and the Hon: James McKay be appointed Commissioners for that purpose.

The undersigned would further recommend that the Territory to be covered by the proposed Treaty should be that lying North of the Territories included in Treaties No^s 3, 2 and 4 and South of a line running from the North West point of Treaty No 3 North Easterly to Jack Lake, then following the Jack River and including the Play Green Lake; thence, Westerly, to Moose Lake; thence, Southerly to Red Deer Lake, it being understood that in all cases where Lakes form the Treaty limits, ten Miles from the shore of the Lake should be included in the Treaty, and that the Treaty shall expressly cover all Islands either in Lake Winnipeg or in any other Lake included in the Territory¹⁴²

Morris himself described the events surrounding the treaty signing:

We arrived at Norway House at three o'clock and were welcomed there by the Indians, who fired a salute.

On the 24th we met the Indians in a large store-house of the Hudson's Bay Company, and asked them to present their Chiefs and head men. We found

¹⁴² LAC, Privy Council Office: Item: Treaty with Indians on either side of Lake Winnipeg - [Minister of] Interior 2 July - Expediency of negotiating; Order-in-Council Number: 1875-0707. Date Introduced: 1875/07/02. Date Considered: 1875/07/02. Date Approved: 1875/07/09. Reference: RG2, Privy Council Office, Series A-1-a, For Order in Council see volume 335, Reel C-3312, Access code: 90 Register Number: Series A-1-d, Volume 2755 [D. Laird].

that there were two distinct bands of Indians, the Christian Indians of Norway House, and the Wood or Pagan Indians of Cross Lake. Each elected their Chiefs [David Rundle represented the Rossville/Norway House Band, and Tapastanum, or Donald William Sinclair Ross represented the Cross Lake Band] by popular vote in a most business-like manner, and the Chiefs, after consulting the bands, selected the head men. We then accepted the Chiefs, and I made an explanation of the object of our visit in English, and the Hon. James McKay in the Indian dialect. We severed the questions of terms and reserves, postponing the latter until we had disposed of the former. The Indians gratefully accepted of the offered terms, and we adjourned the conference to enable them to consult as to reserves. On re-assembling, the Christian Chief stated that they could no longer count on employment in boating for the Hudson's Bay Company, owing to the introduction of steam navigation, he and a portion of his band wished to migrate to Lake Winnipeg, where they could obtain a livelihood by farming and fishing. We explained why we could not grant them a reserve for that purpose at the Grassy Narrows as they wished owing to the proposed Icelandic Settlement there, but offered to allot them a reserve at Fisher River, about forty miles north of the Narrows, and this was accepted.... The Chief of the Pagan band, who has, however, recently been baptized, stated that the Wood Indians wished to remain at Cross Lake, and we agreed that a reserve should be allotted them there. The treaty was then signed and the medals and uniforms presented. The Chiefs, on behalf of their people, thanked Her Majesty and her officers for their kindness to the Indian people, which I suitably acknowledged, and the payment of the presents was commenced by Messrs. McKay and Howard, and completed on the 15th.

We left that day at half-past three amidst cheering by the Indians and a salute of fire-arms, and came to anchor in Play Green Lake, at Kettle Island, at half-past five. 143

As Frank Tough states, Morris' original intentions to open land for the Icelandic Settlement, or accommodate steamer traffic and an expected subsequent settlement along the eastern Lake Winnipeg shore does not explain the inclusion of areas to the north and west of the area originally approved for negotiation, including Cross Lake. Tough considers that the resource potential, including timber, minerals, and fisheries, and agricultural potential, at least nearer Lake Winnipeg, coupled with the need to establish a transportation right of way that included the land and water in and around Lake Winnipeg

¹⁴³ Morris. The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, 147-148.

and the Saskatchewan River, were what carried the day in Morris' argument for a larger and more inclusive treaty. Tough also speculates that the move may have been hoped to "facilitate Indian migration and settlement." ¹⁴⁴

Tough quotes Morris writing that:

The progress of navigation by steamer on Lake Winnipeg, the establishment of Missions and of saw milling enterprises, the discovery of minerals on the shores and vicinity of the lake as well as migration of the Norway House Indians all point to the necessity of the Treaty being made without delay.

Generally, it is held that the value of land for agriculture was the sole reason for government treaty-making. But at this early date the potential resources of the boreal forest were attracting attention. Morris's rationale for Treaty Five indicates that a broader appraisal of the resources and geography of western Canada had developed. 145

In the end, the treaty boundary was enlarged to encompass Pimicikamak territory. The text of the treaty described the negotiated boundaries as:

Commencing at the north corner or junction of Treaties Nos. 1 and 3, thence easterly along the boundary of Treaty No. 3 to the Height of Land at the north-east corner of the said Treaty limits, a point dividing the waters of the Albany and Winnipeg Rivers, thence due north along the said Height of Land to a point intersected by the 53° of north latitude, and thence north-westerly to Favourable Lake, thence following the east shore of said Lake to its northern limit, thence north-Westerly to the North end of Lake Winnipegosis; thence Westerly to the Height of Land called "Robinson's Portage," thence northwesterly to the east end of Cross Lake, thence north-westerly crossing Foxes Lake, thence north-westerly to the north end of Split Lake, thence southwesterly to Pipestone Lake, on Burntwood River, thence south-westerly to the western point of John Scott's Lake, thence south-westerly to the north shore of Beaver Lake, thence south-westerly to the west end of Cumberland Lake, thence due south to the Saskatchewan River, thence due south to the northwest corner of the northern limits of Treaty No. 4, including all territory within the said limits, and all Islands on all lakes within the said limits, as above described; and it being also understood that in all cases where lakes

¹⁴⁵ Tough. "Economic Aspects of Aboriginal Title in Northern Manitoba," 5.

¹⁴⁴ Tough. "Economic Aspects of Aboriginal Title in Northern Manitoba," 5.

form the treaty limits, ten miles from the shore of the lake should be included in the treaty. 146

The Norway House Journal for 1875 outlines some of the events surrounding the negotiation and signing of the treaty, beginning with 10 July 1875 when Roderick Ross recorded:

Saturday 10 [July 1875] Very hot day. Indians counceling accomplished electing a chief, at [sic] talk I think, as they have nothing else to do at present.

Sunday 11 [July 1875].... We all attended Church across [at Rossville] as "Tapastanum" was to be Baptized, quite an event as he is considered the Greatest Medicine man of his Tribe, he is named "Donald William Sinclair Ross" after the late Chief Factors, Donald Ross and W^m Sinclair Two of his old masters

Tuesday 13 [July 1875]....all our wood Indians have now arrived...

Thursday 15 [July 1875] Henry Budd arrived with 2 Boats from Red River, with parts of Nelson River and Norway House Outfits....

Monday 9 [August 1875]....Many wood Indians about....

24 [September 1875] Steamer Colvile arrived with Gov^r Morris

26 [September 1875] Steamer left today, M^r Ross went on the steamer taking a boat's crew for to return....

29 [September 1875] Traders arrived with two Boats

Friday 1 [October 1875]The Traders are reported to be off for Cross Lake or thereabout, Thomas Mestagon going as their guide

Monday 4 [October 1875]....Miller at work making things for Cross Lake....

Tuesday 5 [October 1875] Mr Alex^r Sinclair left for Cross Lake,...

¹⁴⁶ Canada, Sessional Papers: volume 7, third session of the third Parliament, session 1876 Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, [1876], 9-xxxvi. The addition of "John Scott's Lake" in this territory is of particular interest. Baptismal records of the Methodist mission at Rossville, Norway House show that Tapastanum, who led the "Cross Lake" band into treaty, and a number of other people were from "John Scott's Lake," which was a local name for Setting Lake. See transcription of Methodist Baptisms, Appendix F.

Thursday 14 [October 1875] ...M^r Alex^r Sinclair came back from Cross Lake where free traders have established ¹⁴⁷

It is of interest to note that the entry for 10 July 1875 contrasts with Morris' account. ¹⁴⁸ Morris stated that he personally supervised the election of the Chiefs on his arrival. ¹⁴⁹

Morris gave more details on his negotiation of Treaty Five at Norway House in a speech to a group of Methodist mission supporters at Grace Church in Winnipeg in December 1875. Introducing Morris, the church's minister Reverend George Young noted that Morris' "identified himself" with Methodist mission work, and had visited several mission stations. The *Manitoba Free Press* reported Morris's speech, noting that on arriving near Norway House Morris found:

that Mr. Ross, with a crew of Indian boatmen had been awaiting his arrival nearly two weeks. To his surprise, he found that these Indians never retired to rest without singing a psalm and bowing in prayer. Entering Playgreen Lake (so called because before the missionaries came the Pagan Indians used to have their games and orgies upon its shores) and [he] beheld the most beautiful scenery, which he could only compare to the Thousand Isles on the St. Lawrence. He found Norway House to be larger than Fort Garry, and gathered at the landing were many Indians, clothed like white men. When they saw the speaker they took off their hats, and fired a salute, and, for the first time in his life, he heard from Indian lips a rousing British cheer. The construction of the steamers had deprived the Indians of their means of livelihood, tripping for the Hudson's Bay Company, and they were anxious to migrate. Before he commenced negotiations with them, the speaker informed the Indians assembled that he must know who their chief was. They divided into two parties, the Christian and the pagan Indians. He was reminded of the days when he took part in politics, and was also amused to see an old Indian get up, and with the greatest gravity nominate a man for the position, and the motion having been properly seconded, it was put and carried in the regular

¹⁴⁸ HBCA Norway House Post Journals, B.154/a/71, 1874-1877, by Roderick Ross, f. 18.

¹⁴⁷ HBCA, Norway House Post Journals, B.154/a/71, 1874-1877, by Roderick Ross, ff. 17-21.

¹⁴⁹ Morris. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North- West Territories*, 147-148. For more detail on how the process by which the Rossville or Norway House Band selected their Chief, see: Egerton Ryerson Young. *On the Indian Trail: Stories of Missionary Work among the Cree and Saulteaux Indians*. New York & Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897, 211-214.

manner, only a few voting nay, those gracefully gave way to the majority. [Note that the group arrived at a consensus rather than accepting a simple majority.] This was repeated by the pagan Indians, and on the speaker requiring the name of the chief, he learnt that it was Ross, and that he had no less than four Christian names. It transpired that the chief had been converted and baptized two days before. He granted them a reserve about forty miles from the Icelandic settlement, where they have good soil, good timber, and, more important for the Indian, good fishing. On leaving Norway House the Indians repeated the salute and cheer, and the old chief shaking him by the hand said fervently "God bless you." ... 150

It appears from this disparity between the Norway House journal and Morris' accounts that, while the bands publicly ratified their choice of leaders in front of Morris, the actual selection was done previously and on their own terms. Morris' account also suggests a process based on consensus. Dissenters were able to disagree, and eventually a result was settled that could be agreed to by all.

It also appears that Morris was unaware of the presence of the group that would become the Cross Lake band, until it came time to select a leader. It was only when the two groups broke apart that Morris realized he was not only dealing with the Norway House band. Finally, Morris' account makes it clear that Tapastanum, baptized as Donald William Sinclair Ross, made a significant impression on him.

The Norway House [Rossville Mission] baptismal and marriage registers and treaty annuity pay lists suggest that some, but not all, Cross Lake Band members were present

¹⁵⁰ "Missionary Meeting." *Manitoba Free Press*. December 4, 1875, page 5. The *Free Press* account here confused the Fisher River with the Cross Lake reserve. In Morris' account of his treaty negotiations cited earlier in this report, he noted that the "...Wood Indians wished to remain at Cross Lake, and we agreed that a reserve should be allotted them there." Morris. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North- West Territories*, 148. Tapastanum was baptized 11 July 1875. See Methodist Baptisms, Appendix F.

at the time of the treaty signing. A number of people named in the early Pay Lists had their annuities drawn by another person, so that they may not have been present when the annuities were paid out, and a small group of people who had been missed in 1875 were added to the list in 1876. ¹⁵¹

During the treaty negotiations, three men represented the "Cross Lake" band. The chief or leader was Tapastanum, or Donald William Sinclair Ross. Two "head men," George Garrioch and Proud McKay, assisted Tapastanum. Tapastanum was born in about 1805, and married his wife, known in English as "Mary," probably in the late 1830s. ¹⁵² He left trading at Nelson House to trade at Norway House in 1843. ¹⁵³ Tapastanum was already an acknowledged chief in 1867, when two of his daughters, Eliza Ross Oig and Mary Papanakis were baptized. ¹⁵⁴ While missionary records did apply the term "chief" to Tapastanum, the Norway House journals did not specifically identify him as "chief," although they did use this term for other individuals. It is likely that Tapastanum held a

¹⁵¹ See: Appendix M: Excerpts from Methodist Baptismal records [Rossville Mission]: People from Cross Lake and John Scott's Lake Baptized June to September 1875, excerpted from United Church Archives, Winnipeg, Wesleyan Methodist Register of Baptisms Norway House, 1840-1849 and Treaty Annuity Pay List, Indian Treaty Pay Sheet, Treaty No. 5, Cross Lake Band, Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross Chief, Letter J, Sept 25th 1875

¹⁵² See transcriptions of Methodist Baptismal and Marriage registers, Appendices M and B. In 1838, Tapastanum was listed as a single adult hunter in the Nelson House Indian Survey (HBCA B.239/z/10 York Factory Miscellaneous Records f. 88, 87.) In this census he is noted to be the brother of Wachackenasees (also a single adult hunter) and nephew of "Pucky," and Pucky is listed as a relative of "Star," all of them trading at Nelson House. When Tapastanum and Mary were married, the Methodist minister John Ruttan noted, "After living together about 40 odd years and having a large family lately being baptised are now married." (*Wesleyan Missionary General Register, 1840-1892*, Original Registers of Marriages, Rossville, UCA (Wpg.): 1875, Rossville, number 316, October 1, 1875.)

¹⁵³ HBCA, B.195/z/1, Fort Seaborn [Nelson River House] Miscellaneous, 1857. See above in this report, by 1812, Misakickaneb and his family were hunting in the Cross Lake area. On 31 May 1845, the Norway House Post Journal noted "Mis a kequenib and Tepastanum arrived with furs, from outward appearance chiefly Beaver we shall however see on Monday morning. _" (HBCA B.154/a/43 Norway House Post Journal, 1844-1845, f. 30.) See also: HBCA B.154/a/46, Norway House Post Journal 1846-1847 f. 3, 4 June 1846 where Tepastanum arrived "...with the remainder of his winter hunt".

¹⁵⁴ An annotation in the registers states "Book <u>shows latter</u> persons are daughter[s] of the Indian Chief still heathen Tāpastānum C.S. [Charles Stringfellow]")See Appendix M for full transcription of these entories, dated 29 September 1867.

leadership role within his own community, but was not a "trading chief" in the eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company traders, which could account for why the missionaries identified him as a "chief" while the traders did not. During treaty negotiations, Tapastanum brought to bear considerable experience with fur traders. He also had some exposure to missionaries; and was particularly noted by E.R. Young, John Ruttan, and James Settee. Some of his children and grandchildren were baptized at Rossville as early as 1861.

Tapastanum was known as a person of power. Missionary Egerton Ryerson Young related a story about a visit by Tapastanum to a Methodist service at Rossville:

We were surprised at times by seeing companies of pagan Indians stalk into the church during the services, not always acting in a way becoming to the house or day. ... I was very much astounded one day by the entrance of an old Indian called Tapastanum, who, rattling his ornaments, and crying, "Ho! Ho!" came into the church in a sort of trot, and gravely kissed several of the men and women. As my Christian Indians seemed to stand the interruption, I felt that I could. Soon he sat down, at the invitation of Big Tom, and listened to me. He was grotesquely dressed, and had a good-sized looking-glass hanging on his breast, kept in its place by a string hung around his neck. To aid himself in listening, he lit his big pipe and smoked through the rest of the service. ¹⁵⁸

Tapastanum continued his traditional spiritual practices despite missionary efforts to convert him to Christianity. In a published letter in 1875, Methodist missionary John Ruttan stated that Tapastanum had been exposed to Church of England teachings by the

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¹⁵⁵ See Appendix F.

¹⁵⁶ For example, as previously noted, Roderick Ross noted on the occasion of Tapastanum's baptism that he chose his baptismal name after "Two of his old masters." HBCA Norway House Post Journals, B.154/a/71, 1874-1877, Roderick Ross, f. 18.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix F.

Egerton Ryerson Young. *By Canoe and Dog- Train Among the Cree and Saulteaux Indians*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1890, 62.

Cree minister James Settee.¹⁵⁹ Both Chief Factor Roderick Ross and John Ruttan acknowledged Tapastanum as a prominent "conjuror". Ruttan described Tapastanum's baptism in front of a large congregation as

an interesting, nay thrilling sight. To see such a noted conjurer as he, stand before a large congregation, and in answer to the question in his own language, "Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same; and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow or be led by them?" say, "I renounce them all," is something long to be remembered, and for which we, with the angels around the throne of God, should rejoice together. 160

Methodist baptism and marriage records list Tapastanum, his wife and one of their son's "abode" as "John Scott's Lake" (present day Setting Lake). ¹⁶¹ In the registration of the Ross' Wesleyan marriage ceremony, John Ruttan added "After living together about 40 odd years and having a large family lately being baptised are now married." ¹⁶²

Tapanastum was the Treaty Chief of the Cross Lake Band from the time of treaty in 1875 until his death in September 1881. At the time of his death, he was a member of the Cross Lake Methodist congregation. In the same 1881 register, where he was listed as "chief," his wife Mary was listed as "chiefess" David Queskinnipurskunm [Quishkineepineshkinum] or Ross, who became Treaty Chief in 1882 following

¹⁶⁰ John Ruttan, letter, Rossville, 3rd August, 1875 in *Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada* [3rd ser. no. 4 (Oct. 1875)] (Toronto: Mission Rooms, [1875]), 64. Available through Early Canadiana Online: http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/?Language=en.

¹⁶³ UCA (Wpg.), Norway House Mission Journal, 1881-1885, No. 16...April 1881.

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¹⁵⁹ John Ruttan, letter, Rossville, 3rd August, 1875 in *Missionary notices of the Methodist Church of Canada* [3rd ser. no. 4 (Oct. 1875)] (Toronto: Mission Rooms, [1875]), 63-64. Available through Early Canadian Online: http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/?Language=en.

¹⁶¹ See Appendix M, Wesleyan Missionary General Register, 1840-1892, Original Registers of Marriages, Rossville, entries for 1875: 11 July, No. 1582, 18 July, No. 1588, 1 October, No. 1588 for full entries. entries Dillabough. *Transportation in Manitoba*, 127.

Wesleyan Missionary General Register, 1840-1892, Original Registers of Marriages, Rossville. United Church Archives, Winnipeg. [1 Ocotber] 1875 Rossville #316.

Tapastanum's death, was the father of Tapastanum's daughter's husband, suggesting that the extended Ross family continued to offer political leadership in the community even after his death.¹⁶⁴

Tapastanum's family continued in their spiritual prominence into the twentieth century, as well. In 1930, the anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell paid a brief visit to Cross Lake. In *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society*, Hallowell wrote "The first conjuring [shaking tent] performance that I saw was at Cross Lake, Manitoba, in 1930. The conjurer was a Cree, a picturesque old-timer by the name of *papamotèwigamau* (walking boss), said to be ninety years of age." In an extensive footnote, Hallowell stated that Papamotèwigamau was known by reputation to the Berens River people, and that Papamotèwigamau's father was Tapastanum, "radiates light (an allusion to the sun)" who "was also a conjuror and one of the most famous shamans of the Lake Winnipeg region." 166

One of the councillors who signed Treaty Five with Tapastanum was George Garriock [Garrioch], who probably lived at the Red River Settlement from 1843 to 1846. ¹⁶⁷ The

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¹⁶⁴ Treaty Five Annuity Pay List for 1881, f. 136, shows: "Tapastanum or D.W. S. Ross....Chief. Daughter married to Peter Ques-kin-e-pin-wes-kee-nam". "Ques-kin-e-pin-wes-kee-nam or David Ross....Boy married to D.W.S. Ross' daughter." Tapastanum's son Jacob married the daughter of George Pappenakis, who was connected with the Hudson's Bay Company and Methodist church:

Jacob Tapastanum or Ross: 1881 Pay List "married to George Pappenekis's daughter of Norway House" ¹⁶⁵ A. Irving Hallowell. *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press; London, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1942), 16.

¹⁶⁶ The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society, 16. In his research notes, Hallowell wrote "tebästénαm – makes light all over. (f. of "walking boss") and then the enigmatic remark "gun – split with finger nail at N.H. Post then rubbed it & it was O.K.") A. Irving Hallowell. "Research Notes: Saulteaux Indians," Hallwell papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Copy in possession of Jennifer S.H.Brown. ¹⁶⁷ HBCA A.32/30, Servants' Contracts, G_A - G_I [1818-ca 1926], f. 71.

Red River census shows a George Garrioch as an adult Indian in 1843 and 1846-47. A George Garrioch, an adult resident at "Indian Settlement" (i.e., St. Peter's on the Red River) was baptized 8 July 1843. 169

In a contract Garriock signed in 1849 at York Factory with the Hudson's Bay Company, he agreed to return, at the end of his employment, to Red River. ¹⁷⁰ In a later contract signed 1 June 1872, he specifically stated that he was "formerly of the Parish of St. Peter's, in the Province of Manitoba." Garriock was able to sign his contracts and the signature is consistent with the one found on the treaty. Garriock worked for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1846 to 1860, when he was noted to have "deserted". He again worked for the Company from 1860 to August 1875, when he became "free" at Norway House. ¹⁷³

Following the treaty, Garriock was a councillor and later a treaty chief, as well as leading the Methodist congregation at Cross Lake; many baptisms and marriages were held in his home. A mission journal from Rossville listed him as a leader or assistant leader in two enumerations of congregants.¹⁷⁴

Methodist Meetings Cross Lake

No. 16 Meets on Sunday at Cross Lake April 1881

- 1. George Papanekis, Leader
- 2. George Garrioch Ass. [Leader] and Native Teacher

¹⁶⁸ AM, HBCA, E.5/1-11, Red River Settlement Census Returns sent to the Governor and Committee, Red River Census: 1843, 1846-47.Red River Census: 1843 [797] 1846-47 [872] both "Swampy Village".

¹⁶⁹ HBCA, E.4/1a, Index and Register of Baptisms, 1820-1841, baptism number 1765, f. 167d.

¹⁷⁰ HBCA A.32/30, Servants' Contracts, f. 71.

¹⁷¹ HBCA A.32/30 Servants' Contracts, f. 75.

¹⁷² HBCA A.32/30, Servants Contracts, f. 77d.

¹⁷³ HBCA Biographies: Garrioch, George.

¹⁷⁴ UCA (Wpg.), Norway House Mission Journal, 1881-1885.

1885

Cross Lake Class George Garrioch Leader

When Garriock became the schoolteacher for the band in February 1884, there was no school house and he held classes in his home:

Indian Affairs Annual Reports 31st December 1885

The Government Indian school was opened by George Garrioch, in his own house, on the 6th February last... The appointment of Mr. Garrioch is only temporary – his education being somewhat limited – but he is doing very well for the present and the band are well satisfied with the school. ¹⁷⁵

31 December 1884 "The school was opened last February, by Chief Garrioch, who has conducted it ever since" 176

31st December 1885 "The school at Cross Lake reserve is taught by Chief Garrioch, who has been a missionary in that northern country for many years. He has an average attendance of twenty-five pupils, who are making fair progress in reading, spelling and writing."177

George Garriock [Garrioch] was a band councillor from 1875 to 1883, and band chief from 1884 to 1886. 178 He and his wife were "released from Treaty" in 1888, but he continued to be paid as the school teacher until June of 1891. 179

The second councillor to sign Treaty Five along with Tapastanum was Proud McKay. McKay was born in about 1821. He had a servant's account with the Hudson's Bay

¹⁷⁵ Dominion Of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1885. Part I, 113.

¹⁷⁶ Dominion Of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1884. Part I, 128.

¹⁷⁷ Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31 December 1885, Part 1, 133.

¹⁷⁸ Treaty Annuity Pay Lists, 1875-1888. Government of Canada Records at the Archives of Manitoba, C-7135 & C-7136, RG10, Vol. 9351-9359.

¹⁷⁹ Treaty Annuity Pay Lists, 1875-1888. Government of Canada Records at the Archives of Manitoba, C-7135 & C-7136, RG10, Vol. 9351-9366; Dominion Of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31 December 1891, Part II, 51.

Company in 1873, but no purchases were entered against his account. ¹⁸⁰ He was a councillor in 1875 and 1876. ¹⁸¹ Following an incident that the Indian agent deemed to be a theft, McKay was removed from his position. Although the band requested he be reinstated, the Indian agent found him in jail on his next visit, and did not reinstate McKay. Inspector of Indian Agencies Ebenezer McColl summarized the incident in his annual report, with little sympathy for the Indian Agent. Mc Coll wrote that the suspension was "irregular"and that "upon the recommendation of the band [McKay] was reinstated on the 16th February last." McColl reported that

The Cross Lake Indians....unanimously request that Proud McKay, one of their councillors "suspended" by the agent in 1875 for dishonesty, contrary to any construction that can possibly be put on the 72nd section of the Indian Act, for there is no provision mentioned therein for suspension of councillors for either dishonesty or any other crime, and the Governor alone is vested with authority for dismissals. The crime alleged to have been committed by this councillor consisted in breaking into a deserted storehouse of the Hudson's Bay Company and taking therefrom a handful of tea. His object in going into this building was to get a grindstone supposed to belong to the band, but afterwards discovered that it was owned by the Company, and that the article he was searching for was in another house.

McColl noted that "The Agent finding him imprisoned for petty larceny at the time of payment, withheld his annuity in accordance with the 82nd section of the Indian Act." Proud McKay died in 1901, at which time the Methodist leader Edward Paupanakiss noted he had been born at Split Lake, and had been a Catholic. 184

¹⁸⁰ Norway House Servants' Account B.154/d/261a, f. 105, entry, "Proud McKay".

¹⁸¹ Treaty Annuity Pay Lists, Cross Lake, 1875-1876. Government of Canada Records at the Archives of Manitoba, C-7135, RG10, Vol. 9351.

Canada, Sessional Papers: volume 8, third session of the fourth Parliament, session 1880-81. Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, [1881] 14-63.

¹⁸³ Canada, Sessional Papers: volume 5, fourth session of the fourth Parliament, session 1882, Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, [1882], 6-107.

¹⁸⁴ UCA (Wpg.), Cross Lake, "Deaths."

Although the federal government imposed a clearly defined leadership structure on the Pimicikamak people who entered into Treaty Five, it appears that they continued to integrate some of their own leadership structure into this system. Tapastanum was a leader both before and after the group entered treaty. Hudson's Bay Company records suggest that the choice of a leader was arrived at before the treaty meetings. Lieutenant Governor Morris' account of the selection of a leader in his presence also suggests that a prior process had elicited the consensus of the group.

VI. Conclusions

Aboriginal people have occupied the Pimicikamak region from at least 4000 B.C.E. onwards. Hudson's Bay Company records suggest that, although some individuals and groups may have moved to other areas, some people remained in the area continuously, and some of those who moved away did so only temporarily. European contact with the Pimicikamak people began with the fur trade, and contact between the two groups gradually increased in both frequency and duration over time. By the late 1700s, some Pimicikamak people were making trips to Hudson's Bay Company posts on Hudson Bay to trade. Also in the late 1700s, some Hudson's Bay Company employees began to move inland. At first the main aim of the HBC traders was to make trade alliances with peoples farther west, and to entice these people to travel to the Bay or to the Company's few inland posts such as Cumberland House (founded in 1774). As a result, explorers during this period traveled quickly through Pimicikamak territory, holding to the main waterways as transportation routes and having little local contact.

Fur traders from both the Hudson's Bay Company and Montreal set up posts in the Pimicikamak area in the late 1700s, a practice that continued into the early nineteenth century. These posts were mostly seasonal, the traders remaining only during the winter months. As a rule, personal contacts at these posts were brief and driven by the choice of some Pimicikamak individuals to come to the post to trade. Rather than involving whole families, it was more common for a few members of a hunting group to visit a post to trade. In a few cases, fur trade employees did spend an extended period of time with a Native hunting group. It is important to note that written records for this period were

generated by fur traders and so provide very little information about Aboriginal people who were not involved in the trade.

Cree traders expected newcomers to respect their cultural values, such as the creation of kin relationships, to support interactions and build trust. The family was the basic social unit of the Western Woods Cree, and larger groups were connected to each other through kinship relationships. A number of related families would come together in summer, exploiting the summer fisheries, hunting game, and gathering local resources such as berries. Groups gathered on lakes or rivers, renewing social relationships and enjoying what the land and the summer had to offer, dispersing for the winter to exploit local inland resources. Local hunting groups were most often associated with specific waterways or lakes. The Pimicikamak people associated with the Cross Lake watershed were identified as a group in 1770 by Hutchins and again in 1775 by Graham. In the 1850s, Richardson identified this group as associated with Cross Lake.

Membership in local bands was flexible and reflected a social and political structure that emphasized individual responsibility for decision-making. This system favoured consensus and co-operation over coercion. Leaders were respected individuals with proven abilities in certain areas, and the decision to follow or leave a leader was made at the family or individual level. Fur traders were sometimes hard pressed to understand this non-hierarchical form of leadership but their descriptions of local groups and their tendency to deal with certain individuals over others show that there was a leadership

structure that was expressed as needed, and that group decisions were made at times when groups needed to organize, to move, or to congregate.

European observers and writers were challenged to understand the position of women in Cree culture. Under a complex division of labour, women could take on a number of tasks that Europeans did not associate with women's roles, including trading goods on their own behalf, and Cree women enjoyed considerable autonomy and opportunities to gain status and respect, especially within the context of their own families. The fact that some Pimicikamak women traded under their own accounts rather than under their husbands' names suggests a degree of economic independence.

Hudson's Bay Company records suggest that until the late 1800s Pimicikamak interaction with European traders and missionaries was limited and driven largely by Pimicikamak choices. In the early to mid 1800s, the Hudson's Bay Company made few attempts to trade at locations like Cross Lake or Sipiwesk Lake, so that some individuals who wanted to trade travelled to posts at Norway House, Split Lake, or Nelson River, or sent furs with others who acted as middlemen. In the 1860s, contact increased as some people with Pimicikamak ties became involved with missionaries at Norway House and the Hudson's Bay Company began to establish trade at Cross Lake. In the 1870s, missionary contact increased dramatically, and the Pimicikamak people entered into a relationship with the Canadian government under Treaty Five.

When Church of England missionary James Settee, himself a Cree from the Split Lake area, arrived at Norway House in the summer of 1873 wanting to establish a mission in the Nelson River area among his own people, he negotiated with local leaders who agreed to support a mission. Tapastanum, a noted leader with considerable spiritual power, led Settee to the location the group had chosen. This exercise of their authority accepted by Settee, suggests the autonomy and control the group excersised over their territory. Evidence from Lieutenant Governor Morris and the Canadian government suggests that it was the Pimicikamak people who determined to enter into a treaty relationship with the Crown. Morris was unaware that he would be dealing with the Pimicikamak people until after the negotiations had begun, and Tapastanum came forward as the leader of the "Pagan" or "Wood" Indians.

In treaty negotiations, the Pimicikamak people were represented by Tapastanum, who had been baptized Donald William Sinclair Ross only a few weeks earlier, George Garriock, who had worked for the Hudson's Bay Company for many years, and Proud McKay. Although Morris claimed that the chiefs involved in Treaty Five negotiations were elected in front of him, other sources show that the choice of the Rossville chief, David Rundle, had already been made before Morris arrived, suggesting that the election held in front of Morris only ratified that earlier decision. Morris' own descriptions of the process of selecting both the Rossville and Cross Lake representatives suggests that a consensus was reached through a protracted process, rather than relying on a simple majority vote. From Treaty Five (1875) onward, Tapastanum was regularly identified as a chief. Earlier Hudson's Bay Company records did not describe him as such, however.

Mission records before that time have yielded just one instance of his being described as "chief" before 1875: a baptismal entry by the Rev. Charles Stringfellow in September 1867, referring to Tapastanum's daughters, described him as "the Indian Chief still heathen Tāpastānum." The fact that Tapastanum was not identified in Hudson's Bay Company records as a chief suggests that his standing as a holder of strong spiritual powers was his most important attribute, which is also suggested by the number of missionary references to his being a conjuror.

Documentary sources support the view of an independent people living in the Pimicikamak territory from the earliest existing European records. Their interactions with European fur traders and, later, missionaries and the Canadian government, were limited, and were the result of Pimicikamak individuals' positive choices to interact. Fur traders were expected to adapt to Pimicikamak institutions such as the establishment of kin relationships and gift giving to frame trade interactions. At the time of the treaty signing, the decision of the Pimicikamak people to enter into treaty, and the inclusion of Pimicikamak territory in Treaty Five in 1875 was a continuation of this independent existence, as the Pimicikamak people elected to enter into treaty with the Canadian government.

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Date Introduced: 1875/07/02

Date Considered: 1875/07/02

Date Approved: 1875/07/09

Reference: RG2, Privy Council Office, Series A-1-a, For Order in Council see volume 335, Reel C-3312, Access code: 90

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Appendix A: Maps

An Overview and Summary of Documentary Sources of Maps Relating to the Pimicikamak Traditional Territory

Maps in this section demonstrate the emergence of European understanding of the Pimicikamak traditional territory. As noted previously, European maps sometimes contained Aboriginal information; for instance, Belyea states:

Despite Henday's pilot survey in February 1754, the London Committee was not satisfied with reports of the navigability of inland waterways. Their General Letter of 1755 recommended that Isham conduct a detailed examination of the Hayes and Nelson rivers, since "Nelson's River on your said draught must be laid down from Indian information only, and how much that is to be depended on, we are Annually convinced, and doubtless you are too." The following year, the committee's response to Henday's year inland was no more confident.... "we apprehend Henday is not very expert in making Drafts with Accuracy or keeping a just Reckoning of distances other than by Guess which may prove Erroneus." ¹

Where it is possible, Aboriginal contributions to knowledge, as opposed to the direct observation of a European are noted, but as maps tended to draw on earlier maps in their development, it is not always possible to distinguish information that was gleaned through Aboriginal informants from information that came from direct observation. As Malcolm Lewis notes:

From the earliest contacts, Amerindians have transmitted to Euro-Americans spatially-arranged information about the lands, coasts, waters, places, routes and resources of North America. ...the information content of many [Amerindian] *maps* was considered to be sufficiently important for it to be assimilated onto the maps of Euro-American explorers, early Euro-American mapmakers, and, since the mid eighteenth century, American, Hudson's Bay Company and Canadian surveyors. Assimilation often resulted in representations as *terrae cognitae* of what, on the basis of Euro-American experience alone, were *terrae incognitae*. In a few cases assimilation was acknowledged.... In many cases, one suspects that assimilation occurs without acknowledgement.²

¹ Barbara Belyea, *A Year Inland: the Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer*. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000, 325.

² G. Malcolm Lewis. "Indicators of Unacknowledged Assimilations from Amerindian "Maps" on Euro-American Maps of North America: Some General Principles Arising from a Study of La Verendrye's Composite Map, 1728-29." *Imago Mundi.* vol 38, 1986, 9-10.

Barbara Belyea quotes John Logan Allen in describing how Europeans became more aware of a geographic area:

There are really three ways of knowing about areas geographically: a system of coherent knowledge based on accurate data and long acquaintance, a system of more or less coherent knowledge based on simple logical and theoretical constructions, or a system which is largely incoherent and based on desires, ambitions, long-standing myths and traditions, or pure rumour and fantasy....³

Maps of the northwestern Shield country demonstrate an understanding of the country that emerged gradually, both in terms of detail and accuracy. This emerging information developed first around bodies of water and rivers that were part of significant transportation routes. The following survey of maps demonstrates this progression, and suggests the amount of interaction fur trade mapmakers had with the landscape and with people who understood that landscape.

Maps found in the *Historical Atlas of Manitoba*, *A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969*, by John Warkentin and Richard Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870*, by Richard Ruggles, and the Hudson's Bay Company/Archives of Manitoba and Library and Archives Canada demonstrate the emerging understanding and awareness of Europeans about Pimicikamak territory. Information reflected in the maps shows that both detail and accuracy developed from the major waterways inland, and over a considerable period of time.

³ John Logan Allen , quoted in Barbara Belyea. "Mapping the Marais: The Interface of Native and Scientific Cartographies." *Great Plains Quarterly*, 17:3-4, 1997, 166.

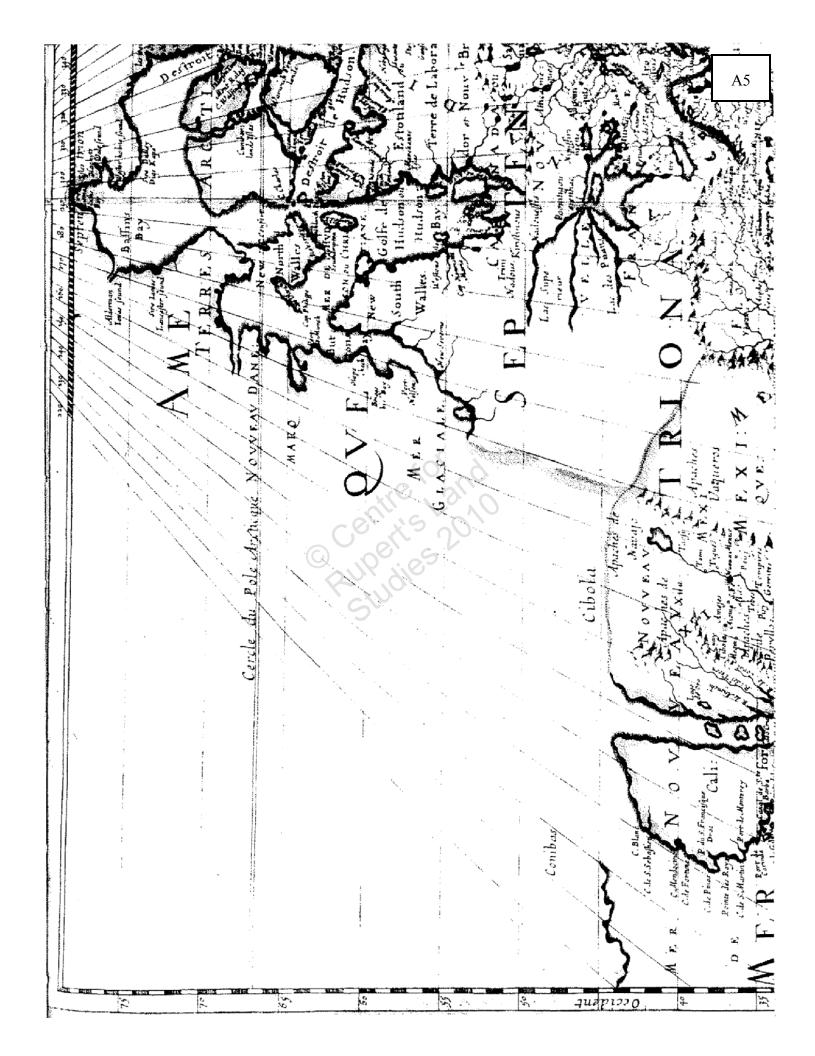
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1. A SECTION FROM NICOLAS SANSON'S MAP, "Amerique Septentrionale," 1650, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 30-31.

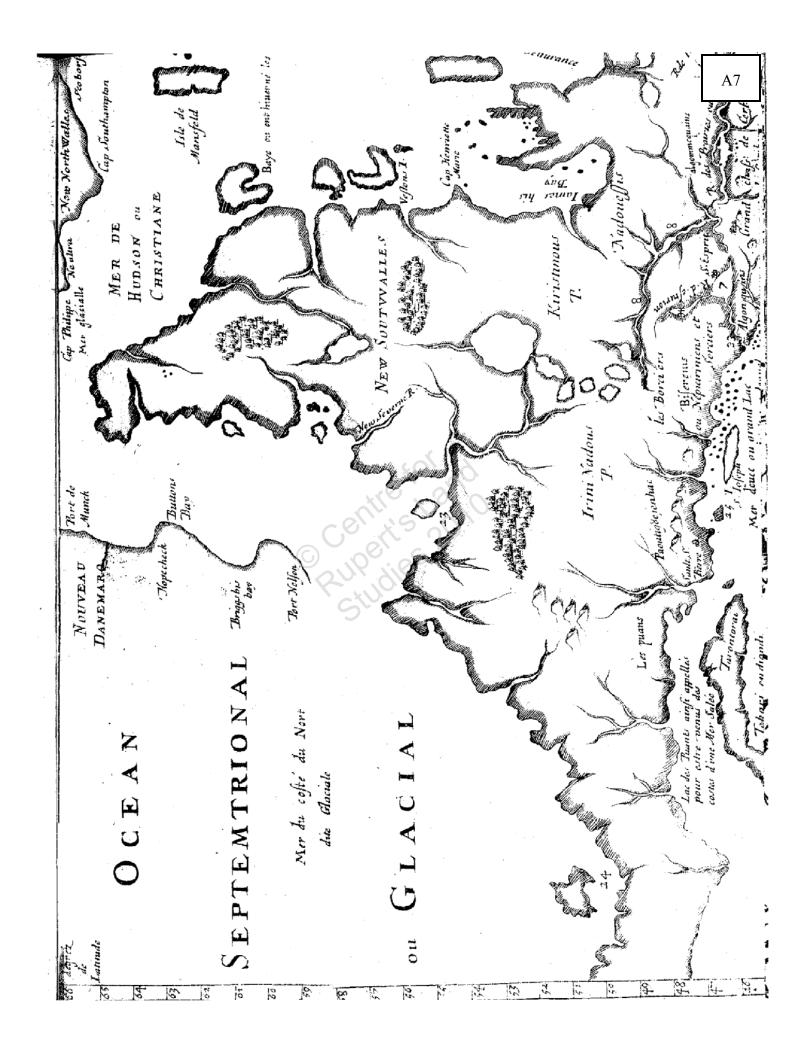
Ruggles states: "It is noticeable that [Sanson] owed a great deal to Champlain in the region west of Hudson Bay, but he also attempted to integrate this version with new information coming from English exploration of the Bay.... Manitoba is still largely a marine region."

Sanson's map does not include any information about the Pimicikamak region.





2. A SECTION FROM PIERRE DU VAL'S MAP, "Le Canada," 1653, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 32-33 shows a similar lack of information about the region.



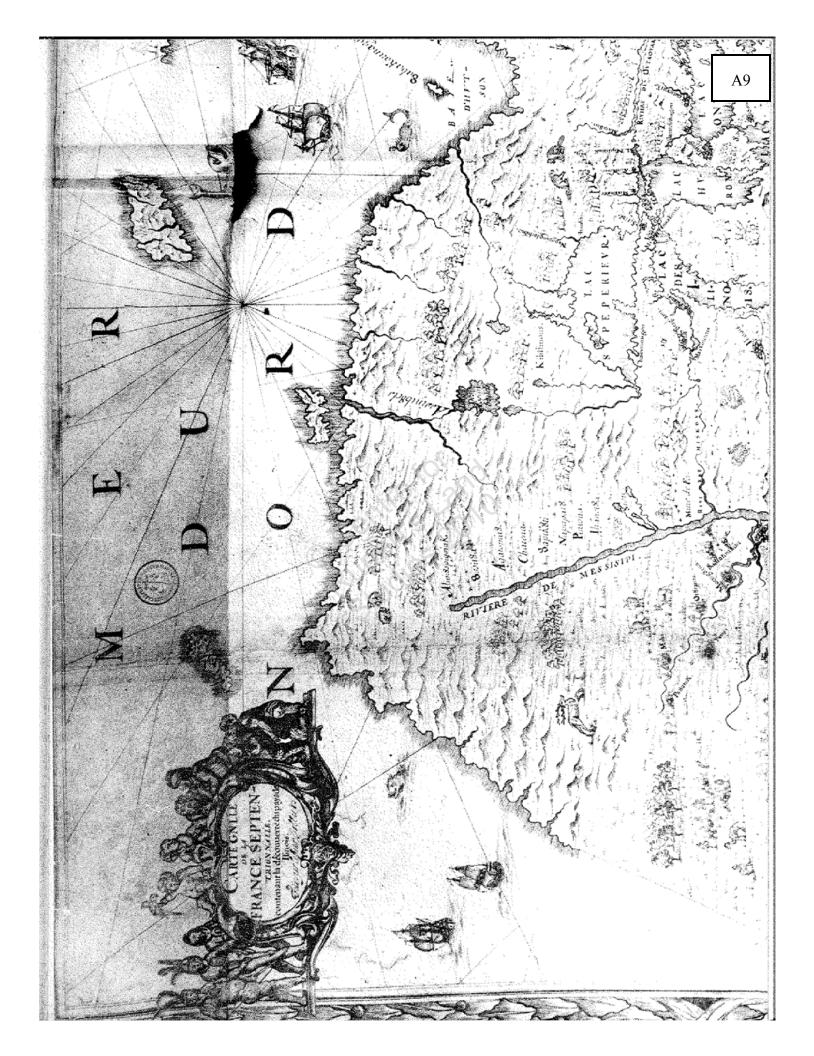


3. A SECTION OF JEAN-BAPTISTE FRANQUELIN'S MAP, "Carte Galle de la France Septentrionalle," 1678, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 38-39.

Ruggles notes:

[Franquelin] has extended a river from the west into Hudson Bay, and with a small source lake, has proposed here the beginning of Lac des Christinaux, or Kilistons which was to loom much larger in his later maps.

This map contains the information that there were "Kilistinons" (see synonymy in main report) to the north-west of "Lac Superieur", but does not show any understanding of the Pimicikimak territory.



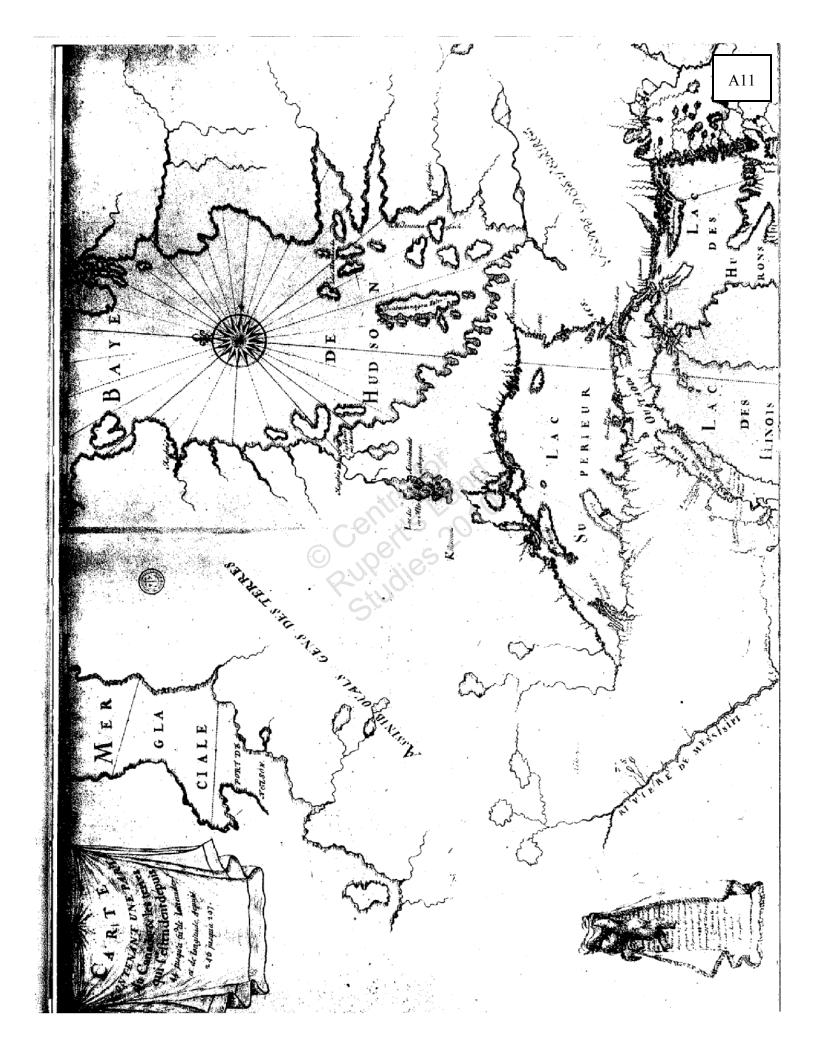


4. JEAN-BAPTISTE FRANQUELIN'S MAP, "Carte contenant une part du Canada," 1681, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 40-41.

This map shows "Anglois" at present-day York Factory, and a river that connects with "Lac de Assinibouels" but this lake is confused with Lake Nipigon. Ruggles states:

During this first phase [Franquelin] was considerably influenced by other cartographers.... This 1681 configuration is dominated by the ideas of Sanson for Hudson Bay and the northern coast, and Jolliet for the Mississippi area.... His acceptance of the Jesuit map of Lake Superior provided the best available outline of this lake.... Beyond [placing the source of the Mississippi in Manitoba and confusing Lac de Assinbouels with Lake Nipigon] nothing of novel form appears in relation to the mapping of the Manitoba area.

The map is notably void of any information about the Pimicikamak territory.



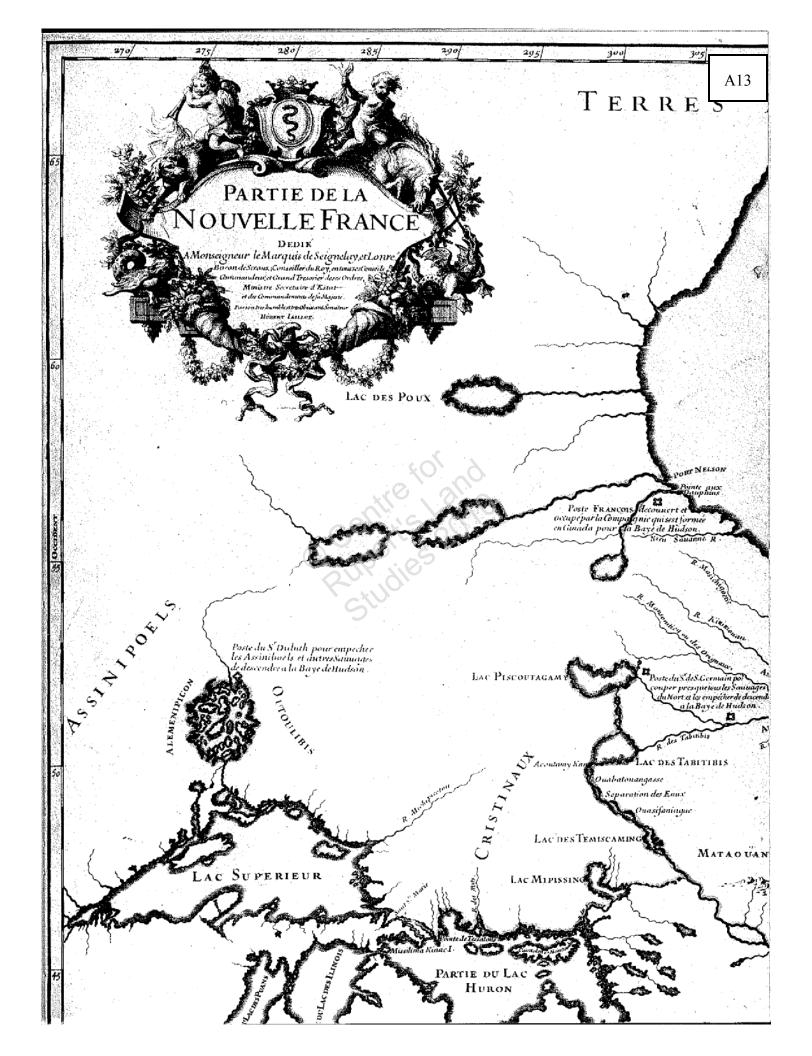


5. A SECTION OF HUBERT JAILLOT'S MAP, "Partie de la Nouvelle France," 1685, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 52-53.

Ruggles states:

The river and lake, to the south of Port Nelson, which is the Hayes-Fox system was copied basically by Franquelin and De l'Isle among others. It is interesting to note that although these elements and others on Jaillot's map were of some significance to mapping, they were all extremely generalized and crude in form. It may be said that Jaillot's map is very stylized for the Manitoba region.

Pimicikamak territory properly lies to the north and west of the area covered by the map, but two unidentified lakes connect to "Port Nelson" by what might be the Nelson River. The map does not represent Pimicikamak territory.

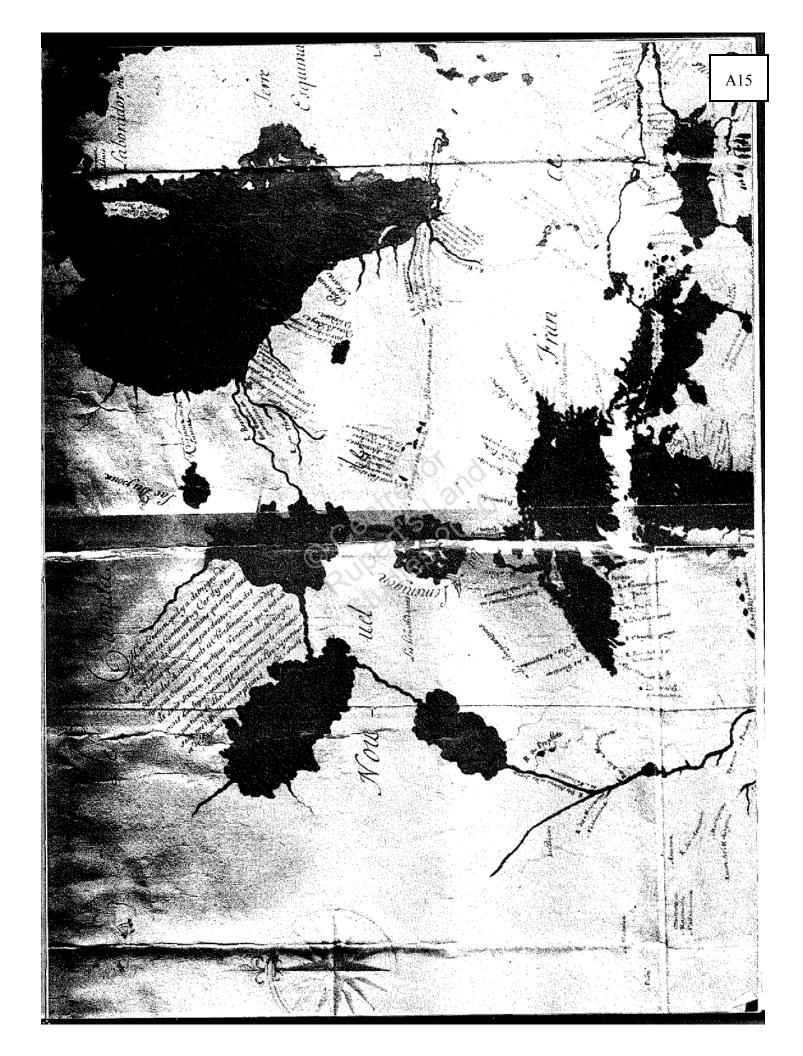


6. A SECTION OF JEAN-BAPTISTE FRANQUELIN'S MAP, "Amerique Septenlle," 1686, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 46-47.

Ruggles states:

Franquelin drew a map in 1686 which is quite different from any of his earlier efforts. Although many of its components are of an original nature, he did borrow features from other maps, particularly from Jaillot and Jolliet. He was also indebted to various English maps for the outline and certain of the nomenclature of Hudson and James Bays, as well as to the Jesuit map of 1670-1671 for his rendering of Lake Superior. This map, however, inaugurated a new phase in Western mapping, and also presented a distinctive rendering of the geography of the Upper Mississippi river, which was related to the mapping of Manitoba. Of immediate prominence are Lac des Assinibouels and Lac des Christinaux, connected through broad rivers.... To Hudson Bay by the Bourbon river (Nelson).

This map shows no knowledge of the Pimicikamak territory.

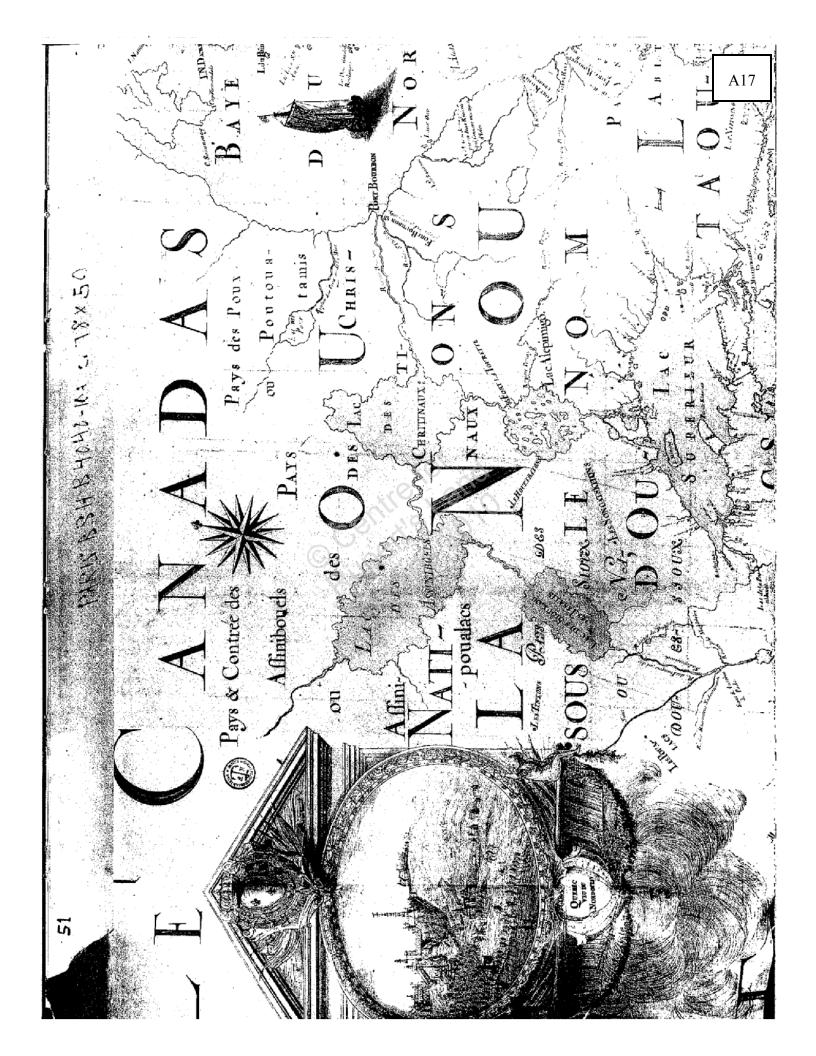




7. A SECTION OF JEAN-BAPTISTE FRANQUELIN'S MAP, "Amerique Septenlle," 1688, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 48-49.

Ruggles states that "This map is a further refinement of Franquelin's previous map for the Manitoba area.... Franquelin has changed his mind on the character of the Hayes-Fox river, and has drawn a rendering also used by later draughtsmen."

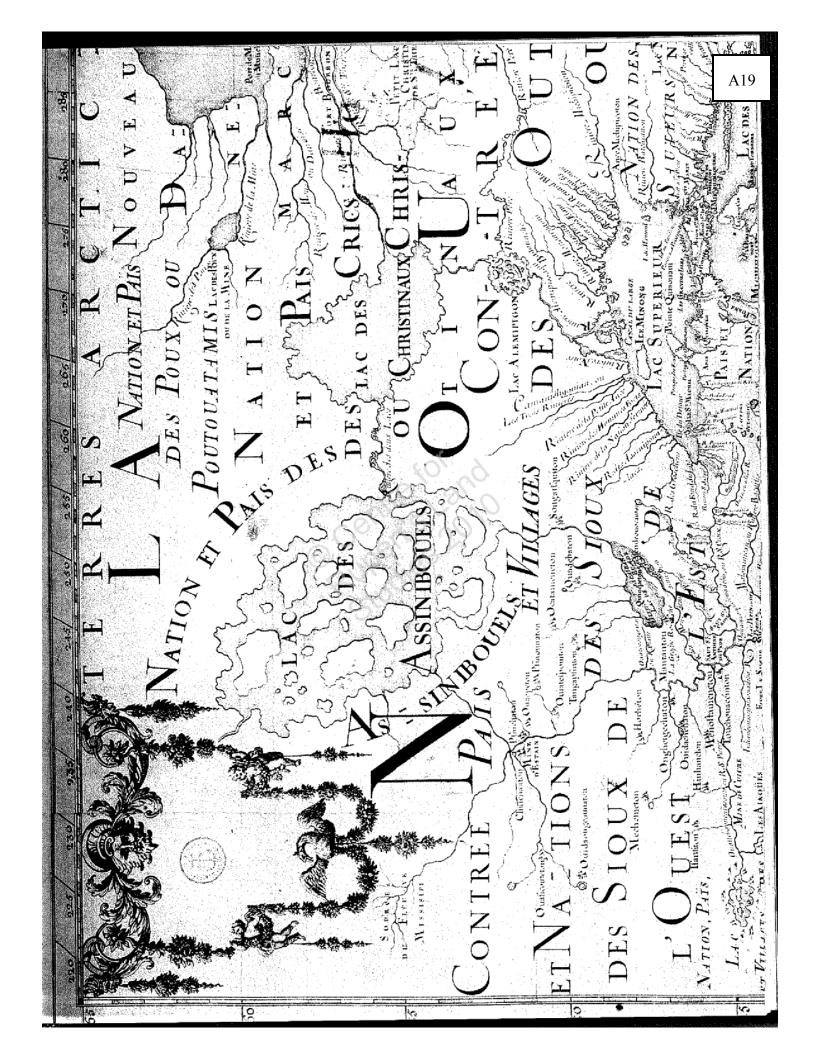
Among other tribal territorial designations, the notation "Chris-ti-naux" (i.e., Crees) is inscribed in the area astride the "Riviere Bourbon" between "Lac des Christinaux" and "Port Bourbon" (Port Nelson), but no specific information is presented about the Pimicikamak territory.





8. A SECTION OF JEAN-BAPTISTE FRANQUELIN'S MAP, "Amerique Septenlle," 1699, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 50-51.

Ruggles notes the similarity this map shares with Franquelin's 1688 map. There is no new information about Pimicikamak territory.





9. A SECTION OF GUILLAUME DE L'ISLE'S MAP, "Carte du Canada et du Mississippi," 1702, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 56-57.

Ruggles notes:

As far as Manitoba is concerned, this map is the final transformation of De l'Isle's ideas, and the configuration shown here was repeated many times in later years. The Bourbon (Nelson) river has been attached finally to Lac de Assinipoils (Manitoba Lakes). This lake is also connected with Lac des Christinaux, which is the former Kilistinons Lake.

Aside from an annotation, "Les Christinaux" in the region from Lac des Christinaux to Hudson Bay, this map shows no information about the Pimicikamak region.



10. UNTITLED, about 1728, "Map made by Auchagah, a Cree for La Vérendrye." Library and Archives Canada. Image accessed through Library and Archives Canada "Pathfinders and Passageways: The La Vérendryes":

http://www.collectionscanada.ca/2/24/h24-1530-e.html

Scanned image available at: [image accessed 29 May 2007]

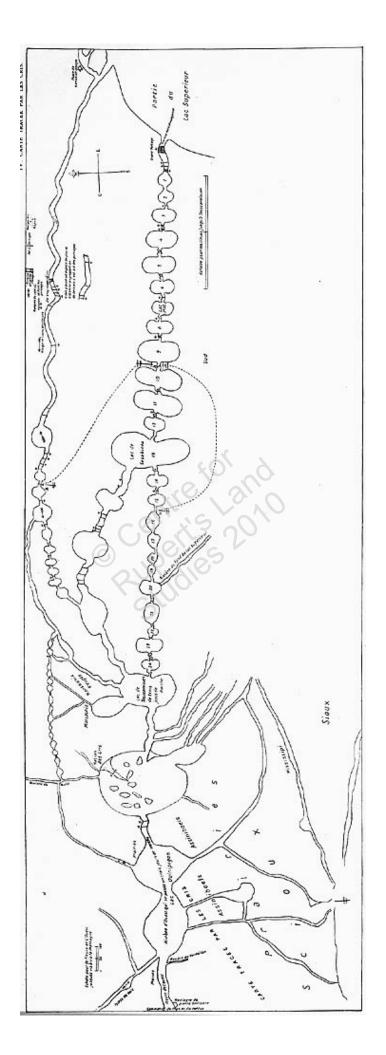
http://data2.collectionscanada.ca/ap/c/c016133.jpg

A quote from La Vérendrye on this site underlines the lack of information Europeans had about the interior of the country, and therefore the dependence they placed on Aboriginal guides:

"Rapport au guide j'ay fait choix d'un nommé Auchagah Sauvage de mon poste fort attaché à la nation françoise le plus en état de guider le convoy et dont il n'y a pas lieu de craindre que l'on soit abandonné dans la route,..."

"With reference to the guide, the man I have chosen is one named Auchagah, a savage of my post, greatly attached to the French nation, the man most capable of guiding a party, and with whom there would be no fear of our being abandoned on the way." (Burpee 1927, 52)

Credit: Library and Archives Canada, c-016133

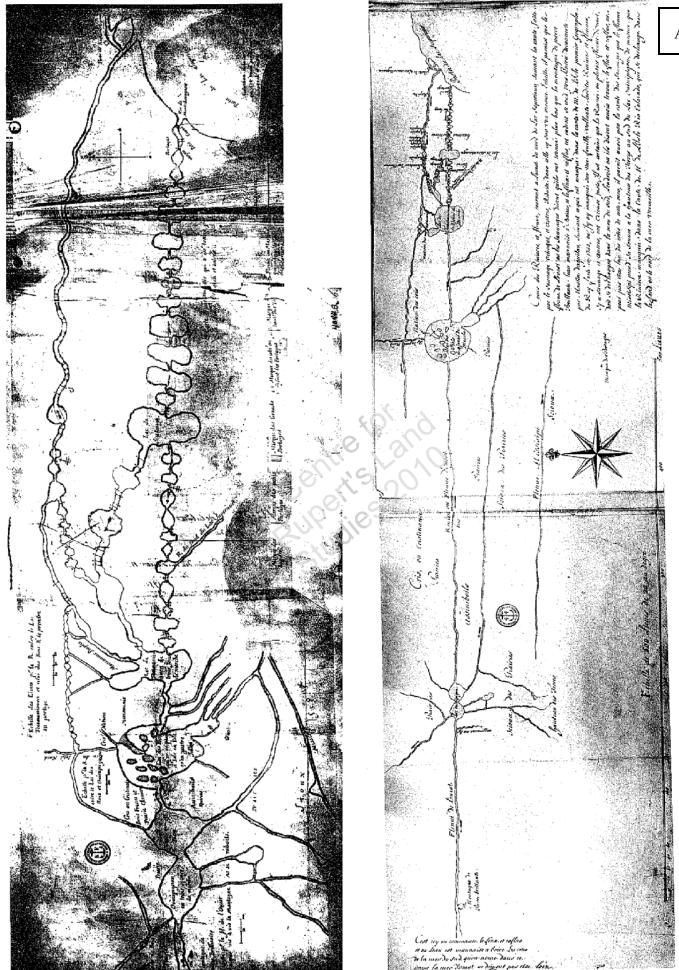




11. [TWO] COLLATED COPIES OF THREE MAPS PREPARED BY THE INDIANS AUCHAGACH, TACCHIGIS, LA MARTEBLANCHE AND OTHERS, 1728-29, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 72-73.

Ruggles states "The first delineations of the river and lake network beyond Lake Superior are those of several Cree Indians."

Notations suggest "Cris" or "Cris et Cristinots" in the general area of Pimicikamak, and a number of issues arise if the map is read on European terms. No detail is shown for Pimicikamak territory, and in fact no northern outflow of Lake Winnipeg to Hudson Bay is shown.





12. A SECTION OF GUILLAUME DE L'ISLE'S MAP, 1730, *Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969*, pages 58-59.

This map shows "R. Bourbon" (probably the Nelson) flowing from the south rather than the west, and demonstrates no knowledge of Pimicikamak territory.

Following 1731, mapping of the interior of North America became more detailed and more realistic in European terms. Ruggles (*Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969*, page 9) states "The...period, after 1731, may be called one of exploration, when much of the imaginative or conjectural delineation of the earlier period was replaced by a more realistic iconography."

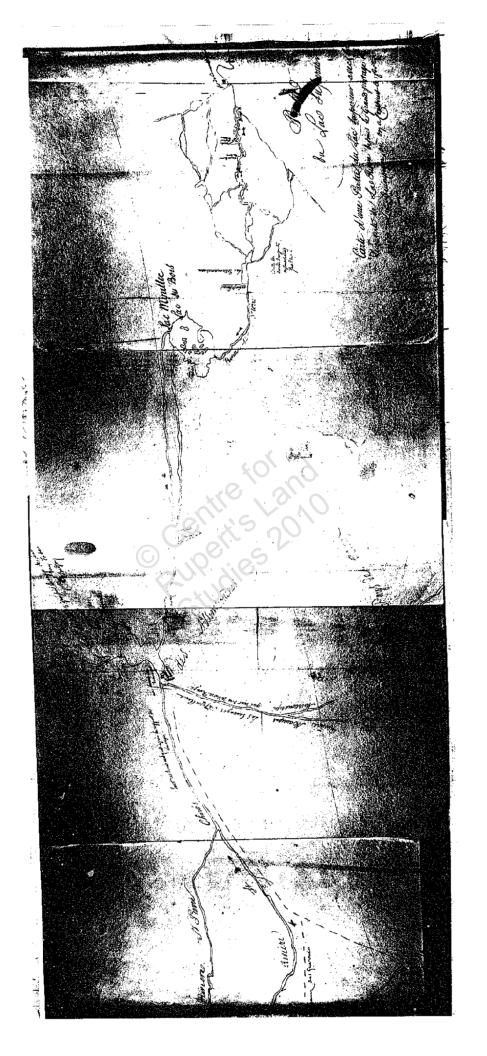


13. MAP BY THE LA VÉRENDRYE EXPEDITION, **1734**, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 76-77.

Ruggles states:

This map...indicates an east-west alignment of the hydrographic features as in the Auchagach map, but on this occasion Lac Ouinipigon or des Assinibouenes (Lake Winnipeg), trends correctly north and south... There are several rivers flowing from the northern end of Lake Winnipeg which the natives stated, pass into Hudson Bay.

It is possible to see the very early emergence of an understanding of main hydraulic connections in the area north of Lake Winnipeg, but there is no evidence of any information specifically about the Pimicikamak region.

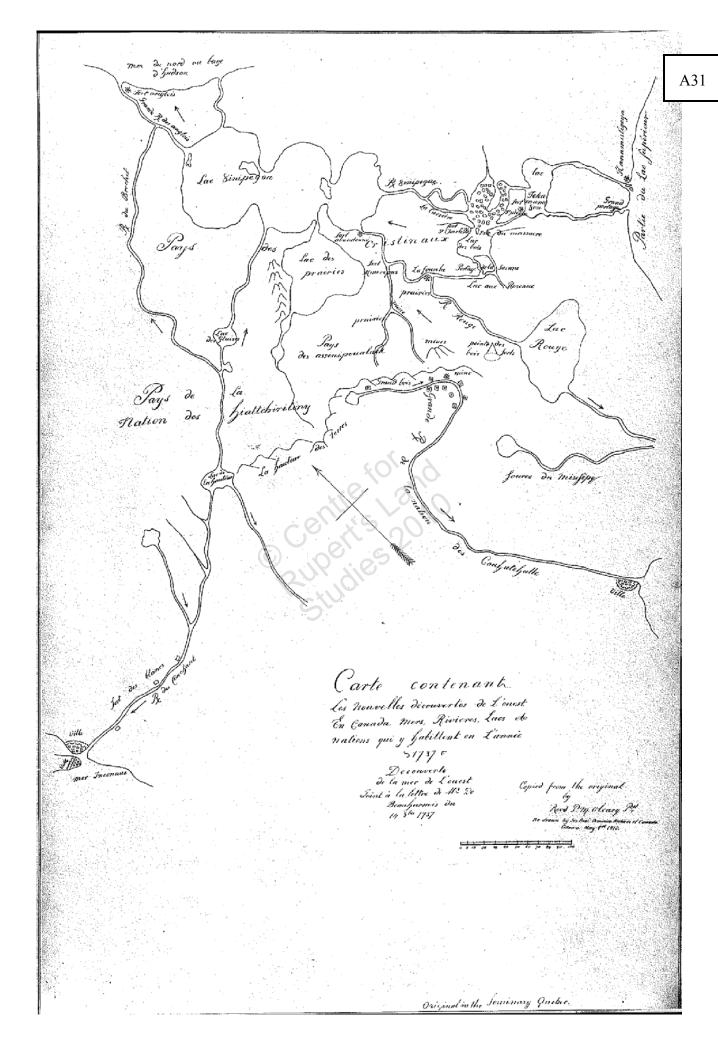




14. MAP BY THE LA VÉRENDRYE EXPEDITION, "Carte Contenant les Nouvelles Decouvertes de L'Ouest in Canada, 1737", Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 80-81.

Ruggles states "The major fallacies on this map are those associated with northern rivers flowing into Lake Winnipeg."

The area west and north of Lake Winnipeg is annotated "Pays des Cristinaux," but provides no detailed information about Pimicikamak territory.





15. MAP BY THE LA VÉRENDRYE EXPEDITION, "Carte Contenant les Nouvells Decouvertes de L'Ouest in Canada," 1740, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 82-83.

This configuration of lakes and rivers is the most significant, and most copied of all the maps emanating from the French trading venture.

Lake Winnipeg, shown as "Lac Oinipigue" and "Lac Bourbon," empties through "grande River Anglais" to "Fort Anglais." It is reasonable to assume that the fort is York Fort and that the river is therefore the Nelson. No information about the Pimicikamak region is shown.



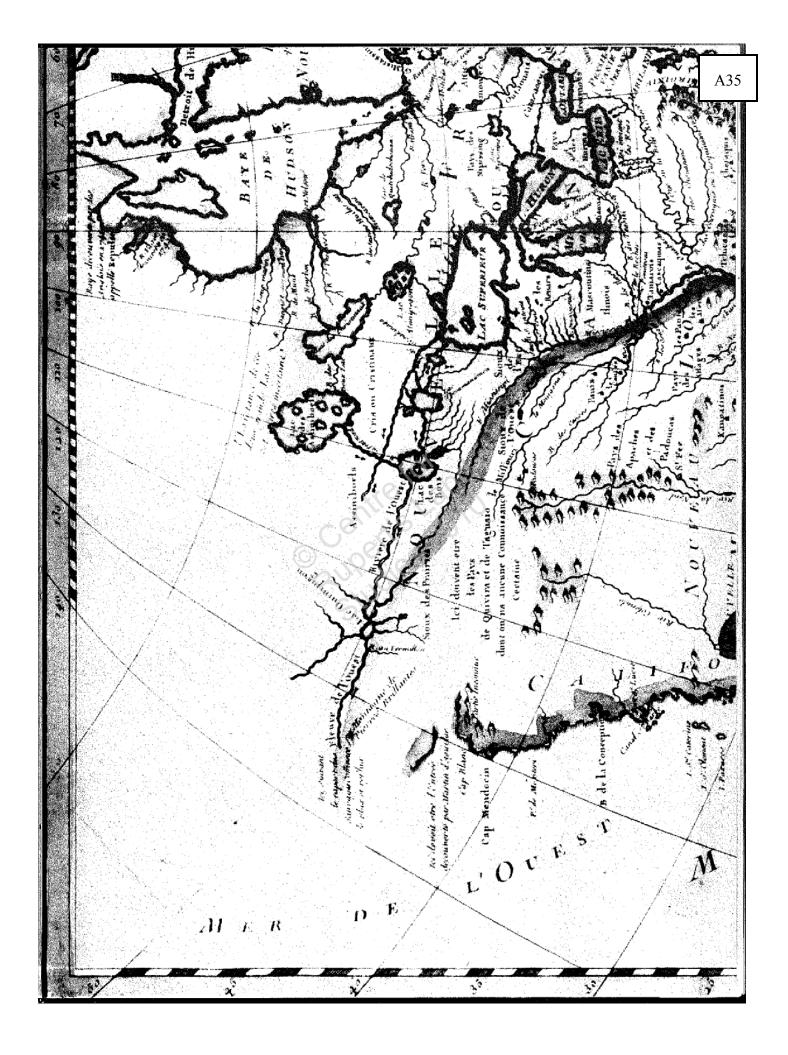


16. A SECTION OF NICOLAS BELLIN'S MAP, "Carte de L'Amerique Septentrionale" **1743,** Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 74-75.

Ruggles comments,

Nicolas Bellin transposed the Indians' version of western waterways onto the map of North America... He has left the Franquelin interior lakes to the north of the Border Lakes, thereby duplicating Lake Winnipeg, since Lac Ouinipigon and Lac des Assiniboels are two versions of the same waterbody.

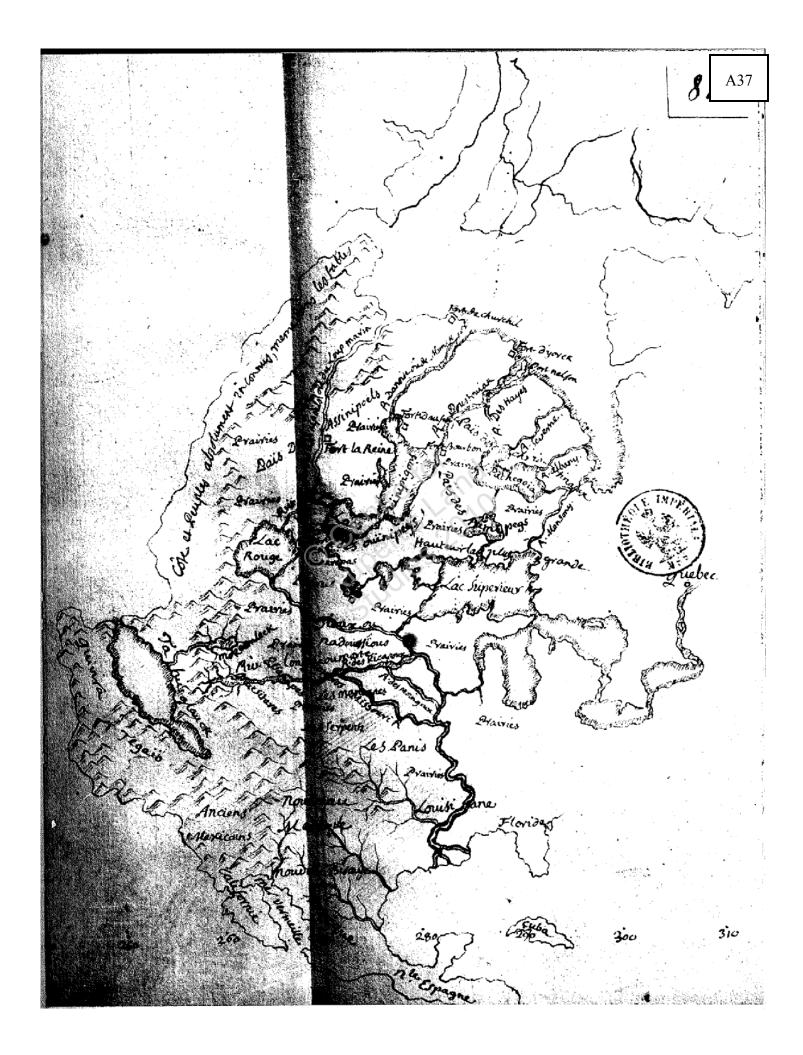
The notation north of the two lakes on this map appears to read, "L'Existence de ces deux grande Lacs sest tres incertaine." No information about the Pimicikamak region is shown.





17. A MAP OF NORTH AMERICA by Father Castel, 1750-51, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 126-127.

This map contains a large number of problems that stem from Castel's attempts to correlate mapping information from a number of sources, and possibly a belief in an easy Northwest Passage. While the Nelson River seems to be located on this map, it shows no information specifically about Pimicikamak territory.

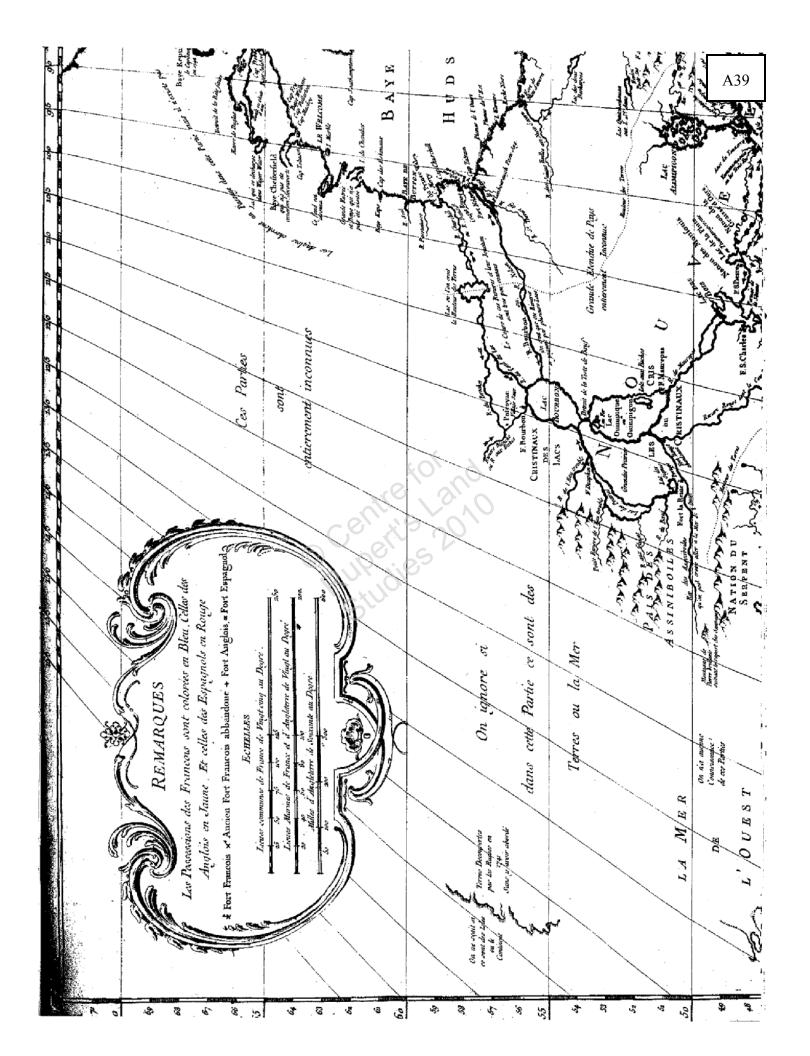


18. A SECTION OF NICOLAS BELLIN'S MAP, "Carte de L'Amerique Septentrionale,"
1755, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 118-119.

Ruggles states:

In the same year that Mitchell published his important map of the British Colonies in North America, which clearly exposed the dearth of geographical information from English sources for western Canada, Nicolas Bellin of France produced this map which can be considered as the epitome of French mapping for this region.... This system of lakes [roughly lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba] is drained by the Bourbon river (Nelson river), into the Bay, and is also attached to the Churchill network.... Farther north, the inhabitants are named as the Christinaux des Lacs, or Lake Crees.

Bellin's map shows a continuing dearth of information about much of what is today Manitoba, and other than showing that a river links Port Nelson on Hudson Bay with Lake Winnipeg, the map shows little awareness of the Pimicikamak region.



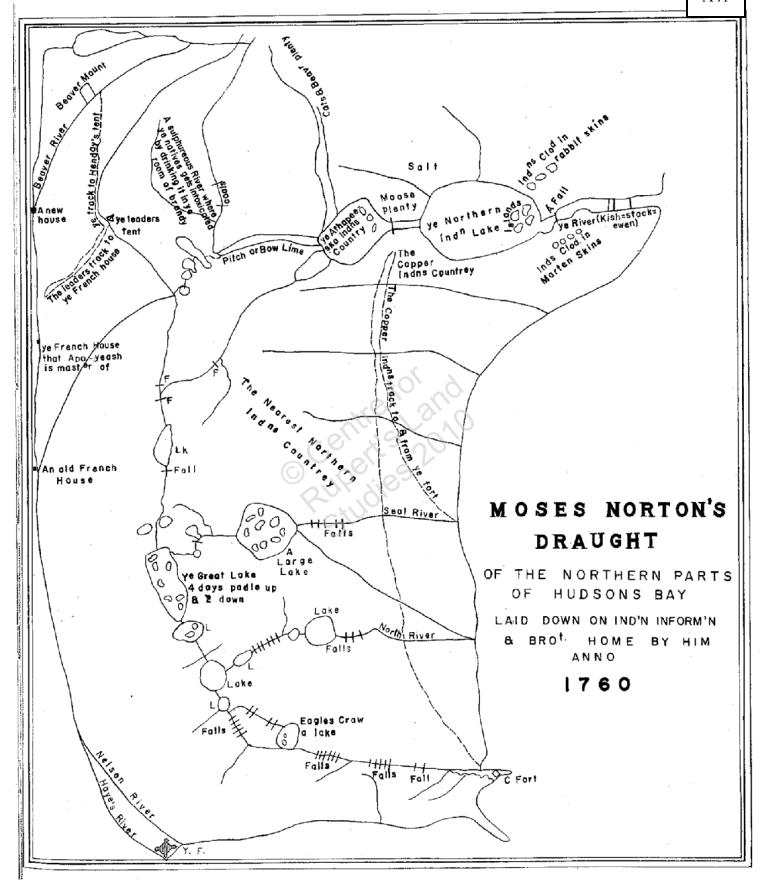


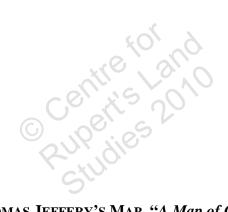
19. Moses Norton's Draught of the Northern Parts of Hudsons Bay, 1760, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 88-89.

This is another example of Aboriginal information in mapping. Ruggles states:

This map was drawn on animal parchment, possibly by the Indians themselves, or by Norton during their interrogation at the Fort.... The simplified line of the Saskatchewan-Grass River-Nelson river route connects in the interior with the Athabasca country. "An old French House" refers likely to the old French post at The Pas.

The map describes significant water communications, but does not show specific information about Pimicikamak territory.



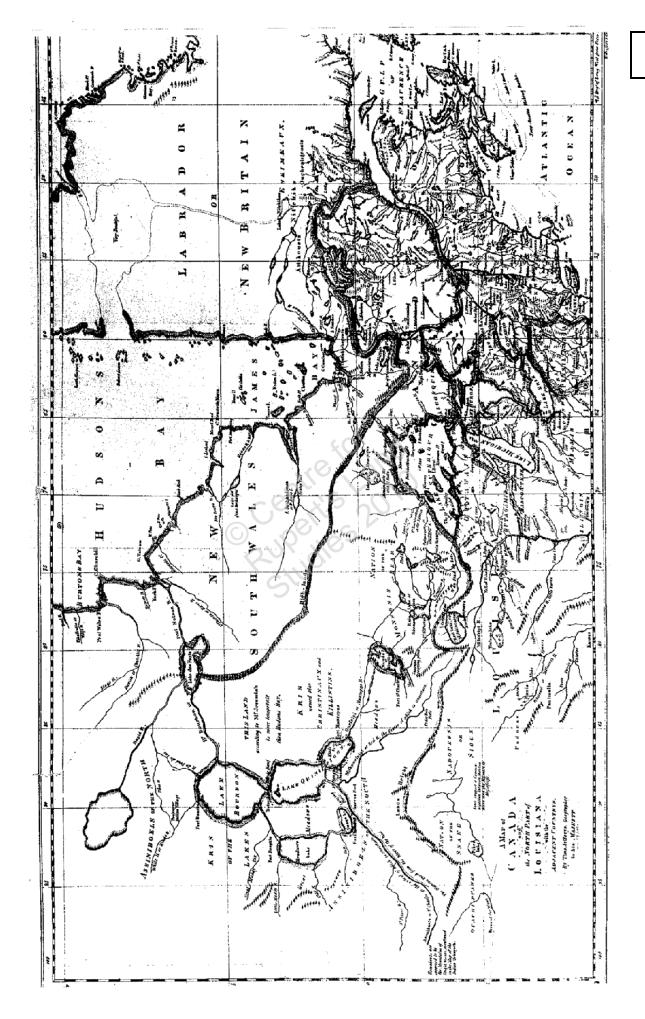


20. A SECTION FROM THOMAS JEFFERY'S MAP, "A Map of Canada and the North Part of Louisiana," 1762, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 122-123.

Ruggles states:

Thomas Jefferys turned to the French for his version of western Canadian hydrographic patterns, though he has added embellishments of his own devising. ... The Port Nelson or Bourbon river, with its accompanying Rapid river and two large lakes, are reminiscent of De l'Isle. This cartographer has not produced any thing significant in Manitoban mapping, but presents a configuration, already outdated, copied by other later draughtsmen.

This map continues to feature only the major water routes in the area north of Lake Winnipeg, and no specific information about Pimicikamak territory. It does make a comment that there were "Kris named also Christinaux and Killistons" near Lake Winnipeg.

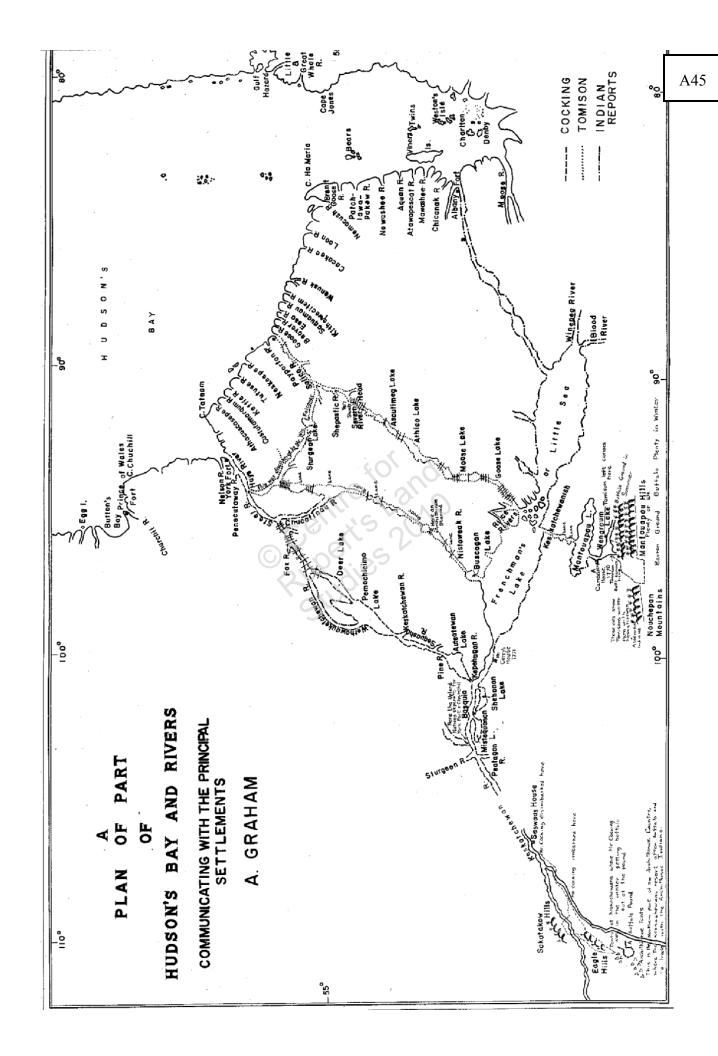


21a. A PLAN OF PART OF HUDSON'S BAY AND RIVERS COMMUNICATING WITH THE PRINCIPAL SETTLEMENTS by Andrew Graham, 1768-1770, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 94-95.

Ruggles states:

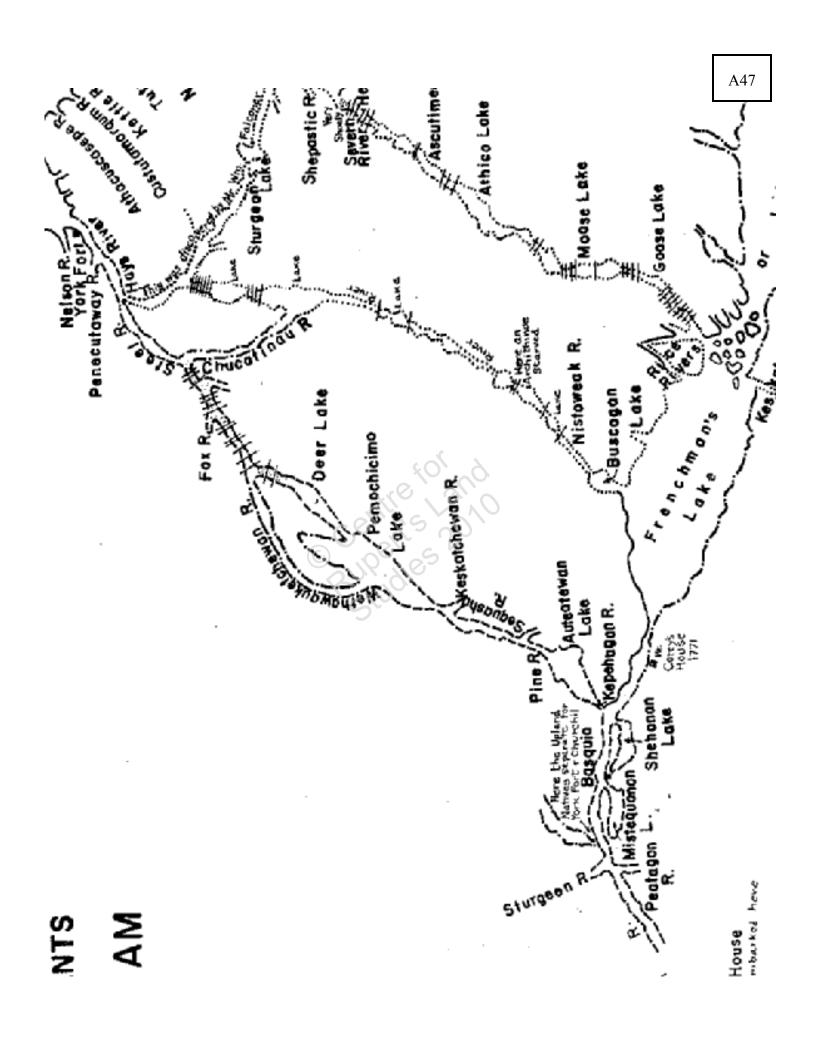
This is a composite map prepared from two manuscript maps drawn by Andrew Graham, the Factor at York Fort. It records the most complete configuration of the waterways of the Manitoba area to that date, and together with the details in Graham's excellent memoir, "Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1768", is the earliest and most complete study on the geography of Manitoba. The inland information was plotted from three sources, Matthew Cocking's journal of his trip to the Forks of the Saskatchewan river in 1772-1773, William Tomison's descriptions of two journeys from 1767 to 1770 into the Manitoba Lakes area, and Indian reports.

As Ruggles notes, the lakes and lake-river connections in this map are extremely simplified, but this marks the beginning of an understanding of the major hydraulic communications of the area. Curiously, Cocking travelled inland in 1772-73, but the map is dated several years earlier. Details of the landscape are far from resolved, but this map, in combination with Graham's Observations, (in which Graham identifies a subgroup of the Keishkatchewan Nation or Cree who traded at Hudson's Bay as Peme chic emeou), and Sir John Richardson who quoted Hutchins' (1770) similar list (Hutchins called this group "Pemmichi-ke-mè-u") and identified these people as from Cross Lake, appears to be some of the earliest documentary information about a group that identified as from Pimicikamak territory. See report on these documentary sources.





21b. A PLAN OF PART OF HUDSON'S BAY AND RIVERS COMMUNICATING WITH THE PRINCIPAL SETTLEMENTS by Andrew Graham, 1768-1770, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 94-95 (Enlarged Section).



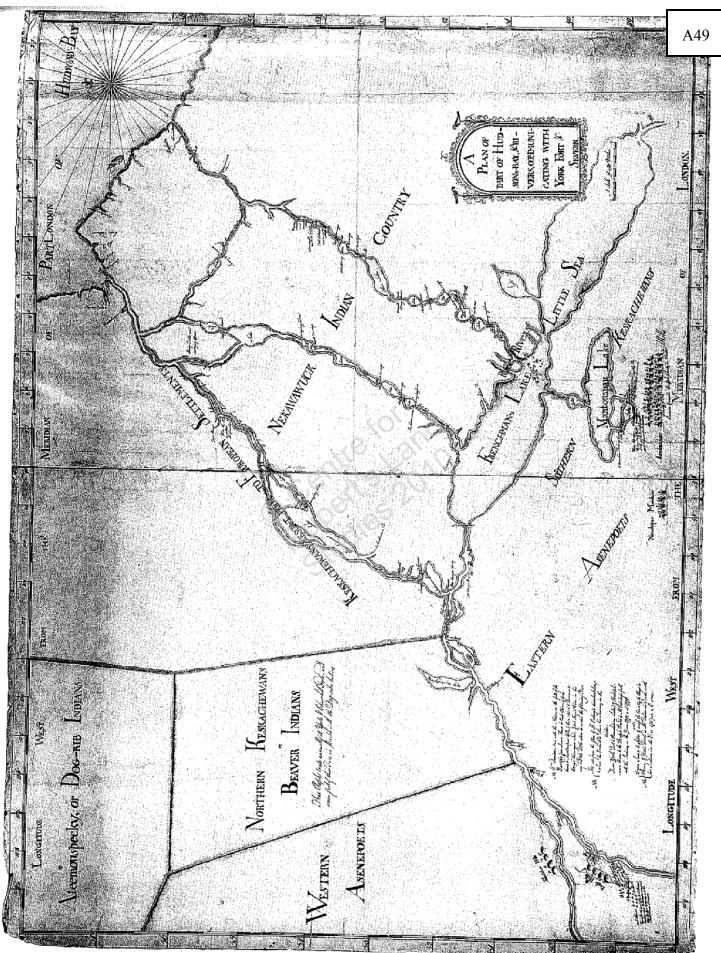


22. A PLAN OF PART OF HUDSONS BAY, & RIVERS, COMMUNICATING WITH YORK FORT & SEVERN, 1774, Andrew Graham, in A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870, page 130.

According to Ruggles (page 40), this is the:

first regional map to show tribal regions on the Canadian prairies and southern boreal forest. In a rather geometric fashion, the boundaries of the main Indian groups of this area were inserted. Such ethnographic details were also present in Graham's *Observations*.

The label "Keskatchewan's resort prior to European Settlements" appears to the north and east of Lake Winnipeg, and may relate to Graham's comments about some movement and expansion that he said happened after European contact. See report on this. While the scale of the map differs from modern mapping, a stubb of the Saskatchewan River is shown entering a lake labelled "Pimochicomoo Lake." Detail inland from the major water routes is still minimal as are parts of the waterways themselves.

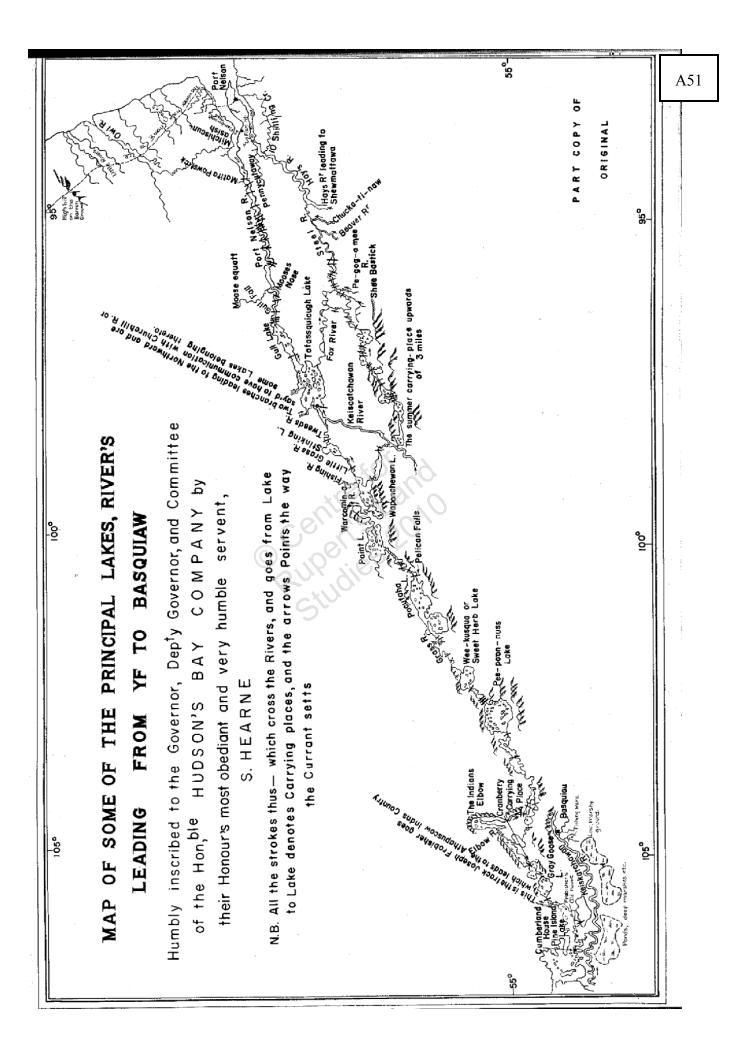


23a. SAMUEL HEARNE'S "Map of Some of the Principal Lakes, River's Leading from YF to Basquia," 1776, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 96-97.

Ruggles states:

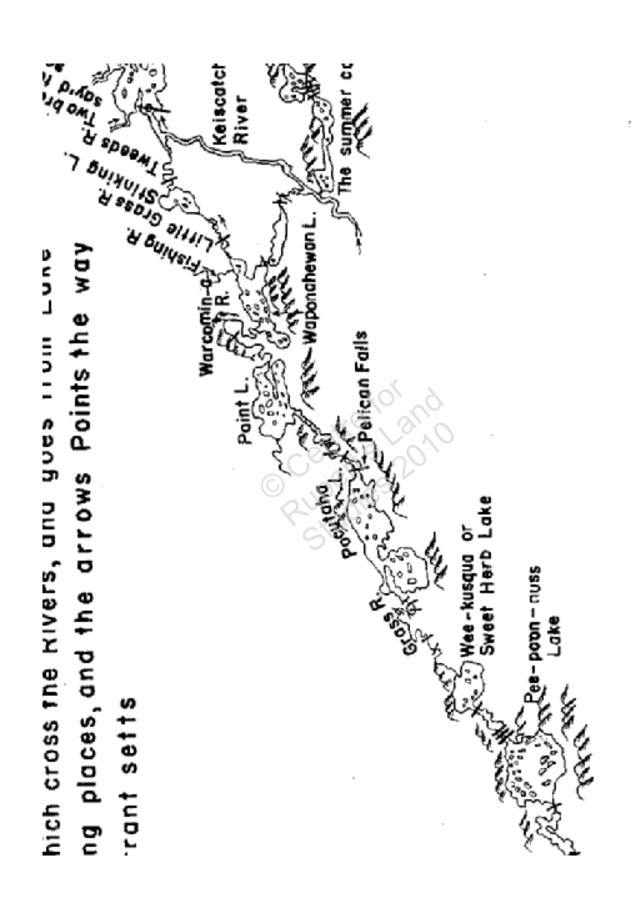
In 1774, [Hearne] was chosen to lead the expedition to build the first Hudson's Bay Company trading post inland, this latter decision being a momentous alteration in the trading procedure of the Company. As a result of this journey and also of a second sojourn there in 1775, Hearne was able to lay down in some detail, for the first time, the normal water connections used between York Fort and the Saskatchewan river. Its coverage extends from the Bay at the mouth of the Nelson and Hayes rivers to Pine Island Lake (Cumberland).

This map includes parts of the Grass River system in northwestern Pimicikamak territory, and the "Keiscatchewan River" (present day upper Nelson River) in the northeastern part of Pimicikamak territory, and "Tatassquiough Lake" (modern Split Lake). Information is still focused on the major water routes and connections, but details are beginning to emerge on these routes.





23b. SAMUEL HEARNE'S "Map of Some of the Principal Lakes, River's Leading from YF to Basquia," 1776, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 96-97 (Enlarged Section).





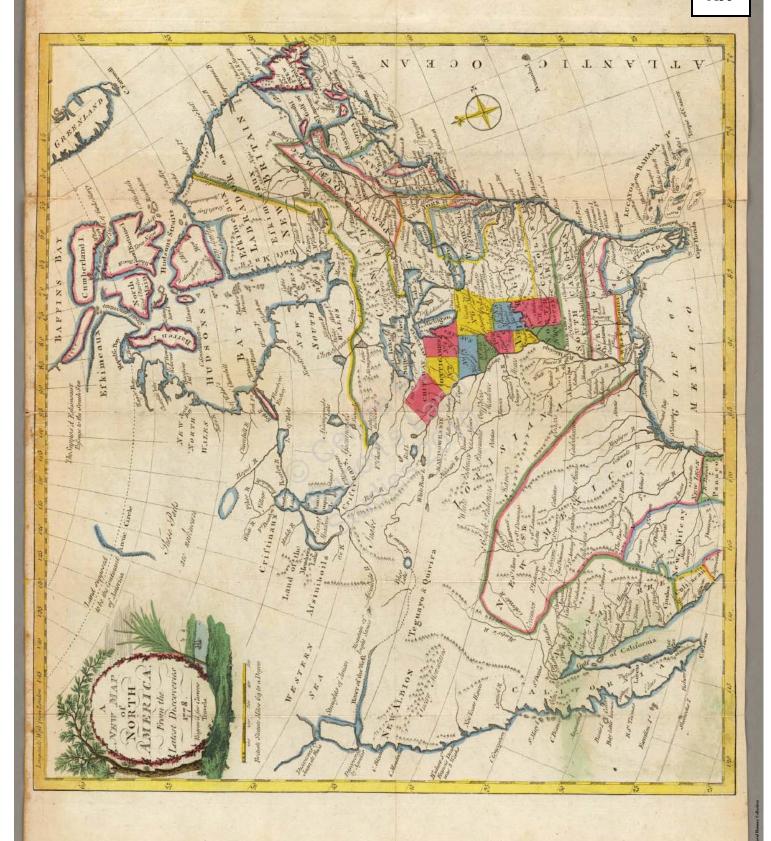
24. *A New Map of North America*, **1778**, **Jonathan Carver**. David Rumsey Map Collection, online:

http://www.davidrumsey.com

Map available at:

http://www.davidrumsey.com/detail?id=1-1-91250004&name=New+Map+of+North+America Accessed 29 May 2007.

The name "Christinaux" appears northeast of Lake Winnipeg, but the Pimicikamak region is not well defined.





25a. *LA BAJA D'HUDSON: TERRA DI LABRADOR E GROENLANDIA CON LE ISOLE ADIACENTI*, **1778, Antonio Zatta,** David Rumsey Map Collection, online:

http://www.davidrumsey.com Accessed 29 May 2007.

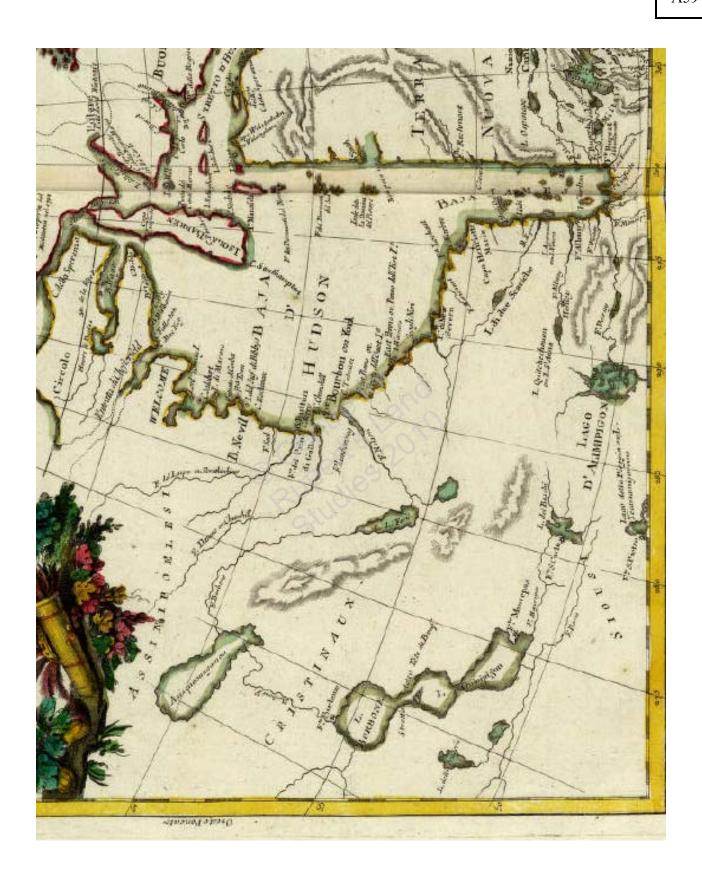
The name "Christinaux" appears north of Lake Winnipeg, but the Pimicikamak region is not well defined.





25b. *LA BAJA D'HUDSON: TERRA DI LABRADOR E GROENLANDIA CON LE ISOLE ADIACENTI*, **1778, Antonio Zatta**, (Enlarged Section) David Rumsey Map Collection, online:

http://www.davidrumsey.com Accessed 29 May 2007.



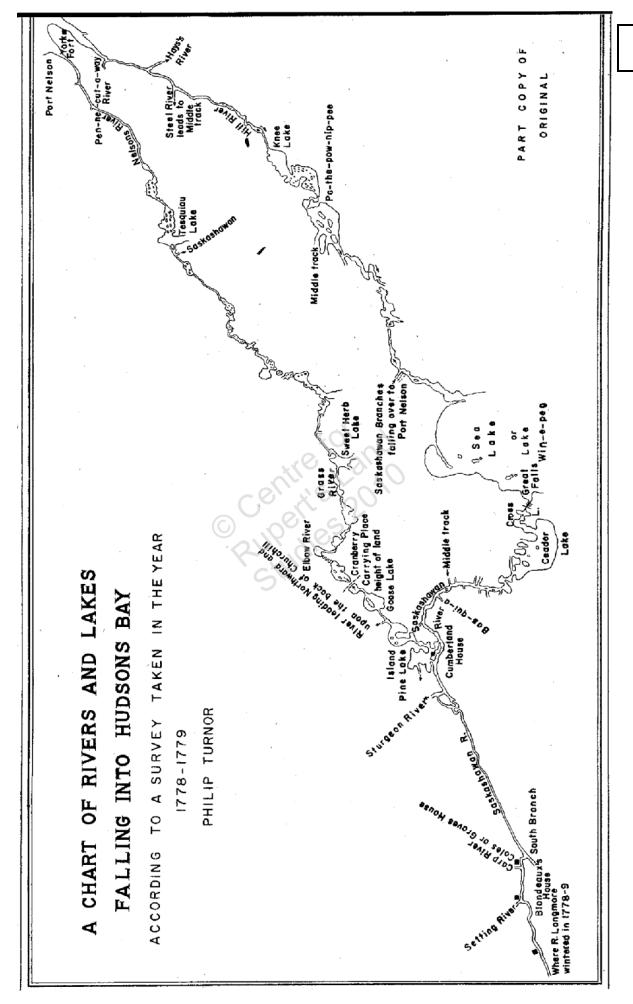


26a. PHILIP TURNOR'S Chart of Rivers and Lakes Falling Into Hudson's Bay, 1779, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 98-99.

Ruggles states:

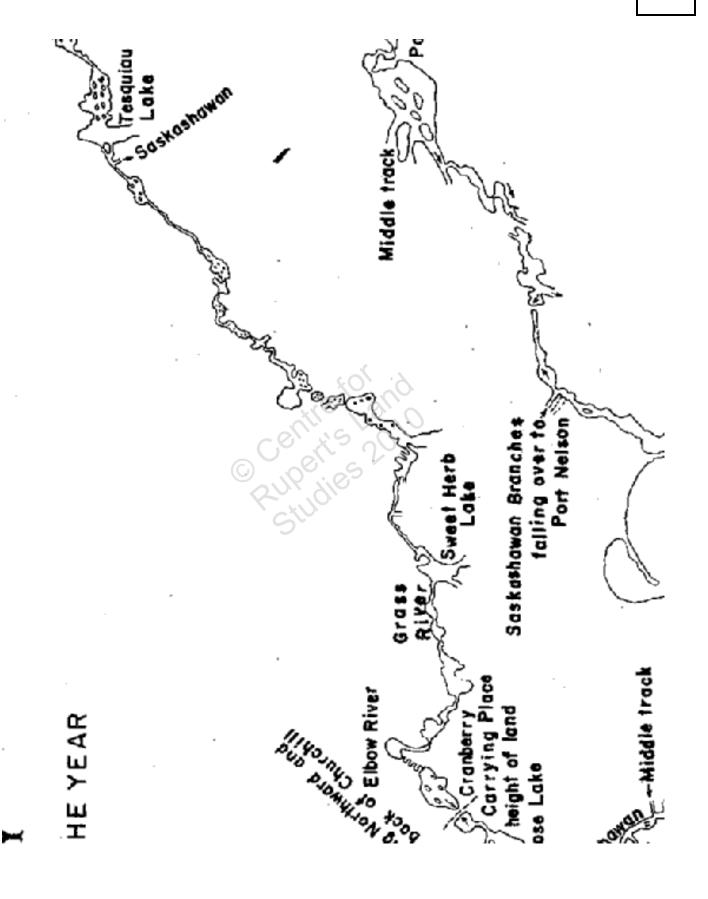
Philip Turnor commenced his career as map-maker of the Hudson's Bay Company's inland settlements with this map, produced after he returned from his first visit in the Saskatchewan River valley.

This map shows the Grass River and some of its related system, but the Nelson River is sketchy and poorly developed.





26b. PHILIP TURNOR'S Chart of Rivers and Lakes Falling Into Hudson's Bay, 1779, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 98-99 (Enlarged Section).



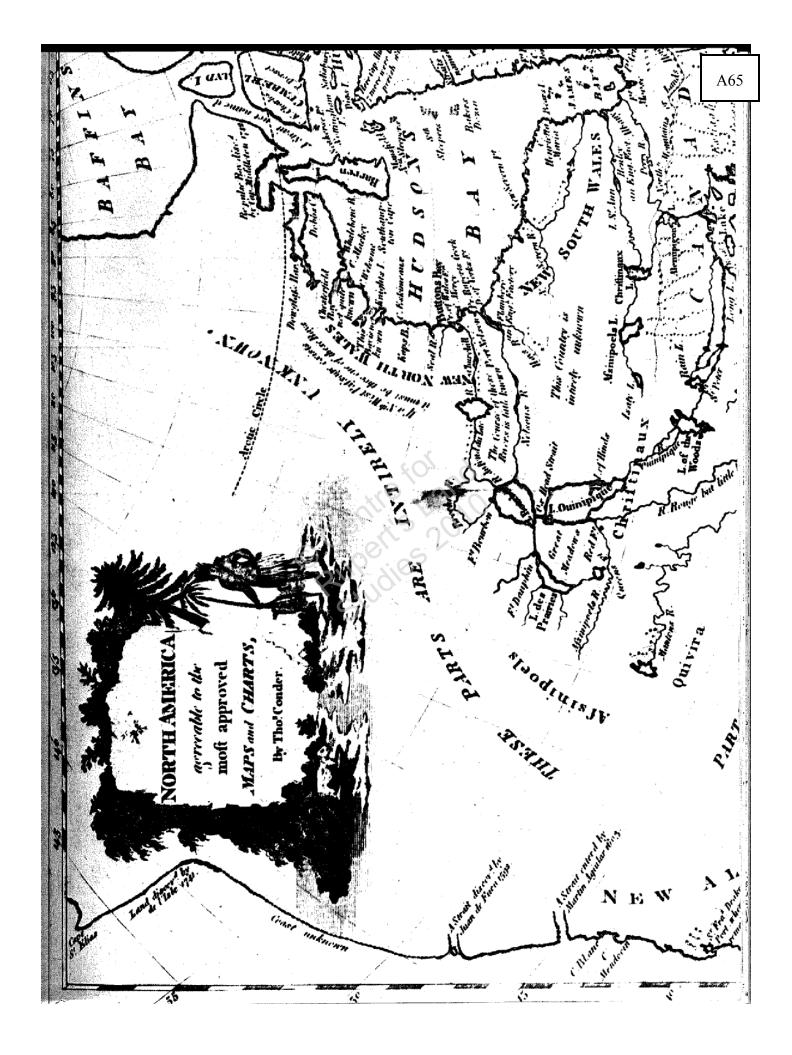


27. SECTION FROM THOMAS CONDER'S MAP, "North America", 1782, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 120-121.

Ruggles notes:

This cartographer was not at all original in his treatment of the western Canadian area. He copied Bellin almost completely for the Border and Manitoba Lakes, and the Churchill, Nelson, Hayes and Severn systems. He then put in the connected lakes... which were obtained from the Mitchell map. Conder's map is an excellent example of the long adherence to vestigial forms, extending back in some cases for over a century to Franquelin and De l'Isle.

Conder does add annotations around and including Pimicikamak territory. Of particular interest are the comments: "These Parts are Intirely Unknown," and the related "The Course of these Rivers is little known," and "This Country is intirely unknown."



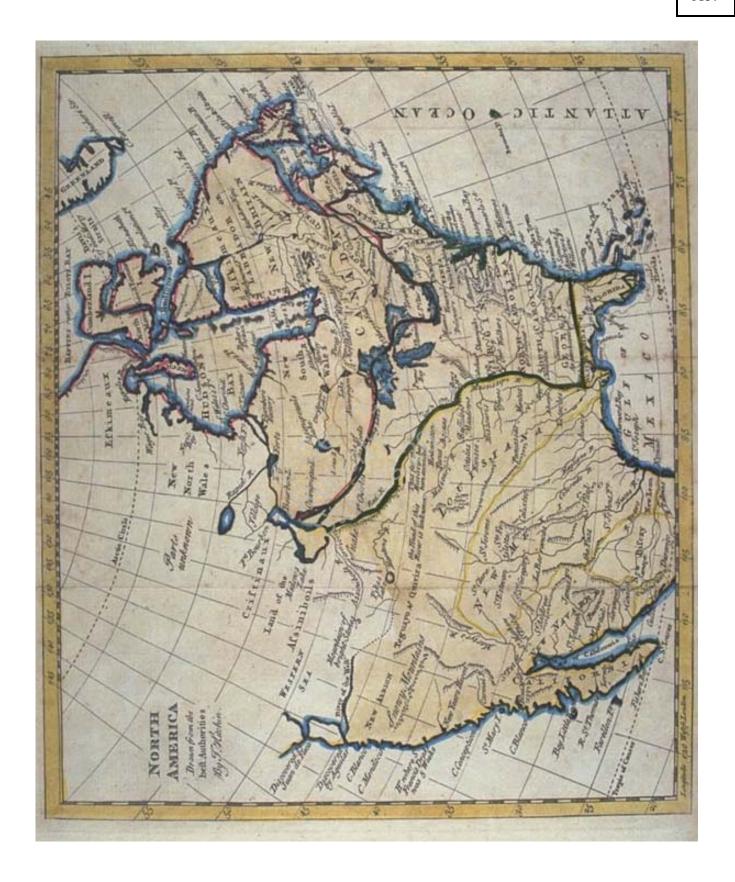


28. *North America*, **A map by Thomas Kitchin probably 1785.** Available online at McMaster University, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession number 107301:

http://library.mcmaster.ca/php/raremaps.php?f=more&num=107301 Accessed 29 May 2007

The area north of Lake Winnipeg is noted "Parts unknown."

Credit: McMaster University Library, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession #107301



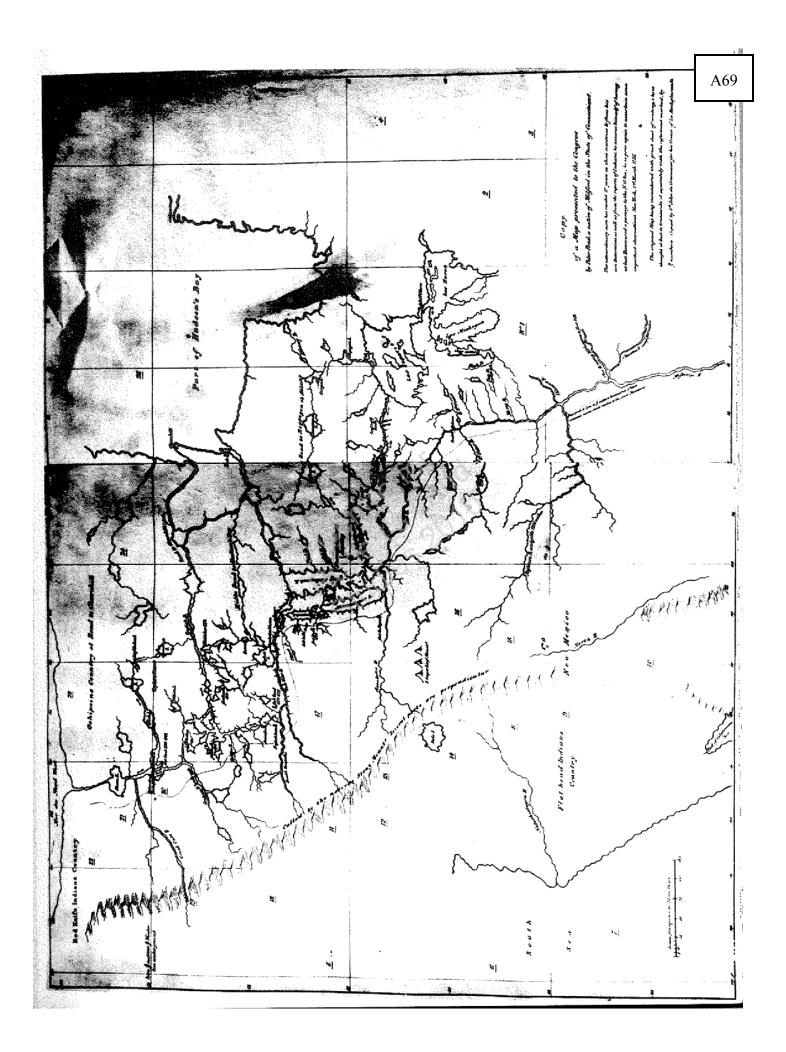


29. COPY OF A MAP PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS BY PETER POND, **1785**, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 106-107.

Ruggles states:

Very few traders were working in the Mackenzie Basin, but Peter Pond was the most experienced... from Indian reports he had amassed a considerable understanding of the more northerly regions. On this map he drew the Mackenzie, Churchill, Saskatchewan, Nelson, and Albany systems, the Manitoba Lakes and the Border Lakes, and showed their interconnection. No previous map, nor any in the next decade, outlined the general hydrographic pattern of Western Canada as did this one.

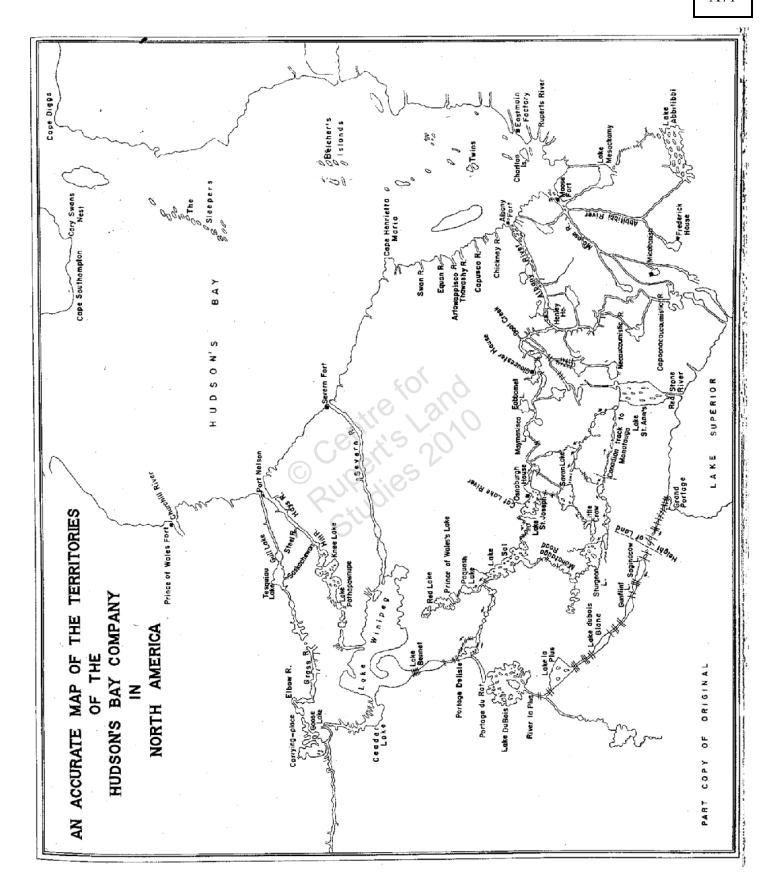
Despite Pond's considerable contribution to cartographic information in the region, it does not address Pimicikamak territory, but still focuses on waterways and connections.





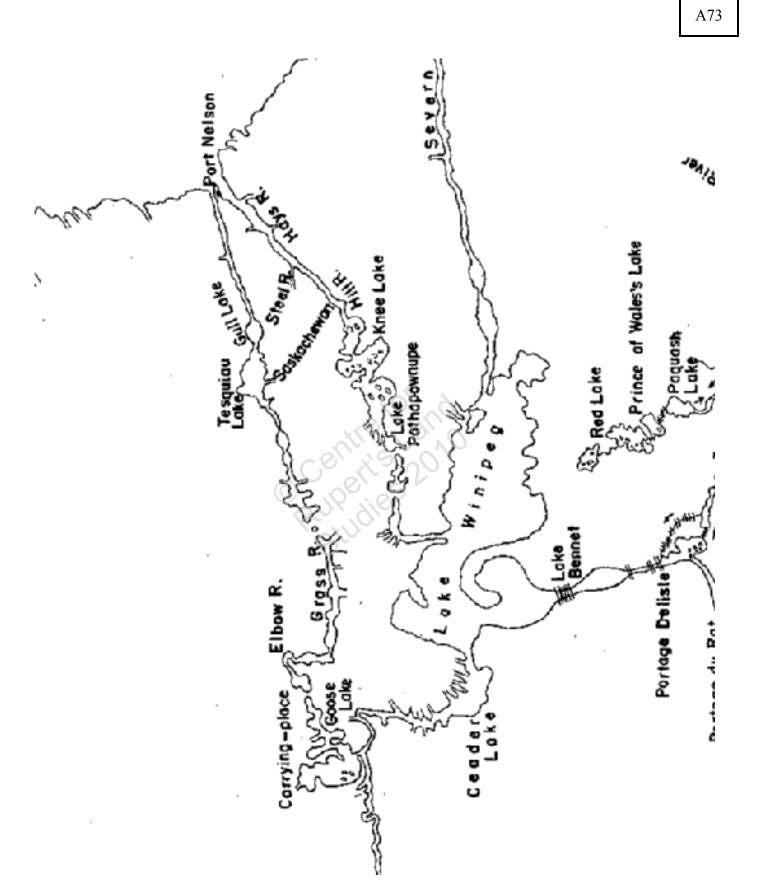
30a. AN ACCURATE MAP OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY IN NORTH AMERICA, Likely Prepared by John Hodgson, 1791, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 104-105.

This map is actually simplified from other maps of the period, and does not show the Nelson River flowing across the Pimicikamak territory.





30b. AN ACCURATE MAP OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY IN NORTH AMERICA, Likely Prepared by John Hodgson, 1791, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 104-105 (Enlarged Section).



31. Part of a Map of Nelson and Hayes River and Connections through Lake Winnipeg, Showing an Area above Split Lake on the Nelson River, 1794, A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870, page 141 [Hudson's Bay Company Archives G2/18].

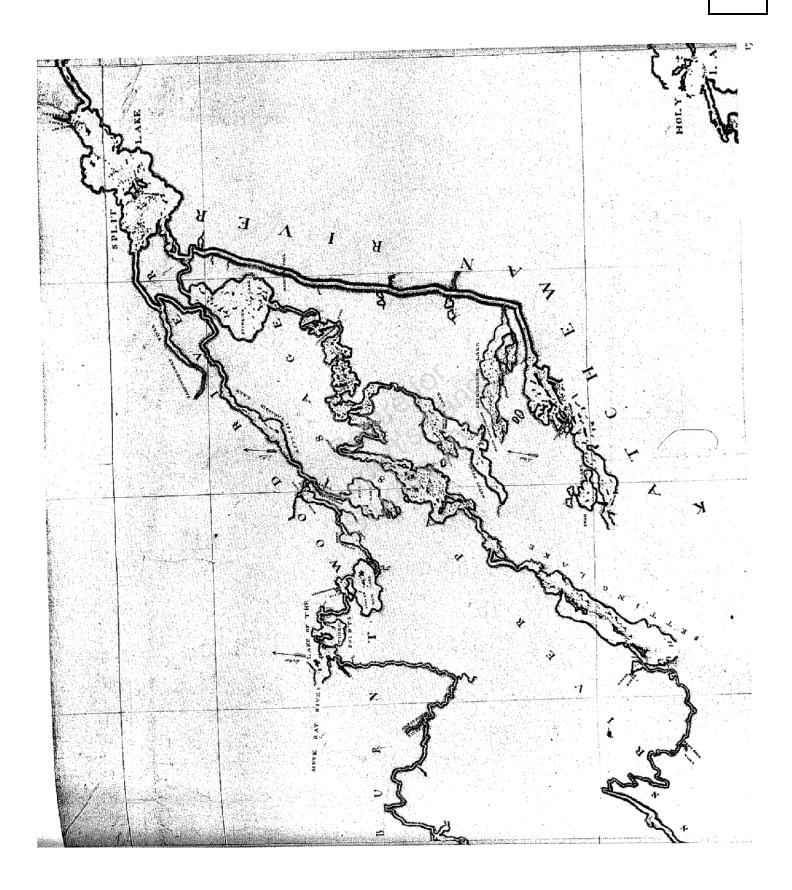
Attributed to David Thompson by Ruggles. David Thompson wintered at Sipiwesk Lake in 1792-1793 (see main report). It shows the north-west part of Sipiwesk Lake and the "Saskatchewan River." This was probably actually the Nelson River from Lake Winnipeg to Split Lake. See J.B. Tyrrell:

In applying the name "Saskatchewan River" to that portion of the Nelson River above Split river, Thompson was doubt less following the usage of the natives and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company of that time. There is ground for believing that the name Saskatchewan was originally applied to that portion of the Nelson river which flows from Lake Winnipeg to Split lake, rather than to the great river above Lake Winnipeg to which the name is now applied.⁴

This map initiates a period where the Pimicikamak territory was being considered in greater detail, but information still tends to focus near the major waterways.

Map is used with permission from The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, G2/18. Attributed to David Thompson.

⁴ J.B. Tyrrell in: Thompson, David. *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America*, *1784-1812*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916, (footnote, p. lxxiv).



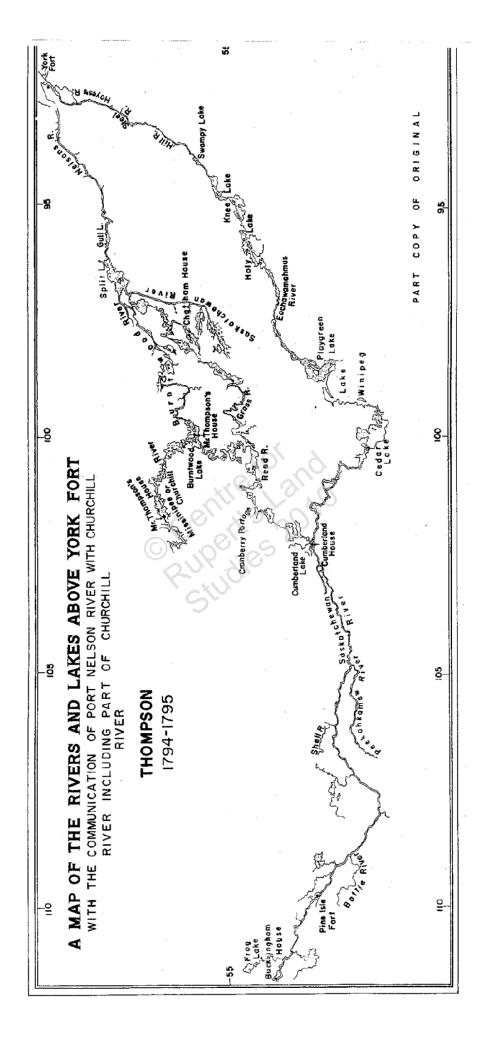
32. DAVID THOMPSON'S "Map of the Rivers and Lakes Above York Fort," 1794-1795, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 100-101. See also page 131.

Ruggles states [page 100]:

David Thompson, for a period of time an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, provided in this map the most important source of information for those published maps which included this large region in their orbit. It concerns the same area basically as that of Turnor but it also shows the ... part of the Churchill river system and the Burntwood Lake and river connection to the Nelson river at Split Lake.... Thompson undertook this mapping task while on general orders from the Company to search for a route to Athabaska from the Churchill river. He ... obtained valuable information on the Nelson-Churchill connections for the York Factor. This map was basic to Aaron Arrowsmith's continental mapping of 1795 for this region.

On page 131, Ruggles states:

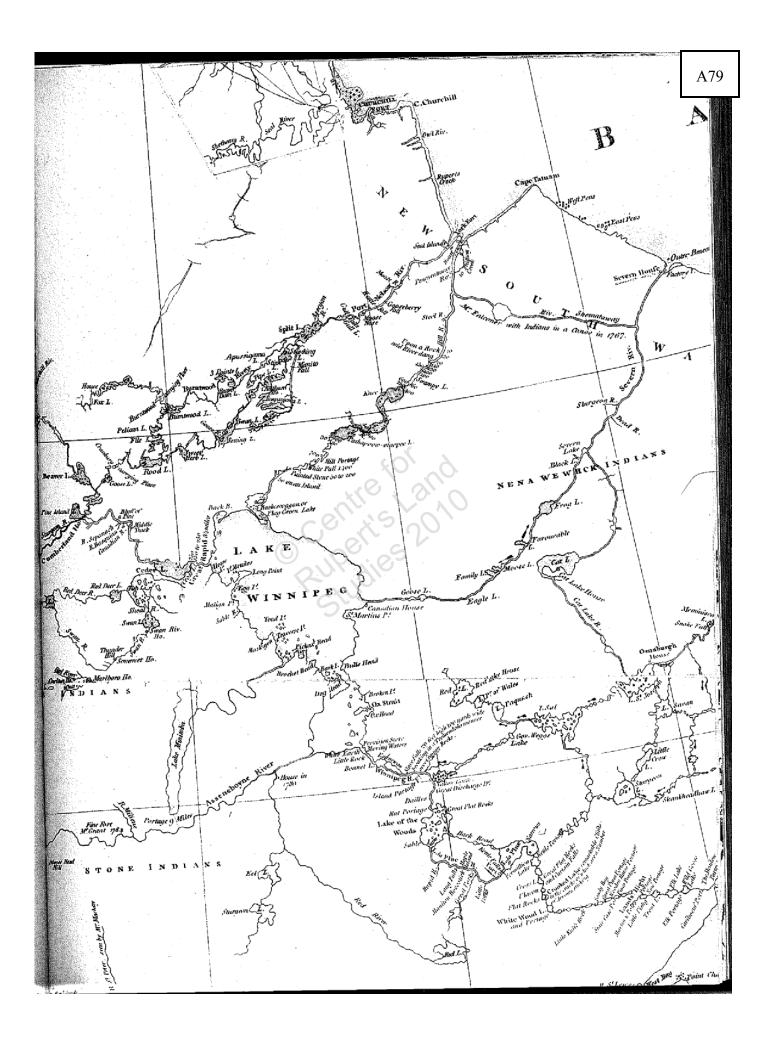
The knowledge of the Canadian West which existed by 1800 was never transcribed completely into map form in this period. This was due, of course, to the time lag which must exist between events and their map depiction, and the impossibility of collecting at that time all of the known data and all of the drafted maps...By the end of the century only one map, that of Aaron Arrowsmith of 1795 [with additions of 1796], brought together the larger share of known data. Arrowsmith had been commissioned by the Hudson's Bay Company to prepare this continental map, and therefore received for his use their rich treasury of Company maps, sketches and reports.





33. A SECTION FROM AARON ARROWSMITH'S MAP, "A Map Exhibiting All the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America," 1795 (1796), Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 132-133.

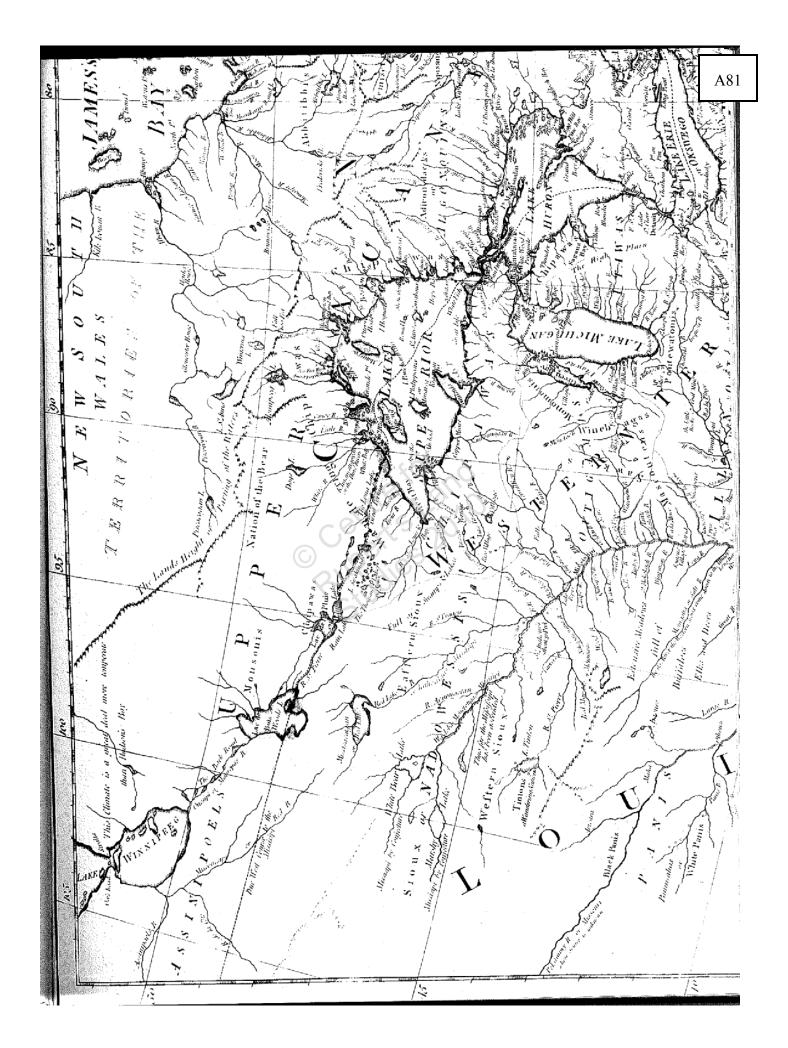
This map shows a fair amount of information for the southern route from York Factory to Play Green Lake via the Hayes River system, but does not give information about the route by the Upper Nelson between Play Green Lake and Sipiwesk. It does have detailed information about the route from York to Cumberland via the "Port Nelson Riv," and the Burntwood River, and also the Upper Nelson from Split Lake to what can be recognized as the north-east end of Sipiwesk Lake, as well as the portage trail from it to Chatham House, within the north-east extremity of Pimicikamak territory. Despite its strengths, a considerable part of Pimicikamak territory is not represented on this map.





34. A SECTION FROM WILLIAM FADEN'S MAP "The United States of North America," **1796,** Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 128-129.

This map shows a considerable collection of vestigial relicts from older sources, but includes Hudson's Bay Company inland posts. As Ruggles comments, however, "Manitoba does not fare well on this map." The map does increase some information for areas south of Pimicikamak territory, but does not go far enough north to cover the region.





35. *British Possessions in America*, **1804**, **Aaron Arrowsmith.** Image available at:

http://www.davidrumsey.com/detail?id=1-1-316561150132&name =British+possessions+in+America Accessed 29 May 2007.

The Grass River system is outlined and a river connection is identified from Play Green Lake to Split Lake. North of Split Lake is an annotation "Killistinons."



36. CHA CHAY PAY WAY TI'S Map of the Waterways of a Part of Northern Manitoba, 1806, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 142-143.

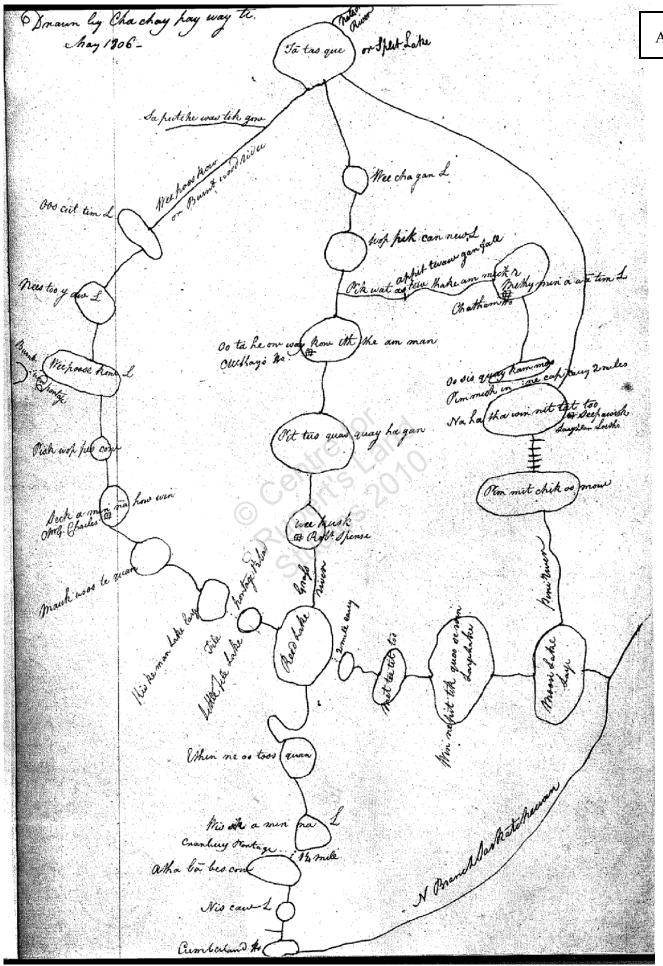
As Ruggles states,

This is a fascinating map of a complex area of waterways between Cumberland House and Split Lake, and shows how greatly the European explorers must have been assisted by the natives in picking their way through the lake country of northern Canada. Peter Fidler was at Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska in the spring of 1806, and it would appear that Cha chay pay way ti must have drawn the map for him there. Fidler, of course, was interested in all routes between the Far West and York Factory and likely asked knowledgeable Indians for assistance in charting routes....it is apparent that Cha chay pay way ti drew a fairly accurate sketch of a great extent of country. He made no attempt to show the outline of lakes precisely, preferring, in the way models are drawn, to indicate lakes by circles or ovals, and connecting them by simple straight lines. Some classic routes in the Manitoba North are shown. The circuitous route to the north is that of he Burntwood river, the central is that of the Grass river, and the southern is via the present Minago, and then by either the Pikwitonei or Nelson rivers. Names of some of the lakes and rivers are familiar today: Wekusko, Sipiwesk, Reed, and Moose; Burntwood, Grass and Saskatchewan.

In A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870, Ruggles also states [page 66]:

It is in the cartographic style sometimes called "Beads on a string": convoluted patterns of river and lake shores are generalized into essentially straight lines joining rounded or elliptical water bodies. It was valuable for relative directions and the locations of lakes one to the other along a connected route.... Place names are largely those used by natives; the names of several rivers and lakes have been translated from Indian originals.

"Na ha tha win nit tat too" is also identified as "Seepawesk." Pim mit chik oo mow is certainly Cross Lake, upstream on the Nelson River, and with the Pine (Minago) River flowing into it. This is a very early map to show the arrangement of the rivers and lakes in Pimicikamak territory, and shows a fair level of accuracy and completeness, although it does omit some smaller bodies of water along the route.



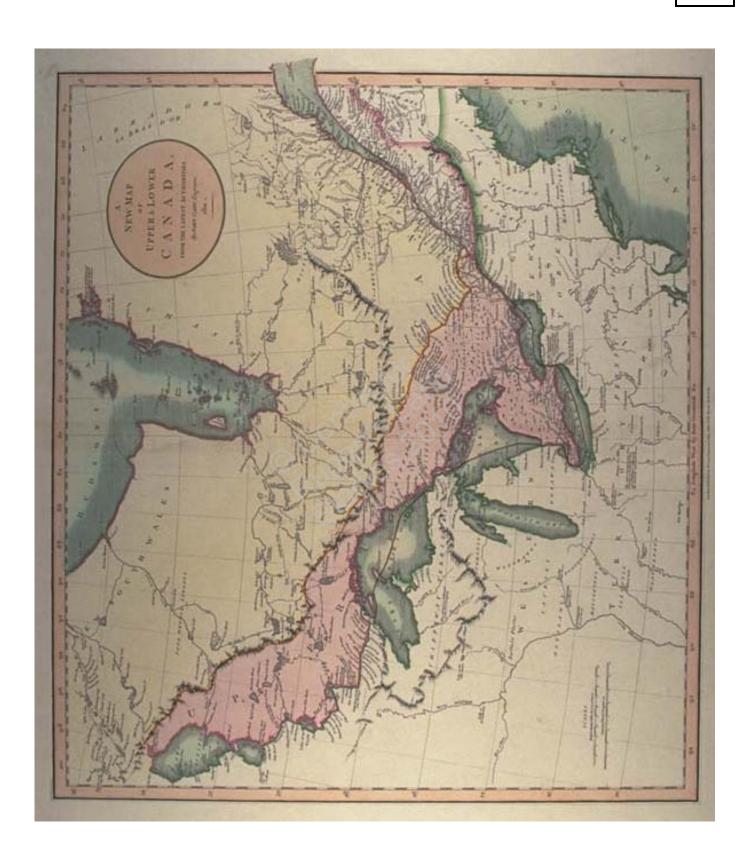


37. *A NEW MAP OF UPPER & LOWER CANADA*, **1811**, by John Cary. Available online at McMaster University, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession number 107380:

http://library.mcmaster.ca/php/raremaps?f=more&num=107380 Accessed 29 May 2007

This map shows the Grass River system and part of Sipiwesk Lake.

Credit: McMaster University Library, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession #107380



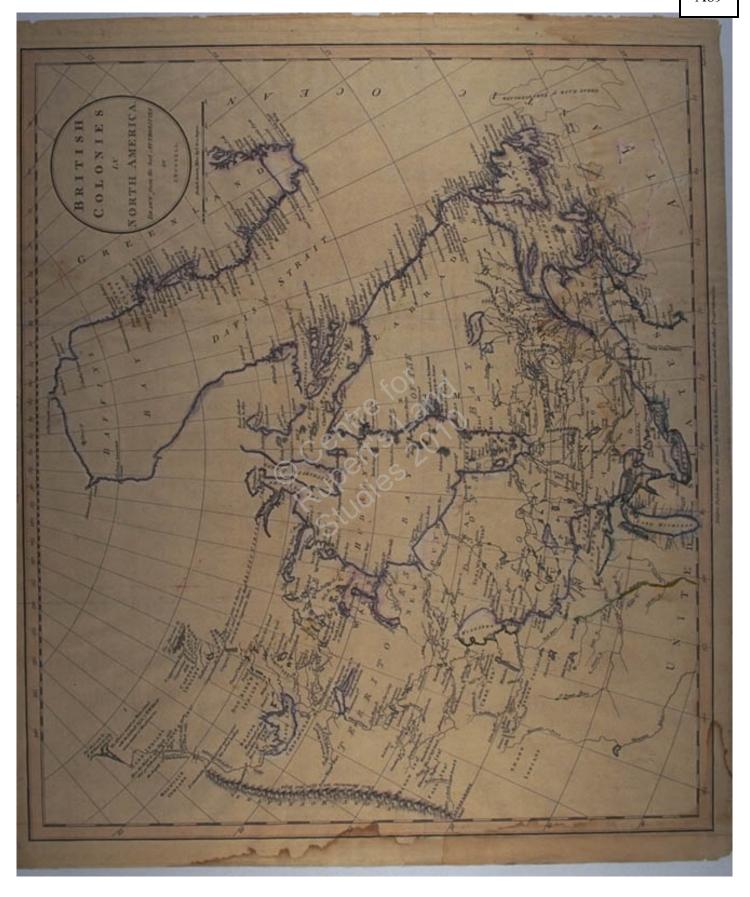


38. *British Colonies in North America*, **1811**, by John Russell. Available online at McMaster University, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession number 107360:

http://library.mcmaster.ca/php/raremaps.php?f=more&num107360 Accessed 29 May 2007

This map shows the Grass River system and part of Sipiwesk Lake.

Credit: McMaster University Library, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession #107360



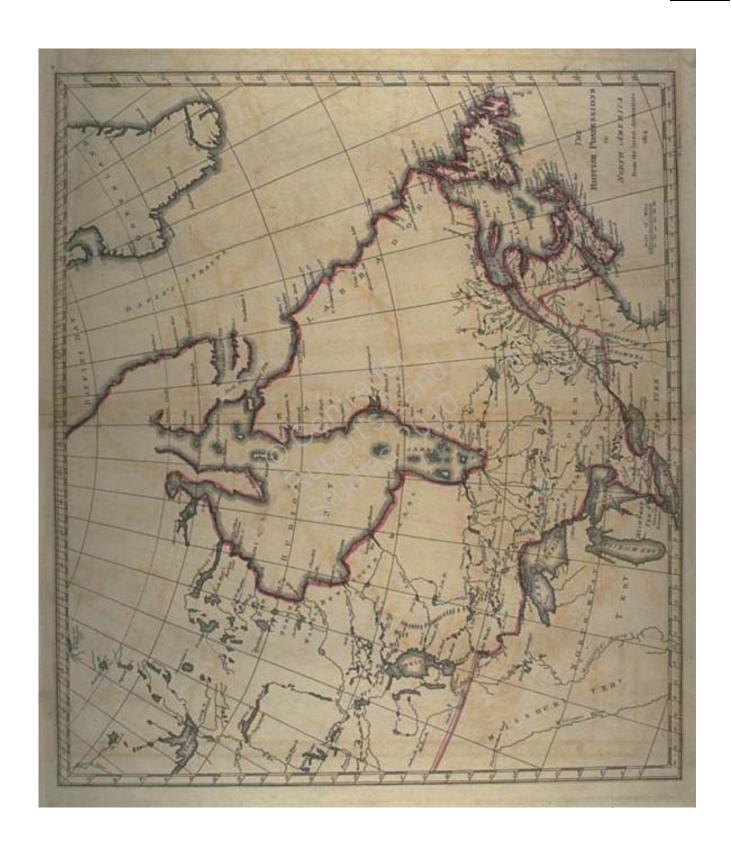


39. *THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA*, **1814, by William Robinson.** McMaster University, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession number McMaster University, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession number 107366:

http://library.mcmaster.ca/raremaps.php?f=more&num=107366 Accessed 29 May 2007

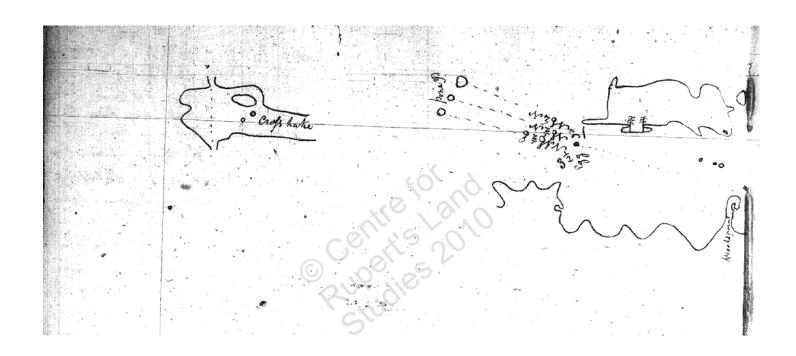
This map shows the Grass River system and part of Sipiwesk Lake.

Credit: McMaster University Library, Rare Maps, Hodsoll Collection, accession #107366





40a. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7. From 10 June 1809 to 14 June Fidler travelled and mapped the waterways in the Cross Lake and Sipiwesk Lake area. His detailed surveys and accompanying text are some of the first of their kind for the region. Fidler notes the persistent presence of Laughton Leith [Leigh]'s House, and a place where Hugh Sabbeston wintered in 1806, and that John McNab Junior wintered at Cross Lake. Because he was not able to find anyone who could or would guide him, Fidler engaged Leith to guide him further along the waterway. Fidler's maps and texts provide Aboriginal names for locations in the landscape. See also report.

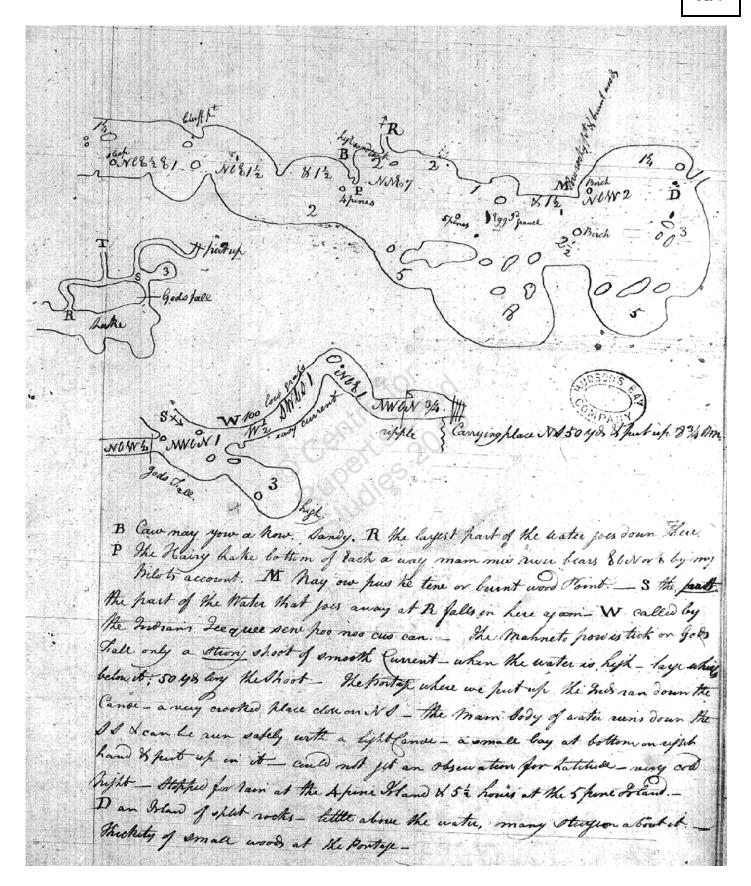




40b. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).

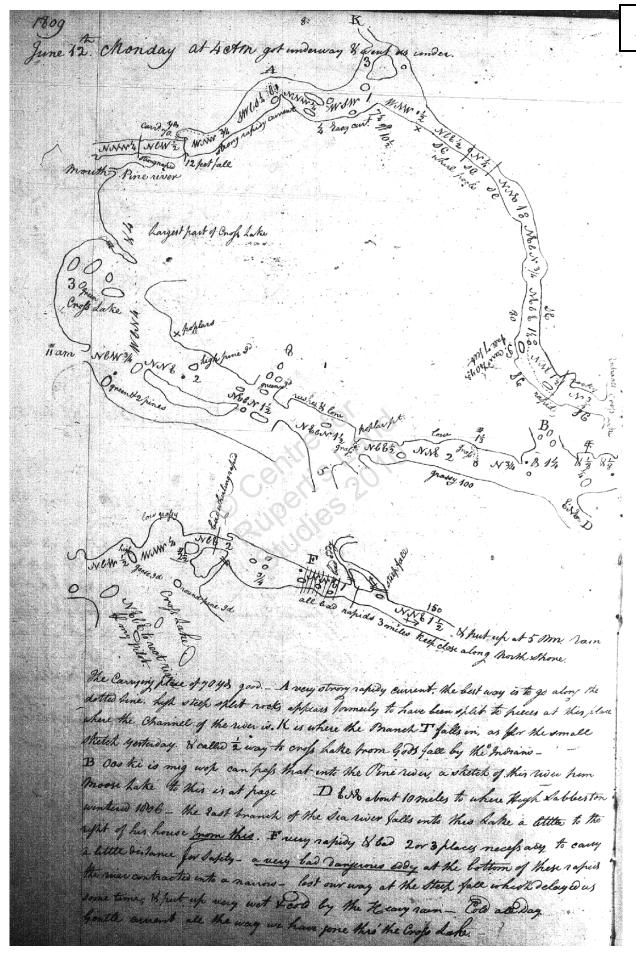


40c. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).



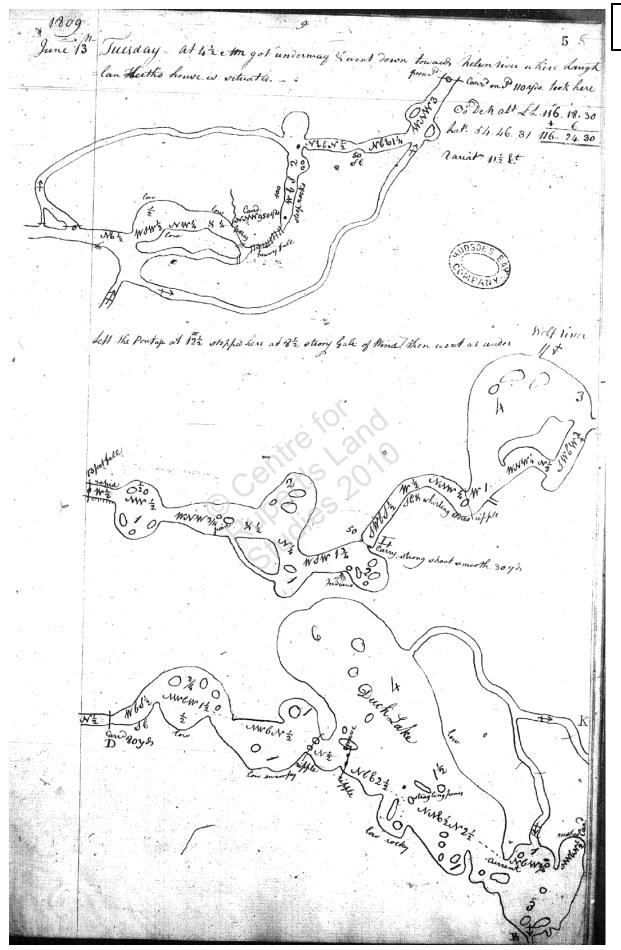


40d. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).



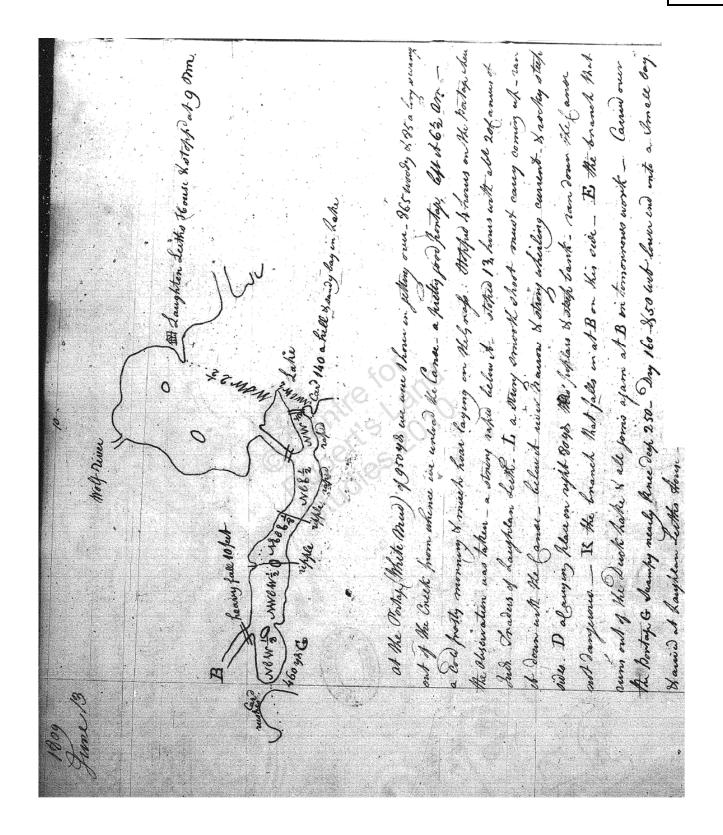


40e. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).



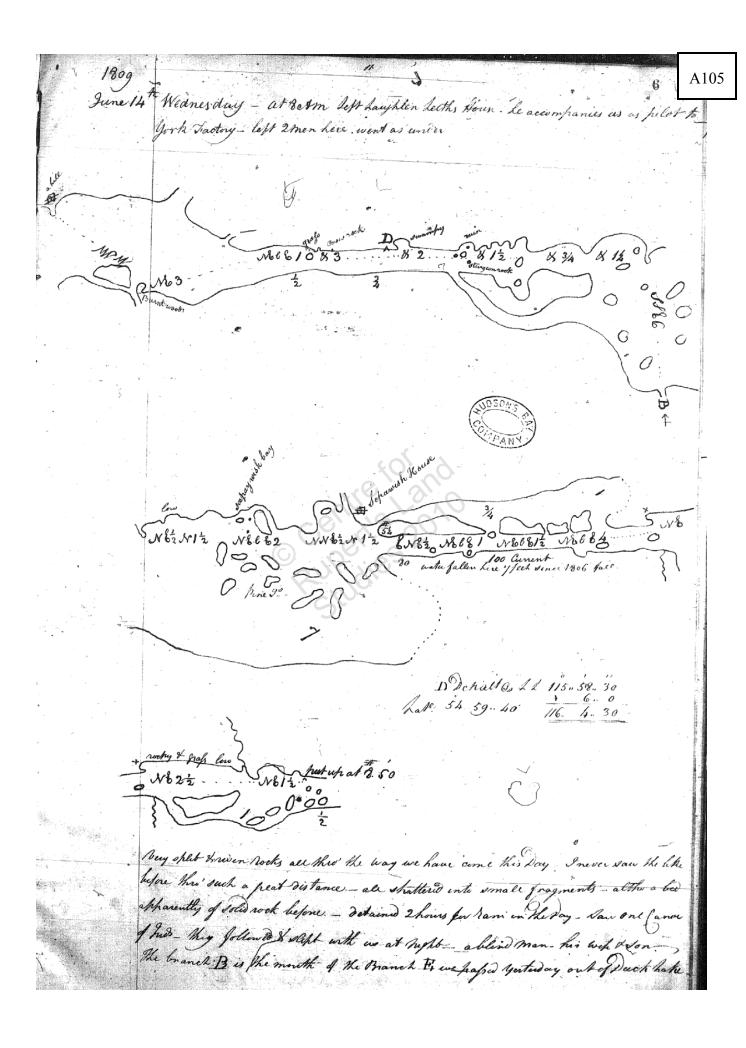


40f. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).





40g. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).





40h. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, 1809, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).



40i. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES, PETER FIDLER TRACK MAPS, Journals of Exploration and Survey, **1809**, E.3/4, folios 4-7 (Section).

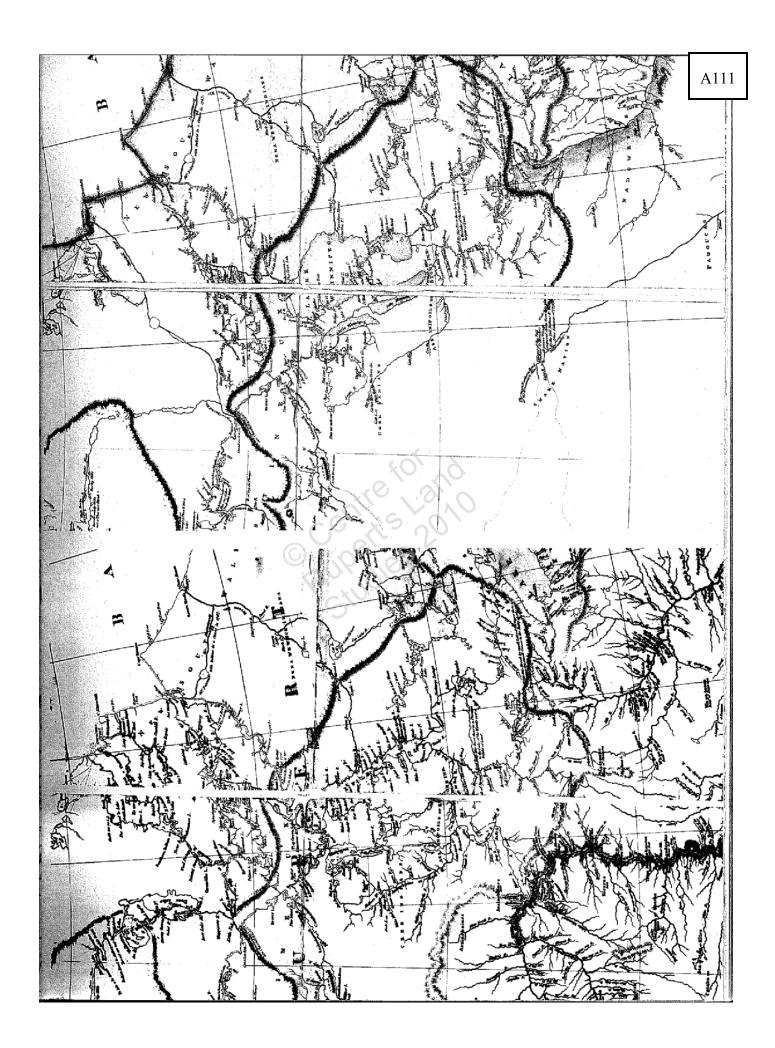


41. A SECTION FROM AARON ARROWSMITH'S Map of North America, **1814**, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 140-141.

Ruggles states:

...by 1814 Lake Winnipeg is more accurately drawn, and so is Lake Winnipegosis, though Lake Manitoba is still misshapen....more information has become available on the Nelson and Churchill rivers.

The existence of the West channel, and Cross and Sipiwesk Lakes, although still limited, shows the still emerging information about Pimicikamak territory, at least as far as its principal water routes is concerned.



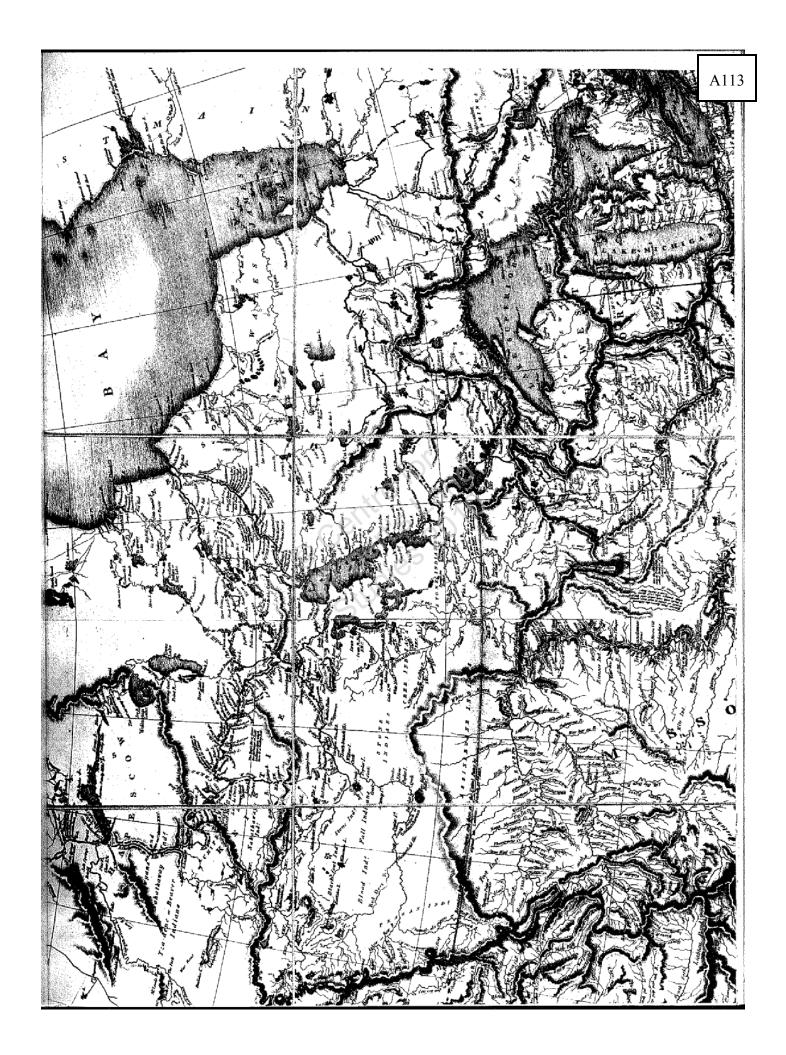


42. A SECTION FROM JAMES WYLD'S Map of North America, 1828, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 148-149.

Ruggles states:

This is a well composed, elegantly executed, characteristic example of the kind of general map widely produced in Europe in the early 19th century.... On this map we can find where the various Indian tribes lived at this time....Some descriptions of the countryside...are printed on the map.

The only information near Pimicikamak is "Primitive Country, Rocks thinly covered with soil, bearing pines, Aspens and Poplars."



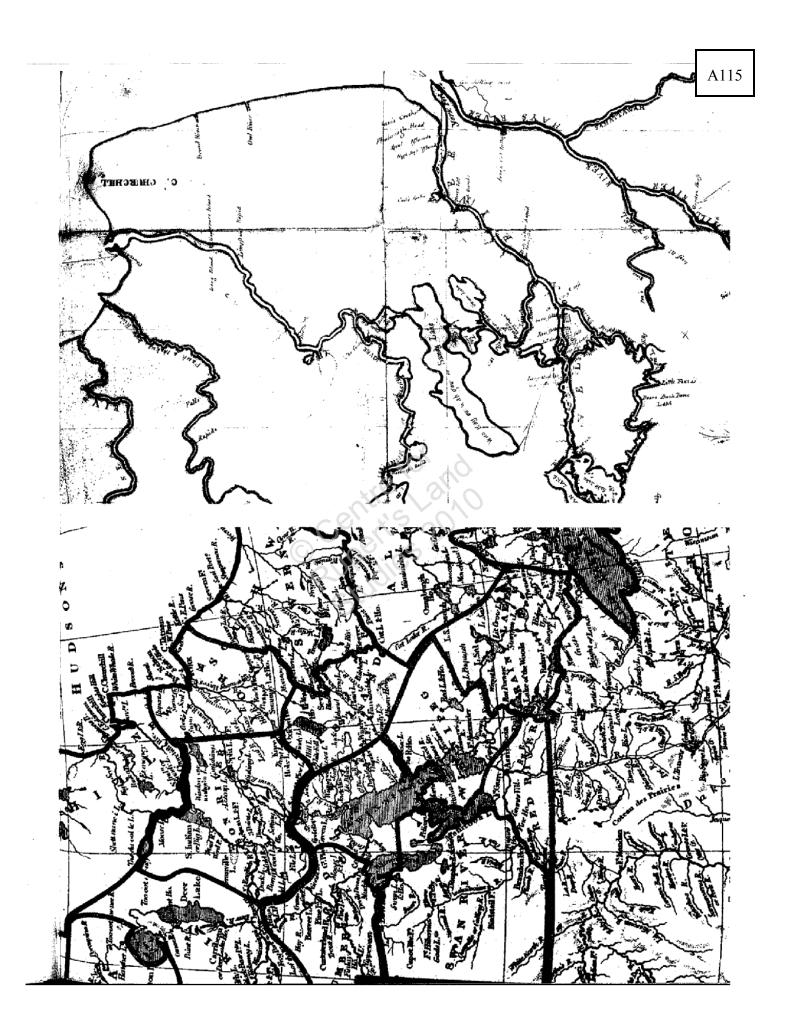


43a. A SECTION FROM JOHN ARROWSMITH'S Map of North America, 1832, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 150-151.

Ruggles states:

This map represents one of the major revisions in the series of Arrowsmith maps of British North America. Some of the detail on the previous maps, often erroneous in any case, was eliminated.

This map shows an emerging knowledge base about waterways in the region, but information is still developing.





43b. A SECTION FROM *JOHN ARROWSMITH'S Map of North America*, **1832**, *Historical Atlas of Manitoba*, *A Selection of Facsimile Maps*, *Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969*, pages 150-151 (Enlarged Section).





44a. BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1844, John Arrowsmith, David Rumsey Map Collection, online: http://www.davidrumsey.com

Accessed at: http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps841.html Accessed on 30 May 2007.

The Grass River system is shown in detail. Cross Lake is closer to proper scale in the landscape, but what is almost certainly Sipiwesk Lake is out of scale and other information about the area is doubtful or missing.

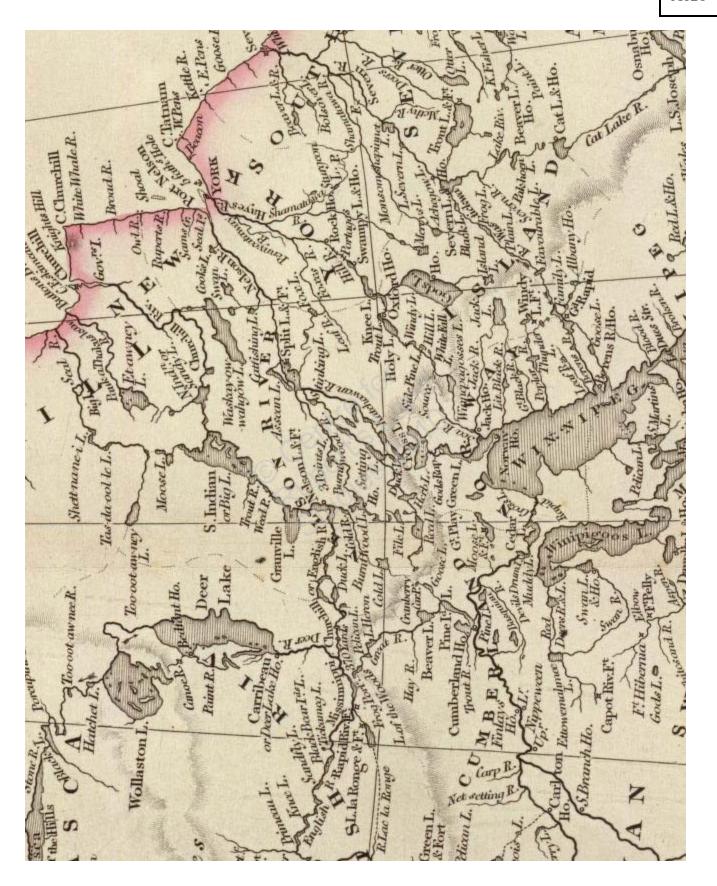
Used with permission from the David Rumsey Map Collection, http://www.davidrumsey.com



44b. BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1844, John Arrowsmith, (Enlarged Section) David Rumsey Map Collection, online: http://www.davidrumsey.com

Accessed at: http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps841.html Accessed on 30 May 2007.

Used with permission from the David Rumsey Map Collection, http://www.davidrumsey.com

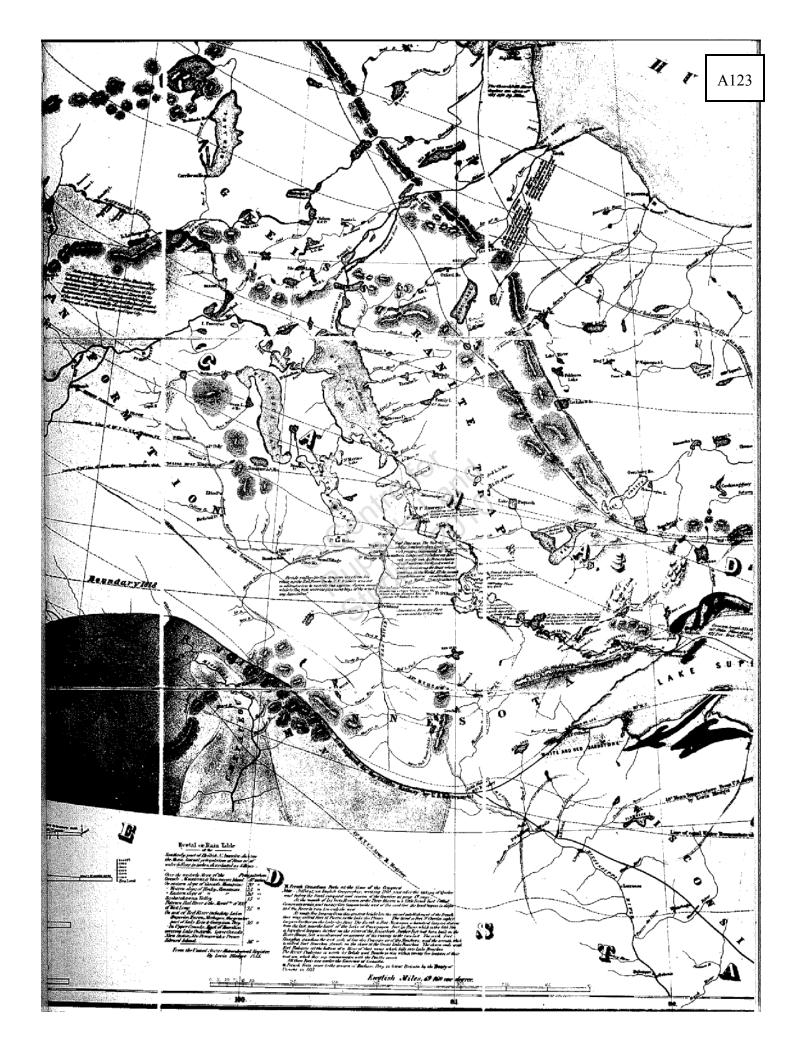




45a. A SECTION FROM THOMAS DEVINE'S Map of North America, 1857, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 154-155.

This map combines a great deal of cartographic information available at the time and included mineral and scientific data. Details of the Pimicikamak region continue to be uneven.

Credit: The Manitoba Historical Society





45b. A SECTION FROM THOMAS DEVINE'S Map of North America, 1857, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969, pages 154-155 (Enlarged Section).

Credit: The Manitoba Historical Society



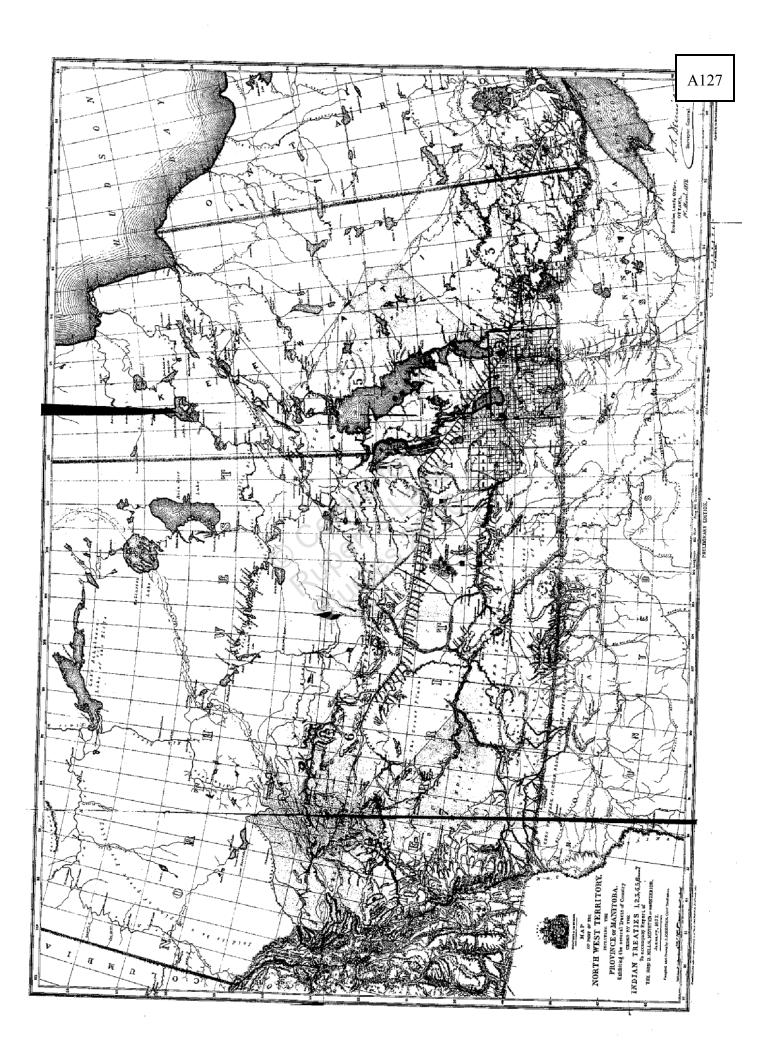


46a. MAP OF PART OF THE NORTH WEST TERRITORY, including the Province of Manitoba, Exhibiting the several Tracts of Country ceded by the Indian Treaties 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 1877. Image also available through Early Canadiana Online:

http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/?Language=en

The map can also be found in the *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: Volume 3, Second Session of the fourth Parliament, session 1880.

Map: Map of Part of the North West Territory, including the Province of Manitoba, Exhibiting the several Tracts of Country ceded by the Indian Treaties 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 1877 Source: Library and Archives Canada/NMC 21018



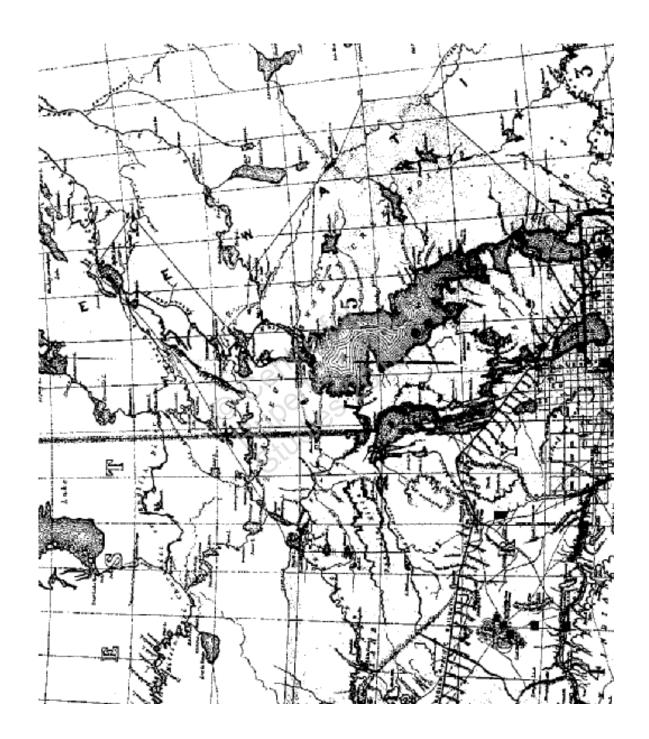


46b. MAP OF PART OF THE NORTH WEST TERRITORY, including the Province of Manitoba, Exhibiting the several Tracts of Country ceded by the Indian Treaties 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 1877. (Enlarged Section) Image available through Early Canadiana Online:

http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/?Language=en

The map can also be found in the *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*: Volume 3, Second Session of the fourth Parliament, session 1880.

Map: Map of Part of the North West Territory, including the Province of Manitoba, Exhibiting the several Tracts of Country ceded by the Indian Treaties 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 1877 (enlarged section) Source: Library and Archives Canada/NMC 21018



Appendix B: Transcriptions excerpted from HBCA B.268/a/1, [Cross Lake] Post Journal, [author unidentified], 1795-1796.

HBCA B.268/a/1 [Cross Lake] Post Journal 1795-1796

[York Factory Journal 16 June 1796 "arrival of five Englishmen and one Canadian in two Canoes loaded with Furs from Cross Lake House."]

1795 July 5 th Mondeay	at 2 PM 2 Indian Canows Arived brought 8 bever Skens & 3 Swans part of which they traded for brandey	Folio 1
1795 July 6 th Tusdeay	I traded with Indians at 10 AM they went away	Folio 1
1795 July 10 th Saturdeay	At 2 pm 5 Indian Canows Arived browght 7 bever & 40 lbs of gren Mows flesh which they, Traded for brandey	Folio 1d
1795 July 12 th Mondeay	At 3 pm 1 Indian Arived brought alang his Canow which I Traded from him for deferan Articls of Trading goods at 4 pm 1 Indian Canow Arived brought 12 bever Skens & 50 lb of drid Mows flesh which they Traded for brandey powder and Shote	Folio 1d
1795 July 13 th Tuesdeay	At 7 am the Indians went away	Folio 1d
1795 July 17 th Saturdeay	At A 11 am 2 Indian Canows Arived brought the fles of 2 powr Mowse which they traded for brandey	Folio 1d
1795 July 18 th Sundeay	2 Indians Canows Arrived from the factory brought 4 bunels of Trading goods Also brought 100 lbs of dried Mows flesh which they Traded for brandey	Folio 2
1795 July 19 th Mondeay	employed dring sum provisions that the Indians brought yesterday at 2 pm 6 Indian Canows Arived but brought nothing	Folio
	[this part of the journal appears to be at another post than Cross Lake]	Folio 1-4
1795 31 July Saturdeay	at 8 am 2 Cnadin Men Arived for a sepleay of Twin to Mend ther nets also 2 fadem of Whit Tobacco which the got and emedly went bak to the Cross Lake	Folio 2d
1795 August 31th Mondeay	at 7 AM embark in 2 Canows for the Cross Lak padled till 6 pm then put ope [1 September paddled 6 am to 7 pm; 2 nd Sept paddled to 6 pm; Thursday paddled till night]	Folio 4
1795 Sept 4 th Sundeay	padled handed and careyed till 3 pm then put up at the entrens of the Cross Lak	Folio 4
1795 Sept 5 th Saturdeay	Arived at the Cross Lak Hows	Folio 4

Used with permission from The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Cross Lake Post Journal, 1795-1796, **HBCA B.268/a/1**

1795 Sept 9 th	at 7 pm 5 Canows of Iindians Arived brought 200 lbs of	Folio 4d
Weadnsdeay	dried Mows flesh & 12 baver Skens	10110
1795 Sept 10 th Thursdeay	Traded with the Indians and gave them aseplay for the winter at 3 pm they went away	Folio 4d
1795 Sept 11 th Frideay	at A 11 am 3 Canows of Canedians Arived	Folio 4d
1795 Sept 16 th Weadnsdeay	Traded 8 gese 3 swans from the Indians for Lekur	Folio 4d
1795 Sept 19 th Saturdeay	today at 6 pm on Indian Canow Arived brought 5 baver skens & 80 lbs of gren beaver flesh which he Traded for brandey	Folio 5
1795 Sept 20 th Sundeay	at 9 am 3 Canows of Indians went awaye	Folio 5
1795 Sept 21 th	Taller Making Indin Clothin	Folio 5
1795 Sept 22 th Tusdeay	at a11 am ["2" inserted] Canows of Indians Arived brought 10 baver Skens & 40 lb of drid baver flesh Which they Traded for brandey powder and Shote also gave them a seplay of powder & shot & Irn work to kill baver with	Folio 5
1795 Sept 27 th Sundeay	at 5 pm 2 Indian Canows Arived browght 12 baver skens and 200 lbs of gren Mows flesh part of which they Traded for brandey	Folio 5d
1795 Sept 28 th Mondeay	at 4 pm 2 Indian Canows Arived browght 2 baver Skens and 40 lbs of dried Mows flesh	Folio 5d
1795 Sept 29 th Tusdeay	Traded with the Indians and gave them A supply for the winter	Folio 5d
1795 Sept 30 th Weadnsdeay	At 6 pm on Indian Canow Arrived with 2 bunels of Trading goods from the Factory [gives inventory]	Folio 5d
1795 October 1 Thursday	At 4 pm 3 Canows of Indians went away	Folio 5d
1795 October 5 Mondeay	the Taller Making Indian Clothing	Folio 6
1795 October 8 th Thursdeay	at 3 pm 3 Canows of Indians Arived brought 40 baver 200 lbs of provisions	Folio 6
1795 October 9 th Frideay	thes day employed Trading with the Indians	Folio 6
1795 October 10 th Saturdeay	At 5 pm on Canow Arived from the Factrey browght all Saf that was sent with him	Folio 6
1795 October 11 th Sundeay	thes day employed giveing [Thee] Indians ther Seplay for the the winter	Folio 6
1795 October 12 th Mondeay	At 11 am 3 Tants of Indians went away	Folio 6
1795 October 28 th Weadnsdeay	at 5 am 2 Indians Arived browght 14 baver & 40 lbs of gren baver flesh which they Traded for brandey powder and Tobacco and at 4 pm they returned to ther Tent	Folio 7

1795 November 8 th	at 3 pm on Indian Arived browght 12 bever Skens and 20	Folio 7d
Sundeay	lb of gren bever flesh	
1795 November 9 th Mondeay	Mayself Trading withe the Indian and at all am he went away	Folio 7d
1795 November 13 th Frideay	at 4 pm on Indian Arrived browght 20 beaver Skens	Folio 7d
1795 November 14 th Saturdeay	this day Traded with the Indian and got redey to go with him to his tent	Folio 7d
1795 November 15 th Sundeay	at nin am 2 Men and may Self Seat of with the Indian and waked till night then pot up	Folio 7d
1795 November 16 th Mondeay	at 5 am Seat of and waked till night then pot ope 3 frensh men along with to day	Folio 7d
1795 November 17 th Tusdeay	at on pm Arived at the Indians Traded 22 baver Skens and 50 lbs of drid Mows flesh from them and returned	Folio 7d
1795 November 18 th Weadnsdeay	At 5 am Set of and waked till 6 pm then pot ope	Folio 8
1795 November 19 th Thursdeay	at 4 pm Arived at the howseat 9 pm 2 Indians Arived browght 200 lbs gren ders flesh and 4 bever skens which they Traded	Folio 8
1795 November 20 th Frideay	At 5 am the 2 Indians went Away	Folio 8
1795 December 2th Weadnsdeay	at 4 pm on Indian Arived browght 7 baver & 40 lbs of drid mows flesh	Folio 8d
1795 December 3th Thursdeay	at 5 am the Indian went away	Folio 8d
1795 December 15 th Tusdeay	The Taller making Indian Clothing	Folio 9
1795 December 30 th Weadnsday	The Taller Making Indian Clothingat 9 pm 3 Indians arived brought [415?] baver 50 lbs of drid Mows flesh also 2 men gating readey to go to ther Tents at 2 pm the 2 men and on Indian Set of	Folio 9d
1795 December 31th Thursdeay	May Self Trading with the Indians at 10 am they went away	Folio 9d
1796 Janury 8th Friday	at 2 pm 2 Indians Arived brought 40 bever also the 2 Men Arived that went to the Indians 9 days A go brawght 20 baver of Sortes	Folio 10
1796 Janury 9 th Saturday	May Self Trading with the Indians that Arived yester- day	Folio 10
1796 Janury 10 th Sundeay	at 10AM the 2 Indians went away	Folio 10
1796 Janury 11 th Mondeay	the Taller making Indian Clothing	Folio 10
1796 Janury 18 th Tusdeay	the Taller making Indian Clothing	Folio 10d

1796 Janury 23th	at 7 pm 2 Indians arived for men to com for A few bever	Folio 10d
Saturdeay	and Sum [provesans]	- · · · · · ·
1796 Janury 24 th Sundeay	At 8 pm on Indian Arived browght 6 baver 100 lb of gren Mauus flessh	Folio 10d
1796 Janury 25 th Mondeay	at 6 am I set of with the Indian that arrived yesterday and waked till 9 pm then Arived at the Tent and Marked 3 baver Cotes also Traded 7 beaver Also 2 Caneadins Arived at 3 pm returned	Folio 10d
1796 Janury 26 th Tusdeay	at 7 pm I arrived at the House	Folio 10d
1796 Febr 2th Tusdeay	at 3 pm on Indian Arived for aman to stay with him I hav sent John forbes to stay with him	Folio 11
1796 Febr 7 th Sundeay	at on pm A Indian arived for men to fech flessh	Folio 11
1796 Febr 8 th Mondeay	Last night 2 Men and May Self went for to the Indian Tent Traded 150 lb of gren Mows flesh &c and 14 bever	Folio 11
1796 Febr 15 th Mondeay	John Forbes And on Indian Arived browght 23 bever 60 lbs of half drid Mows flessh	Folio 11d
1796 Febr 16 th Tusdeay	May Self Trading with the Indian that arrived yester- day at 10 am he went away	Folio 11d
1796 Febr 23 th Tusdeay	at 2 pm 2 Indians Arived browght 10 bever Skens & 40 lbs of Gren Bever flessh	Folio 12
1796 Febr 24 th Weadensdeay	at 4 am the 2 Indians went away also 2 Men went with them for flesh at 4 pm the 2 men returned browght 150 lb of gren Mows flessh	Folio 12
1796 March 2th Weadnsedeay	at on pm on Indian Arived for Men to fech 2 Mows at 2 pm 2 Men and May Self Seat of with the Indian at 6 pm arived at the Tent Traded 350 lb of gren Mows flesh and 3 bever Skens	Folio 12d
1796 March 3th Thursdeay	At all AM arived at the How Howse 2 Indians Arived the last night John Sebeston & John Simpson is gon with then bot is Taken asmall qwantety of Trading goods with him which In forses me to Send the 2 Men away to them wear at agret los her the Cneadins is 16 Men and we ar bot 6 it Can not be thowght that we Can Gat much with them	Folio 12d
1796 March 4 th Frideay	At 9 pm th 2 Men returned browght nothing	Folio 12d
1796 March 8 th Tusdeay	at 2 pm John Sebston & John Simpson arived from the Indians browght 2 baver Skens	Folio 12d
1796 March 14 th Mondeay	on Indian Arived the Last night for Men to go with him to his Tent thes day gating radey to Set of to morew	Folio 13

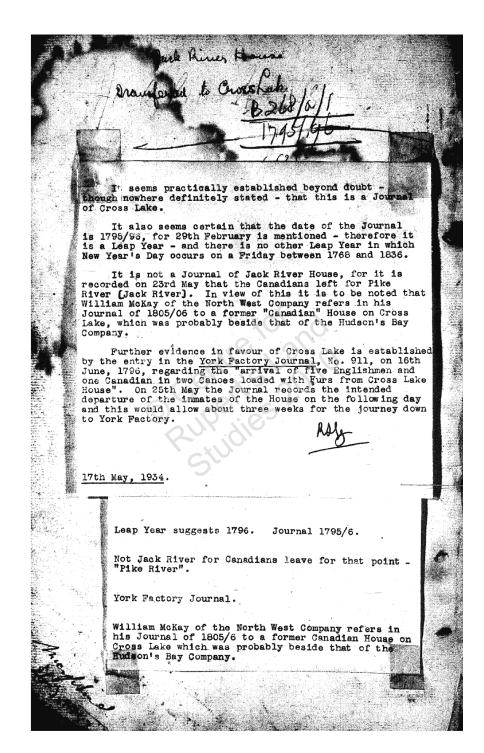
1796 March 15 th Tusdeay	at 6 am Set of with the Indian and waked till 7 pm then put ope	Folio 13
1796 March 16 th Weadensdey	at 11 am arived at the Indians Traded 20 baver from them 100 lbs of half drid Mows flesh from them and got redey to return	Folio 13
1796 March 17 th Thursdeay	At on A Clok the last night Left the Indians and waked till 6 pm then Arived at the Howse	Folio 13
1796 March 18 th Frideay	at 10 AM on Indian arived for Men to fech 4 der that he killed the Last day the men employed fecheing hom flesh	Folio 13
1796 March 25 th Saturdeay	At 2 pm 2 Indian Men Arived browght 5 bever 80 lbs of gren mows flesh also Sent 2 Men to ther Tent	Folio 13d
1796 March 27 th Sundeay	at a 11 am the 2 Men arived browght 12 bever Skens	Folio 13d
1796 March 29 th Tusdeay	at 3 pm Huey Lesk and Indian boy browght our paket that was Sent from york factry in the fall of the yer	Folio 13d
1796 March 30 th Weadnsdeay	fiting awt Hway Lesk that is to Set of to morew if weather and helth primets	Folio 14
1796 March 31th Thursdeay	At 5 am Huey Lesk and the Indian boy sent by Huey Lesk 1000 flentes 5 lb of ball [virremillen]	Folio 14
1796 Aprill 1 Frideay	at a 11 am on Indian Arived for men to go with him to his tent ["to" inserted] bring afew furs and provisons got readey and emedly set of also John Sebbeston went to Another tent	Folio 14
1796 Aprill 2th Saturdeay	at 3 pm John Sabeston returned browght 13 baver	Folio 14
1796 Aprill 3th Sundeay	at a 11 am on Tent of Indians Arived browght on baver Sken	Folio 14
1796 Aprill 6 th Weadnsdeay	at 5 am the 2 men arived from the Indians browght 20 baver thes day I gave riging to A Chieef Leding Indian	Folio 14
1796 Aprill 8 th Frideay	May Self pstrered with 3 Tnts of Indians that that is ben drunk thes 3 days past	Folio 14
1796 Aprill 9 th Saturdeay	at 8. am 2 Tents of Indians went a way	Folio 14d
1796 Aprill 10 th Sundeay	at 2 pm on Tent of Indians Arived browght 15 baver	Folio 14d
1796 Aprill 12 th Tusdeay	at 3 pm on Tent of Indians Arived browght 10 baver thes day	Folio 14d
1796 Aprill 13 th Weadensdeay	at a 11 am on Tent of Indians went away	Folio 14d
1796 Aprill 14 th Thursdeay	at 10 am on Tent of Indians went away also _ John forbbs went along with them to halp them to tak 3 baver Howses that is ashort distens from the Howse	Folio 14d

1796 Aprill 15 th Frideay	the Taller Making Indian Clothing at on pm a Indian Arived for a seplay of powder and shot Tobaco & brandey	Folio 14d
Titabay	which he got	
1796 Aprill 16 th Saturdeay	at 7 pm the Indian went away	Folio 14d
1796 Aprill 19 th Tusdeay	At 2 pm 2 Indians Arived browght 9 baver skens	Folio 15
1796 21th Thursdeay	At 3 pm on Indian arived browght 5 bever skens which he Traded and emedly went a way	Folio 15
1796 27 th Aprill Weadnsdeay	at 11 am 2 Tents of Indians Arived but browght nothing the Cnadians is giveing the Indians Liker for nothing which makes Me doing the Sem the Indians All drunk	Folio 15d
1796 28 th Thursdeay	the Indians drunk as befor and verey [Trwblswm]	Folio 15d
1796 May 7 th Saturdeay	to day also sent 2 Indians in hunting	Folio 16
1796 May 10 th Tusdeay	3 pm on Canow arived browght 8 geas &c &c on baver which they Traded for brandey	Folio 16
1796 May 11 th Weadnsdeay	also Sent 2 Indian Canows in hunting of baver	Folio 16
1796 May 13 th Frideay	A 2 pm [2]2 Canows of Indians Arived brought 16 baver 7 gess [&] 60 lbs of gren bever flessh	Folio 16
1796 May 14 th Saturdeay	thes day Sent 2 Men of the Lak to wet for sum Indians that is to Ariv thes day May Self and another man blo the Howse at 4 pm found the Indians browght 5 baver from them & 10 gess 2 Indians I gave Clothing to	Folio 16
1796 May 15 th Sundeay	A Indian Canowe in hunting of bever	Folio 16d
1796 May 17 th Tusdeay	At 11 am on Indian Arived browght 10 bever & 12 gess part of which he Traded for brandey	Folio 16d
1796 May 23th Mondeay	The Canedins embark for the pik Rever on of ther men cam her to go to the Factry and the enter in the Companes Servies if exept of	Folio 16d
1796 May 24 th Tusdeay	At a 11 am 2 Canoes of Indians Arived browght 28 bever on of them got rigin the Indians all drunk and verey Trwblsum Misecam eskem and all his young fellews is ben her above Amonth they ar ben Mor expences then All the rest of the Indians thhat is ben her thes yer – Indians is kiled no Skens thes yer that is worth to spek of it is not Seprising the Canedins is Wested a Canowe Cargo of goods and is got bot 4 ½ bunels of furs it Canot be thowght that I can pay for the goods If I had not given encoregment in the fall I showld had nothing _ the Canedian Mastr Told me him Self it was not for the profetts that they Cam to this plesss it was to kep the Compney from sepleying the nored with men and Canows it [ps] excus Me for what I have menchened	Folio 17

1796 May 25 th Weadnsday	the MEN gating redey to embark to morew if weather and helth permits thes day fited out 2 Canows of Indians with powder and shot to kill bever with at 2 pm they went away	Folio 17
1796 May 26th Thursdeay	thes day variosly employed at the howse	Folio 17



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY	Reference
SECTION B	Reduction
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SUB-DIVISION &	
PIECE 1	
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on all day the day implyed at small Tobre was a Small Sitemay in the nets to Dary 55005 Fridewry Wind Mby asteff bref glear winter Day variously employed at the House & Small he the nets to don Cuturday Wind & Warmall bris Mar weather Sinday Berston working and nets the Tallor and Mary Self varially employed at the House 3 Small Teternag in the nets to do Sunday Mind thy asmall brefs Clear weather 20 at the neto bot brought nothing Mondeay Wind Sby asmall thep Chrisay weather the day variety employed at the House along fish in the nets to day at 2 pm I Indian fann. Arived brought I bever Shens & I Swans fant of which they tribed for brandey Turdeay Wind & Warmall bref Clear weather Allexander berston warking and Traded with Indians at 10 a M they went away 3 Titans in the nets to dan Weadnesday Wind Wasteff lives hart flear har flowder weather at 4 as in 2 Men went to the nets and at g am returned but browight no fish we hear got timeto set at the time Thursdean Wind S Wasmall brep floor hat weath ideary Wond of E asmall bref flear the in temployed teling our nets acres

10 Saturdeay Wind S Wasmall brefo till 3 pm then bles hard with This der andren till night at 2 from 5 Indian fanows drived brought of bener & hall of gren Mones for which they Traded for brandey I Thorques in the net n him for Deforan Articles of Trading Turdeary Wind & Warmall brefo clear hot went the men employed as yesterday but no fish to be go at 7 am the Indians went away Weadnideary Wind by asmall brefs flear weather the 2 Men employed Seating 2 nets in bak Lak acres to the north side nofish in the nets to day V & asmall brefs Clear weather

Sunday Mind I be asmall bref flear hot weather 2 Indians Comers Throved from the factions brought. goods Also brought 100 th of and Mous wind I W asmall brefs thes day employed dring Sum provisons that the Indians brought yesterday at 2 fr m 6 Indian Can Anied bot brought noth from & Indian Arived from the abonels of Trading goods also on Canons of Inde I bever thens which they Traded for flother Means deary Wind SW asteff bref flowdry weather Athat arived on Mondey the dary employed driving Bunels that the Indians brown on Small Teterneag in the nets to day the nets to dor ideary lind varibel all day Clear hot weather loyed thefting our nets of the Lake

Weadnodeary Mind S W asmall brefs Clardey Weaths has day employed Taking of & hage of brand at times

Thursday Wind N' & asmall brile part flowery hart Clear weather I traded with the Indians and they went Devay the Tay variorly emplayed at the House Frideay Wine IN asmall brefs floor hot weather these Day employed Menting nets and Seating them but no fish Setterdeary Wind Wby asmall bref flo Small fish in the nets to Sundery Wind A Carmall brefs flear weather at 5 pm on Fredien Ganow Drived brought Som der and Tobacco at 3 pm he went a way Wednesday Wind Easmall brofs Cloudey heather dary variosly employed at the House Thursday Wind & by asmall brifs Clear weather & son at the sets brought 2 Small Titmas Findery Wind ovaribell all dear with Thumds and rain till night the day employed Mending Saturdeary Wind SW asmall brefs Clear hot x the dry varioly employed at at the House 2.

Sundeary Wind Sarmall bref Char het wester Att aleven am John Sabeston and I hen mer with a large of Trading go Mondeay wind N & asmall lings Clove 2 Small Titemag in the nets to Sundery Wind Prasteff brefs flowdery Menther 20 th of doid bover flesh which they Tras thes day emplayed paking she Swam burnels of Frades goods 2 Small Titemag in the nets today

Wasmall brefs Cloudery weather at laturded wind of b astell brefo clowday wither day downed at the loop Lak How bor

Sundeay Mind by asmall brefs floor weather I be a steff brefs blowdey weather I Men emplo thes day employed reasing the Sid wa at I I a m 3 Canous of Canedian Aris theo day employed posing on the Roff of the Sundery wind NE asmall bruf, floar Mild weather

Thouse 6 Teterneng in the nets to day to day at 6 fm on Indian fanow brefs Clear het weath I Men at the long Saw the Taller Making Thorn Turdery Wind 6 by armall boly flowdery weather the Men employed as agesterday at all ant Canons of Drived brought 10 baver Skens & 40 lbs of and be Thursday wind I & asteff lines Clowdey weather thes day employed falling Som Stok hear to Finding Write So & astell gall with ren all day thes day imployed stagething sim Stok heds Tilemeny in the mits to do

lundeary wind I b asteff brep Cloudery Call we at 5 from 2 Indian Canows Arived brought 12 land and 200 lb of gren Mous flesh part of which the ther day employed pating spe Sum Statished from 2 Indian Canones Sowed brought 2 bar and 40 lb of dried Mous flesh I b asteff bref told weather Taken it of the bunels Class 4 from 3 fanows of Indias Saturday Wind SWasmall bref Clear Mild weather thes day the Mon employed Repearing the Roff House 3 fish in the nets to day Sundeary Wind & by asteff brefs with Sin all

6 Teterneag in thenets to day the Tallor Maken Indian & lotting Alexander Berston Mending Thursday wind I Wasmall brefs glear Mild weather thes emplayed Coting fire at 3 f m I gamows of Indians the brought 40 liver 200 of aprovisons Saturdeay Mind Samuel brefs flear Miles When employed Coting firward It's for 11 on famor notary wind by asmall bres Miletweather for Ino the day employed as yesterday no fish in the

Thursday Wind N artiff gall with fore 2 fish in the nets to Day Fridery Wind No artest brep to Queather the Taller Making flothing for the Men Abrander Benton baking anet of toting ferriod to fish in the nets to day Turdeay wind and weather as yesterday their Meadnsday kind Y & asteff gall with Men Alexander Berston Working Inet the Is the Saller Making Indian Clothing Friday Wind Samuel brefs flour wild weather Sundery Wind Wasteff brop Char weather

Mondeay Wind I by a mall brefs Clear Mild weather 3 Men at the nets brought 30 fich of sorts & new foling for Justeary wind & & asmall bress Clardey Mile weather nets brought 20 fish 2 Men foting for Windraday wind I & armall bress (lowday mild weather Arrived brought 14 baver & 40th of green ba lesh which they Traded for brander parter and 4 h m they returned to ther Tent 3 men at the

Saturdeary Wind & by annual bress part blowder part but weather 2 sen at the nets brought 5 Titemeng 2 new lating firmed Y Wasteff gall with sno and wrifter all at 3 p M on Indian brives brought 12 bover shows on at the nets brought 50 Titom and Mayself Trading withe the all day the Men employed within dans Meadnedday wind All astelf brefs Clar Dong wer 2. Men and many Self at the nets brought 12. fish Thursday wind I tarmall brep flowdry mile weather 2 hon at the nets browght a 11 Titomeng may self traking Snothow frems 2 men coting Indeary wind SW asmall brefs flowday weather 4 fr m on Indian Thered brought we beaver 3 hen at the nets brought 12 fish 2 Men goting Saturdedry wind A asteff jall Cloudery gold year thes day Janded with the Indian and got reday to him to his tent two men at the nets brought of Sundeary powind NW arteff bref flowdery fold at min a m 2 Men and may Self Seat of with the 3. and waked till night then fot ope Monderry Wind & by Charley mile weather at 5 a g Rudery wind IW armall brefs Clear Mills weather it in p in Arived at the Indians Traded 22 laver and 50 th of doid now flash from them and note.

Meadnsdeary wind by asmall brop flowder, wild weather at 5 am let of and waked till by on then pot ope Thursdeary wind & asteff brefs glowdey gold weather at h from Arived at the house 20 fish in the nets to day at 9 from 2 Indians Arived brought 200 lb eyren den flesh and 4 bever skens which they Traded Frideary wind N & asmall brefs & lowdery Mild weath At 5 W m the 2 Indiano went Away 2 non at the note brought 20 Titemens I hild on grey dear to day Salurdeay Wind Y asmall brefs Claudery weather 2. mon Mondeay Wasteff gall flear Goldweather the nets brought & fish 2 men Cotings fin Surdeay wind V asmall brefs flear gold weather 3 men at the nets browght 12 Sitemenag Weadensdeary wind & Wastelf brets weather or I fish in the nets to Thursday wind YW asmall brefs weather 2 men at the nets brought & fish day the Taller making flothing for the men Fridery wind IN asmall brefs with Sno all the men varialy employed at the House so Titen Sundeary Wine to by asmall Mondeay wind I'E asmall briefs with So the men transiesly emplayed at the 12

Tusdelly wind I & amall boefs Cloudey 2 men at the nets braught 12 Titemens 2 min g hursdean wind varibly all da 3 men Coting firmed at 5 am the India Fridery Wind E by asmall Brets Clavery Gold in men at the nets brought & fish the Tallor Making Sundeary wind Mondeay wind I & armall brefs Clowdey men at the nets brought 6 Titemens 3 min Meadriscleary wind & Masmall brefs Clar Thursday wind & Marmall brok weather 2 men at the nets brought 6 Small Clothery I men foling

Saturdian wind I by asmall brefs floor got weather mondour wind So & astelf gall Elway Coldwatter a men at the nets brought 15 Titemeng 3 men Coting for the Tallor Making Indian Clothing Tusdeary wind I by armall bress floor gold weather a mon At the note brought & Tilemeas a mon forting firm the Tallor making Indian flothing.
Weadnesday Wind Why asmall bress flowdery felt wat the men employed as syesterday 7 fish in the nets i Don Thursdeay wind SW amult brep floor fole weather 2 men at the note brought 4 small fish Alexanor Benton Repearing unet the Tallor making flother ndeary Wind Nby usmall brep the men employed as he for Ely asmall brep flowers t the nets brought 4 Small Tetern Weadnesday Win the men employed as yestersay of fish in the nets to

Thursdean Mind Manuall brep flear men at the nets brought 4 fish 2 men Justeay Wind & Wasmall brefo flowder mile weath 3 men At the net brong ht 5 Titenicky 2 Men hall Weadnesday wind SW asmall brefs flowery gold at the nets brought for Titimag the Talles flothing Sandey Berston Repearing An In M 3 Sindrans arived brought hos haver 50 lb of orio Mous flesh also I Men gating readers to go to the Thursday wind by annual briefs Clear Mild weather 2 Men at the nets brought g fish May Self with the Indians at 10 am they went away underry wind A wateff hip blear gold weather Undley wind I by not

Tuesdeary Wind by asmall brefs blowden bole weather the 9 met At the nets brought 6 fish Weady sweather 3 Men at the nets brought 18 fish at I am Byan to Ino and ble very whard and funtenewed till night Theirselean wind I to asteff gall with Ine and softer asteff gall flow fall weather at h 2 Indians Arived brought 40 bever also the Men Arived that went to the Indians googs of go aturdeary wind Wby Clear fold weath at the net brought is Teterneag May with the Indians that drived yesterdar Sundeary Wind Why witeff brep flea at 10 d Im the 2 Indians went du Mondeay Mino N by amall bolp flear fall weather 3 Men at the nets brought 12 Tetemany the Tallor making Indian flothing allesander Birston repereng Tusdeay Mine to by asmall brefs Clear Mild wather 3 nen at the nets brought 13 fish of fortes 2 nen halling fire and May Self Streatching Sum Weadingscary Wind I'll asmall brefs flear mile weather I men at the nets brought & fish 2 men halling fire so Thursdean wind Y by artiff buch glear Cold 3 men at the nets brought 3 Men at the nets brought 15 fish 2 Men foling fire of Saturdiary sine Mby armall brefs flow followeather the men furpleyed as yesterday 12 fish in the nets to Sunday Wind & Wasteff gall Clear gold weather

How Mondeay Wind Wby asmall Brefs blear and acrey fold weather 3 men at the nets brought 14 Titems of Taller Making Indian Clething Sanday Borston Weadfordiedy Win N W asmall brefs flear fold weather a men at the nets Browght 8 Titemeng 3. Min Goting Thursday Wind by with Snoull day ? Man at the nets brought 10 Tatenday & Men bothing fired Fridery Wind NE asteff buefs blowden fall weather o Men all the nets brought & Titemeng & men fating forward Saturdeary wind I Wastelf gall with sno and Infter all day at 7 from a Indiano thing for at form to for Some for sever and sum provesons Sunday Wind Why asmall bref flear fall weather at 8 p W on Indian Noise of brought 6 baven 100 lb of gren Mous flefich 9 In m then drive at the Sent 3 lever fotes also Traded of Leaver! Consideres chines at 3 from neturned Justieny wond & Wasteff bress flowery fold weather at wind Aby Elan Gloweather 3 Men at 1 brought 12 Stemeny & Men forting from Thursday Min) Why estaff gall Clear feld wear um at the netwo brought

ndeary Wind & Wasteff brefs lear ball weather 3 her at the nets brought , Tilemeny Sander Boston referring Anet Saturdean Mind Why asmall bres blear for a new at the mets brought 12 Teternean 2 Men firewood At 10 Am Swent a hunting hilled on Indian Arived for amon to stay with him John forbes to stary with him Fridery Mine I & asteff brefo with Snap sil dos at the mets brought 12 Sitimens 2. New Coting 14 Setemeng 2 Coting

Turdeny Mind Chy asmall brig with Sme at times at 4 for arrived at the Thouse . HO fish in the note to day deary wind & Wasmall bref Clouday Mildweat sturdean Mind I & asmall brefs flear Mild weather y with the Indian

I Fridery Mind I'V witeff brep with Ino All by I men at the note brought 16 Tetemeny 2 Men fating for Mondeay Wind Wasmall brefs blowdery fall at the nets brought 14 fish 2 men bating for Tuedean Wind I & usmall brefs The nets brought so 10 bever Skens & 8 40 lls of gren Bes 3 Men Coting fines

Tusdeay wind Why acteff gall flowday told weather 2 men at the note brought 2 fish 2 him lating for 2 Men at the nets brought at on from on Indian Triver for hen to fech I have at & fr in 2 Men and May Self Seat of with the Indian at 6 pm arived at the Tent Traces 34 of gren Mous flesh and 3 bever Skens Thursday Wind andweather as yesterday at I m arived at the For House I Indiano of last night John Sebester & John Simpson is a with then but is Token usmall quantity of ny goods with him which In force he to Sound 2 Men away to them wear at agret los her the Greating is 16 Non and weren bot 6 it lan not be thought that we law gat m with them Fridery Wind SM somall bref top Clear will weather at a print the 2 Men returned brought nothing Saturdeay Mine & Westeff gall Claus Mording Hind and weather as yester in it the not down hat he fish at 2

to by asmall book flowing Mis I Men at the nets brought 5 Small fish Thursday Wind & W astelf bref floor for 2 Men at the nets brought & fish 3 Men Cotting fire so Toturdeary Mind to by asteff gall with Invall day 3 Men Mondeary wind N & asteff gall with Ino all. on Indian Arived the Last night for Men to to his Tent the day gating gradey to set of Tuesdeary Wind Why asmall bres Cloudery Mild in 6 dim Set of with the Tridian and waked till 7 from then put of windensdeary Wind I to asmall brefo flowed weather at 11 or on a rived at the Indians Traded to bower from them 100 lb of half Mono flesh from them and got reday to a Thursday wind Why asmall bref glear weather at m I blok the last night Left Insiens and waked till 6 h m then Thring weather at 10 Tm & Indian arrived for M ech ho der that he hilled the Last clayed fecheing from flest

funding Mind SW monall brefs blear Mil weather noisen Men Drived brought 5 bever 80 to mous flesh also Sent 2 Men to ther I Ten aturdean Wind N & Clawley fold weather at the note brought 4 Small fish Sundeary Wins I by astexf gall Clowdey fold at all am the 2 Men arived brought 12 bevor

Mind I M astell gall hart flowder part 1 brought & Small fish 3 fiting alt Theray Lesk that is to and hetth princts Thursday Mind vasibel all day flow Mill weather is With Therey Lesh and the Indian boy Sent Thuen Lesh 100 flentes 5 lb of ball virenellen I Men at the nets brought 10 Small fish 3 Mon for Frideay Wind & by asmall brefs flowery Nilo wes at all man on Indian drived for New to go with him his tent bring afer furs and provisions Saturday wind SM asmall brep flear warm weather 3 from Jahn Sabeston returned browght 13 han I to artiff gall with Ino And rifter all Amalay Mind 6 by asmall bref flear will a Tuesdean Wins I & somall bress flear Nile weather Self poteried with 3 Into of Indiano the

Saturdeary Mind IN astiff gall Clear Mild weather & Monat the nets brought of Titemeny at 8 M on 2 Tink of Indians went a way I by Clowday Cale weather at 2 pm on Tent of Indians Arrived brought

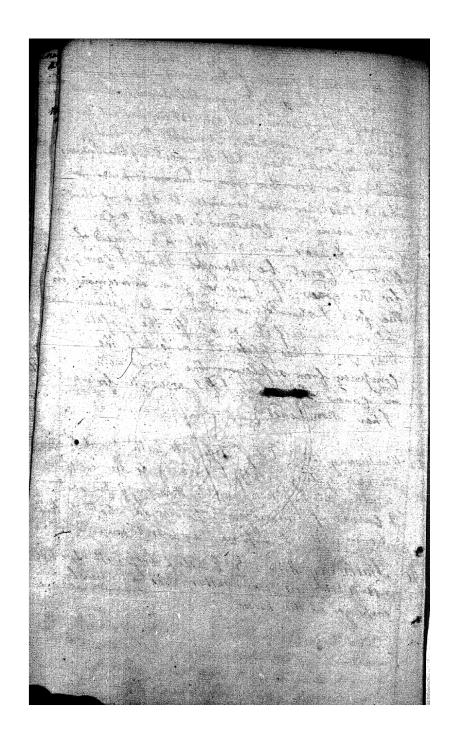
& Non at the net brought 15 Teterneay 3 men gathering fich for our Canone Tusdeary Mind Why arteff gall with Income all day 2 men at the nets brought 10 Titimens of Coting fines at 2 pm 2 Indiano Arived bro Weadnesday Wind & Warmall bress glean weather I a Non at the nets brought & fish I have ing Stuf for the bower pres at Thursdeary Wind SW asmall bref flear Mil weather a men at the nets brought 19 Titemeng I hen gating fich for the Canow At 3 fr m in Indian arived brought 5 bever Skens which he Traded Forideay Mind I by asteff gall flear warm Weather the men employed as yesterday 6 fish in and sno tall da 2 Mon lat the nets browght men lotting fire of

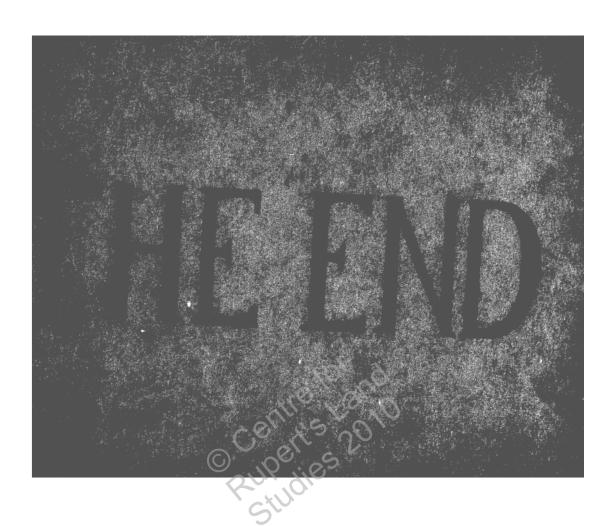
Meadwoodlay Hind I'M womall briefs blean he at 11 am & Tents of Indiano Arived but be nothing the Gnadiano is giveing the Indian Thursday Wind Wby asmall weather the Indians downth as be repenny a net I Men at the nets longest 3 Small Titemen O Men making fradels Tundeary Mind SMusmall brefs Clear weather hear Canons with the day to ke of the Lak not fit to wak in

weather the Imon varialy employed at the Hick Berston repering and the which they Traded for ish in the nets to day asmall bref flea on James Wothers to from them of 10

Sunday Mind I by floor nel weather the smiles Genous in heating of bever thes day paker 3 bunels of fews 11 am on Tadian Arived brought get part of which he Traded of in the Compries Serves

Turdeay Wind I & armall bref Clowdey nile weather at a 11 a m & Ganow of Indiano Arive brought 28 bever on of their got rigin the Indiano all drunk and very Towblaum Misecum esken and all his fellers is ben her above Timonth they ar ben Nor I separces then All the rest of the Indians What is ben her thes yer - Indiano is heled no Shens thes yer that is worth to spek of it is not Separing the Canedins is Wested a Canowe Cargo of goods and is got bot his bunels of firm it Canot be thought that I can pay for the goods If I had not given encoregment in The fall I showle had nothing - the Canedian has Told Me him Self it was not for the profett that They cam to the pledes it was to kep the -Comprey from sepleying the noved with men I hav Menchened 25 Wadnesday Wind by astiff gall with sno at times the new gating redely to embank to mores if weather and helth finnets thes day fited out I Canous of Indians with powder and shot to kill bever with at 2 pm they went away Thursday Nino & E ustelf brefs with Ino till employed at the house





Appendix C: Transcriptions excerpted from HBCA B.228/a/1, Wegg's House Post Journal, 1795-1796, by William Sinclair.

HBCA B.228/a/1 Wegg's House Post Journal [Wegge's House] 1795-1796

William Sinclair

1795 August 17 th Monday	arrived at lower end of grass river, with two Canoes loaded with trading goods and six men, accompanied by M ^r Ross and a few Indians &c.	Folio 4
1795 August 19 th Wednesday	Mr. Ross embark,d for reed lake house, sent three men to fetch the remains of trading goods from there. engag,d two Indians to fetch the men and remains of trading goods from the Nestoowyaws or three points.[Nelson House?].	Folio 4
1795 August 20 th Thursday	men clearing a place to lay the foundation of the house onat 1 PM four Indians went a hunting	Folio 4
1795 August 25 Tuesday	at 2 P.M two Indians arrived at the house with some Moose meat and three beaver skins	Folio 4d
1795 August 29 Saturday	at 5 P.M. five Indian Canoes came to the house with two Indian Canoes to trade and two beaver skins.	Folio 4d
1795 September 5 Saturday	at 10 AM two english men and two Indians arrived from the three points with a few articles of trading goods William Corrigall who was left in charge of the goods at the Neest,oo,wyaws procured from the nor ^d Indians 278 MB ^r which he laid up to be fetched the first opportunity	Folio 5
1795 September 6 Sunday	at 1 PM two Indians came to the House the flesh of one Moose	Folio 5
1795 September7 Monday	at 4 PM two french men arrived at the house they were starving, the Indian that arrived yesterday set off to his relations	Folio 5
1795 September 9 Wednesday	sent two Indians a hunting, at 10 AM the two french ["men" inserted] set off back again.	Folio 5d
1795 September 19 Saturday	at 3 PM five Indians came to the house with 20 beaver sinsand a little moose meat,	Folio 6
1795 September 20 Sunday	at 3 P.M. three Indian Canoes set off the rest remain at the house	Folio 6
1795 September 21 Monday	at 8 AM a Indian woman came to the house with three geese	Folio 6
1795 September 28 Monday	at 4 P.M. six french men arrived from the grand Portise with trading goods in one large Canoe at 6 P.M. they set off higher up the Country to winter being apprehensive of Starving at this place	Folio 6d

1795 September 30 Wednesday	at 5 PM four Indians arrived from York Fort with Letters &c.	Folio 6d
1795 October 2 nd Friday	at 4 PM two Indians came to the House with 60 lbs of moose meat and six beaver skins	Folio 6d
1795 October 3 rd Saturday	at 6 PM the Indian that arrived yesterday set off	Folio 6d
1795 October 4 Sunday	at 4 PM three Canoes of arrived they brought 170 lbs of Moose meat	Folio 6d
1795 October 7 Wednesday	at 7 P.M 4 Canoes of Indians came to the to take up debt they brought 10 beaver skins and 30 lbs of beaver flesh	Folio 7
1795 October 8 Thursday	employed giving the Indians debt gave a few presents to some of the chiefs	Folio 7
1795 October 9 Friday	the Indians that took debt yesterday set off to there famalies	Folio 7
1795 October 17 Saturday	at 5 PM two Canoes of Indians came to the house with 32 beaver skins and 36 lbs of beaver flesh	Folio 7d
1795 October 18 Sunday	the Indians that came yesterday took up Debt	Folio 7d
1795 October 19 Monday	at 8 AM the Indians set off to their famalies	Folio 7d
1795 November 7 Saturday	at 11 AM three Indian boys came to the house for tobacco gave them a little and sent them off to there tent mates at 2 PM	Folio 8d
1795 November 8 Sunday	at 11 AM a Indian came to the house with 23 beaver in skins traded and set off to his relations.	Folio 8d
1795 November 9 Monday	at 10 AM 6 Indian men and there famalies came to the house with 70 beaver skins and a few pounds of Castorum beaver scraps &c	Folio 9
1795 November 10 Tuesday	the Indians remain drinking at the house	Folio 9
1795 November 11 Wednesday	the Indians all went off sent John Corrigall to tent with them to prevent them from going to the Canadians	Folio 9
1795 November 17 Tuesday	At 10 PM two Indian boys came to the house with the meat off two beaver and one beaver skin, at 1 PM they returned back again to there tents sent W ^m Corrigal to tent with them	Folio 9d
1795 November 18 Wednesday	At 8 AM W ^m Corrigall came from the for men to fetch deers meat at 10 AM sent six men to bring home Deers flesh beaver skins &c.	Folio 9d
1795 November 19 Thursday	the men returned back from the Indians with 643 pounds of venison a few beaver skins	Folio 9d
1795 November 28 Saturday	at 2 PM a Indian came to the House with three beaver skins he had kill,d one Moose and three deer	Folio 10

1795 November 29 Sunday	at 7 PM the Indian that came yesterday set off to his tent sent four men along with him to fetch moose meat beaver skins &c	Folio 10
1795 Decem ^{ber} 1 st Tuesday	at 11 AM W ^m Corrigall came from the Indians tent he informed me that they had kill, d a moose and sent for me to trade it	Folio 10
1795 Decem ^{ber} 2 nd Wednesday	at 7 AM sent four men to fetch the flesh of a moose and two pair of snow shoe frames.	Folio 10
1795 Decem ^{ber} 3 Thursday	at 2 P.M the men returned from the Indians Tents with 16 beaver skins and 613 pounds of Moose flesh a few pounds of Castorum. &c.	Folio 10d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 4 Friday	men preparing to go to the Neest,oo wy,aws to fetch the beaver skins left there in summer	Folio 10d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 7 Monday	at 5 A.M sent off five english men along with a Indian to haul the beaver from the Neest, oo, wyaws procurd there in summer.	Folio 10d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 15 Tuesday	at 10 AM a Indian came to the house with word to fetch the meat of a Moose he had kill,d the day before	Folio 11
1795 Decem ^{ber} 16 Wednesday	at 2 PM two english men and two Indians came to the house with 372 pounds of Moose and deers flesh.	Folio 11
1795 Decem ^{ber} 17 Thursday	the Indians that came yesterday traded and set off to there tents, at 2 PM the english men returned for the Neest, oo, wy, aws with 132 beaver skins the wolverines had broke open the place where the beaver skins ware led and destroyed 150 of them	Folio 11
1795 Decem ^{ber} 18 Friday	At 8 AM the Indian boy that went with the english men set off to his tent	Folio 11
1795 Decem ^{ber} 20 Sunday	at 2 PM a Indian came to the house with 6 beaver skins traded and set off to his tent	Folio 11d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 21 st Monday	at 8 AM two Indians came to the house for brandy and tobacco &c	Folio 11d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 22 Tuesday	sent four men to fetch beaver skins and moose meat &c	Folio 11d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 23 Wednesday	at 10 AM a Indian came to the house with word to fetch the meat of a moose at 1 PM sent a english man and two dogs to bring the meat to the house.	Folio 11d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 24 Thursday	the man that went off yesterday returned with 215 pounds of moose flesh &c.	Folio 11d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 25 Friday	at 3 PM three Indians came to the with 69 beaver skins 100 pounds of moose meat and 35 pounds of beaver flesh	Folio 11d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 26 Saturday	the Indians that came yesterday set off to there tents	Folio 11d
1795 Decem ^{ber} 27 Sunday	hugh Leask very ill with a complaint in his bowels	Folio 12

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1795 Decem ^{ber} 29 Tuesday	Tho ^s Stanger and Hugh Leask badly with a complaint in theire bowels	Folio 12
1796 January 1 st Friday	two Indian boys came to the house with 20 beaver skins and 40 lbs of Venison	Folio 12
1796 January 2 nd Saturday	at 9 AM both the Indians set of to there tent sent the Indians two gallons of brandy four pounds of tobacco &c.	Folio 12
1796 January 5 th Tuesday	at 3 PM a Indian lad came to the house for men to fetch Moose flesh	Folio 12d
1796 January 6 th Wednesday	at 7 AM sent four men along with the Indian to bring home the Moose meat and 10 [bear]skins	Folio 12d
1796 January 7 Thursday	At 3 PM the english men returned with 309 pounds of moose meat &c.	Folio 12d
1796 January 10 Sunday	At 2 PM a Old Indian man and his wife came to the house starving – they had been many days without any kind of nour-ishment to subsist on	Folio 12d
1796 January 13 Wednesday	the old Indian man very bad with a complaint in his bowels	Folio 13
1796 January 14 Thursday	taylor making Indian	Folio 13
1796 January 16 Saturday	at 1 PM W ^m Corrigall and four Indians came to the house they had been starving for eight days having only killd one half beaver which they divided in sixteen shares this was all they had to subsist on for eight days.	Folio 13
1796 January 17 Sunday	the Indians that came yesterday starving I gave them as much Provisions as I could spare and sent them to there tents	Folio 13
1796 January 18 Monday	sent W ^m Corrigalle to tent with the Indians that went off yesterday.	Folio 13
1796 January 28 Thursday	at 3 PM one Indian came to the house with 5 beaver skins	Folio 13d
1796 January 29 Friday	at 9 A.M sent four men to fetch deers meat and a few deer skins &c sent Rob ^t Garroch to french Indians to entice them to come to the house.	Folio 13d
1796 January 30 th Saturday	at 6 PM John Corrigal and a Indian came to the the [sic] house with 34 beaver skins and 32 pounds of dried venison	Folio 14
1796 January 31 st Sunday	at 11 AM the Indian and John Corrigal set off to there tent	Folio 14
1796 Feby 2 nd Tuesday	at 2 PM the english men returned back from the Indians with 234 lbs of venison 10 beaver skins and 10 pounds of Castorum	Folio 14
1796 Feby 8 th Monday	at 6 P.M two Indians came to the House with 27 beaver skins and 65 lbs of beavers flesh	Folio 14d
1796 Feby 9 Tuesday	sent the Indian a hunting at 3 PM he returned he returned kill ^d three deer weight 250 pounds	Folio 14d

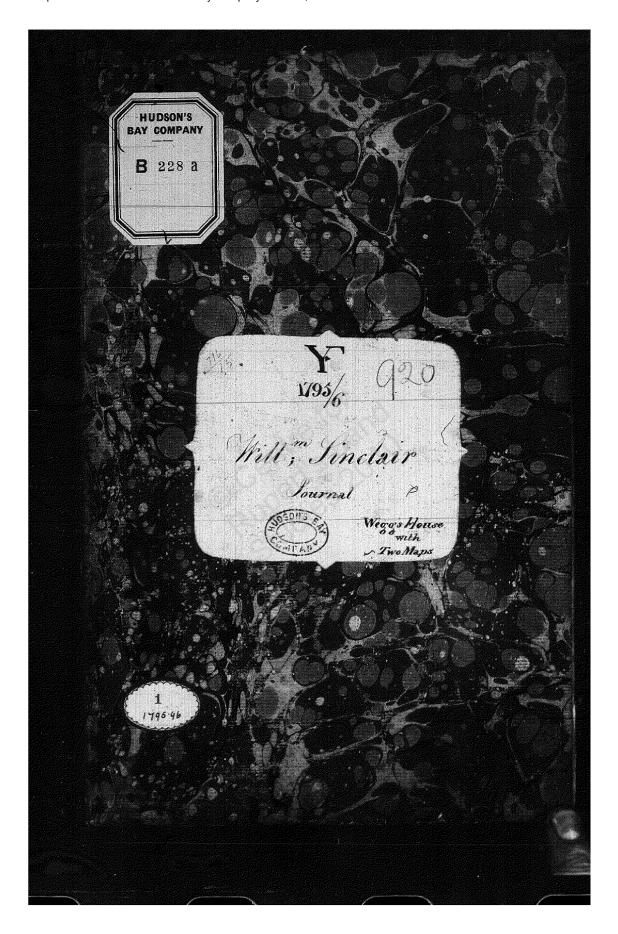
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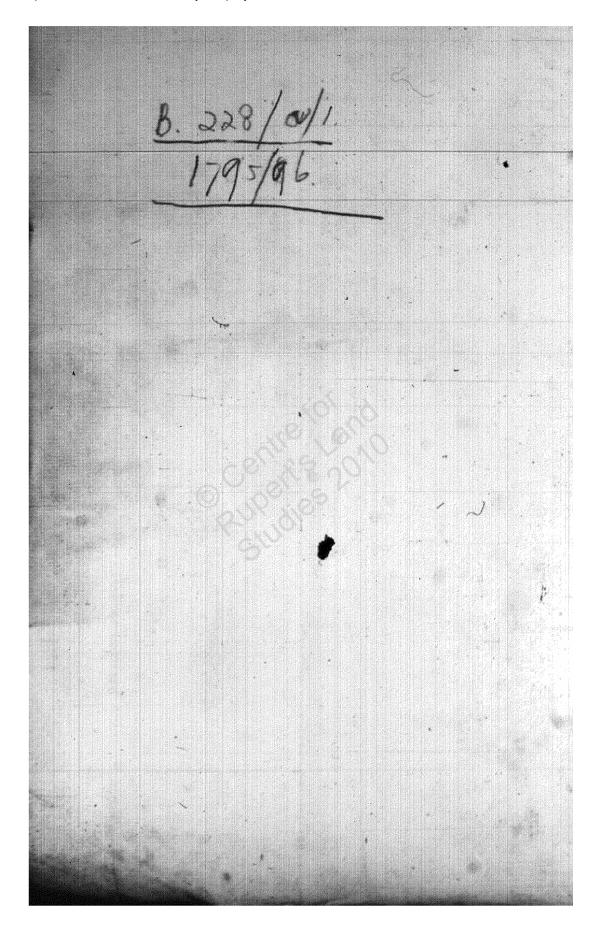
1796 Feby 10 Wednesday	sent two english men along with the Indians that came to the House two days ago to fetce beaver skins &c.	Folio 14d
1796 Feby 18 Thursday	at 4 PM the english men returned from the Indians with 67 Beaver skins	Folio 15
1796 Feby 22 nd Monday	at 1 P.M. two Indian wemon [women] came to the house with 55 pounds of venison and six beaver Skins	Folio 15
1796 Feby 23 rd Tuesday	sent four men to fetch Venison from the Indian tents	Folio 15
1796 Feby 25 Thursday	at 8 AM men returned back again from the Indians with 107 pounds of venison and two beaver skins	Folio 15d
1796 March 7 Monday	Hugh Leask froze his fingers at the fishing holes.	Folio 16
1796 March 8 Tuesday	at 6 A.M two Indian wemon came to the house with 75 pounds of half dried Deers meat	Folio 16
1796 March 9 Wednesday	The Indian wemon set off to there tent	Folio 16
1796 March 19 Saturday	two Indians came to the with 40 Beaver skins and a few pounds of Castorum	Folio 16d
1796 March 20 Sunday	the Indians that came yesterday set off to there tent. sent a few of the oldest men brandy and Tobacco	Folio 16d
1796 March 24 Thursday	At 6 PM two Indians cam to the house for men to fetch Beavers skins and a moose they had kill ^d &C.	Folio 16d
1796 March 25 Friday	at 11 AM sent four men along with the Indians that came yesterday to bring home beaver skins moose flesh &c.	Folio 17
1796 March 26 Saturday	engaged a Indian boy to go to cross Lake along with a English man for some articles of trading Goods, that I have run short off_	Folio 17
1796 March 27 Sunday	at 6 AM the Indian and English man set off to cross lake with Letters.	Folio 17
1796 March 28 Monday	at 7 PM the Indians that went of yesterday came back again they had kill ^d 6 deer at 10 the english men came back with 398 lbs of moose and deers meat having about 3000 pounds of Moose and deers meat in the House I dischargedthe Indians to bring any more to the house, as I had sufficient of provisions along with fish to serve the men out regular once aweek	Folio 17
1796 April 2 Saturday	at 8 AM a Indian boy came to the house with 7 beaver skins traded and set off to his tent.	Folio 17d
1796 April 9 Saturday	at 5 PM two Indian boys came to the house with 7 beaver skins.	Folio 17d
1796 April 10 Sunday	the Indian boy set off to there tent.	Folio 18

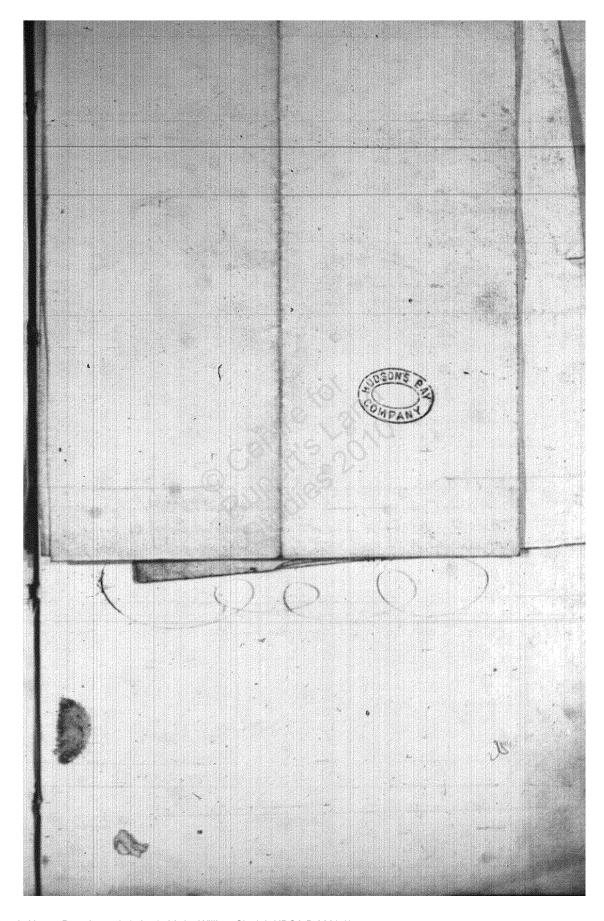
1796 April 12 Tuesday	At 11 AM six Indians and therre famalies came to the house with 150 MB ^r and 10 pounds of Castorum &C, rige,d two of the oldest Captains – and gave some of the young men coats as encouragement, brandy tobacco &c.	Folio 18
1796 April 13 Wednesday	the Indians that came yesterday remain drinking at the House -	Folio 18
1796 April 14 Thursday	the Ind ^s traded and set off At 1 PM one of the Indian boys returned with a Goose they had kill ^d .	Folio 18
1796 April 16 Saturday	at 10 AM four Indians and therre famalies came to the House and W ^m Corrigall who hast tented with them ever since November and keept them from going to the Canadians with part of their hunt	Folio 18
1796 April 17 Sunday	at 11 A.M. the Indians that came yesterday set off to theire Canoe building place	Folio 18d
1796 April 19 Tuesday	at 1 PM a Indian came to the House with 60 beaver skins &c.	Folio 18d
1796 April 20 Wednesday	at 1 PM the Indian traded and set to his famalie -	Folio 18d
1796 April 21 st Thursday	At 2 PM two Indians and Rob ^t Garroch came to the house with 40 beaver skins and two beaver Coats -	Folio 18d
1796 April 25 Monday	the Indians that came three days ago set off to the tent.	Folio 18d
1796 April 26 Tuesday	At 3 PM a Indian came to the House with 14 beaver Skins	Folio 19
1796 April 27 Wednesday	at ½ 6 AM the Indian set of to his tent at 10 A.M. three Indians came to the house with 60 beaver skins and three beaver coats, gave them all coats, the, above three Indians hast not traded at any of your, Honors Settlements these many years, which makes me be at, great expenses with them	Folio 19
1796 April 28 Thursday	the Indians that came yesterday set off to there famalies, I have received from the above Indians 200 MB ^r this winter	Folio 19
1796 May 4 Wednesday	At 3 PM three Indians arrived with 56 beaver skins and 40 lbs of beaver flesh	Folio 19d
1796 May 5 Thursday	the Indians that came yesterday set off.	Folio 19d
1796 May 10 Tuesday	at 4 PM the Indians that arrived five days ago set off a hunting -	Folio 19d
1796 May 13 Friday	at 4 P.M two Indians came to the house with 50 beaver skins and 20 pounds of beavers flesh	Folio 20
1796 May 14 Saturday	taylor making Indian Coats.	Folio 20
1796 May 20 Friday	At 2 PM two Canoes of Indians arrived with 10 beaver skins	Folio 20

1796 May 21 st	at 8 AM the Indians set off to ["there" inserted] famalies –	Folio 20
Saturday	sent four bundles of furs along with them to York Fort and	1 0110 20
Saturday	letters.	
1796 May 24	two Indians came to the ["House" inserted] they brought	Folio 20d
Tuesday	20 beaver skins-	
1796 May 25	At 9 AM two french men came to the House from cross	Folio 20d
Wednesday	lake – to wait for one of there _ canoes that intends to come	
-	this way this spring	
1796 May 27 Friday	at 10 A.M the two french men set off to cross lake	Folio 20d
1796 May 28	At 2 PM 12 Canoes of Indians Arrived with 500 beaver	Folio 20d
Saturday	and 20 pounds of Castorum_rige,d two of the Oldest Indians	
	and gave Coats to many of the children	
1796 May 29 th	the Indians remain on the plantation, traded 20 beaver	Folio 21
Sunday	skins from them _	
1796 May 30	two Canoes of the Indians went a hunting _ the rest remain	Folio 21
Monday	as before	
1796 May 31st	three Canoes of the Indians embarked for York Fort:-	Folio 21
Tuesday		
1796 June 1 st	at 5 AM embark,d for york Fort with two large Canoes,	Folio 21
Wednesday	and two Canoes of Indians with nearly 1650 MB ^r Carryed	
	over three carraying places and put up [in] grass river_	
1796 June 2 nd	at 4 PM put up in the Vermilion Lake	Folio 21
Thursday	X(0, 0)	
1796 June 4	two Indians went a hunting [follows the trip to York Fac-	Folio 21
Saturday	tory in detail – June 4-8]	
1796 June 9	at 4 PM put up at the Narrow of the Split Lake _ 6 Canoes	Folio 21d
Thursday	of Indians in Company [got to the log tent 12 June]	
1796 June 19	at 3 PM arrive,d safe at york Fort_	Folio 22
Sunday	, C, C,	

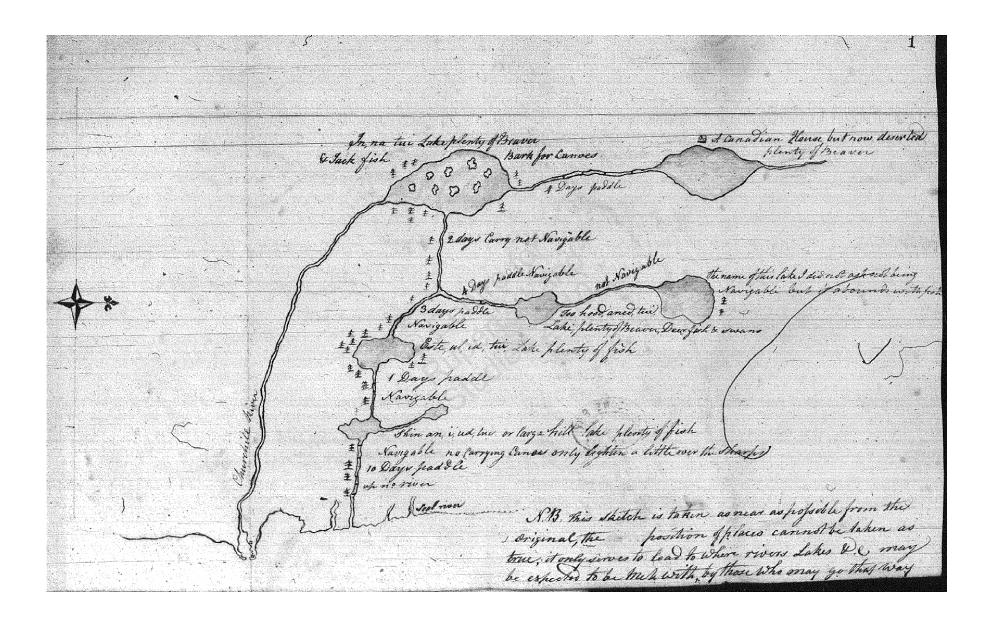
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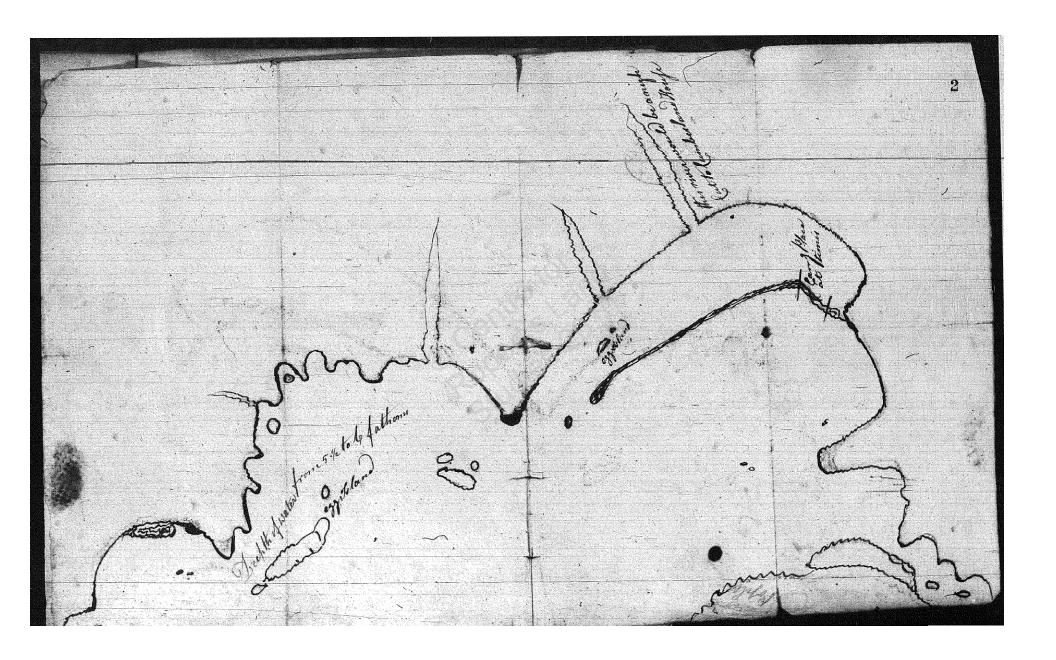




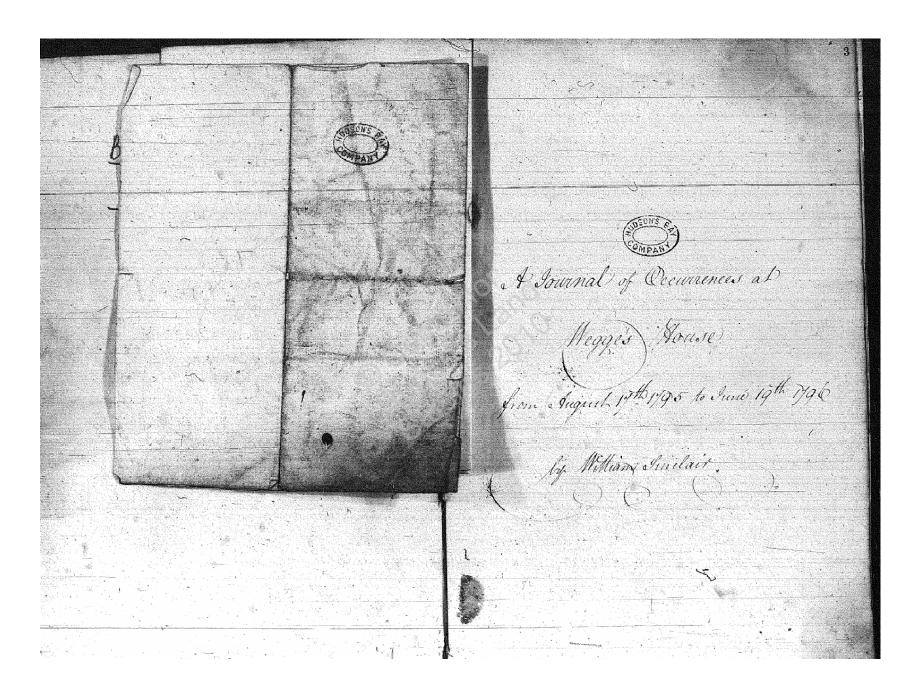


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17.95	
Sugart 17	Abordery word Part Hank cloudy weather anwed at lower and of grafs siver, with two Canon loaded with
	trading goods and six men, accompanied by Methofs
	and at few Indeans &.
187	Thursday wind west a stiff gate with rain and
(A)	
9	Westnesday wind Rainte with clear weather
	at & Am Mittofs embarted for need lake house, sent three men to felch the remains of trading goods
	from there engage, I two Indians to fetthe the men!
	and remainder of trading goods from the Neestoo wy and
20	Thursday wind west, dark claridy weather two
	men clearing a place to lay the foundation of the
	Send can went a hunting name the latter part of
	Friday wind Next a stiff gate with stear weather land the foundation of a Small house, to keep the
Ġ	
22	Saturday wind SW a sty gale with rown all
23	Lunday in & D. H. MELING
	Sunday wind and weather the same is yesterday caught 10 fish of sorts.

1/95
August 28th Monday wind Marible Durk cloudy weather two men
August 28th Monday wind Marible durk cloudy weather two mens Jelling timber for building with, one employed at
of of the state of
mily whim, at 2 Mm two Indians amount the
house with some Moore meat and three beaver stom
at 6 km set a net.
26 Wednesday wind NW dark closely weather with mily rain all day 2 fish of Joints
misly rain all day 2 fish of Joth
27 Inursday wind Dew dark closely weather three
men building at the house of fish of South
28 Friday wine Varite hay weather with a smile
20 Friding wine Varibe hary weather with a small
29 Jahunday wind I.W dark cloudy weather men
came to the house with two Indians Canoes to
trode and two beaver skins.
30 Sunday wind Varible clear pleasent weather
I fish of Sorts.
35 Monday wind S.W pleasent weather at 3 Pm
the men returned back from ! Most house , with
the men netword back from Moss house, within a few articles of trading goods, 105 th of moore much

1798
Poplantes 1th Tuesday wind IN blowing a stiff god with clear weather all hands variously employed to fish of Soits
2. Wednesday wind IN colon pleasant weather four onen building at the house, two cutting grafs 6 fesh of Sorts.
four onen builting at the house, two cutting grafs
all the first of the second of
3 Munday wind Namble clean weather three men
to live in one attending the nets.
Jour when cleaning a Journation to build on!, the
rest Wariously employed 4 fish
5 Saturday wind South dark chardy weather
men variously employed, at 10 Am two english
men and two Indians anway from the three fraints
with a few articles of trading goods William Conspale who wase left in change of the goods at the Deertoo, wyan
- procure a from the nor. Indians 278 Ms which
he laid up to be felched the first opportunity
6 Sunday wind Varible Jack cloudy weather at 1 Pm
two Sordiams came to the House the flesh of one
more at it Am it began to rain
1 Monday wind North dark hagy weather with
at 4 Pm two french ment arrived at the house
they were stawing, the Inian that arived
yesterday set of to his relations

1995.	Thresiterificand NE a stiff gale with shower of
	Nednesdry wind North Namble weather sent two Indians a hunting, at 10 Am the two french
10	Thursday wind WNW blowing a stiff galer.
	Ani Nail wind S.W weather on Refore implayed . as definent jobs in fish of Sorts-
建设在全部工程公开开发的企工的工程工程工程	Portereday wind and weather as before men
/3	Cunday wind Namble pleasent weather ranght
- 14	Monday wind N.E back chang weather mend implayed at the house 19 fish of Sorts
/3 ⁻	. Mesday wind and weather the same as yesterday
16	Wednesday wind North a stiff gale with rain all Day offish.
17	Thursday wind IN Nanable weather two men gathering stones for to but a chimney with the
	Friday wind I amber hary weather two min
	building the fire places, the rest at darious, jobs

3795
19 Faturday wind varible clear weather, at 3 mm
Jivi Indians came to the house with 20 beauty sins and a tittle moon meat, 37 fish of Sorts
20 Sunday wind SW as tigg gale and clear weather at 3 Bon three Indian Canolinet of the ust remain
at the house, o fish of Joth
25. Monday wind North clean present weather,
at & Am a Indian woman came to the house with three geers
29 Thresolary mend ranibu weather much the same as yesterday Jimeshed breeding the fire places of fish of South
23 Wednesday wind NE hazy weather with musly
off
24 . Thursday wind East dark clowy weather four
men outting graps, the wil clearing the prompted the house 11 fish of such.
25. Friday word SE where the Louis at
25. Anday wind SE a heavy fall of rain at
26 Saturday wind North clear weather min!
26 Saturday wind North clear weather min)
with clear weather 10 fish of Forth
with chear weather 10 fish of Soits

1795 Toplemb'28 . Monday wind varible char pleasent weather sent two men to book out for a fishing place at A Pm six french men anived from the good tothise with trusing goods in one large barne at 6 Mm they set of higher wife the Country to winter being apprehensive of Stawing at this place 29 . Tuesday wind North " a heavy fall of Inow at 2 Mm it cleare up and the two men that went afighing yesteriay returned with 28 fish 30 Wednesday wind west a strong gale with wood weather at 5 Pm four Indians armed from York Lost with Letters de. October si Thursday wind and weather the same as yesterday four men employed plaistening the out side of the house. 2" . Friday wind Variable pleasent weather men employed as yesterday at to Pho two Interns came to the house with 60 the of moore meat and six beaver skins 3 Saturday wind South of lean weather two men Sawing boards for flooring the nest clearing and culting down woods in front of the house at 6. Am the Indian that anive I yesterday net of 6 Just 4 Junday wind East y clear weather at 4 Pm three Curves of arrived they brought 170 tos of moore

Oction 5 Monday wind week! clean weather two mines sowing boards the rest variously employed 6 Tuesday wind and weather the same as yesterday men employed as before 7 Wednesday wind vanible dark hazy weather finished the floors of both hours at 7 Mm 4 bances A Indians came to the to take up doth they brought 10 beaver skiens and solls of beaver flish 8 Thursday wind west a strong briege with chan weather employed giving the Endeans doth gave a few presents to some of the chiefs
ment insplayed as before J Wednesday wind Narible dark hary weather Jenished the floors of both humer at J Pm 4 Carroes of Indians came to the to take up dobt they brought to beaver skins and noth of beaver flish Thursday wind west a strong breeze with chan
Wednesday wind wante dark hazy weather finished the floors of both huner at 7 Pm 4 barrows of Indians came to the to take up dobt they brought to beaver skins and noth of beaver flish
8 Annotally wind west a strong breeze with chan
8 Annotally wind west a strong breeze with chan
weather employed giving the Bideans dobt gave a few presents to some of the chiefs
I think any wind and weather as before the Indians that took delt yesternay set of to there farmatics, set a met
10 Saturday wind North a Just gale with clear con weather caught of fish of Yorks
11 Sunday wind and weather the same asyesterday
Boards rest culting fine wood
13 Tuesday wind west a small bruge with dark
chondy weather low over sowing bourds nest fixing up calins 10 fish of souts.

17.95. October 14.	Wortnesday min Pusty pleasent weather two men
	plaintening the outside side of the trading com with
15	Thursday wind North to cold weather with Thowers of sain onen employed the same as yesterday 18 Jish of sorts -
16	Just of south - Friday mind and weather the same as yesterday
	Friday mind and weather the same as yesterday men remployed the same 23 fishe Saturday wind west aach closely weather inclinable
	to snew at is Mm armoved out of the tents into the
	New house at 5 Mm two Canoes of Indians came to the house with 32 beaver skins and 36 th of beaver blesh
18	Sunday wind narible prement weather the Indian that came yesterday look up Debt.
19	Monday mind East & fine pleasent weather at a Am the Indiano wet of to their famalies
	& Just of sont.
20	Juesday wind and weather the same as before to ment sawing boards for rabin doors two attending the nets nest variously employed so fish of sorts
23°L	Wednesday wind South to a stop gale with
	Thursday wind Marible clear sharp weather -
	most part of the lake cover, with Ire at 3 mm, the lee brook to pieces

37.95	
23 Fuday wind west " a strong gate with dark clondy weather some fronts of the lake could with the two	
ment vaccing Double	
24 Solundary wind and weather much the same as yesterday men culting fere wood fulled a youn now this day	
frail of the lake covered with lice	
26 Monday niend S.P. warms cloudy weather men getting birch for shits and Inow Thous	
27 Thesermy mind narible with dark cloudy weather two men backing mets	
28 Wednesday mind and weather much the same as gusting men cutting fine wood -	
29 Munitary wind Cash of dack chardy weather men	
cought of shi	
30 Priday mind and weather much the same as	
35 . Saturday mind Part Side howy weather neither	
freezeing on thawing caught no fish out of the	
met at a Mmi it began to snow _ and nain all	
COMPART	

Am it began to some all the buys of the lake covered with the Monday wind southty clean weather at 10 Am set two nets under the Ice two ment turning brich for steds and anow shoes 3. Tuesday wind and weather much the same as before 19 fish of Sonts 40 Wednesday wind Part & dark cloudy weather very warm for this season of the year 5 hursday wind and weather the same as yesterday 12 fish of Sorts. 6 . Friday mind west dark cloudy weather inclinates to snow one making snow shoes frames nest of Saturday mind or W blowing a stip gate with cold weather men employed, Variously as 11 Am three Indian boys came to the house for tobacco gave them a little and wint them, If to there tent moter at 2 Mm it began to and severe with weather at 11 Am a Indian came to the house with 23 bear skins traded and set of to her relationer.

1795 9 Monday wind west cold freezeng weather with a gale of wind at 10 Am+ 6 Indian onen and then famalies come to the house with go beaver skins and a few founds of Cartowers beaver scrafes de 12 fish of sont 10 . Tuesday wind and weather much the same as before the Indians remain dunking at the house set two nets, saw a wolf and a Deer runing on! the lake Wednesday wind would dark clady weather the Britisms all wint of sent John Corrigale to tent with them to prevent them from going to the Canadians, out two outs 10 fish of Sorts 12 Thursday wind East & clear weather langht only 11 fish out of jour nets men turning buick for slodge heads 13 Hiday wind Southey weather the same as yesterday 16 fish of sont 14 Satinday wind and weather the same as yesterday ofish 15 Junday wind No clean short weather nofish 16 Monday wind and weather as before myself very badly with a soar throat of fish of South

Nevember 17 Tuesday mine NE clear sharp weather at 10 to two beaver and one beaver skin at I milling ritums. back ugain to these tents sent wom Congale to tent with them 10 We dresses all wind Part & clear what weatherat o Am low Corregale came from the for min to fetch Deers meat at 10 Am next six men to bring home Quis flich beaver skins de 19 hursday wind I thick Jule heavy weather inclinable to snow the men returned back from the Indiano with 643 pounds of venison a few beaver skins saw thousands of deer on the lake Joing to the Now & 20 Friday wind Vari be clear pleasent weather, 10 fish of sorts 21 Saturday wind south & Jack cloudy weather four men setting nets live geting brick for sledges ust vanously employed 22 Juniony wird Varible duck cloud weather with a light Inow falling saw some our on the lake 23 Monitary mone North blowing a fresh gale with dear cold weather men variously employed 24 Just of Sort.

17,95.	
24,	These chair word Nareble clear weather mine withing
	Wednesday wind west clear cold weather two men
26	Thursday wind and weather as yesterday
27	And day mind Se dark weather with Smowfalling at times cought only I fir out of four nits.
28	Saturday wind vande dark weather within
	tight some believe at 2 Mm a Indian came to the House with three beard shins he had hilly one more and three Deer Sund cloudy weather at 7 Mm the Indian that came yesterday set off to Sistent sunt sent four ment along with him to felthe moore meat beauch shin be.
,30	Monday wind S.P. heavy Duce weather with
December of	a light Inow falling to fish of soth. "Tuesday wind and weather the same as yesterday of 11 April some Conejall carne from the Indians tent he informed me that they had kill a moone and sout for me to trave is!
	Wednerdery wind and weather as before at y Am Sent four mer to fetthe the flesh of a invove and two pair of snow shoe frames.

17.95	e de la companya della companya dell
Quember 3	Munday wind Maribe pleasant weather at 2 mm
	the men peturned from the Indians Sint with
	a few from to of Cartonin De.
-1	Friday wind and weather the same as before -
	men preparing to go to the Deert, or wy aws to feter
	the beaver okins left there in summer.
	Saturday wind East dark clondy weather with nime falling 17 fish of sorts.
The first of the f	
	Sunday wind South & weather as before caught
\mathcal{I}	Monday wind and weather as before atsitm
	sent of five english men along with a Indian
	to hand the beaver from the Deertoo, wy aws " proceed there in summer.
	Tuesday wind Part heavy dule weather orbifore
	This hig Sort
÷ 9	Wednesday wind Van bewith rime falling
//.	· I huriday wind Varible ale sound saw number,
	Thursday wind varible ale wand saw number, of den exoping the lake at 3 km it began to From 12 fish.
	Friday wind Dother clear con weather 11 fish. I South at 2 Mm is beyon to onow.

17.95?	
12	Saturday wind Parist with a typt snow falling,
13	Sunday wind Nanible Dark cloudy weather with wine falling to fish of Sorts.
<i>H</i>	Monday num and weather as before caught 6 fish
	2 Carlo
16.	a Indian came to the house with word to fetale
	the great of a move he had hele, The Day before
1	Wednesday wind and weather as before at 2 mm
	two english oner and two Indeans came to the house
	two english oner and two Indeans came to the house with 372 poured of Noose and Deen flesh.
- 17	Thursday wind west & pleasest weather thex
	there tents, at 2 mm the inglish men returned from
	the Best, 00, wy, aws with 132 beaver skins the
	the Deest, oo, wy, aws with 132 beaver skins the wolving had broke open the place where the beave
	sams wase led and destroyed 100 of them
/0	Friday wind varibe clear weather and some
	folling at o Am the Sovien boy that went with the english men out of to histent 10 fish of works.
	Jaturday wind Carl I rimy weather men enting fine wood- of fish of sorts .

17.95.	
December 20	Sunday wind and weather arbejon at 2 Mm/a
	Indian came to the home with 6 beaver sking
	tradel and set of to his tent
7	Monday wind varible clear sharp weather two
	in I weather two
	setting a net the rest, variously employed at
	I Am two and came to the house for brandy
	and Tobacco de cought in fish of soch -
	1 of
1	Tuesday wind south to clear pleasent weather
	vent four men to felt bewer skins and moon
	meat the
	The state of the s
23	Wednesday wind New shorp pleasant weather
	at 11 Am it began to snow, at To Am a Indian
	come to the house with word to felot the meat
	1. 2. 1. h
	of a move at 1 km sint a english man and x
	two days to bring the ment to the house.
24	26.0.0
24	
	man that went of yesterday returned with 215
	Hounds of moore flesh Der.
25	Friday wind and weather as before at 3 mm
	three Indeans came to the with 69 beaver skins
	100 pounds of moore meat and 35 pounds of beaving
	flesher in the second of the s
	P
26	Saturday wind sorther Dark cloudy weather
	with und falling cantlet 30 fished yout
	The Indians that came yes today and the M
	with rim falling canyful 30 fishing sorts. The Indians that came yes torday sit off to there

57.95
27 Sunday wind SW snowing and clear attendely hugh Leark very rec withit a complaint in his bowel
10 fish of south
20 Monday wind and weather much the same
as yesterday
29 Tuesday wind South Darkdond y weather The Stanger and Hugh Least badly with a complaint in them bowels
in them bowels
30 Wednesday wind and weather as before caught
16 Julh of Josh.
135 Therriday wind wareblewith alean weather men cutting fire wood. SONSE
17.96 of the company
Samuary 1. Friday wind south of down chondy weather as
two Indians boys came to the house with 20 beauce
2" Saturday wind South by with dark cloudy weather
at g Am both the Indians set of to there tent sent the Indians two fallows of bruney form pounds of tobacco bec.
30 Sunday wind South Twith nine faling and
4. Monday wind Bothey sharp weather two men looking out for a fishing place rest at various
Jobs.

January 5th Hosting wind and weather as before it som moore fleshi 6 Wednesday wind west very sharp weather, at John sent four men along with the Indian to bring home the moore meat and 7 Thursday wind South with a heavy fall of Inow at & Mr the english men returned with 300 funner of moore ment beo Huday wind No clear sharf weather set a net under the he Laturday wind and weather as before & 14 fishe of south 10 Junday wind west very seine and sharp weather at 2 mm a Od Indian man and his wife came to the house staring - they had been many Days without any kind of mounts ment to subject on 11 Monday wind and awiather the same as yesterday one of the mer froze one of his 12 Huerdery wind Castly simy weather with

17,96.
13 Wednesday wind Wait be clear sharp weather
in his bowels caught 10 fests of soit.
Theredown is bor
14 Thursday wind sw. very seven sharp weather taylor making Indian Coats wit at
Various gots
15 Haiday wind and weather much the same
ar before Ofish). (SONE
16 Saturday wind sow clear cold weather at 1 Or
non Corregale and four Indian came to the
house they had been starving for eight days
howing only will one holp bearer which they
to outsist on for eight days.
Indivis that came yesterday starving I gave
Them as much Provisons as I could space and
send their to there tents
as yesterday sent work onigale to tunt with the Indians that went of yesterday.
as yesterday sent workonigale to tent with
The Indians that went of yesterday
19 Tuesday wind and weather as before men culting fire wood
the for wood
20 Wednesday wind varible clear sharp weather
men employed as bêjone.

1796 Jumy 25 Thursday wind Part y dark clowy weather with snow falling is fish yout 27 Friday wind New sharp weather at 1 mm it began to snow and blow very hard 23 Saturday wind and weather much the same as yesterday of with 24 Sunday wind and weather the same as before Thos Harge bully with a complaint in his 25 Monday wind south to blowing a push gale with Drift &_ 26 Juesday wind South by and pleasent weather men imployed at Various jobs carifht & 5 fish. 27. Wednesday wind and weather as before caught only two fish out of four outs. 20 Thursday wind west very sharp weather at & More one Indian came to the house with 5 beaver skins 29 . Pristall wind sw. clear shorp weather at a Am sent four men to fetet deen ment and a few deer when de sent Alt Ganoch to french Indiano to entire them, to come to the house .

Tany 30. Taturday wind ban ble with ofour pleasent weather the house with rubeauce shens and 32 pounds of died Omison 31. Sunday wind East y. Jack weather with snow falling at 11 Am the Indian and John Corrigale set of to there tent Leby 1. Monday wind varible dark clove weather at 2 Mm it began to enver 6 fish 2" Tuesday wind wit clear pleasent weather at 2 Pm the english men networked back for the Indianes with 234 thoy Venison 10 beaver Theres and to pounds of Cartonum 3. Wednesday wind South to Jack cloudy weather James Irvin Spacing his ly-Thursday wind A & Jack gloomy weather with snow folling 5. Friday wind gweather much the same as yesterday 4 Jish 6. Saturday wind East & Jack chindy weather with a light fall of snow 7. Sunday wind varible with rime falling saw a few Deex croping the lake to the Southwar

1796 Febry of Monday wind west of clear pleasent weather two men sawing boards nest at Vanous work at 6 Mm two Indians came to the House with 27 beaver skins and 65 tts of boarers flesh I werday wind west of blowing a stiff gale with slew weather Dumbers of Deer cooping to the Norwol sent the Indian a hunting at 3 mm headword hill three feer weight 250 fromts 10. Wednesday wind Part Jack cloudy weather Sent two english men along with the Indians that came to the House two Days ago to felt Cewer skin der ._ 11 Thumbay wind South Wark cloudy weather Deer croping in sumber to the Southwelk 5 fish Friday wind East & Dark cloudy weather 3 fish out of 4 nets Saturday wind and weather as before a few dece emping to the South is 14 Sunday wind Al clear sharp weather 9 kill a winght 150 pounds 15 Monday wind South blowing a stiff gate with Crifting is now and very bad weather caught of Jish of sorts.

1796	15
160	These day wind North dark cloudy weather a few dew croping Ikill? three of them weight 250 pounds careful of them.
	due croting Ikill? three of them-weight 250 pounds
	caught of them,
- 87.	Wednes day wind and weather much the same
	as yesterday James Invin badly with a roar break
	"Ifish"
10.	Thursday wind Earl Dark cloudy weather with
	Snow falling at is Am the english men uturned
	Snow falling at is Am the english men what of from the Indiano with by Beaver skins cought
	Iniday wind and weather as before at 2 mm
	A began to snow I fish "
20	Saturday wind so clear cold weather to severe
	Vaturday wind so clear cold weather to some weather to our hunte the note.
	Sunday wind and weather as yesterday at 1 mil began to Inow
	H
22	Monday wind sw clear cold weather at
	with 55 pounds of Vinison and six liaver Sking
	A
23	Juesday wind North clear cold weather sent four mer to getet Venison from the Indian
	four men to getthe Wenes on from the Indian
	tents caught 6 fish
24.	Wednisday wind sow clear and weather the Manger very ile of a Complaint in his bowels, taylor employed for men -
	emploned for me

Febry 25 Thursday wind varible with with weather at a Am mentacturned back again from the Indians, with 107 pounds of Venison and two beaver shins 7 Jush 26 Friday wind Part of Jack cloudy weather with sime falling 3 fish 27 Saturday wind New blowing a storm of wind, with drifting snow be. 28 Sunday wind and weather as before some - . Deer cropping to the Down. 29 Monday wind weather as before at 3 mm Arleand whi. March !! Tuesday wind southly a stip gale with shower of smow at times 2" Mednesday wind west snowing very hard municulting fire word. Thursday wind South weather the same as yesterday 3 fish of sort 4 . Priday wind Warible weather a little more moderate carry he y fish 5 Saturday N. W a strong gale with severe cold weather a few Deer on the lake going to the now. 5 fish of sort.

1796 March 6 Sunday wind and weather the same as yesterday say men soling a net the ice very thick cought Ofish of sort Monday wind and weather as before Hugh Leash Junge his Jengers at the Jishing holes O Mestay wind varible clear weather at 8 Am two Intern wemon came to the house with 75 pounds of half dined Deers meat Wednesday wind I. P. Dark cloudy weather with a light fall of snow the Indian wimon och of Thursday wind Iw clear pleasant weather men Variously employed 11 Friday wind and weather the same as yes borday s juh of suts. Saturday wind It down cloudy weather all By it began to snow and Drift. Junday wind and weather the same as yesterday 14, Monday wind south a strong gale with snow at times 6 fish -15 Tuesday wind Ne ilean sharp weather two Sawing boards the rest at various jobs 7 Jush.

1796 Marchi 16 Wednesday wind S. & thick Jule heavey weather cought of fishing out Thursday wind East & dark cloudy weather with snow falling 10 Friday wind Party weather much the the same as yesterday saw a tagle the first sun this season 19 Saturday wind so sharp weather at 3 hm two Indians came to the with 40 Beaver skins and a few frounds of Castourn. 20 Jundaly wind varible clear pleasunt weather the Breams that came yesterday or I to there tent sent a few of the older men 25. Monday wind Sw Dashelondy weather with a light snow falling 22. Tuesday wind and weather the same as yesterday to fish of sorts. 23 Wednesday wind doth clear sharp weather caught to fish of Soit -24 Thursday wind wante with charificarent weather at 6 mm two Indians cam to the house for men to felch Beaver skins and a move they had kill &

25. Parday mind & weather the same as gesterday All Am sent fourtmens along with the Indians that came yesterday to buris home beaver shins 26 Paturday wind sw blowing a styp jule with sime falling enjuged a Indian boy to jo to crop. Lake along with a english man for some asticles of trading Goods, that Thave me 27 Sunday wind South & Dark cloudy weather at 6 Am the Indean and English man set of to enop take with Litter. 28. Monday wind Varible with clear sharp weather at 7 Mm the Indian that went of yesterday cam back again they had hill to deer, at 10 the englis men came back with 390 th of move and ceen meat having about 3000 pounds of Moore and Deers meat in the House I Discharged the Indian to bring any more to the house, as I had sufficient of privisons along with fish to sewe the men out regular! . once aweek 29. Mesiday wind I'w chan weather the water our of the house - the fin thewing day this reason 10 fish of sorts. 30 Wednesday wind taribe the weather very changeable snowing and raining alternetty. a snow bird seen to day.

March 34 Thursday wind Carly Hear frank weather at 2 Am it began to snow Spril 1st Miday wind Varible Fact cloudy weather 2. Jakurday wind Aw clean warm weather the mething fast away at 8 Am a Indian boy came to the house with I beaver whing have found out of to his tent. 3 Sunday wind PE dark closedy weather as Pm a Shower of rain. 4. (Monday wind East dute heavy weather caught which of sonth 5 Musday nind and reather the same as gesting at 2 Pm of began to rain. 6 Westmistery wond banks dearfilearent weather many parts of the lake covered with water. 7. Thursday wind No cold darkiweather, number of snow hirts flying about. o Kriday wind I'w weather the same arbefore as few over going to the southers. 9. Saturday wind South clear pleasent weather Sat 5 Mm two Indean boys came to the house with y beaver skins.

10 Junday mino Warible Jack cloudy weather with a light snow falling the Indian boy set of to there tent: 11 Monday wind Southly warm pleasant weath en the snow wasted very much away for this season of the year, careful of fish. 12. Tuesday wind and weather much the same as yesterday at 11 Am set Indians and them families came to the house with 150 MB and 10 pounding Castonim be, sige, two of the object Capitains and gave some of the young men coats as emoun agement, brandy totacco be -13 Wednesday wind varibe hot sultry weather the Indians that come yestering remain drinking at the House - cought 4 fish 14 Thursday wind and weather as before the 2.2. haded and set of. most of the snow wasted away at I Mm one of the Indian boys returned with a goose they hat kill? 15 Friday wind and weather as before numbers Que going to the souther two swam sun this day 16 Jakunday wind west & very pleasant weather at 10 Arri Jour Indians and those famaliscame to the House and wor Corrigale who hast tent of with them over since sevember and hapt their from going to the Canadian, with part of their hunt

April 17th Sunday mind Naribe Sank don't weather as I Am the Indians that came yesterday sery-to them Canorbuilding place 10. Monday wind South y with clear pleasent is eather, took up our net from under the Ice many geore flying about 19. Tuesday wind orw sharp cold weather with snow falling at I mm a Indian came to the House with be beaver shins be. 20 Wednerday wind south & warm Jehanent weather at 1 km the Indian traded and ver to his Camalie -25. Thursday wind and weather the same as yesterday at 2 pm two Indians and thete. Gunich came to the housewith 10 beaver him and two beaver Couts-22. Priday wind west Bask dondy weather with small mily rain -23 Saturday wind Warble weather the same as yesterday 24 Sunday wind S. Dack clondy weather with rain ale Day. 25 Monday mind west sharp weather at 3 Bm lain with thursdar the Indians that came three Days ago set of to the tent.

26 Tuesday wind and weather as yesterday at 3 But a Indian came to the Down with 14 beaver Phins 27. Wednesday wind vaile hot sully weather at 1/2 6 Am the Indean sel of to his tent at 10 Am three Indians came to the house with 60 beaver skins and three beaver coats, gave then all couts, the above three Indians hast not tradel at any of your, Honor Allements there many years, which makes me be at great expenses with 28. Thursday wind and weather as gesterday the Indians that came gesterday out of to there famalies, I have received from the above Indians 200 Mg this winter 29 Miday wind CSO very hot weather the mur beton very troublesome in the woods two men sawing friends for a beaver pries restat Various jobs carefut 6 fish 30. Patunday wind and weather as gestinday set a that in open water men employed as gesterday careful 6 feels. May 1:04 Sunday wind varibe clear sharp weather many parts of the lake open 2" Monday wind Part ya shong gale with a Storm of thunder and rain, fixed up the beaver

1796	$\mathcal{J}_{\alpha} = \{0, 1, 2, 3, 3, 4, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6,$
May 3 W	Tuesday wind sow a strong gave with cold within 10 fish
	with day wind North dank choudy weather
A Company of the Comp	1 mm it began to snow and blow very hard - 3 mm three Indians and with 56 beaver
5 7	hunday wind Cart pleasent clear weather
H.	hundowy wind Cart pleasent clear weather Indian . Mat came yether ay set of .
6 .7	hower of rain - 10 fish of sorts.
7 0	began to snow and rain alternally.
8 Y	unday wind Sonthe a heavy fall of rain
	heavy fall of snow.
10 %	nerdoug wind No dark cloudy weather at me the Indians that arrive five days ago If a hunting-
sel.	If a hunting -
	Amerciay wind and weather as yesterday
joex	men collecting pitch rest at Narious gobs

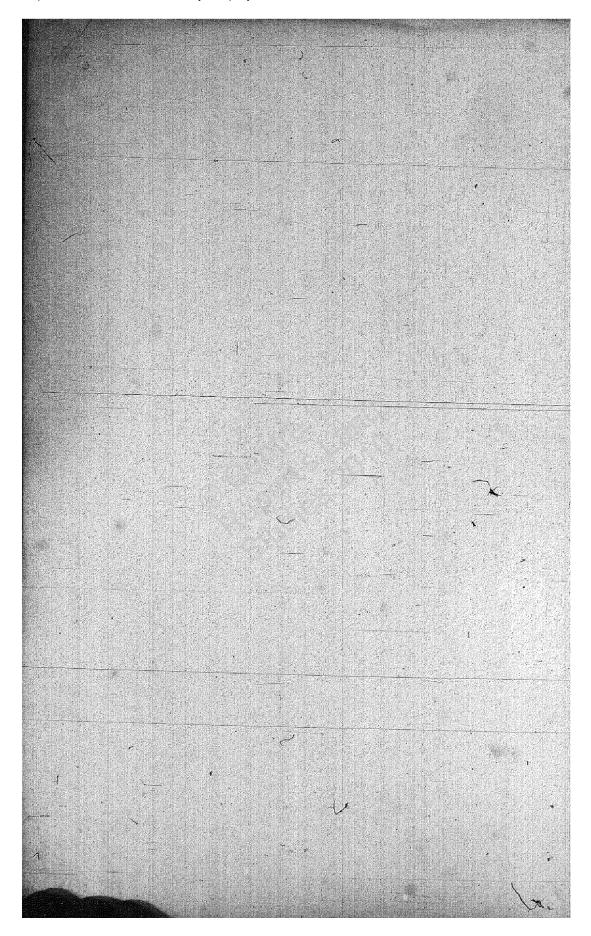
3796	
18	Friday wind Souther very hor sultry weather
	Leaver skins and 20 pougeds of bearing flesh
	beaver skins and 20 prougeds of beavers flish
	Toutund acy wind varible clear pleasent weather
	Sortund acy wind variety clear pleasent weather six men taking from back to cover the ware house with taylor making Indian Boats.
	Parting making movem Coals.
15	Surfacy wind and weather as yesterday about one half of the lake open
	1)
16	Monday wind Nest hot sultry weather, two men minding the Canon rest Nariously employed
	Hen mending the Canois rest Nariously employed
ÝŽ.	Tuesday wind East & chear pleasent weather
	aren employer as yesterday.
18.	Wednesday wind Dan the weather the same as yesterday men implayed the same.
	He and min impleyed the same.
9.	Thursday wind East a stiff gale with dark cloudy weather men employed is before:
	the weather mer implayed as before.
20:	1) (1111 (11) wind of weather the same as yesterday
	at & Mr two Canors of Indians amond with
ø.	Of Commission of the Commissio
24	Saturday wind Aw ood weather as 8 As
	the Indians set of to Jamalies - sent four - bundles of Jun along with them to youth Thout and better
	and letter -
resident sections	

122. " Tunday wind Varibe clear pleasent weath. the Ice interly worked away · 23 Monday wind and weather the same as yesterday - the men finished minding the 24 1 Merday wind south very hot sultry weather two Indians came to the They brought 20 beave 25 Wednesday wind East & pleasent weather at g An two funds men came to the house from crop lake - to wait for one of there - canver that intends, to come this wayther of sing 26 Themsday wind west ofear pleasent butter hacking fun and yeting all things an realings to emback for york Tot -27. Saiday wind and dweather the same as yesterday - at 10 Am the two french men set of to crop lake, 20. Saturday wind Ilw misly nain all day at 2 Mm 12 Canoes of Indians ario dwith 500 beaver and 20 pounds of Castonium, rijed two of the Obest Indians and gave Coats to many of the children.

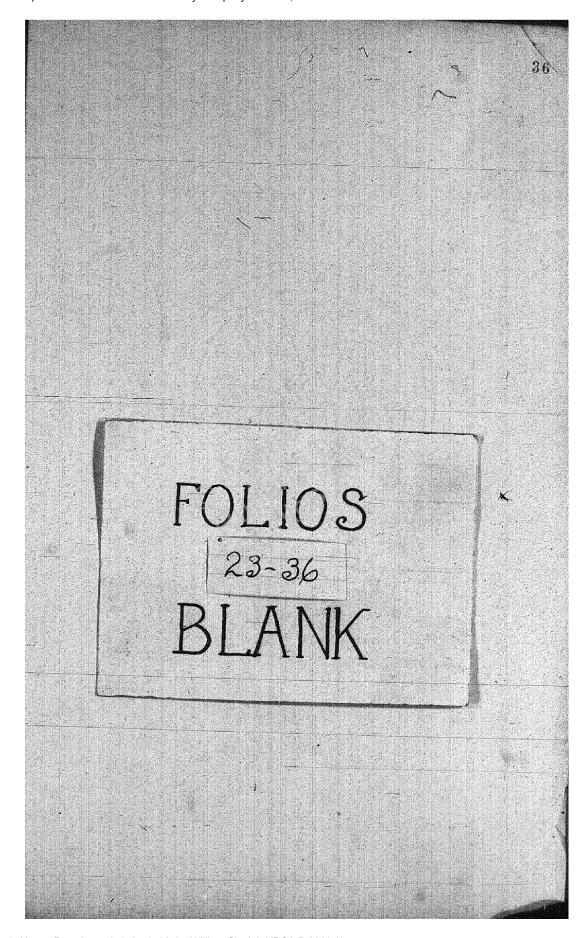
1796 May 29th Sunday mind New clear and rumengallemate, the Indians remain on the plantation, trades 20 beaver skins from them . 30 Monday wind NO clear pleasent weather Jimished packing the Jury, two Carroes of the Indians went a hunting - the rest remain as 35. I werday wind and weather the same as yester - day, the Curous of the Indians embanted for York Lost. June 1 Mednesday wind Narithelean weather at 5 Am embank of for york that with two large Canver, and two Canver of Indians with nearly 1650 Mis Carry Down the carraging places and put up ing graf river -Thursday wine and weather the same as yesterdows at 3 Am got winer way sail, and padled & Carried over the comaging places and at 4 Bm pest up in the Webmillor Lake 3 Instant wind and weather as before at 2 Am got under way can, I over one canaying has and at y the put up clear weather sould not proceed for wind, two Indian went a hunting -

June of Sunday wind law the het of they weather at retting of ancer every possible untile y ma 6 Monstay wind No a strong brage with 7. Tugsday wind souther a strong bruge with cold weather -0. Wednesday wind Parts a blowing han padoled tite felm and then put up for cold and a gale of wind right a head 9. Thinstill wind Its dear pleasent weather at 2 Am get under way cange over three & Canaging places - at 4 Mm Inst up at the Name of the split Lake - 6 Canony hours 10 Friday wind 90 Jack cloudy weather with misty sain falling set a met. Saturday wind No Nariber nain all day the prouse of the net so fish of oots 12 Sunday wind with clear weather at 11 Am yot winder way ound came Down to the log tint caught me first to lang ____

1796		7000 11 S 1000 1 1 1000 1 1 1 1000 1 1 1 1	22
June 13th M	londay wind	Sto Theor pleas	infamilia.
peo	ues and put at	yay-camidove the gule falk-	14 Canaying
4		ister chas plea	
Jah 3	2 Am jos amder	way, can it over on the gray good	7 Canaging
pla	ce, and put ap ce -	on the gray Good	canaying)
B Nei	dnesday wind	west dark chard	y weather
		way Can Do Delson Niver	
The state of the s	Surpeying place	s is very danger	in being from
3011	o ho feet Must - a	all along the part up at the	fishing from
\mathcal{H}	9	Part Dark el	
with	mad misty re	rin at J Am go epi at Flambo s	turder was
Wea	They wind hot o	a stiff jale wi	for wind -
96	anois of indian	, in company-	
10 Tai	turday wind	No chear weath	in at 4 Am
got i	factory Yolar	at 10 Am, put a	ip ar in bails
. 19 Ju	nday wind Pan	ly class weather	at 5 Am
got.	and way at 2	Morand & the	hount of Mark
+	o in ani	By clear weather the works of you	un Grafa



Wegg's House Post Journal, 1795-1796, by William Sinclair HBCA B.228/a/1



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Appendix D: Transcriptions from Library and Archives Canada, Masson Collection, Journals, "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake by an unidentified wintering partner." MG 19, C1, vol. 9.

Library and Archives Canada Masson Collection Journals "Journal for 1805 & 6, Cross Lake" by an unidentified wintering partner. MG 19, C1, vol. 9

cover	"Journal of a wintering at Cross Lake 1805-1806"	cover
	Cross Lake - say Latitude 55-10 West 97 ⁰ Long	2
[first page]	Friday 13 Sept ^r I left M ^r Venables at Pike River with Lorin and 4 men to winter _a Canoe and [lists goods]	3
	about 16 ps with all the Indians that I found there and a Guide to go down to where Mr. SinClare winters, and get more if possible _ I Came and Camp Nier the Carring place that night	
[1805 September] Saturday 14	Set off and Came down to the Second Portage_	Folio 4
[1805 September] Sunday 15	Set off and Came within Sight of Cross Lake _ where I found some marks of Indians that Came there in the Course of the Summer – we set our tents	Folio 4
[1805 September] Munday 16	I sent of Durocher one way and went another myself in Charch of the Indians we found their incamptments in the Islands about the Lake, but none lately_	Folio 4
[1805 September] Tuesday 17	Still in quest of the Indians but to no purpose, we returned back to where I left the rest of the men	Folio 4
[1805 September] Wednesday 18	I determined to have the men of one Canoe to build and go down the English Track with the others in [folio 5] hopes of faling in with Some of the H.Bay peoples Indians &c	Folio 4- 5
[1805 September] Thursday 19	I went off without guide or any one that new thi way excepting that I had past onc'd 12 yrs ago, we Came down to the 3 ^d Portage from Cross Lake that day	Folio 5
[1805 September] Friday 20	we set off and mad out to Come to the nixt Lake when I found awouned goose which I kill ^d & found that hi had not long been wouned we campt that night at the enterence of the Lake of Cepiwisk _	Folio 5
[1805 September] Saturday 21	we set ["off" inserted] and found where 2 men had been hunting not long before, we Coasted along till [folio 6] we Came to the old forts where we Campt that night fired Guns &c &c	Folio 5 -6

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

Source: Library and Archives Canada/Masson collection/Vol. 9

[1805 September] Sunday 22 ^d	we Set off and went to aplace where I wintered Some years ago and found more fresh Tracks look ^d about all that day but found none_	Folio 6
[1805 September] Munday 23 ^d	We Set off and on our way down towards the long Portage I heared agun - we fired and was answered by the Indians _ we found 2 Lodges say, 13 Men that was waiting for the English I given them 2 Large kegs Rum and Cloth-ed the Chiefs and all their Children & prevailed on them to Come up and winter with me at Cross Lak or duck Lake	Folio 6
[1805 September] Tuesday 24	about midday I got thim off we past by the English House where the Indians put Marks for the English that they mite find them on their arrivall _ I sent thim all off & [folio 7] remained behind for we was only 2 men in the [large] Canoe all this day as I was obliged to put the men in the Indian Canoes to get them on as the one half of them was drunk _ after they were all gone I Turned all their marks quite the other way _ and did not tutch any thing in the House for if I had they would know that some of our people had been that way I got that night neir out of the Lake for I made all hast possible to get them out of the way	Folio 6-7
[1805 September] Wednesday 25	we set off and got to the third Carring Place where I was obliged to give the Indians another [folio 8] house and Campt there that Night.	Folio 7-8
[1805 September] Thursday 26	we got them off with much ado _ Caring all their things awer the Portages and evin some of them Selves_ we got up that night to the Térré Blanch Portage where we Campt	Folio 8
[1805 September] Friday 27	we got them off and arrived that night at Cross Lake where the other men were building I was again abliged to give them to drink and Cloth their [waives] all in hopes for the best they drank all night	Folio 8
[1805 September] Saturday 28	the Indians Still drinking and the men building	Folio 8
[1805 September] Sunday 29	I wanted to know where they wished to winter they [folio 9] they told me that one Lodge woud winter in Cross Lake, and that the other wished to winter in duck Lake and if I woud Sen aCanoe with them that they woud give me all their trade I told them that I woud and that I woud go and build the house at Duck Lake and have people there, and Come back and winter heare myself which they were verry well pleased at &c.	Folio 8-9

[1805 September] Munday 30	I got all off after given them amunition and guns on C ^r . &c and 2 more Kegs Rum which they drank together before they Parted which was 9 Kegs Mix Rum they [folio 10] Cost me before I got them This far and offs, but if they mak their usual hunt I'll mak it up	Folio 9-10
[1805 October] Tuesday 1 October	I got the Indians divided those for Duck Lake I went off with and took 10 ps of goods &c I left the men building excepting them that I was to leave at duck Lake _ we got that night to the 3d Portage _	Folio 10
[1805 October] Wednesday 2 ^d	we got off and got that night about half way over Duck Lake the Indians wint hunt.g and kill ^d 30 geese and agood many duck_	Folio 10
[1805 October] Thursday 3	we got one of the Indians to guide us to the place where they wanted me to build and I told [folio 11] the others to hunt as we had no provisions, we got to the place Early in the day _ and Cleare'd the plan for the House, and set anet	Folio 10-11
[1805 October] Friday 4	we raised the Square of the House, and caught 8 fish in our Net	Folio 11
[1805 October] Saturday 5	Still building, the Indians arrived and brought 3, otter and agood many geese & Ducks I was obliged to give them to drink Say half keg mix Rum in the Course of the night &c	Folio 11
[1805 October] Sunday 6	Still building got the Hause Covert, and the Shop finished &c. I told the Indians that [folio 12] they must go ofin the morning as I Coud not Stay any longer and to not Come back till the Ice begun to form, and that they Shoud have afew Credits _ but till then to hunt, I given them amunition and a'Keg Rum, just as they went off_	Folio 11-12
[1805 October] Munday 7	I set off after leaving 4 men and 8 [p ^s] of goods I got that night half way - to Cross Lake	Folio 12
[1805 October] Tuesday 8	we set off and Came to Cross Lake that night and found the House and Shop must finished_	Folio 12
[1805 October] Wednesday 9	buildin, the [Nibsinqu] that Came with me from [P? B?]R [folio 13] Arrived and brought 2 otters 30 M rats I given him to drink for the rats_	Folio 12-13
[1805 October] Thursday 10	Still building we get plenty of fish _ Nothing new	Folio 13
[1805 October] Friday 11	building Nothing New	Folio 13

[1805 October] Saturday 12	Nothing New	Folio 13
[1805 October] Sunday 13	2 Young Men Came and brought 3 Beaver 50 M rats I given thim 2 Gall Rum and amunition for thim and Sent Some Tobacco to the others &c	Folio 13
[1805 October] Munday 14, Tuesday 15, Wednesday 16, Thursday 17	[all days Nothing New]	Folio 13
[1805 October] Friday 18	one of the Indians Came and brought 1 otter 43 M rats he took Strauds for all_	Folio 14
[1805 October] Saturday 19	Still building got all the goods in the Shop_	Folio 14
[1805 October] Sunday 20 th	The Nibisinqu is gone hunting up the Pine River Nothing New	Folio 14
[1805 October] Munday 21, Tuesday 22, Wednesday 23, Thursday 24, Friday 25, Saturday 26	[Nothing New]	Folio 14
[1805 October] Sunday 27	Too of the Indians arrived and brought 3 Beavers and 2 Otters 33 M rats for which they [folio 15] took [Stroud] I given them 2 Gall Keg of Rum to give the others and some Tobacco &c_	Folio 14-15
[1805 October] Munday 28	Nothing New plenty fish	Folio 15
[1805 October] Tuesday 29, Wednesday 30, Thursday 31	[Nothing New]	Folio 15
[1805 October] Friday 1 st November	2 Young lads came and brought 30 M. rats 1 otter for which they took [Stroud]	Folio 15
[1805 November] Saturday 2	the [Nibesenqu] arrived and brought Some rats and Ducks and told me he wished to go & hunt in Pike River, I told him that was the same thing to me	Folio 15
[1805 November] Sunday 3 ^d	the [Nibesinqu] went off for Pike River I wrote [folio 16] Mr Venables by him Nothing More	Folio 15-16

[1805	[Nothing New]	Folio 16
November] Munday 4,		
Tuesday 5,		
Wednesday 6, Thursday 7,		
Friday 8,		
Saterday 9		
[1805	Finished the buildings I given 2 Quarts Rum to the men and	Folio 16
November] Sunday 10	Some Wild Rice and Ducks _	
[1805	NothingNew	Folio 16
November] Munday 11		
[1805	I got the Canoes put up for the winter plenty fish	Folio 16
November] Tuesday 12		
[1805	NothingNew	Folio 16
November] Wednesday 13;		
Thursday 14	60,79	
[1805	Too Indians arrived and brought 5 Beavers 3 Mink & 44 M	Folio 16
November] Friday 15	rats for which I given them [Strouds] and 2 Gal Keg Rum & Tobacco	
[1805	[NothingNew]	Folio 17
November]	Bull dies	
Saturday 16, Sunday 17,	Civil	
Munday 18,		
Tuesdya 19, Wednesday 20		
[1805]	Too Indians arrived and brought 52 M rats 2 otters 5 minks for	Folio 17
November]	which they took [Strouds?] and aminition I given them 2 Gal	
Thursday 21	Keg Rum for the _ other Indians that was with them &c	F 1: 17
[1805 November]	Nothing New plenty fish	Folio 17
Friday 22		
[1805	2 men Came from Duck Lake for Some things that was want-	Folio 17-18
November] Saturday 23	ing there and told me all the Indians had been in and got C ^r and gone up the River to hunt _ I sent word to the men there	
	not to loose their Track, by going to them after in Case Some	
	of [folio 18] the Hbay people mite fall on their Campments &c &c	
[1805	I sent off the 2 men that came from D. Lake in a Small Canoe	Folio 18
November] Sunday 24		
2011001, 21		

[1805 November] Monday 25, Tuesday 26, Wednesday 27, Thursday 28, Friday 29, Saturday 30	[Nothing New]	Folio 18
[1805 December] Sunday 1 st December	we set our Nets under the Ice we got good many fish Nothing New the Cold is set in So that I'll keep an account of the Cold [thermometric readings recorded left margin, I have not transcribed here. These run in he pages following as well]	Folio 18
[1805 December] Munday 2, Tuesday 3, Wednesday 4, Thursday 5, Friday 5, Saturday 7	[Nothing New]	Folio 18
[1805 December] Sunday 8	2 Indians Came and brought afew Skins and want 2 Men to go and get what the other Indians had &c	Folio 19
[1805 December] Munday 9	I sent 2 men with the Indians Nothing more that day	Folio 19
[1805 December] Tuesday 10	the men that went for the Skins Came back and brought 100 M rats and 3 Minks 1 Otter and told me the Indians were going to Pine River to hunt &c	Folio 19
[1805 December] Wednesday 11	I sent off 2 men with the Indians to mark the roade So that I [caud] Sen whom I pleased to their Lodges in the Winter &c	Folio 19
[1805 December] Thursday 12, Friday 13, Saterday 14	[Nothing New]	Folio 19
[1805 December] Sunday 15, Munday 16, Tuesday 17	[Nothing New]	Folio 20
[1805 December] Wednesday 18	I ordered 2 men to get ready to go with the winter express to Pike River where Mr. Venables Winterd and he was to Sen 2 men to Pigeon River with the letters and So till they got to [B. of h.a?]	Folio 20
[1805 December] Thursday 19	I was giting ready my letters &c.	Folio 20

[1805 December] Friday 20	Still writing &c	Folio 20
[1805 December] Saturday 21	Do [writing]	Folio 20
[1805 December] Sunday 22	I sent of Durosher and 2 men with the express and then I waint hunting down toward the Rapids fell in and was Carried away under the Ice and got out in nixt opening with much to do, too much to relate heare	Folio 20
[1805 December] Munday 23	Nothing excepting that I Cant write [crossed out] [folio 21] for the want of the use of my fingers part of what I left in the Ice on the 22 ^d &c	Folio 20-21
[1805 December] Tuesday 24, Wednesday 25, Thursday 26, Friday 27, Saturday 28, Sunday 29	[Nothing New]	Folio 21
[1805 December] Munday 30	,the men I sent off with the Indians to Pine River Came back and brought about 30 Skins in all and told me the Indians [are] Starving that thi Coud not kill any thing the Snow being So deep	Folio 21
[1805 December] Tuesday 31	Nothing New	Folio 21
[1806 January] Wednesday 1 Jan ^y 1806	I given the men 3 quarts Rum Sugar flour &c	Folio 21
[1806 January] Thursday 2	I sent 2 Men to Pine River in Case Some of the [folio 22] HBay people mite fal in with our Indians &c	Folio 21-22
[1806 January] Friday 3 ^d	I Sent down to Sepiwisk to See if the English were there &c	Folio 22
[1806 January] Saturday 4	2 Men Came from D Lake and told me the Caud not find their Indians being too Lasie to mark ther road, <u>Canadian like</u> , blast them all	Folio 22
[1806 January] Sunday 5	I sent of to D Lake & Desired them to do all [the] to find their Indians, and I set off for Pine River to get and Indian to Guide me to find the others & c	Folio 22
[1806 January] Munday 6	I got to the Indians	Folio 22

[1806 January] Tuesday 7	I got guide and Sent one of the Men that were with the Indians along with him and when the found the Indians the man was to remain with them [folio 23] them_ but if he cand get any of the Indians to Guide him he was to go to Duck Lak So that the road woud be kept open _ &c.	Folio 22-23
[1806 January] Wednesday 8	I came home Nothing more	Folio 23
[1806 January] Thursday 9	The men Came from Pike River that went with the letters, and informed me all was well and doing well there _ & [The Same Evening the men I Sent to Sipiwesk Arrived and inform ^d me that the English were there and had not Seen an Indian exepty one that Came up with them _ that they were all the fall looking for the Indians till the Ice took them other ways they woud be up heare, but mi turning the Indian marks last fall put them a Stray till it was too late for them to Come [folio 24] Up &c]	Folio 23-24
[1806 January] Friday 10	Nothing New	Folio 24
[1806 January] Saturday 11	the mane from the Indians at Pine River Came and told me that the Indian that Isent with the Man Came back and found the other Indians and left the man with them _ and that one of the Young men would take him to D Lake	Folio 24
[1806 January] Sunday 12	Nothing New	Folio 24
[1806 January] Munday 13	Nothing New but too Cold for the men to go back to Pine River &c	Folio 24
[1806 January] Tuesday 14	I sent of too men for the Indians at Pine River and given them 2 Gall. Keg [of] Rum to give the Indians with Tobacco Amunition &c	Folio 24
[1806 January] Wednesday 15, Thursday 16	[Nothing New]	Folio 24
[1806 January] Friday 17 Jan ^y	2 Men Came from Duck Lake and enformed me that the man I Sent to their Indians is Come to that place with and Indian &c	Folio 25
[1806 January] Saturday 18	Nothing New	Folio 25
[1806 January] Sunday 19	I sent of the men from DL and told them to not loos the road to their Indians again &c &c In the Same day M ^r Venables arrived from Pike River and 2 Men from Poplar River from M ^r McPhaul whom told mi that they had but few Indians awing to M ^r Frasers good Conduct last winter they came for [Bales?] which I given them _ & M ^r Venables, the first thing he told mi on his Comig in the House, was, that he Suposed I woud be Surprised if he was to [folio 26] tell me that he had no more Rum, I told him it was So much the better if he made good use of it and that was all that past that night on that Subjact_	Folio 25-26

[1806 January] Munday 20	I ask ^d M ^r Venables if what he told ["me" inserted] last night was the Case, he told it really was, and that his Indians left him – and went as I told ["him" inserted] to the English, at little Winipic he told mi that he had about 2 Gall ⁿ Rum [rimanding- inserted] after taking 3 quarts of H.W. for to Come 2 days march, and had none for the last day, that he arrived _ I told him that he must set off in the morning & go home and then go down to little Winipic he told me he had not Guide I sent one with him &c <u>Durocher</u>	Folio 26
[1806 January] Tuesday 21	I sent of the worthless Venables. Nothing more that day	Folio 26
[1806 January] Wednesday 22 through Wednesday 29	[Nothing New]	Folio 27
[1806 January] Thursday 30	The men from the Indians at Pine River Cam back The Indians are all divided and all Starving Nothing more that day	Folio 27
[1806 January] Friday 31	Nothing New	Folio 27
[1806 February] Saturday 1 Feb ^y	Nothing New	Folio 27
[1806 February] Sunday 2	[NothingNew]	Folio 27
[1806 February] Munday 3	Durocher that I sent off with M ^r Venables to guide him down to little Winipic Came back and told that M ^r V. did Chose to go [folio 28] at present but woud go in afew days and that he did not want him Duracher told me all thim[Commavu?] there, tell thim, Venables Lorin his waif Bonenfin on Indian that he kept there and his waif Drank all the Rum in about four Months Say 6 Kegs H.W. their Scandless doings are too long to give adetail of heare_	Folio 27-28
[1806 February] Tuesday 4, Wednesday 5	[Nothing New]	Folio 28
[1806 February] Thursday 6	the men I sent to Pine River Came back along with 3 of the Indians almost Starved with hunger and told me if I did note Sen for the rest of them they would all die, as they coud not walk _ &c	Folio 28

[1806 February] Friday 7	I sent off 5 men to pine River with fish for the Indians & to bring those that Coud not walk &	Folio 28
[1806 February] Saturday 8	Nothing New	Folio 28
[1806 February] Sunday 9 through Tuesday 11	[Nothing New]	Folio 29
[1806 February] Wednesday 12	the men and Indians Came from Pine River, its Certain if I had not Sent the fish and men to help them on, they woud perish for thi best hunter among them coud not walk although one of the best in the in the North all owing to the Countrie being all burnt_	Folio 29
[1806 February] Thursday 13 through Tuesday 18	[Nothing New]	Folio 29
[1806 February] Wednesday 19	aman Came from DLake and informed me that their Indians had been in but made but Verry poor [folio 30] hunt and that they were all Starveing and had fel in with the only one Indian the English had just dieing with hunger So much reduced that he Coud not Walk, he or any one in the lodge	Folio 29-30
[1806 February] Thursday 20	Sent of the man from DL and others to go to where the English Indian was to take him Some fish and get what Skins he mite have, but he eate them all even his [Shous?]_	Folio 30
[1806 February] Friday 21	the Indians Still at the House they are giting Strong and I hope to get them off Soon again_	Folio 30
[1806 February] Saturday 22 through Tuesday 25	[Nothing New]	Folio 30
[1806 February] Wednesday 26	the men from D Lake Came back and informed me that they had been at the English Indian he had nothing excepting Rabit Skins & woud not [folio 31] have them if they were eatable, they hauld him [nere?] the house at D Lake to Save his life and I ordered the men there to give him fish till Such time as he woud be able to walk &c	Folio 30-31
[1806 February] Thursday 27 and Friday 28	[Nothing New]	Folio 31

[1806 March]	Nothing New The Indians Still at the House &c	Folio 31
Saturday 1		
<u>March</u>		
[1806 March]	Nothing New	Folio 31
Sunday 2		
[1806 March]	[Nothing New]	Folio 31
Munday 3		
[1806 March]	I got the Indians off by Sending men with them to haul fish,	Folio 31
Tuesday 4	[lookly] them and us that we had plenty &c	
[1806 March]	the men Came back	Folio 31
Wednesday 5		
[1806 March]	Nothing New	Folio 31
Thursday 6		
[1806 March]	[Nothing New]	Folio 31
Friday 7		
[1806 March]	I sent 2 men with fish to the Indians and Sent them ward [folio	Folio 31-32
Saturday 8	32] word that if they coud not kill any thing to Sen their	
,	women for fish as I Coud not Spare the men &c	
[1806 March]	[Nothing New]	Folio 32
Sunday 9	[[
through		
Tuesday 11	60, 9	
[1806 March]	I sent of to Duck Lake to See what was going on there &c	Folio 32
Wednesday 12		
[1806 March]	[Nothing New]	Folio 32
Thursday 13		
through	0 00 05	
Saturday 16	OUP Ailes	
[1806 March]	the men from D Lake Came back and enformed mi that there	Folio 32
Sunday 16	Indians were between D L and this. &c	
[1806 March]	one of their Indians Came heare and brought 17 Skins &c	Folio 32
Munday 17	["Lorin" inserted under this entry]	1 0110 02
[1806 March]	I sent 2 men with the Indian to his lodge to get what he mite	Folio 32
Tuesday 18	have &c	1 0110 32
[1806 March]	the men Came back & brought 2 drest Skins & 2 Cats & 2 P ^r	Folio 32
Wednesday 19	[Showes?] which was all that they had	1 0110 32
[1806 March]	3 women Came from the other Indians for fish they had kill ^d	Folio 33
Thursday 20	Nothing but 5 minks	1 0110 33
[1806 March]	Nothing New excetptg that Lorin Came from the Pike River	Folio 33
Friday 21	and enformed me that M ^r Venables & himself drank all the	1 0110 33
1 Hday 21	Rum and that the half of their Indians was gone to the English	
	as they had not been well treated by M ^r Venables &c	
[1806 March]	Sent of Lorin and 2 men and orders to Venables to go & get his	Folio 33
Saturday 22	C ^r from the Indians that he lost by his mis conduct &c.	1 0110 33
Saturday 22	C from the mutans that he lost by his his conduct &c.	

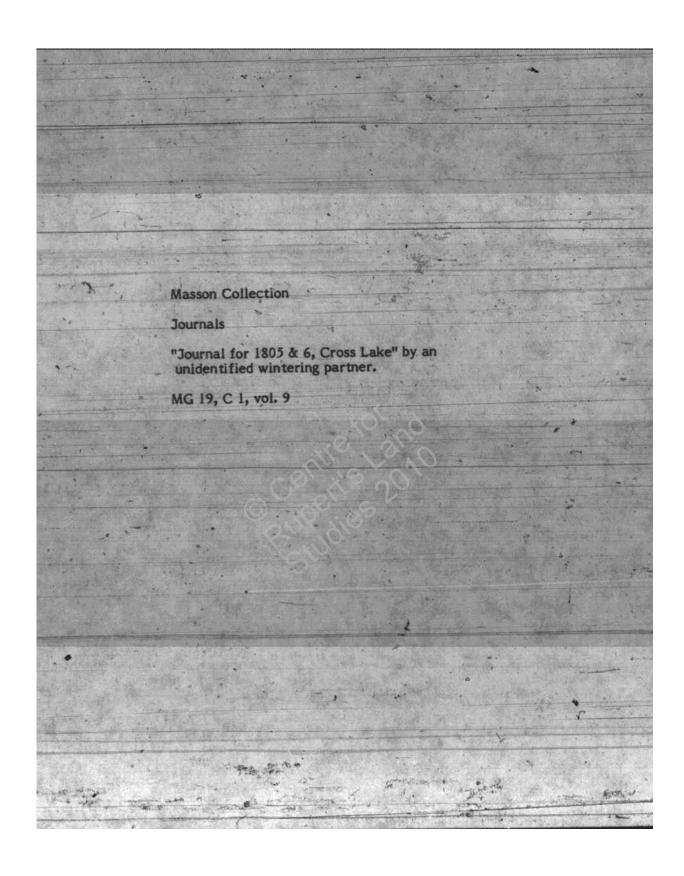
[1806 March] Sunday 23	Nothing New	Folio 33
[1806 March] Munday 24	an Indian Came & brought 12 Skins &c	Folio 33
[1806 March] Tuesday 25	the Indian went off [folio 34] and I sent 2 Men to DLake to See how things were there &	Folio 33-34
[1806 March] Wednesday 26	Nothing New	
[1806 March] Thursday 27	five woman Came for fish and brought 4 Cats for which they took Cloth &	Folio 34
[1806 March] Friday 28	The men I sent to Duck Lake Cam back, and informed me that all was well there &c	Folio 34
[1806 March] Saturday 29	I sent [Rimond] to DL to remain with the Indians &c	Folio 34
[1806 March] Sunday 30, Munday 31	[Nothing New]	Folio 34
[1806 April] Tuesday 1 April	2 Indians Came and brought 8 Cats Skins &c	Folio 34
[1806 April] Wednesday 2, Thursday 3	[Nothing New]	Folio 34
[1806 April] Friday 4	the man I sent with Lorin to [folio 35] to the Pike River arrived with the Little Hunter and Lorins family – the Little Hunter Came to get Some Rum & Tabacco as M ^r Venables has had none to give him These two months.he says that had I not been So kind to him last fall that he woud have gone to the Co when the others went, owing to the bad behaviour of the dog I left in Charge as he Calls him &c &c &c	Folio 34-35
[1806 April] Saturday 5 April	the little hunter Still Drunk_ 2 Indians Came and brought 6 Cats given them to drink	Folio 35
[1806 April] Sunday 6	the little hunter went off I given him 2 Gall Rum to take with him. and 1 ½ fam Tabacco and Sent the Nibisinque 11/2 fam Tabacco & 1 Gall Rum &c the other Indians went off [folio 36] likeways I given them 2 Gall Rum Tabacco and Some amunition &c	Folio 35-36
[1806 April] Munday 7	Nothing New	Folio 36
[1806 April] Tuesday 8	Lajour Came and brought 3 Beavers & 5 Cats wint of the sam day &c	Folio 36

51006 4 27		T 1: 26
[1806 April] Wednesday 9	I sent 2 men to DL to See what was going on there &c	Folio 36
[1806 April]	Nothing New	Folio 36
Thursday 10	Nothing New	10110 30
[1806 April]	The Indian women Came for fish & brought 4 Cats for which I	Folio 36
Friday 11		F0110 30
	given them 2 Gall Rum [insert?] Tab. &c	E-1:- 26
[1806 April]	the men came from D.L. and informed that things were all well	Folio 36
Saturday 12	&c	E 1: 26
[1806 April]	Nothing New	Folio 36
Sunday 13	0.1.0.10.10.	T. 11. 2.6
[1806 April]	Only Seen [2 [Crawy] ?]	Folio 36
Munday 14		
[1806 April]	Two men Came from and brought 60 Skins &c &c	Folio 36
Tuesday 15		
[1806 April]	The Snow begun to Melt Nothing New	Folio 37
Wednesday 16		
[1806 April]	The Two men from Duck Lak went back for the remain-	Folio 37
Thursday 17	der of the Skins &c	
[1806 April]	we Seen Two Swans Nothing New more	Folio 37
Friday 18		
[1806 April]	an Indian Came & brought 6 Drest Skins and one otter &c	Folio 37
Saturday 19	ξ0, ² 0	
[1806 April]	Two Indians Came brought 6 Cats & 5 Minks they [brought?]	Folio 37
Sunday 20	2 Gall Rum &c	
[1806 April]	Nothing New	Folio 37
Monday 21		
[1806 April]	We Saw Tow Gees	Folio 37
Tuesday 22	201,010	
[1806 April]	Tow Indians Came & brought 12 Skins for which they took 2	Folio 37
Wednesday 23	Gall Rum & amunition &_	
[1806 April]	Nothing New	Folio 37
Thursday 24		
[1806 April]	Three Indians Came I brought afew Skins and meat I given	Folio 38
Friday 25	them 2 Gall Rum Tobacco &c	
[1806 April]	Lajaur and his waif Came and paid his C ^r Say 40 Skins I given	Folio 38
Saturday 26	him aCoat and his waif a fine Strouds aCapot a p ^r leggings	
	Beads &c & 2 Gall Rum amunition &c	
[1806 April]	Lajaur went off I sent 2 men with him for what what [sic] he	Folio 39
Sunday 27	had at his Lodge _ and 2 Men and an Indian Came from P.	
	River and enformed me that M ^r Venables did not go to Little	
	Winipic, but only went ½ days March from the house and Staid	
	away 7 days, and privaild on the men that was with him to Say	
	that they fel in with [folio 39] the Indians and that they had	
	nothing &c but Lorin found out that they did not go, and sent 2	
	Men to See where they went –and then they told that they did	
	not wish to go &c how ever the men went, that is to Say, one	
	man with one of those that was with M ^r V [LaPort] _ I will	
	give one hundred Liv ^r of each of their wages to the man that	
	wint and done their duty say [Jandron]	
	1005 1006	

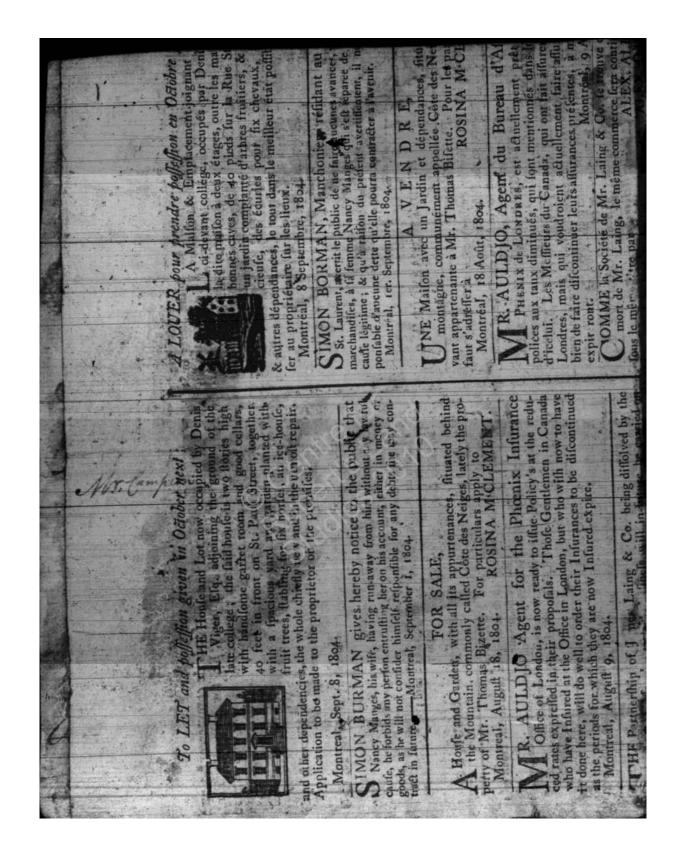
	T
Nothing New	Folio 39
I Kill ^d 6 geese Nothing New	Folio 39
the Men from PR went off Some Indians Came and brought afew Skins &c went off the Same day Nothing More New	Folio 39
I kill ^d 3 Geese 1 Otter 1 Mink	Folio 40
I killed 9 Geese &c Some Indians Came and brought 12 Geese & 3 Cats given them Amunition and 2 Gall Rum went off The Same day	Folio 40
Kill ^d 13 Geese Nothing more	Folio 40
2 Indians Came and br ^t a few Skins & 6 Geese I kill ^d 3 Ditto	Folio 40
I sent the men for the Indian Canoes at the Rapids &c	Folio 40
Nothing new	Folio 40
Two Indians Came and brought 5 Skins & 5 Geese for which I given thim 2 Gal Keg Rum and Some amunition	Folio 40
Nothing new I kill ^d 8 Geese	Folio 40
I kill ^d 2 Geese Nothing New	Folio 40
Two Indians Came and ["8 Skins" inserted] brot	Folio 40
Nothing New	Folio 41
The Men that was at the [[Mar] fishiry] Came home but got but few fish awing to the greate Number that was did for want of weather in winter &c_	Folio 41
I got the Canoes out of their winter beds &c_	Folio 41
Nothing New	Folio 41
begun to mend the Canoes & Nothing more	Folio 41
Still mending the Canoes &c	Folio 41
Still mending the Canoes Two Indians Came and brought 10 Geese & 2 Beavers &c	Folio 41
	the Men from PR went off Some Indians Came and brought afew Skins &c went off the Same day Nothing More New I kill ^d 3 Geese 1 Otter 1 Mink I killed 9 Geese &c Some Indians Came and brought 12 Geese & 3 Cats given them Amunition and 2 Gall Rum went off The Same day Kill ^d 13 Geese Nothing more 2 Indians Came and br ^l a few Skins & 6 Geese I kill ^d 3 Ditto I sent the men for the Indian Canoes at the Rapids &c Nothing new Two Indians Came and brought 5 Skins & 5 Geese for which I given thim 2 Gal Keg Rum and Some amunition Nothing new I kill ^d 8 Geese I kill ^d 2 Geese Nothing New Two Indians Came and ["8 Skins" inserted] brot Nothing New The Men that was at the [[Mar] fishiry] Came home but got but few fish awing to the greate Number that was did for want of weather in winter &c_ I got the Canoes out of their winter beds &c_ Nothing New begun to mend the Canoes & Nothing more Still mending the Canoes Two Indians Came and brought 10

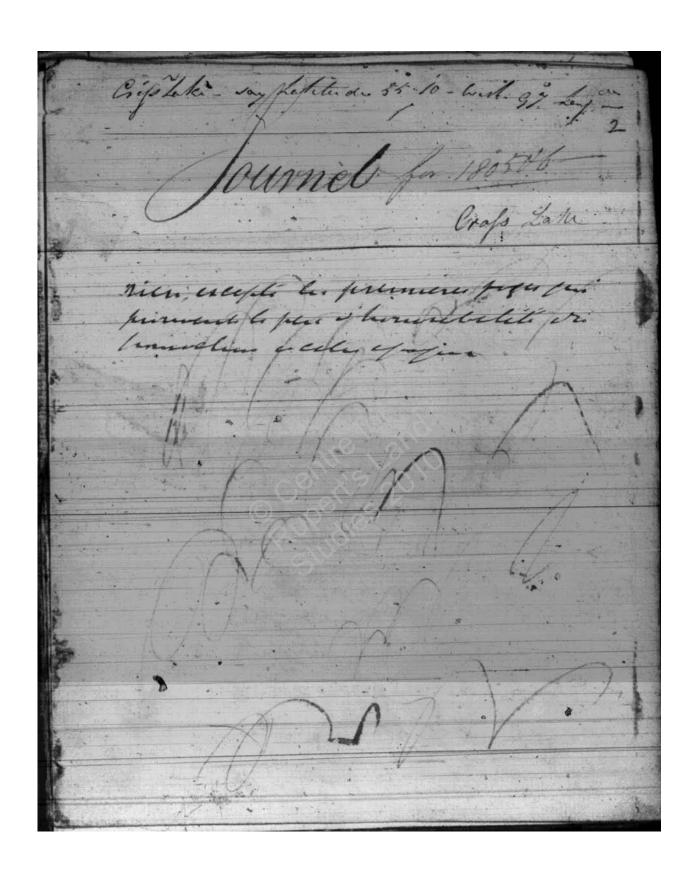
[1806 May] Sunday 18	Nothing New	Folio 41
[1806 May] Munday 19	Three Indians Cam from P River and brought 7 Geese I given them 2 ^{lb} powder & 12 Pints Rum they went off the same day &c	Folio 42
[1806 May] Tuesday 20	The men from DLake Cam I made the Packs &c	Folio 42
[1806 May] Wednesday 21	[I Set of to go to Pike River to make the Packs and Settle] with the Indians and Sen off The Canoes _ & I got hurt in Saving of the Canoes [from upsetting] &c &c	Folio 42
[1806 May] Thursday 22	in the Morning arived where the people and Indians of Pike River were I Settled with them and Sent them off _ and Came of my Self _ Came that Night to the last Portage _ &c with Lorin	Folio 42
[1806 May] Friday 23	we Set off and [folio 43] Came to Cross Lake took Inventory of what I left in Charge of Lorin Settled with the Indians and &c	Folio 42-43
[1806 May] Saturday 24	I set off for H.B. with 7 men and 3 Kegs Salt fish – which is all the provisions we had for that Voyage – we came that night to Wolfe River where I found all the Indians _ I given them 2 Kegs Rum and Clothe ^d 3 of them _ &c	Folio 43
[1806 May] Sunday 25	I remand with the Indians till 1 O'Clock AM in hoping to Speer Some Sturgeon but got None _ but Set off on my way I met M ^r Leith of the H.B. C ^o ["Service" inserted] _ whom winter ^d at Sepewesk _ I got flints and Shot from him whut I wanted _ we Campt that Night about 7 Miles below Sipiwisk at 7 [interleaved between lines: "to Set our net got 1 Sucor_"] O Clock PM _	Folio 43
[1806 May] Munday 26	we Set off at 6 OClock in the morning awing to Rain & hail we March ^d all day against a Strong head wind and [Sawers] of hail _ however we made about 20 Leagues that day I kill ^d 2 Geese and 1 Crain & 1 Badger – we Camp [?] at a River that's Call ^d Cha'cha'gaming – where we Set our Nets	Folio 43-44
[1806 May] Tuesday 27	we got up the Net got only 1 white fish & 1 Pike, we was wind bound all day – caught 2 Sturgeon	Folio 44
[1806 May] Wednesday 28	we got off after takeing 2 Sturgeon all Came down the Rapits without any axcident made one Portage and Came down ["to" inserted] the end of Split Lake found 6 Min of the H.B. C°. at their Settlement in Split Lake we Campt alittle further on there was Some Indians at the H.B.C°s fort but they hid Them Selves _ &c_	Folio 44

[1806 May] Thursday 29	we got off and abut 7 OClock Met 14 Indian Canoes [folio 45] above a Strong Rapit thim that was above left their Canoes and all Rund in to the woods _ and those that was in Rapit went down the Rapit at the risk of their lives _ when they all Met [?] they formed aplan [to spend] to defend themselves to give time to their women and Children get to a [distance] _ I Sent of my Indian Guide to them to let them know that we did not wish to hurt them &c and in about 2 hours we got the Must of the Men together they givin me Some Dried meat which was all that the had as they had just left M ^r Cooks house the HB Trader at this place _ he likeways Came up in the Course if the day to where I was & the Indians on his way to Split Lake where he had apast the one I left yeasturday _ we Camp ^t [folio 46] to gether that night _ the Indians in formed me that I Caud Not pass ther in these 20 days to Come _ M ^r Cook told me that perhaps that I mite get through in 10 ["days" inserted] so that I had [recourse???] but to Come up to Split Lake and fish as I had no provisions_ I given all the Indians Some amunitions &c and they all promised to be for me Nex year and [agreed tak?] of their Stuf	Folio 44-46
[1806 May] Friday 30	we Came up to Split Lake To fish _ I got 5 Sturgeon from the Indians – we Set our Net Caught 3 Sturgeon _ Mr Cook part ^d [with] us to go to his house about the Midle of the Lake _ the Indians Campt with mi and given mi 2 Sturgeon that they had Speered and was Verry Much inClined to Serve me as Much as was in their [pair] &c	Folio 46
[1806 May] Saturday 31	fishing ["snowed" inserted] Caught 2 Sturgeon The Indians all gone up the Lake &c Still Stoptd with the Ice	Folio 47
[1806 June] Sunday 1 June 1806	Sill Stopd with Ice Caught 3 Sturgeon &c went up to M ^r Cooks fort &c	Folio 47
[1806 June] Munday 2 ^d	Snowed hard all day I remaind there _ wind & Snow bound	Folio 47
[1806 June] Tuesday 3 ^d	We got off and Came down to the [Ox] Nose where M ^r Cook winterd we made 5 C.P. and Came down 12 Rapits this palce is about 40 miles from Split Lake	Folio 47
[1806 June] Wednesday 4	we left the [Ox?] Nose and Came and Campt at the last Portage after making 7 C.P. and rund 13 Rapits we made I think 40 Miles _	Folio 47
[1806 June] Thursday 5	[rest blank]	Folio 47
	[blank]	Folio 48









that to no purpose, we returned bas to when I tift the next of the men Wednesday 18 I determent to have English Frack with the of

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

I went aff long bufore we Coastio

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

we came to the ald

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

another Louse

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

try told me that one Lodge was Winter in Crop Late, and that the winter in other wished to give in trade of total thing the house at Duck Lake people there, and Some back and winter heave my self which were very will pleased at Munday 30 I got all aff after 9 them amunition and guns on or ye and 2 more Kip Am which they do -and tograther before they

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

Cost me before I got Them

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

atten to hunt as we had no provisors, we got to the plan and bleared the Carly in the day-Stan for the House, and detaint Isiday of we raised the Squire of House, and aterday & Still huilding was ableped to give them to half kop ming Deine in The Cause of the night & Sunday 6 Still building gott Haun Covert and The Shop fines And de I told the Indians Ohn

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

Arrived and bought Latters 3 pm rats given him to drink per the rate Sulding Hos and to the others de

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

16 took Thank of given Thin 2.19 me and trought - which they Pela niver o to Pela River o wrote

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

Molenables by him, Munday 4 Some wild die and Due Munday 11 Mithin to for which I given

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

Nothing nu terday 16 nove. hunt - I dent word to then Not to loon the rent to them after in law Some

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

lundary 8. Delle 2 Indians Came and total in The Inda were going to ferre haver to mes day 11 I dent off 2 men with the Indians to mark the raade do that 2 fand or to dary

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

14 I Sent of toomer Indians at Rive Never and the Indians with

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

triday 17 Jany Phase whom told had lant few mode Haure, was, 1

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

tell me that he had no more this 30 Tuesday 21. I Sent of Menables, Mothing

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

the Menables to and late that Milt did Chon to

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

at parient but would go in as hat he did not wan then, Menables Lovin

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

hunger So much reduced the

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

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Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

well thatid by invienables de 24 an Indian Come water 19 d Kins de us day 25 the Indian wer

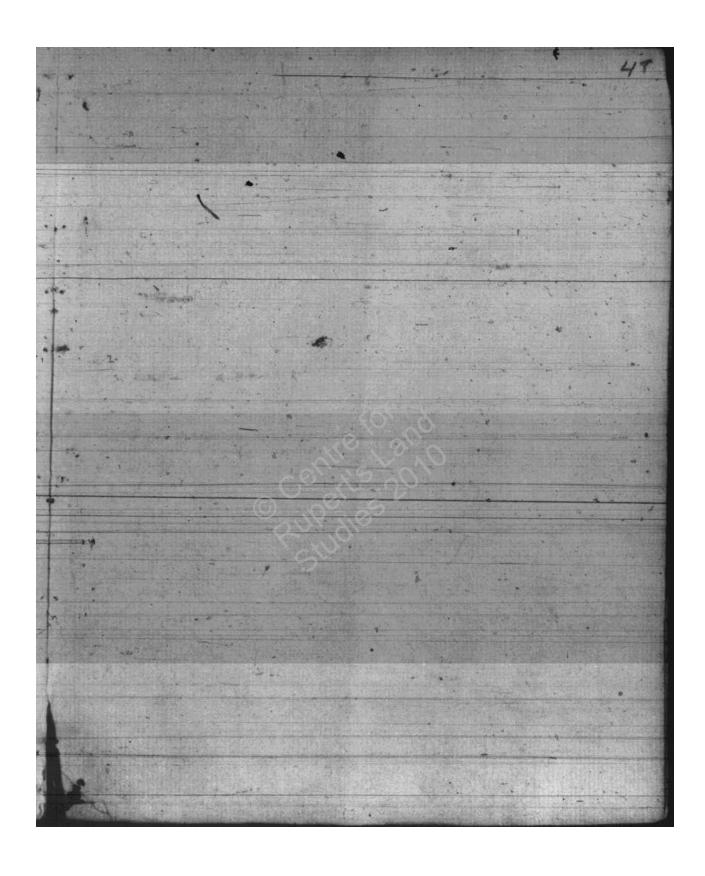
Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

The divisi armed in when the others yeart, awer bad heheavaur at the doe ? given Turn de the other

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806

6 allow in the morning hain a hail wer march all day Adtrong head weind and Sawing of has however we make about 20 Ligues that do & Kill 2 Gust and I Crain at Bady - L'at atter without Call Thaihagamen in Let air net Tuesday 37 we got up The got only I white fish as Pike, we was Wind bound all day.

Journal: Cross Lake, 1805-1806



Appendix E: Excerpts from Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Peter Fidler, Journals of Exploration and Survey

E.3/4 Journals of Exploration and Survey 1809 Peter Fidler

Folio 3d

1809

June 10th [1809] Saturday at 7 ½ AM the two Indians came up whom we left behind in Lake Winnipeg two days ago. _ persuaded the Pilot to send his wife down by our Boat to wait him at Oxford House _ as the Canoe is too small to carry 4 people well. – took with me a Small Brass Sextant 6 Inches radius made by Dolland London. & artificial Horizon of Quicksilver & parallel Glasses _ & a Boats Compass _ only took one Blanket & 1 Bag of Pimmican.. our people set off & in 20′ after [?] at [8.55] am_ we got underway & left the Bus cus cog gan or Play Green & pass down a new way to Nelson river went in Play Green Lake as under.

[sketch-map]

[sketch-map]

These Islands Generally rocky & [fine]. The same as the Main Land interspersed with Swamps _ caught 2 large sturgeon by a Hook. _ instead of Darting them. _ strong Squall of Thunder & rain when we put-up on the small Island _ Sailed with a Blanket these last 12 miles _ This is the Main body of water that passes here into Cross Lake _ only a small quantity passes by the mouth of Black water river & by the Sea river Carrying place. got a good quantity of Eggs – off the small [rockey] [Pt] in the Play Green Lake . Hot weather & calm nearly till toward Evening _ _

Folio 4

1809

June 11, [1809], Sunday _ at [5:10'] Am got underway & proceed down the Waters of Nelson river on the Elongation of the Saskatchewan. as under

[sketch-map]

B Caw nay yow a [k]ow. Sandy. **R** The largest part of the water goes down there. **P** The Hairy Lake bottom of Each a way mam mis river bears [Et] Nor E by my Pilots account. **M** Nay ow pus ke tene or burnt wood. Point. _ **S** the [part] the part of the Water that goes away at **R** falls in here again _ **W** called by the Indians [Q or T] ee quee sene poo noo cus can. _ The Manneto pow is tick or Gods Fall only a strong shoot of smooth Current _ when the water is high _ large whirls below it; 50 yds [long] the Shoot _ The portage where we put up the Inds ran down their Canoe _ a very crooked place close on NS _ the Main body of water runs down the SS & can be

Used with permission from The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba Sketches of track maps and notes from Peter Fidler's, Journal of a journey: Clapham House to Flamborough House, 14 May - 21 June 1809. **HBCA E.3/4**

run safely with a light Canoe _ a small bay at bottom on [right] hand & put up in it _ could not get an observation for Latitude _ very cold Night _ Stopped for rain at the 4 pine Island & 5 ½ hours at the 5 pine Island._**D** an Island of split rocks _ little above the water, many sturgeon about it. _ Thickety of small woods at the Portage _

Folio 4d

1809

June 12th Monday [1809] at 4 AM got underway & went as under.

[sketch - map 9 ½ miles; carrying place 70 yards @ ¾ mile; to "Entrance Cross Lake"]

[sketch – map]

The Carrying place of 70 yds good. _ A very strong rapidy current. The best way is to go along the dotted line. high steep split rocks appears formerly to have been split to pieces at this place where the Channel of the river is. **K** is where the Branch **T** falls in, as per the small sketch yesterday. & called ½ way to cross Lake from Gods fall by the Indians _ B Oos ki is mig wop can pass that into the Pine river, a sketch of this river from Moose lake to this is at page [blank] **D** E[NE] about 10 miles to where Hugh Sabbeston wintered 1806 _ The East branch of the Sea river falls into this Lake a little to the right of his house from this. **F** very rapidy & bad 2 or 3 places necessary to carry a little distance for Safety _ a very bad dangerous body. at the bottom of these rapids the river contracted into a narrow _ lost our way at the Steep fall which delayed us some time; & put up very wet and cold by the Heavy rain _ Cold all Day. Gentle current all the way we have gone thro' the Cross Lake.-

Folio 5

1809

June 13th [1809] Tuesday. at 4 ½ AM got underway & went down towards Nelson river where Laugh [line break]lan Leith's house is situated. _

[sketch – outlet of Cross Lake?]

Left the portage at [12 ½] stopped here at 8 ½ strong Gale of Wind. Then went as under

[sketch - map]

[sketch – map]

Folio 5d

1809

June 13th [1809]

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[sketch]

at the Portage (White Mud) of 950 yds we were 1 hour in getting over 865 woody & 85 a long swamp out of The Creek from whence we unload the Canoe a pretty good portage. Left at 6 ½ am a cold frosty morning & much hoar laying on the Grass. Stopped 4 hours on the Portage where the observation was taken a strong rapid below it stopped 1 [3/4] hours with abt 20 Canoes of Ind. Traders of Laughlan Leith. L a strong smooth shoot must carry coming up ran it down with the Canoe below it river Narrow & strong whirling current. & rocky steep sides. **D** a Carrying place on right 80 yards thro' poplars & steep bank ran down the Canoe not dangerous. K the branch that falls in at B on this side E the branch that runs out of the Duck Lake & all joins again at **B** in tomorrows work Carried over the Portage G Swampy nearly knee deep 250 Dry 160 - & 50 wet lower end into a Small bay & arrived at Laughlan Leiths House he & 2 men are remaining here expecting men to come for the 700 MB^r they have the Fall Canoe that was to have bro't him Goods was froze in a few Miles after it left Split Lake House [M^r or Cf^r?] John M^cNab Jun^r came up & passed here by the first Ice & wintered in Cross Lake the 2 Young Men who accompanies me now declare that they dont know the road down Nelson river any farther and as there are no Indians here to conduct me I am under the necessity of taking Laughlan Leith as pilot & Down to Split Lake about 4 Days March where I hope to get an Indian there for that purpose Mostly Sturgeon men live on at Laughlan Leiths house – the French 2 years ago winterd here.

Folio 6

1809

June 14^{th} [1809] Wednesday _ at 8 AM. Left Laughlan Leiths House. he accompanies us as pilot to York Factory _ left 2 men here. went as under

[sketch – map]

[sketch to Seepaywisk bay and Sepawisk house]

[sketch – map]

Very split & riven rocks all thro' the way we have come this Day _ I never saw the like before thro' such a great distance. _ all shattered into small fragments _ altho a bed apparently of solid rock before. _ detained 2 hours for rain in the day _Saw 1 Canoe of Inds _ they followed & slept with us at night _ a blind man _ his wife & son. The branch **B** is the mouth of the Branch **E** we passed yesterday out of Duck Lake

Folio 6d

1809

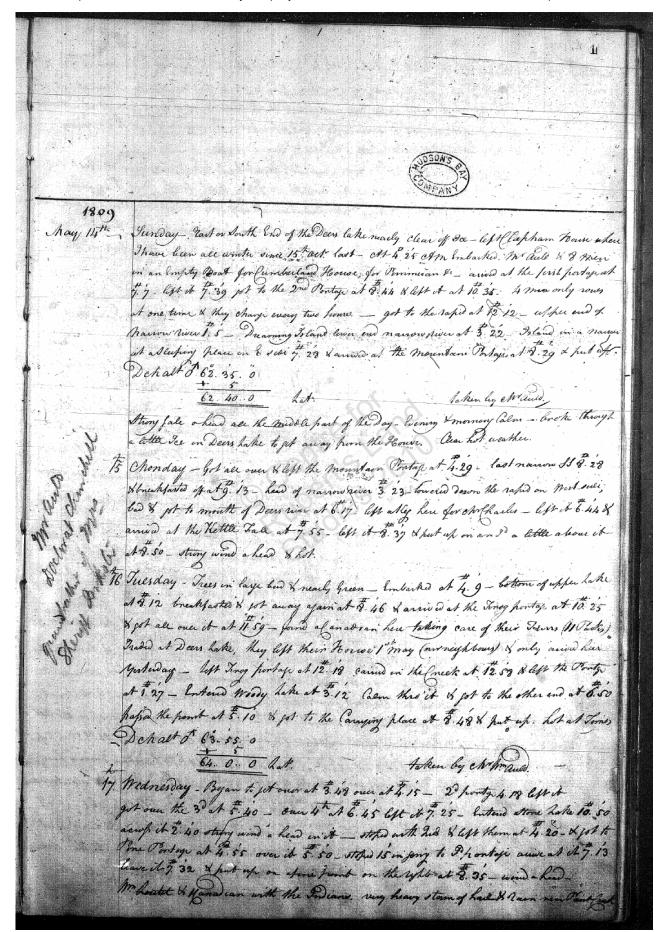
June 15th [1809] Thursday At 5 AM got underway & went as under

[sketch maps]

Used with permission from The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba Sketches of track maps and notes from Peter Fidler's, Journal of a journey: Clapham House to Flamborough House, 14 May - 21 June 1809. **HBCA E.3/4**

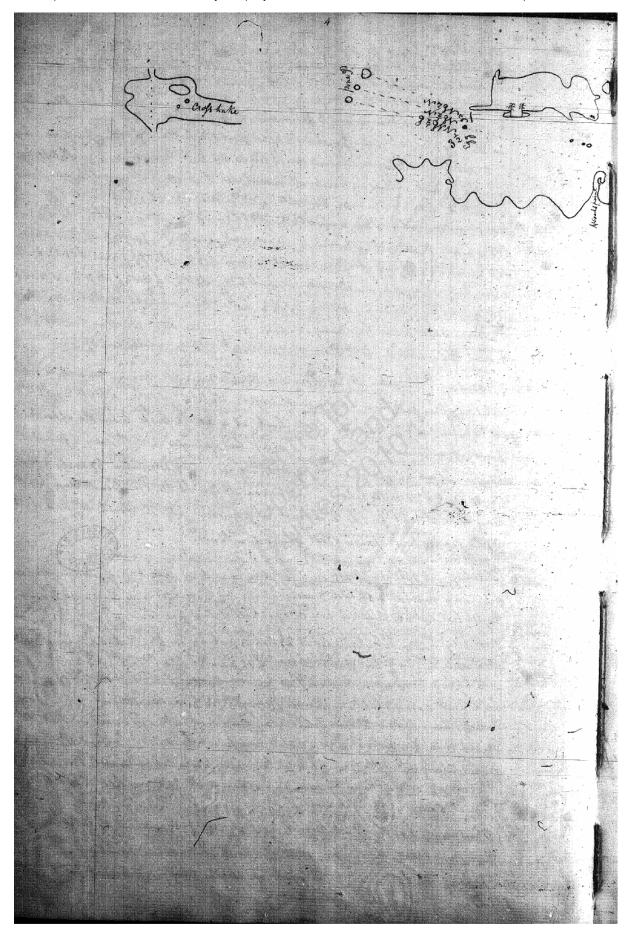
S all a Lake near up to Seepawisk House. _ B a bad portage of ab^t 2 miles by the Indian account called Pim mich in ne cap into [O]o ses sis queg gam [nis Lake C the lower end of which a creek of the same name falls out of, ab^t [1]0 miles from Nelson river _ go up it in Canoes. a fall & portage 100 yds at the mouth marked R. _ B a perpendicular fall down a bare rock _ an entire white sheet of water, falls out of a Lake a little way within _ a Good Fishing place here _ from Mouth of Clear Water river Oxford House bears S70° E^{t.} by Indⁿ Acc^t. _ 1 Days Paddle in a Canoe up it. Lower end of Oo ses sis queg gam mo goes down as the Steep fall B – a pine hammock at the Mouth of the Creek R. a good deal of water runs down it. _ an immoderate hot night.



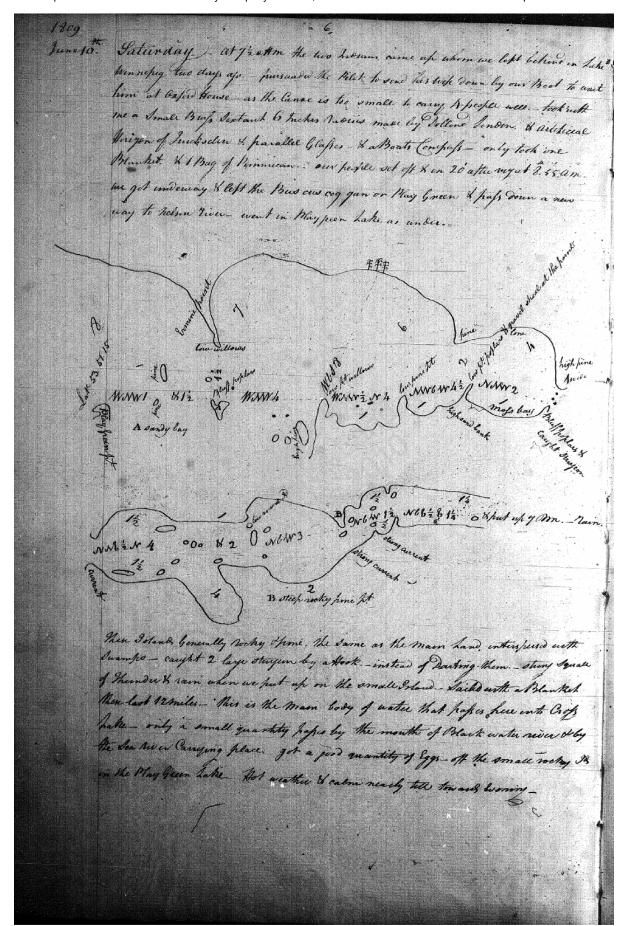


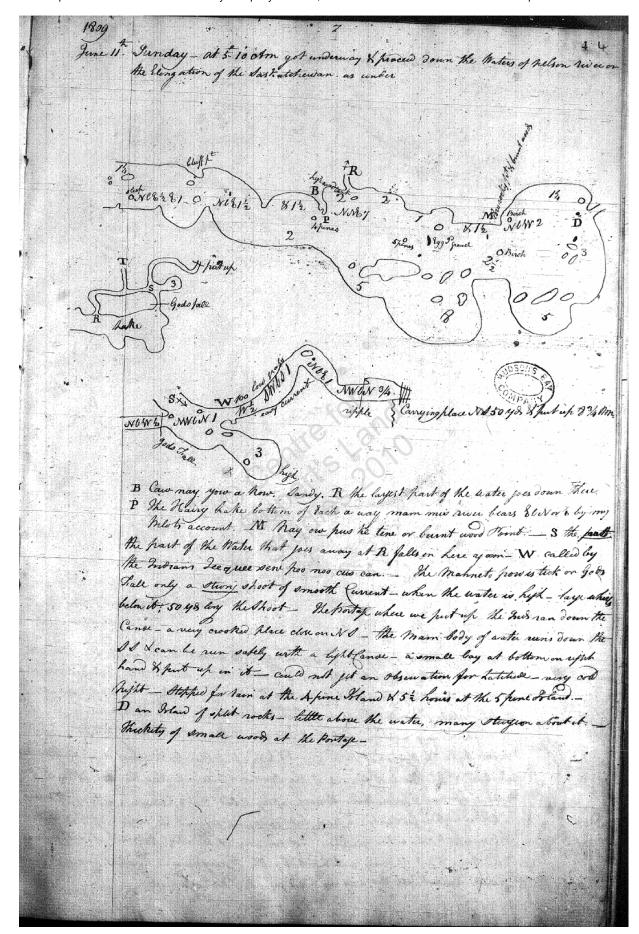
Used with permission from The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba. Sketches of track maps and notes Thurs day _ Got underway at to 14, arrived at Buch Sontage at 6.45 our of 1/13 left it 7 50. van the Boat own the Valle, food got to the other Party & ran it at 9. 55 left it 5 ' Velican fall arme at it to 25 theft it at It my began to name donies get to the Bas rated at 3. 25 nam it is put ap below it alea miles at to 50 heavy nam Holet, froze had this night. To Soviday Imbacker at 3. 53 & arrive at Sagle British at 5. 14 lover Down the Break bar all hetontop at 6:35 entered Beaver take at 7.33. I pot to the Point 9.45 sailed Entered Herise at 11 to to hapid Stringen Wein at 4. 7 & armed at the Carry or place me month of Good River at 5 55 left it 6 28 nan it - Interdementerland house hatreat 7.7 & hat wife in Notice at 9. I near mouth of seek lay . Strong hale in the afternoon at MV with much linen & seet & very End wouther . -20 Saturday, Thung gale at WW until 6 om & at 7 y or we got underway & sade & Nowed the got to White narrow at 12.55 % lay down in the treat to a not for hay light -21 Junday at 320 Am got underway & arrived affunduland House at 6 arn - one Boat ton Paras already corne here from above . - ale well every when & por Chair Thursday at 10m ON and & Thom & I Brisain want away for heisen Bruse in Warf head anies I one half digit to one with his Bays of Perminean of 2 bundles of Leather They papely the Till portage they took with there my Iglobes - or Saturday last Mo man say man & an his on Oak a more equan are where him Nelson tooms Three Men ving magnes garrow, Mondoniston, & chaques Harry accompanies me down to by with the Boat to arry my property to Churchiel along the leafoast. It Find anuel here a few days of hime lamonton House 2 Toniday ab 10m myself + hele Bird & garrock contracted for ye on 6 Boat & Clanos De very heavy laded, but principally with Wolves Parhment, & Timmican put of at mouth of little river at 7 23 3 Saturday - Got underway at 3. 30 Sput up at the Head of the horth branch at 7.35 4 Sunday at 3 5 ofth polumberery & went down the North Branch of the Vas to Subu which is the largest and as it has not been sureryd before, I now take down the Courses & Distances - 80812 spening on the left an Island - 86011 branch & old Track on the right of sown the main branch & So to & So to mouth of abranch on the light 182 1862 111/2 MOW'2 0864 8653 18653/ low willow 90 186812 x paper a south stick that haped as when we put ut last with 10 hours in Inivery Leve. N683_169 - Str 2 - Stor 2 8CN 2 Now 2 2 pines NS 67/2 - N6812 Stout will 9- 186NI pholo's tent polo St 66N2 willow De St - 1866 5 - 61-1862 Minds - Who wich & from on the right of Breakfasts here - N'2 - No 181 Can M. wire 3 _ MECC'2 - SE 3 big branch It runs about Se ento the Devils ven take 10's - Wh ENt - LIB's NUS'2 Creek on N live & Vant fields

Used with permission from The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba. Sketches of track maps and notes EUSE Best been peres NO Noch's MINNE EUSE SE's Meen's orefore Time 18 12 - beach stout creek ind Abbb's bear 1 882 6081 18612 123 x care 6 the continue of mooreneck & remained here with Indrans till 31/2 Engaged too grow his as fulate for helson River to accompany me sown that way as all the way before the Olay freen has never been surveyed before sown to delpawish a long way down. you them 30 eller each - also perchase sanse pone the hissans for this purpose - they are to overtake us tomerow wind rown the man hath Branch as before Sbelllage from NS a title within _ 3 miles wh moon fresh to moose hake . - It's a few kines 10 DON'S MON'S 3 penis on the right DON'S - DEUN 5 big penis on the left Venta Monta 14 162 near Sel3 Most 2 1082 Smg 1884 8085 1864 paper af and with 2 hours - Moure creek is called the peater half from about 10/2 - 1182 11 W3 W.M. 2 mear SW3 near St& 2 866 2 near St612+ 162 Drum hake very near on the right near Sto 1/4 SOM'S NW & SOW'S SWOSI SON'A WONE WEN'S WINZ - SONS hake things on right or WOW .- I hat af 73,0m - saile better than hway - above low much, sides & willen banks - sing * may low willows on lott vives above larger with some Oplans de Monday . Pombarke at 34 com & continued down the man Branch as hefre Still Str 2 good prous & rocks on the right SELSE SOM'2 SWIM'2 SOM's Mr 9/4 6 2 - Sto 2 & entered the ow Thank at I 40 '2 mile below the apper pine hourt at entrance of Drum hake - very low swampy in both swees & since the Star low wellows except when the rocks themes are. - by Estimation 32 mily about Thoon Freek X 28 miles below - at 6 am stopped at the ow Trench flow in the Was hake to wait for the 2 horans my pilots - all the Boats fairen went a head except may spenses Boot who waits with me. 6. Tuesday at 9 On last high the 2 horais came to avaith I gang woman, the bilds uch - we embacked 2. 50 chra & arrived at the By Trale & got way thing over James Venyth bout lefthere to assist as - of Bin & all Merrest pone a head . y Madrisday Entered Lake Minishy at 22 Mont & fact wh on the Shetter Stand at 4.35 Anna He The Tost Post postet at 19 9 15 Kron at home For 8 at 3 37 - The smoke at the buy fall lower lavon bears S3 West from the Shitten Island - the 8th Oron or the lower limb a Series cameter about the Honezon No Her. Variation 5 Mules from Stitten to Orne Island - one hours sail with a good wind - left the Junes Hown adachake 6 2 50 - paper long point to o - 1st Ilands 112 - 2 June Stand 124 - entered the harrow 1. 0 - Crof hake 2t - Lottom middle Branch 32 Big fall 4t Mind Hennely from Swan Diver with 2 Canver left the tother of the Tale at 5 mm - all Mejanous ahead. I Munday Less My Fo at Boom & went all night to anie at the buttone of the hake a little after Sun usi & hut up as the Indrain are behind Truesay Embarked at 20mm & fut up at the play prien toward for the Indians who are to hill me down helson lives

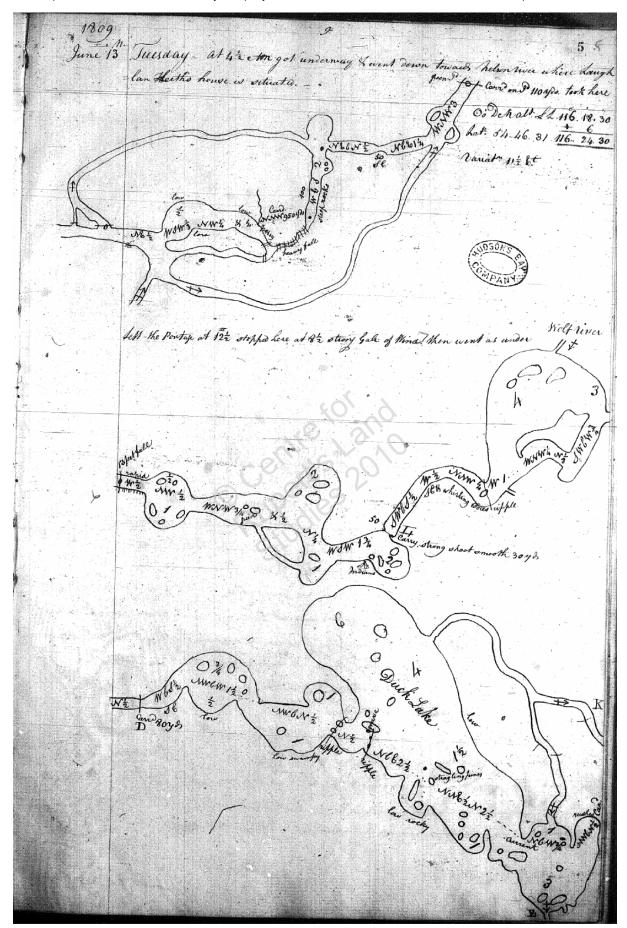


from Peter Fidler's, Journal of a journey: Clapham House to Flamborough House, 14 May - 21 June 1809. HBCA E.3/4

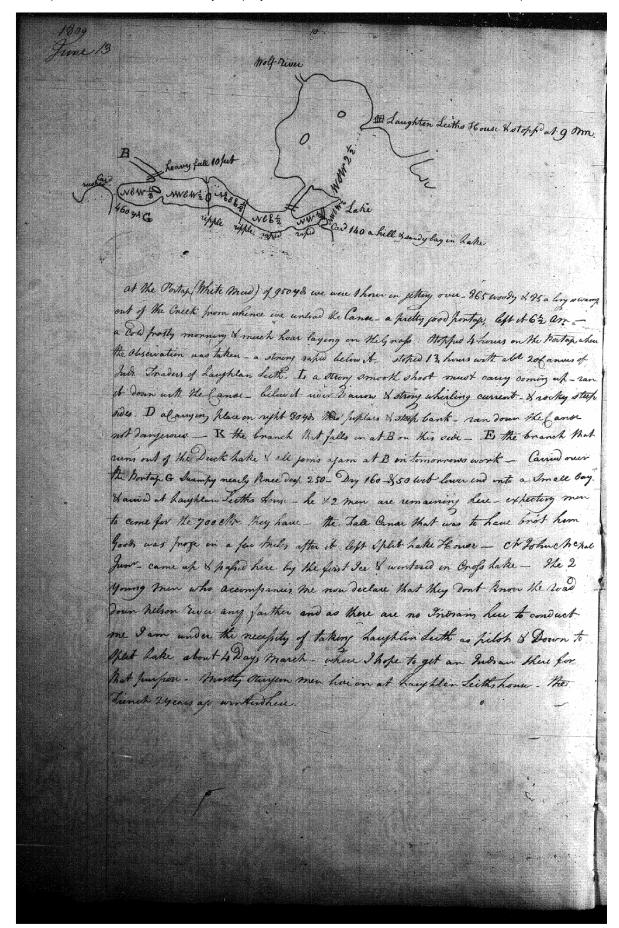


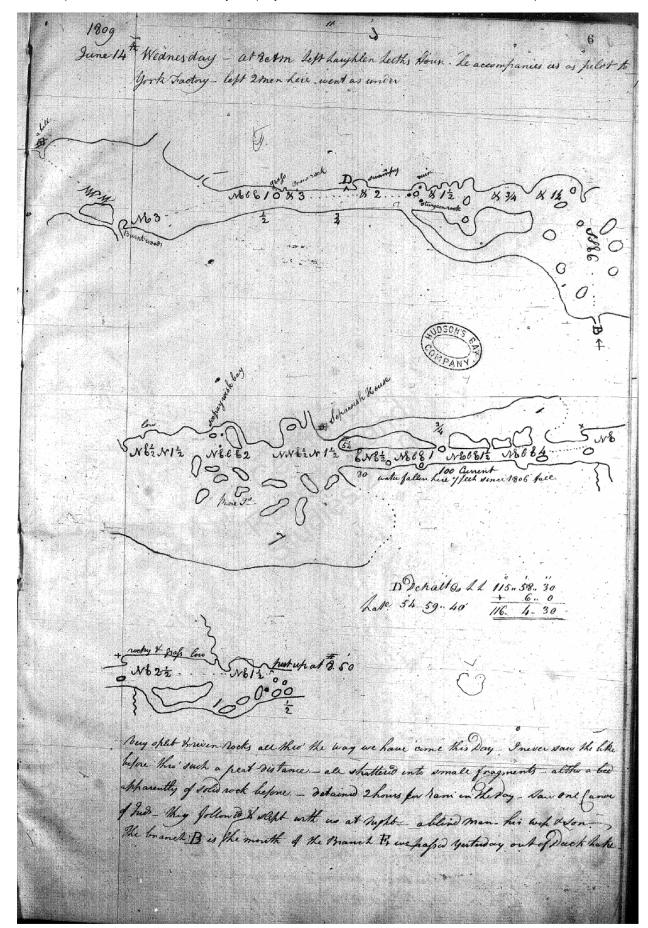


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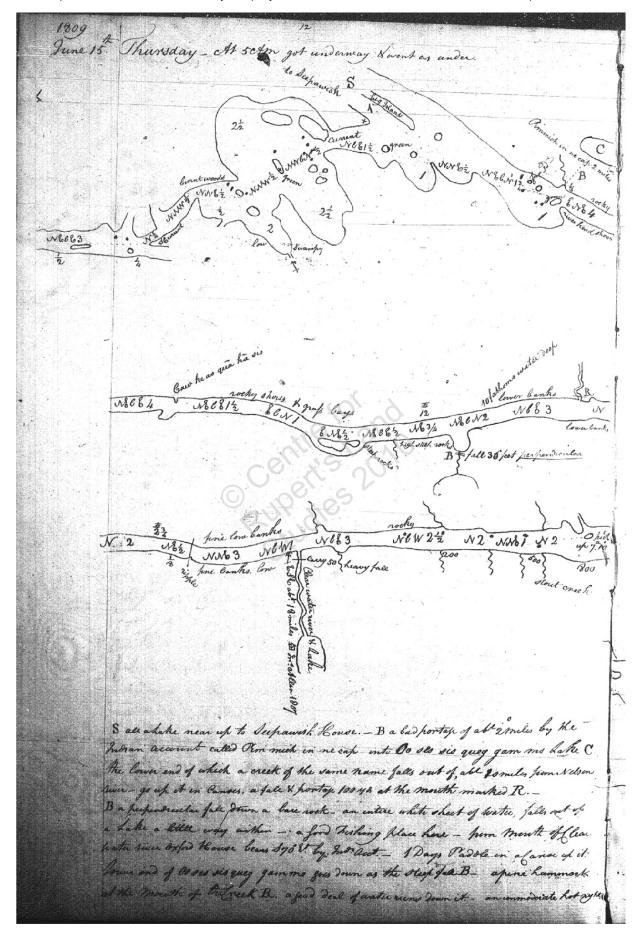


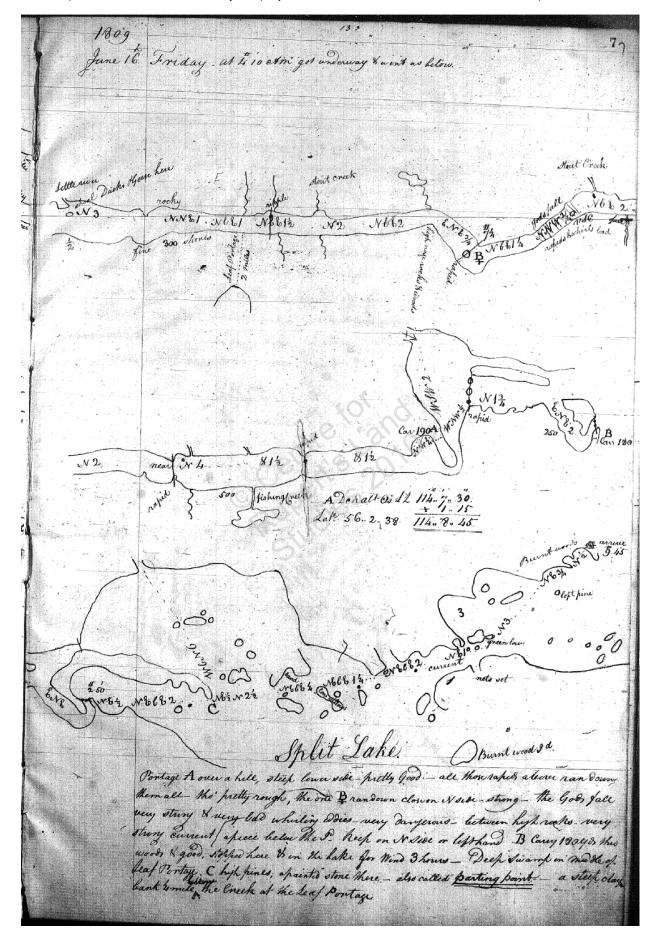
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from Peter Fidler's, Journal of a journey: Clapham House to Flamborough House, 14 May - 21 June 1809. HBCA E.3/4

Appendix F: Excerpted Records of Baptisms from Wesleyan Methodist Register of Baptisms Norway House 1840-1889, "Baptisms Solemnized in the Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel Rossville In the County of Norway House; from 1840 to 1889".

Cross Lake/John Scott's Lake Methodist Baptisms extracted from: Wesleyan Methodist Register of Baptisms Norway House 1840-1889

"Baptisms Solemnized in the Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel Rossville In the County of Norway House; from 1840 to 1889"

From a Photocopy held by J.S.H. Brown Proofed from Original held in the United Church Archives Winnipeg

		Parents' Name				
When Bap- tized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
1861 Aug 4 No. 1121	James		Ta pas ta num	Rossville	18 years	[G McD]
[1866] October 7 th No.1279	Nancy	James & Fanny	Tāpastānum	[Rossville]	About 1 week infant	Charles Stringfellow
[1867] [29 th September No. 1312	Eliza Ross	Oig	Silloies	Rossville	Adult	Charles Stringfellow
1867 29 th Sep- tember No. 1313	Mary	[Papanakiss]	[Note: Book [shows?] latter persons are daughter[s] of the Indian Chief still heathen Tā pastā num. C.S.]	Rossville	Adult	Charles Stringfellow
[1869?] No. 1374	William	W ^m Mary	Cochrane	Cross Lake	5 mo	[ER Young?]
1874 Feb 5 No. 1521	Elizabeth	John And Peggy	Minekoonā sis	Cross Lake	5 years	John H Ruttan
[1874] Feb 5 No. 1522	John Spence	John and Elizabeth Peggy	Minnekoonasis	Cross Lake	2 years	J.H. R.

		Parents' Name				
When Bap- tized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1874] Feb 5 No. 1523	Catharine	Elijah and Mary	Memanokun- awapanow	Cross lake	3 weeks	J.H.R.
[1875] June 13 No. 1575	Catherine	James and Isabella	Jacob	Cross Lake	6 months	J.H.R.
[1875] June 20 No. 1579	Nancy	Jacob and Annie	Pacase	Cross Lake	6 months	J.H.R.
[1875] July 4 No. 1581	Lydia	John and Peggy	Minokeneesis	Cross Lake	3 months	J.H.R.
[1875] July 11 No. 1582	Donald William Sinclair Ross	A noted conjuror for many years, who long resisted the teachings of christianity	Tapastanum	John Scots Lake Norway House Dis- trict	70 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1586	Thomas Kisiastāo- kanum	Pagan parents	Kisiastāokanum	John Scots Lake Nor- way House District	25 Years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1587	John Scott Kisiastāo- kanum	[Pagan parents]	[Kisiastāokanu m]	[John Scots Lake Nor- way House District]	27 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1588	Isaac	Donald William Sinclair Ross	Tāpastānum	[John Scots Lake Nor- way House District]	23 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1589	Magnus Chomoha- pācoos	John and Charlott	Chomohapākoos (The father not yet baptized has had several wives, says he has put them all away but one. Is thinking to be baptized.)	[John Scots Lake Norway House Dis- trict]	19 years	J.H.R.

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1875] July 18 No. 1592	Baptiste Armstrong	Pagan parents		Deers Lake Norway House District	30 years	J.H.R.
1875 July 18 No. 1593	Nancy Kesi- astāokanum	Pagan Parents	Wife of John Scott Kesiastāokanum	John Scots Lake N.H. Dist.	25 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1594	Maggie Kwāskekātu m	[Pagan parents]	Wife of James Kwāskekātum	Cross lake	35 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1595	Charlott Chomoho- pacoos	[Pagan parents]	Formerly wife of John Chomohapacoos but has been put away.	John Scots Lake N.H. Dist.	55 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1596	Betsy	James and Maggie	Kwāskekātum	Cross Lake	7 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1597	Elizabeth	James and Maggie	Kwāskekātum	Cross Lake	5 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1598	Mary	James and Maggie	Kwāskekātum	Cross Lake	3 years	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1599	Jane	John Scott and Nancy	Kesiastāokanum	John Scots Lake N.H. Dist.	1 year	J.H.R.
[1875] July 18 No. 1600	James	John and Mary (This is the wife he intends to keep and be married to)	Chomhapokoos	[John Scots Lake N.H. Dist.]	7 months	J.H.R.

		Parents' Nan	ne			
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1875] July 18 No. 1602	Abel Frazer	Isaac And Mary	Kesiastāokanum	John Scot's Lake N.W. Dist. [the same was crossed out in this space and then re-entered. Comment: crossed out by mistake J.H.R.]	6 months	J.H.R.
[1875] August 22 No. 1613	James Evans. A noted Conjurer who has long resisted the Christian religion_	James Evans. A noted Conjurer who has long resisted the Christian religion_	Indian name Cho-mohapākoos, He chose to be named after Rev. James Evans as he thought with pleasure on the earnest conversation had with him many years ago.	[John Scots crossed out] Split Lake. Norway House District	66 years	J.H.R.
[1875] August 22 No. 1615	William	Morwick	His parents Unknown	John Scots Lake	8 years	J.H.R.
[1875] September 26 No. 1622	George		Kisikastiokanow	John Scots Lake	12 years	J.H.R.
[1875] September 26 No. 1623	Thomas		[Kawāskinepināsk um He had been leading a praying life about 1 year. is lame.	John Scots Lake	22 years	J.H.R.
[1875] October 1 No. 1624	Mary	Wife of Donald William Sinclair Ross	Wife of Donald William Sinclair Ross	John Scots Lake	65 years	J.H.R.

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1875] December 5 No. 1628	George	Joseph and Mary Ann	Mallett ["Adopted by George Garrioch by agreement before the childs birth"]	Jack River	13 days	J.H.R.
[1876] April 22 No. 1642	Jessie	James and Elizabeth	Settee	Cross Lake	3 months and 20 days	J.H.R.
[1876] June 25 th No. 1654	John	James and Margaret	Scott	John Scotts Lake	8 months	W.W. Kirkby [Archdeacon of York]
[1876] June 25 th No. 1655	Sarah	John And Sarah	Fagan	John Scott Lake	5 years	W.W. Kirkby [Archdeacon of York]
[1876] July 23 No. 1666	Mary Ruttan	Unknown her pare baptized	ents are not	Cross Lake	20 years	J.H.R.
[1876] July 23 No. 1667	Sandy Garrioch	Parents unknown	in Oliver	Cross Lake	45 years	J.H.R.
[1876] July 23 No. 1668	Annabella	The wife of Sandy They are to be man their treaty money	rried after they get	Cross Lake	30 years	J.H.R.
[1876] July 23 No. 1669	John	Sandy	Garrioch	Cross Lake	8 years	J.H.R.
[1876] July 23 No. 1670	Thomas	Sandy	Garrioch	Cross Lake	5 years	J.H.R.
[1876] July 23 No. 1671	Sally	Sandy	Garrioch	Cross Lake	12 years	J.H.R.
[1876] July 23 No. 1672	Maria	Sandy	Garrioch	Cross Lake	8 years	J.H.R.

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
1876 July 23 No. 1673	Annie	Sandy	Garrioch	Cross lake	4 years	J.H.R.
[1876] July 23 No. 1674	Harriet	Sandy	Garrioch	Cross Lake	1 year	J.H.R.
[1876] July 30 th No. 1676	James Young (adult)			Cross Lake	25 years	W.W. Kirkby Archdeacon of York
1876 August 6 th No. 1681	Ellen	Sandy and Annabella	Garrioch	Cross Lake	14 years	J.H.R.
1876 August 20 th No. 1686	James M ^c Koy (Parents unknown)	*16 91	Cross Lake	28 years	J.H.R.
1876 August 20 th No. 1687		Parents unknown) nes M ^c Koy samtime	e they were	Cross Lake	26 years	J.H.R.
1877 January 10 th No. 1699	Bella illegitimate	John Abraham and Ellen Kwāskecap	po	Cross Lake	8 weeks	J.H.R.
[1877] January 10 th No. 1700	Alexander Joseph	Elijah and Mary	Scott	Cross Lake	1 month	J.H.R.
[1877] January 10 th No. 1701	John Richard	Charles and Jessie	Emmas	Cross Lake	6 weeks	J.H.R.
[1877] January 10 th No. 1702	Donald	Kwāskenuskinum ["married at the sa 1703]		Cross Lake	25 years	J.H.R.
[1877] January 10 th No. 1703	Mary Jane	Kwāskenuskinum ["married at the sa 1702]		Cross Lake	23 years	J.H.R.

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1877] January 10 th No. 1704	John Henry	Donald and Mary Jane	Kwāskenuskinum	Cross Lake	4 years	J.H.R.
1877 January 10 th No. 1705	Elizabeth Ros	s (a widow)		Cross Lake	30 years	J.H.R.
[1877] January 10 th No. 1706	Adam	Elizabeth Ross (Elizabeth Ross (see above)		14 years	J.H.R.
[1877] February 28 th No. 1715	Abels illegitimate	Joseph Kwāskec and Mary his daught		He at Cross Lake She at Rossville, This winter	4 days	J.H.R.
[1877] June 15 th No. 1723	Samuel	Thomas and Mary	Cook	Cross Lake	3 ½ months	J.H.R.
1877 June 21 st No. 1729	resisted all att	noted Conjuror v empts to persuade and become a Ch	e him to renounce	Cross lake	70 years	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1730	Mary Scott	(wife of John Sc	ott)	Cross Lake	73 years	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1731	John Wechek	wanāmat (another	Conjurer)	Cross Lake	45 years	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1732	Martha Wech Wechekwanā	a Wechekwanāmat (wife of John ekwanāmat)			47 years	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1733	Bella	John and Martha	Wechekwanāmat	Cross Lake	8 years	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1734	Eliza	John and Martha	Wechekwanāmat	Cross Lake	6 years	J.H.R.

		Parents' Name				
When Bap- tized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1877] June 21 st No. 1735	Benjamin	John and Martha	Wechekwanāmat	Cross Lake	12 years	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1736	James	John and Elisabeth	Cook	Cross Lake	3 months	J.H.R.
1877 June 21 st No. 1737	Margaret	Charles and Charlotte	Māchekwanāpe	Cross Lake	9 months	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1738	Jessie	Thomas and Elisabeth	Ross	Cross Lake	2 ½ months	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1739	Catherine	James and Maggy	McKoy	Cross Lake	6 months	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1740	Anna	Donald and Mary Jane	Wāskeńuskenum	Cross Lake	8 months	J.H.R.
[1877] June 21 st No. 1741	The above 13 b	y (parents unknown paptisms (including performed at Co	ng those on page	Cross Lake	20 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 8 th No. 1770	Charlotte	James and Janey	M°Koy	Cross Lake	5 months	J.H.R.
[1877] July 8 th No. 1771	Mary	James and Janey	M°Koy	Cross Lake	4 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 8 th No. 1772	Elisabeth	George and Elisa	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	5 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 8 th No. 1773	Sandy	John and Henrietta	Hamilton	Cross Lake	5 days	J.H.R.
[1877] July 8 th No. 1774	Elisabeth	Kwāskenepā nas	(parents unknown)	Cross Lake	45 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 8 th No. 1775	Mary	Kwāskenepanas and Elisabeth his wi		Cross Lake	4 years	J.H.R.

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1877] July 8 th No. 1776	The above 7 ba	(parents unknown ptisms were adminis urn total number of l	Cross Lake	10 years	J.H.R.	
[1877] July 22 nd No. 1779	Elijah Scott (ad	Elijah Scott (adopted son of John Scott)			50 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 22 nd No. 1780	John Henry	James And Ellen Isabella	Jacob	Cross Lake	4 months	J.H.R.
[1877] July 29th No. 1784	Betsy	Watcheckanāsees	;0° 3	Cross Lake	14 years	J.H.R.
1877 July 29 th No. 1785	William	Wechekwanāmat [married this couple the same time written diagonally across this and 1786]	itie 20	Cross Lake	24 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 29 th No. 1786	Charlotte	Wechekwanāmat [married this couple the same time written diagonally across this and 1785]		Cross Lake	20 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 29 th No. 1787	Mary Keesiasteokenow			Cross Lake	55 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 29 th No. 1788	Nancy	Mary Keesiasteoke band who is not yet		Cross Lake	5 years	J.H.R.
[1877] July 29 th No. 1789	Ellen	The husband above is not baptised and Keesiasteokenow		Cross Lake	13 years	J.H.R.

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Cere- mony was Performed
[1877] July 29 th No. 1790	Jane	The above parents parents	s of Ellen are her	Cross Lake	6 years	J.H.R.
[1877] August 5 th No. 1792	Sarah Ann	William and Charlotte	Wechekwanā- mat	Cross Lake	2 months	J.H.R.
1877 August 5 th No. 1793	Sarah	Proud and Janey	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	3 years	J.H.R.
[1877] August 5 th No. 1794	Mary	Proud and Mary	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	14 years	J.H.R.
[1877] August 19 th No. 1798	Eliza	John and Peggy	Mānokwanāsees	Cross Lake	7½ months	J.H.R.
Ruttan's Jou	rnal: page 476 Ja	nuary 6 th arrived	at Garrioch's 4.30	10	•	
		oomy. His father is	3, 7, 2 00		iwaseciskwas	Cross Lake [75
[1878] June 16 th No. 1828	Lydia	John and Anna	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	6 weeks	J.H.R.
[1878] June 16 th No. 1829	Mary Ann	Magnus and Mary	Evans	Cross Lake	8½ months	J.H.R.
[1878] June 16 th No. 1830	Maggy	John and Mar- tha	St. Charles	Cross Lake	4 months	J.H.R.
[1878] August 18 th No. 1845	Henry M ^c Koy	unknown		Cross Lake	55 years	J.H.R.
[1878] August 18 th No. 1846	Maria M ^c Koy v	a M ^c Koy wife of Henry M ^c Koy			45 years	J.H.R.
[1878] August 18 th	Angus	Henry and Maria	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	6 years	J.H.R.

No. 1847

		Parent's Name	S			
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1878] August 18 th No. 1848	Joseph	Henry and Maria	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	8 years	J.H. R.
1878 August 18 th No. 1849	Sandy	Henry and Maria	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	14 years	J.H. R.
[1878] August 18 th No. 1850	Mary Garrioch [parents] Unknown Wife of Baptiste Garrioch			Cross Lake	20 years	J.H. R.
[1878] August 18 th No. 1851	William Rupert	Baptiste and Mary	Garrioch	Cross Lake	Born Dec. 25 th 1877	J.H. R.
[1879] January 5 th No. 1866	Donald	Hugh and Magdaline	Cochrane	Cross Lake	Born Dec ^r 2 nd 1878	J.H. R.
[1879] January 5 th No. 1867	Mary	Edward and Nancy	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	13 months	J.H. R.
[1879] January 5 th No. 1868	John	Edward and Nancy	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	4 years	J.H. R.
[1879] January 5 th No. 1869	Nancy M ^c Koy		Chuckoonāsees not baptized	Cross Lake	25 years	J.H. R.
[1879] January 5 th No. 1870	Angus	Proud and Jane	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	2 months	J.H. R.
[1879] April 6 th No. 1880	Willie	George and Eliza	M ^c Koy	Cross Lake	3 months	J.H. R.
1879 Aug. 5 th No. 1897	Bella	Sandy & Bella	Garrich	Cross Lake	17 years	O. German?
[1879] Aug. 5 th No. 1898	Charles	John & Mary	Whiskeyjack	Cross Lake	2 mnths	O. German

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1879] Aug. 5 th No. 1899	Sarah	Thomas & Elizabeth	Ochetow	Cross Lake	8 weeks	O. German
[1879] Aug. 5 th No. 1900	Andrew	James & [Janie]	[Kakekānookoo ses]	Cross Lake	6 mnths	O. German
[1879] Aug. 5 th No. 1901	Charles	George & Mary Ann	Sandy	Cross Lake	2 years	O. German
[1879] Aug. 5 th No. 1902	Elizabeth Ann	Peggy	Pakwāo	Cross Lake	4 mths	O. German
[1879] Aug. 5 th No. 1903	Jane	Joshua & Henrietta	Hamilton	Cross Lake	4 ¼ mths	O. German
[1879] Aug. 5 th No. 1904	Joseph	McKay	antie Lar	[Cross Lake]	Adult	[O. German?]
1879 Aug. 5 th No. 1905	George	Kewāt- enookōo	Mellies S	Cross [something crossed out] Lake	Adult	O. German
[1879] Aug. 21 st No. 1906	Charles	Joseph & Jane (M ^c Kay	Cross Lake	Adult	O. German
[1879] Aug. 21 st No. 1907	Jacob	William	Sinclair	Cross Lake	Adult	O. German
[1879] Sept 4 th No. 1908	Donald Ross	Pagan ["]	Sinclair	Cross Lake	Adult	O. German
1880 Jany 8 th No. 1915	George	Pagan parents	McKay	Cross Lake	14 years	Orrin German
[1880 Jany 8 th] No. 1916	Peter	[Pagan parents]	[syllabic entry]	[Cross Lake]	17 years	Orrin German
[1880 Jany 8 th] No. 1917	[James]	[Pagan parents]	[syllabic entry as 1916]	[Cross Lake]	10 years	Orrin German

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1880 Jany 8 th] No. 1918	John	[Pagan parents]	[syllabic entry as 1916]	[Cross Lake]	8 years	Orrin German
[1880 August] 7 No. 1940	Alexander	James & Maggie	McKay	Cross Lake	3 mths	O.G.
[1880 August 7] No. 1941	James	Magnus & Mary Ross	McKay	[Cross Lake]	7 ½ mths	O.G.
[1880 August 7] No. 1942	Alexander	Albert & Margaret	Ross	[Cross Lake]	8 mths	O.G.
[1880 August 7] No. 1943	Jane	Donald & Mary Jane	Ross	[Cross Lake]	4 mths	O.G.
[1880 August 7] No. 1944	Emma	Baptiste & Mary	Garrioch	[Cross Lake]	6 mths	O.G.
[1880 April] 18 No. 1976	James		Kewāskekapo	Cross Lake	10 yrs	O.G.
[1880 Sept. 26] No. 1990	Jacob	John & Betsy	Peters	Cross Lake	3 weeks	O.G.
[1881] June 12 No. 2005	Willie	John & Mary	Menokwanāses	Cross Lake	3 mths	O.G.
[1881 June 12] No. 2006	Mary	John & Mary	Ross	[Cross Lake]	[1 yr]	O.G.
[1881 June 12] No. 2007	[?] [James?] [Jamesie]	John & [Anna]	M ^c Koy	[Cross Lake]	15 mths	O.G.
[1881 June 12] No. 2008	Jane Mary	(an old woman)	Ross	[Cross Lake]	Adult	O.G.
1881 June 12 No. 2009	Mary Ann	(a Young Woman)	Ross	Cross Lake	Adult	O.G.

		Parents' Name				
When Bap- tized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1881 June 12] No. 2010	John	John & Mary	Ross	[Cross Lake]	4 yrs	O.G.
[1881 July] 3 rd No. 2068	Samuel	Sandy & Bella	Garriock	Cross Lake	8mths	O.G.
[1881 July 3 rd] No. 2069	Thomas	Thomas & Elizabeth	Ross	[Cross Lake]	3 mths	0.G.
[1881 July 3 rd] No. 2070	Sophia	Thomas & Sally	McKay	[Cross Lake]	7 mths	0.G.
[1881 July 3 rd] No. 2071	David		Ross	[Cross Lake]	Adult	0.G.
[1881 July 3 rd] No. 2072	Jane	Edward & Nancy	McKay	[Cross Lake]	7 mths	O.G.
1881 July 3 rd No. 2073	John	C	Black	Cross Lake	Adult	0.G.
[1881 July 3 rd] No. 2074	Christie	8	Black	[Cross Lake]	14 yrs	O.G.
[1881 July 3 rd] No. 2075	Jacob		Black	[Cross Lake]	10 yrs	0.G.
[1881 July 3 rd] No. 2076	Philip	John & Mary Ann	Black	[Cross Lake]	15 mths	0.G.
[1881] June 10 No. 2083	George	Peter & Jane	Ross	Cross Lake	3 mths	0.G.
[1881] Dec. 29 No. 2094	Jacob	Jacob & Adelaide	Sinclair	Cross Lake	2 wks	O.G.
[1881] Dec. 29 No. 2095	Magnus	James & Elizabeth	McKay	Cross Lake	5 wks	O.G.
[1882] June 14 No. 2114	Alexander Sutherland		Ross	Cross Lake	Adult	Orrin German

		Parents' Name				
When Bap- tized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1882] [June 14] No. 2115	Matilda		Ross	[Cross Lake]	Adult	Orrin German
[1882] June [14] No. 2116	Jacob		Ross	[Cross Lake]	6 yrs	Orrin German
[1882] June [14] No. 2117	Henry	Mary	Ross	[Cross Lake]	3 yrs	Orrin German
[1882] June [14] No. 2118	[Flora]		Ross	[Cross Lake]	Adult	Orrin German
[1882] June [14] No. 2119	Maria	Flora	Ross	[Cross Lake]	7 yrs	Orrin German
[1882] June [14] No. 2120	Mary	Mary Ann	Northwind	[Cross Lake]	11 mths	Orrin German
1882 June 16 No. 2121	William	Charles & Jessie	Oig	Cross Lake	10 mths	Orrin German
1882 July 2 No. 2137	Magnus	John & Mary	Whiskey	Cross Lake	1 yr	Orrin German
[1882 July 2] No. 2138	Juliet	Charles & Jane	McKay	[Cross Lake]	6 mths	Orrin German
[1882 July 2] No. 2139	George	Baptiste & Jane	Garrick	[Cross Lake]	8 days	Orrin German
[1883] Dec 2[3] No. 2167	Mary Jane	Hugh & Madelene	[Couchon]	Cross Lake	8 months	E. Langford
[1883] Dec 23 No. 2168	Jane	John & Mary	Whiskey Jack	[Cross Lake]	2 weeks	E. Langford
1883 Dec 23 No. 2169	Biddy	Robinson		Cross Lake	75 years	E. Langford
[1883] Dec 23 No. 2170	John	Robinson		[Cross Lake]	7 yrs	E. Langford

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		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Bap- tized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1883] Dec 23 No. 2171	McKay	Thos Sasett	Ross	[Cross Lake]	3 yrs 9 mos	E. Langford
[1883] Dec 23 No. 2172	Richard	Thos Sasett	Ross	[Cross Lake]	23 days	E. Langford
[1884] Mar 30 No. 2179	Willie	Andrew & Mary	Papunekis	Cross Lake	2 mos	E.L.
[1884] Mar 30 No. 2180	Edward	Andrew & Jane	Thomas	Cross Lake	nearly 3 mo	E.L.
[1884] Mar 30 No. 2181	Nancy	Peter & Jane	Ross	Cross Lake	2 ½ mo.	E.L.
[1884] Mar 30 No. 2182	Rodrick	Thomas & Elisabeth	[Ochitew?] [Ochit[??]w]	Cross Lake	2 ½ months	E.L.
[1884] June 29 No. 2190	Donald	Donald & Juliett	MacKay	Cross Lake	1 ½ mo	E.L.
[1884] June 29 No. 2191	William	James & Marth[a]	MacKay	[Cross lake]	2 mo	E.L.
[1884] June 29 No. 2192	Philip	John & Anna	MacKay	[Cross lake]	1 yr	E.L.
[1884] Aug 23 rd N. 2218	Elizabeth Daughter of	Albert and Margeret	Ross	Cross Lake	1 year	J.S.
[1884] Aug 23 rd N. 2219	Maggie Daughter of	Thomas and Elizabeth	Ross	Cross Lake	6 months	J.S
[1884] Aug 23 rd N. 2220	Charlotte Daughter of	Sandy and Bella	Garrioch	Cross Lake	7 months	J.S
[1884] Aug 23 rd N. 2221	Mary Daughter of	Baptiste and Mary	Garrioch	Cross Lake	10 months	J.S

		Parents' Name				
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1884] Aug 23 rd N. 2222	Isbister Son of	Donald William and Mary Jane	Ross	Cross Lake	1 year	J.S
[1884] Aug 23 rd N. 2223	William Son of	Sandy and Dinah	McKay	Cross Lake	2 months	J.S
[1884] Aug 23 rd N. 2224	Jessie Daughter of	John and Betsy	Peter	Cross Lake	1 year	J.S
[1884] December 21 No. 2230	Susanna	John & Nancy	Scott	Cross Lake	8 mths	J.S
[1885] June 16 th No. 2253	Nicodemus	James & Jenny	McKay	Cross Lake	3 mths	J.S
[1885] June 16 th No. 2254	George	Elijah & Elizabeth	Scott Clyne	Cross Lake	2 months Illegitemate	J.S
[1885] June 16 th No. 2255	Angus	Mary Ann	Blacksmith	Cross Lake	10 mths	J.S
[1885] June 16 th No. 2256	Sarah	unknown	Keewatinkao	[No residence given, but in amidst Cross Lake entries]	60 years	J.S
1885 June 16 th No. 2257	Bella	Sarah	Keewatinkao	Cross Lake	14 years	J.S
[1885] June 16 th No. 2258	Caleb	Sarah	Keewatinkao	Cross Lake	15 years	J.S
[1885] June 16 th No. 2259	Hector	Sarah Keewatin	ikao	Cross Lake	17 yrs	J.S.
[1885] June 17 th No. 2260	William	John & Mary	Whiskey Jack	Cross Lake	6 mths	J.S
[1885] Sept 27 th No. 2267	Maria	John & Henrietta	Fisher	Cross Lake	2 yrs	J.S

		Parents' Nan	ne			
When Bap- tized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Child's Age When Baptized	The Minister by Whom the Ceremony was Performed
[1885] Sept 27 th No. 2268	Juliet	William & Ellen	Bromy [476 ca 1877?] Ruttan Journal: Sunday "Baptized William Broomy. His father is dead his mother's name is W[a] skiwaseciskw as] Cross lake [75 years]."]	Cross Lake	18 mths	J.S
[1885] Sept 27 th No. 2269	Victoria	John & Sally?	Scott Illegitimate	Cross Lake	3 weeks	J.S
[1886] Jan 24 th 86 No. 2293	William Alex	Sandy & Bella	Garrioch	Cross Lake	2 months	J.S
[1886] Jan 24 th 86 No. 2294	Peter	William & Ellen	Blumey [476 ca 1878?]Ruttan Journal: Sunday "Baptized William Broomy. His father is dead his mother's name is W[a]skiwa seciskw as] Cross lake [75 years]."]	Cross Lake	3 mths	J.S
[1887] Feb 6 th No. 2310	Jane Harriet	Thomas & Elisabeth	Ochatok	Cross Lake	7 mos	J.S.
[1887] Feb 6 th No. 2311	Martha	James & Maggie	McKay	Cross Lake	1 week	J.S.
[1887] Feb 8 th No. 2317	Sarah	Mary & Baptiste	Garrioch	Cross Lake	6 mos	J.S.
[1887] July 3 No. 2322	Spence	Jacob & Adelaide	Tapastanum	Cross Lake	3 mths	[J. Semmens]
1887 [12 March] No. 2337	Jemima	Magnus & Mary	Mumahapagroos	Cross Lake	B. Jany 4 th July 30 th	E.P.

Appendix G: Excerpted Records of Marriages from Wesleyan Missionary General Register, 1840-1892, "Original Registers of Marriages, Rossville."

Wesleyan Missionary General Register 1840-1892 Original Registers of Marriages... [commencing] 14th June 1840 United Church Archives

[1863] No. 192 7 th Aug	George Garuk [age 20] [Cross Lake] Elizabeth Sakepuk [age 15] [Rossville]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	By License With the Consent of: James A Grahame, CF Hon HBCo. See original for syllabic name orthography Married at Rossville Attached Letter: Whereas George Garuk of Cross Lake in the District of Norway House, BachelorJas A. Graham 7 Aug 1863 Minister: Chas Stringfellow
1864 Rossville No. 200 28 th March	Matthew Oick Eliza Ross [Rossville]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	[By] Banns at Rossville [With the Consent of: Parents] Minister: Charles Stringfellow [daughter of Tapastanum]
1866 No. 220 August 20 th Rossville	Andrew Papanakiss [23] Mary Tapastanum [16]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	[By Banns], at Rossville[With the Consent of:] Parents Minister: Charles String- fellow
[1868] No. 244 Rossville	Peter [Hacrew?] [21] Clara Tapanatum [20]	Batchelor/ Spinster		[By] Banns at Rossville Minister: E.R. Young
[1869] No. 255 Aug 10 th	Robt KeeKekseese [20] and Jane [16] [both Cross Lake]	Bachelor/ Spinster		By Banns at Rossville Minister: E.R. Young
1873 No. 297	Batesse Armstrong [21] [Rossville] Juliette Hart [17] [M°Coy's Point]	Bachelor	Hunter	By Banns at Rossville Minister: E.R. Young [this man was named after the Rev. JB Armstrong who visited Rossville 1873]

1875 Rossville No. 306 July 12	Charles Frederick Ma- chekwānape [20] [Cross Lake] Charlott McKoy [18] [Rossville]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	At Rossville [By] Banns Minister: John H. Ruttan
1875 No. 315 September 27 th	John Fisher [33] [Oxford House] Henrietta Nepanās [22] [John Scots Lake]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	By Banns at Rossville Ministers: Rev. Orrin German and John H. Ruttan
1875 Rossville No. 316 October 1	Donald William Sinclair Ross [70] Mary Ross [65] [both: John Scots Lake]		Hunter	"After living together about 40 odd years and having a large family lately being baptised are now married." [Parsonage at Rossville] Minister: John H. Ruttan
1876 Rossville No. 332 August 20 th	James M ^c Koy [28] Janey M ^c Koy [26] [Cross Lake]		hunter	at Rossville "having lived together and having one child" Minister: [John H. Ruttan]
1876 334 August 27 th	Thomas Wākinokasew [50] Ann Wākinokasew [40] [John Scots Lake]	itie L	Hunter	"having lived together for some time" Minister: John H. Ruttan
1877 337 January 10 th	Donald Kwāskenuskinum Mary Jane " [Cross Lake]	Udies	Hunter	"having lived together and having one child" at house of George Garrioch Cross Lake Witnesses: George Papanekis George Garrioch
1877 Rossvislle [parsonage] 340 June 15 th	Thomas Cook [23] Mary Garrioch [22] [Cross Lake]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Servant	Minister: John H. Ruttan [By] Banns Minister: John H. Ruttan
1877 344 June 21 st	John Scott [70] Mary Scott [73] [Cross lake]		Hunter	"Having lived together for many years" George Garrioch's House Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch George Papaneskis Minister: John H. Ruttan

1877 345 June 21st	John Wechekwanāmat [45] Martha Wechekwanāmat [47]		Hunter	"Having lived together for years"
0.0.0 2.100	[Cross lake]			George Garrioch's House Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch George Papanekis Minister: John H. Ruttan
1877 346 June 21 st	James M ^c Koy [35] Maggie M ^c Koy [30]		Hunter	"Having lived together for sometime"
	[Cross Lake]			George Garrioch's House Witnesses: George Garrioch George Papanekis
1877 347 June 21st	Charles Chākákakoochin [60]		Hunter	"Having lived together for many years"
Julio 21st	Mary Chākákakoochin [56] [Cross Lake]	e.		George Garrioch's House Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch George Papanekis
1877 348 June 21 st	Thomas Ross [26] and Elizabeth Ross [22] "having lived together for sometime" [Cross Lake]	itie Li Jeris Li Judies	Hunter	"Having lived together for sometime" At Cross Lake [George Garrioch's House] Witnesses: George Garrioch George Papanekis Minister: [John H. Ruttan]
	"The above 5 marriages were performed on my way to visit Nelson River Missions, and are copied from the original record kept at the time of their celebration John H. Ruttan"			
1877 361 July 19 th	John M ^c Koy [20] [Cross Lake] and Anna M ^c Donald [18] [Rossville]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	By Banns At Rossville By Rev. O. German John H. Ruttan
1877 362 July 29 th	William Wechekwan[a]mat [24] and Charlotte Wechekawan[a]mat [20] [Cross Lake]		Hunter	"Having lived together some time" Rossville Minister: John H. Ruttan

1878 370 August 18 th	Henry M ^c Koy [55] Maria M ^c Koy [45]		Hunter	At Cross Lake "Having just been baptized and having lived together many years" George Garrioch's House Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch Isabella Garrioch Minister: John H. Ruttan
1878 371 August 18 th	Baptiste Garrioch [40] Mary Garrioch [20] [Cross Lake]		Hunter	Cross Lake "Having lived together sometime" George Garrioch's House Witnesses: George Garrioch Isabella Garrioch Minister: [John H. Ruttan]
1878 372 August 18 th	Thomas Sinclair [25] Elisabeth Napase [14] [Cross Lake]	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	Consent of parents and guardians George Garrioch's house Cross Lake Minister: John H. Ruttan
1879 382 January 5 th	Edward M ^c Koy [28] Nancy M ^c Koy [25] [Cross Lake]	lidies Ludies	Hunter	"Having lived together and having 2 children" George Garrioch's house Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch George Papanekis Minister: John H. Ruttan
1879 Aug. 5 th 388	John [syllabics] Jane [Syllabics] [Cross Lake] John Kākukakoochik Jane Wastāman	Bachelor/ Spinster	Hunter	"Private House" at Cross Lake "Had previously lived together" Witnesses: William Sinclair Joseph McKay George Garrich Minister: O German
1879 Aug. 5 th 389	William [Panoonu] Ellen Garrick [Cross Lake]		Hunter	Cross Lake "Had previously lived together" Private house at Cross Lake Witnesses: William Sinclair Joseph McKay George Garrich Minister: O. German

1879 Aug. 5 th 390	Sandy Garrick Bella Wāskenookoosen [Cross Lake]		Hunter	"Had previously lived to- gether" Private house at Cross Lake Witnesses: William Sinclair Joseph McKay George Garrich Minister: O. German
1879 Aug. 5 th 391	Charles Chookakakoo- kāsew [Cross Lake] Sally [Ischan]		Hunter	Cross Lake "Had previously lived together" Private house at Cross Lake Witnesses: William Sinclair Joseph McKay George Garrich Minister: O. German
1879 Aug. 5 th 392	John Whiskey.jack Mary Tomahopakoos [Cross Lake]	etis 2	Hunter	"Had previously lived to- gether" Private House at Cross Lake Witnesses: William Sinclair Joseph M [°] Kay George Garrich Minister: O. German
1879 Sept. 4 th 393	Donald Ross Sinclair [20] [Cross Lake] Jane Bruce [15] [Jack River]	Bach[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	Parent's consent at Ross- ville Minister: O German
1880 Sept. 6 [unnumbered]	Jacob Ross [25] [Cross Lake] Adelaide Paponekis [18] [Rossville]	Bach[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	[By] Banns, Parents consent at Rossville Minister: O.German
1881 June 12 [unnumbered]	Geo Kew[a]tinook[a]o Mary Ann [Sepewask]		Hunter	Sepewask Living together "Married on the rocks at Sepawask" Minister: O. German
1881 June 12 [unnumbered]	John Kewātinokōs Mary Kewātinokōo [Sepewask]		Hunter	"Living together" Sepewask Minister: O. German

1881 July 3 [unnumbered]	John Black Mary Ann Black [Cross Lake]		Hunter	"Living together" Private house at Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch George Paponekis Minister: O. German
1881 July 3 [unnumbered]	Peter Ross [22] Jane Ross [20] [Cross Lake]		Hunter	"consent of parents" Private house at Cross Lake Witnesses: Geo Garrioch Geo Paponekis Minister: O. German "consent of parents"
1881 July 3	David Ross Elizabeth Ross [Cross Lake]		Hunter	"Living together" Private House at Cross Lake Witnesses: Geo Garrioch Geo Paponekis Minister: O German
1881 July 3	Isaac Ross Mary Thomas [Cross Lake]	is for	Hunter	Private house at Cross Lake Witnesses: Geo Garrioch Geo Paponekis
			$O_{\mathcal{N}}$	"living together"
[1881] Oct 14 [unnumbered]	Joseph Kwāskekapo widower [Cross Lake] Eliza Sokwāwatum [Rossville]	eits 20	Hunter	at Rossville by Bannes at Rossville Chapel Minister: O. German
[1881] Dec 28 [unnumbered]	Samuel Solomon Ellen M ^c Kay [Cross Lake]	Batch[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	[By] Banns Private house at Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch George Paponekis Minister: O. German
1882 July 2 [unnumbered]	William Ross Mary M ^c Kay [Cross Lake]	Batch[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	Consent of Parents Private house at Cross Lake Minister: O. German
1882 Aug 23 [unnumbered]	Alexander M ^c Kay [22] Sally Pakwap [18] [Cross Lake]	Batch[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	[With consent of:] Parents [By Banns] at Rossville Minister: Orrin German
1882 Aug 24 [unnumbered]	Sandy M ^c Kay [22] Dinah Peter [17] [both from Cross Lake]	Batch[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	[By] Banns [With Consent of] Parents At Rossville Minister: Orrin German

188? Aug 24 [1881 and 1882 both appear on this record] [unnumbered]	Andrew Thomas [24] Mary Jane Bruce[21] [Cross Lake]	Batch[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	By Banns Parents at Rossville Minister: Orrin German
[1881] Aug 24 [unnumbered]	Charles McKay [23] Bella Jack [16] [both from Cross Lake]	Batch[elor]/ Spinster	Hunter	By Banns With consent of Parents at Rossville Minister: Orrin German
1884 Dec 23 [unnumbered]	Thomas Ross Sasett [Cross Lake]		Hunter	George Garrioch's House at Cross Lake "Had been living together [inserted] unmarried – as pagans." Witnesses: Geo. Garrioch and George Papanekis Minister: E. Lang- ford:
1884 Mar 30 [unnumbered]	Thomas MacKay Ellen Ross [Cross Lake]	Bach[elor]/ Sp.[inster]	Hunter	By Banns Permission: "Parents, Chief and Counselors." George Garrioch's House at Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garroch and Geo.Papanekis Minister: E Langford
[1884] Aug 23 rd [unnumbered]	George McKay [20] Maria Garriock [17] [both from Cross Lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]		By Banns Wesleyan Mission Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch and Mrs. Garrioch Minister: John Semmens
1884 Aug 23 [unnumbered]	John Peter [30] Betsy [25]		Hunter	"Had lived together for years." Mission at Cross Lake Witnesses: George Garrioch and Mrs. Garrioch Minister: John Semmens
1884 Aug 30 [unnumbered]	William Happy Jack [20] Sally Solomon [13] [both from Cross Lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]		At Rossville Minister: John Semmens
[1884]	Elijah Scott [30] Bella Kewatinocāo [18] [both from Cross lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]		At Rossville Minister: John Semmens

1884 Dec 21 [unnumbered]	BaptisteArmstrong [25] Janie Ross [18] [both Cross Lake]			B[anns] At Rossville Minister: John Semmens
1888 March 9 th [unnumbered]	Johnston Halcrow [17] [Norway House] Elizabeth Mackay [14] [Cross Lake]	B[achelor[/ S[pinster]	Hunter	Consent: "All Parties" By B[anns] At Rossville
1888 Aug 21 [unnumbered]	James Ross Elizabeth Scott [both from Cross Lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]	Hunter	By B[anns] With consent of Parents "Wesleyan Chapel at Cross Lake" Minister: Edward Eves Witnesses: Geo Garroch and Mrs Geo Garroch
1888 Aug 21 [unnumbered]	David Ross Elizabeth [Ross] [Cross Lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]	Hunter	By B[anns] At Cross Lake Witnesses: Geo Garroch and Mrs Geo Garroch Minister: Edward Eves
1888 Aug 21 [unnumbered]	Jno Cook Annie Garrock [Cross Lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]	Hunter	By B[anns] At Cross Lake Witnesses: Geo Garroch and Mrs Geo Garroch Minister: Edward Eves
1888 Aug 21 [unnumbered]	Benjamin Jake Caroline Ross [Cross Lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]	Hunter	By Banns At Cross Lake Witnesses: Geo Garroch and Mrs Geo Garroch
[1888 Aug 21] [unnumbered]	Jn° Cook Bella Garrock [Cross Lake]	B[achelor]/ S[pinster]	Hunter	By Banns At Cross Lake Minister:Edward Eves

Appendix H: Norway House Journal Transcriptions, Excerpted References to Cross Lake and John Scott's Lake

Norway House Journal Transcriptions, References to Cross Lake and John Scott's Lake

B.154/a/65 Norway House – Post Journal 1861-1863

[written on page 2- "copied from Journal kept by W. Sinclair Esq. to the 22nd Inst."]

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number	
Nov. 30, 1861	M ^r Ross & Stonny arrived from Cross Lake	30d	
Dec. 4, 1861	M ^r Ross started for Cross Lake. Hendry went with him to make a tour among the Indians.	31	
Dec. 24, 1861	M ^r Ross, Henry, William Isbister, and Magnus arrived from Cross Lake.	32d	
Dec. 27, 1861	William Isbister, and Magnus start off to Cross Lake.	32d	
Dec. 31, 1861	William Isbister, Able & Edward arrived from Cross Lake.	33	
Jan. 4, 1862	M ^r Ross and party start for Cross Lake.	33d	
Feb. 12, 1862	Forsyth and Flett arrived from Cross Lake.	36d	
Feb. 14, 1862	M ^r Ross and Norman arrived from Cross Lake	37	
Feb.19,1862	Flett and Norman start for Cross Lake.	37d	
Feb. 22, 1862	Flett arrived at 3 P.M. having left Otter Point, Cross Lake at 5 A.M.	37d	
Mar. 4, 1862	Abel and Magnus arrived from Cross Lake	38d	
Mar. 19, 1862	Mess ^{rs} Ross and Flett started for Cross Lake. Thomas Mesteagun left the village for the same destination.	40	
Mar.21, 1862	Flett arrived from Cross Lake.	40d	
Mar. 28, 1862	George Paupaunakiss arrived from Cross Lake for Goods.	41	
Mar. 31, 1862	George Paupaunakiss started for Cross Lake.	41d	
Apr. 19, 1862	William Isbister and Edward arrived from Cross LakeW. Isbister started for Cross Lake.	43-43d	
Apr. 23, 1862	Edward Paupaunakiss and Magnus Budd started for Cross Lake	43d	
May 2, 1862	M ^r Ross arrived from Cross Lake	44d	
May 5, 1862	M ^r Ross started for Cross Lake	44d	
May 24, 1862	M ^r Ross with all his party arrived from Cross Lake	46d	
May 29, 1862	A skiff was sent with the Cross Lake dogs to Johnny Oig's.	47d	
Oct. 3, 1862	M ^r Ross making preparations to go to Cross Lake	57	

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Oct. 14, 1862	Two Indians who left this to assist M ^r Ross and party to Cross Lake, returned	58
Nov. 17, 1862	M ^r Ross arrived this evening from Cross Lake accompanied by Stony	62
Nov. 20, 1862	M ^r Ross preparing to return to Cross Lake	62
Nov. 21, 1862	Mess ^{rs} Ross & M ^c Kenzie started this morning for Cross Lake where the latter is to remain in charge. M ^r Ross is expected back about the beginning of the week.	62
Nov. 25, 1862	M ^r Ross & Stoney arrived this morning from Cross Lake_	62d
Dec. 7, 1862	George Paupanakiss (alias Stoney)	63d
Dec. 19, 1862	A letter received from M ^r M ^c Kenzie, Cross Lake who has got his foot cut and unable to visit the Indians	64d
Dec. 30, 1862	M ^r M ^c Kenzie arrived from Cross Lake with Able	65d
Jan. 2, 1863	M ^r Ross & M ^c Dougall started for Cross Lake	65d

B.154/a/66 Norway House – Post Journal 1863-1868 From Jan. 1, 1863-Dec. 14, 1868

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Jan. 2, 1863	Mess ^{rs} Ross & M ^c Dougall for Cross Lake	2
Jan. 21, 1863	M ^r M ^c Dougall & party arrived from Cross Lake	3d
Jan. 26, 1863	Irvine, Charles & Duncan started for Cross Lake the latter two are to return with furs from Cross Lake.	3d
Jan. 30, 1863	Charles & Duncan arrived from Cross Lake.	4
Feb. 17, 1863	James Churchill arrived from Cross Lake with one of the wood Indians	5d
Feb. 22, 1863	Nanawon the Chief & two other Indians arrived from Poplar River	5d
Feb. 24, 1863	M ^r Ross arrived from Cross Lake.	6
Mar. 4, 1863	M ^r McKenzie & Edward started this morning for Cross Lake	6d
Mar. 12, 1863	M ^r Ross started this morning for Cross Lake.	7
Mar. 17, 1863	M ^r M ^c Kenzie, George & Edward Paupannakis arrived from Cross Lake	7d
Mar. 18, 1863	Thomas Mesteagun had started during the night with two sleds, it is supposed he has gone toward Cross Lake. George started for Cross Lake to acquaint M ^r Ross of Thomas' departure	7d

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Mar. 30, 1863	Thomas Mesteagun arrivedfrom the neighbourhood of Cross Lake	8d
Apr. 10, 1863	M ^r Ross, George Paulet, Charles & Edward arrived. M ^r R. & party men the latter two on their way to Cross Lake who returned with them.	9d
Apr. 15, 1863	M ^r Ross, George & Paulet startedfor Cross Lake	10
May 10, 1863	M ^r Ross & men arrived from Cross Lake	12
May 19, 1863	M ^r Ross, Henry, Paulet, & Edward startedto visit the Indian below & in the neighbourhood of Cross Lake	13
May 31, 1863	M ^r Ross and party arrived	14
Oct. 5, 1863	M ^r D Ross & 3 men went to Cross Lake	21d
Oct. 16, 1863	M ^r D. Ross arrived from Cross Lake.	22
Nov. 12, 1863	George & Churchill returned from the Cross Lake fishery	23d
Nov. 28, 1863	M ^r Ross & party preparing to start for Cross Lake	24d
Nov. 30, 1863	M ^r Ross & party started this morning for Cross Lake	24d
Dec. 7, 1863	M ^r Ross & Edward arrived from Cross Lake	25
Dec. 10, 1863	James Budd started with supplies to the Cross Lake Indians. He was accompanied by Edward Pahpanakiss	25
Dec. 12, 1863	Paulet, George, Charles & Irvine arrived from Cross Lake	25d
Dec. 15, 1863	James Budd & Edward arrived from Cross Lake.	25d
Jan. 16, 1864	M ^r Ross & two men arrived from Cross Lake	27d
Jan. 22, 1864	George arrived from Tepastenam	27d
Jan. 26, 1864	George, Paulet & Halcro started with 2 sleds to see the Chief.	28
Feb. 9, 1864	George, Paulet & Halcro arrived from the Chief.	29
Feb. 18, 1864	M ^r Ross & party started for Cross Lake.	29d
Feb. 27, 1864	M ^r Ross arrived from Cross Lake.	30
Mar. 10, 1864	M ^r Ross & Charles started to see the Chief.	30d
Mar. 14, 1864	Irvine & Halcro started to see the Cross Lake Indians.	30d
Mar. 19, 1864	Irvine & Halcro returned from Cross Lake	31
Oct. 10, 1864	George & Churchel, started for Cross Lake, to make a fishery, to supply winter trippers with fish. M ^r D. Ross & Duckhunter also went to Cross Lake to have a few days shooting.	49

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Oct. 18, 1864	M ^r D Ross & Duckhunter returned	49d
Nov. 13, 1864	George & Halcro returned last evening from Cross Lake	51d
June 22, 1866	Albert & Edward came back from Cross Lake	96d
Sept. 30, 1868	George Paupanekess started with 5 men for Cross Lake in a Boat to oppose the Traders	155d
Oct. 5, 1868	The Old Chief (John Scott) took the remainder of his advances	156
Dec. 10, 1868	George Paupanakess & one of his men came in from Cross Lake	162
Dec. 11, 1868	George started with two sleds for Cross Lake	162

Norway House – Post Journal 1868-1869 B.154/a/67

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
May 25, 1868	Curleyhead came in from Cross Lake with Fur.	3d
	Peter Settee also came in from the same quarter.	
Sept. 14,	News of the Traders being ready to start for	16d
1868	Cross Lake today	
Sept. 29,	Messrs Sinclair & M ^c Tavish went off to see	18d
1868	about dogs for Cross Lake	
Dec. 5, 1868	We have heard nothing from Cross Lake as yet –	23d
	except from indian reports	
Dec.11, 1868	George Papanekiss arrived from Cross Lake	24
Dec. 17, 1868	Henry arrived with Furs yesterday Evening from	24
	John Scott's Lake.	
Feb. 26, 1869	Berens' River men returned – Cross Lake man	27
	also	
Mar. 1, 1869	Mr Flettstarted from John Scott's Lake this	27d
	morning_	
Mar. 8, 1869	Mr Boyd arrived from Cross Lake	28

Norway House – Post Journal 1868-1870 5 March 1868 to 6 May 1870 B. 154/a/68

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Mar. 13, 1868	Henry Budd for Cross Lake	3d
Mar. 17, 1868	Henry Budd arrived from Cross Lake	4
Sept. 15,	M ^r A Sinclair started with two canoes after the	22d
1868	freetraders down to Cross Lake.	

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Dec. 24, 1868	Petersen & Albert arrived from Cross Lake	30d
Jan. 21,1869	George & Edward Paupanikiss arrived from Cross Lake	32d
Jan. 22, 1869	George Paupanikiss started back for Cross Lake	32d
Jan. 23, 1869	Some of the freetraders arrived from Cross Lake	33
Feb. 9, 1869	Baptiste Cook arrived from Cross Lake	34d
Feb. 12, 1869	Albert Sinclair arrived from Cross Lake for some sundries for the trade	35
Feb. 24, 1869	Peterson arrived from Cross Lake.	36d
Feb. 25, 1869	Henry Budd for John Scott's LakeGeorge Garrock arrived from the Grand Rapid	36d
Mar. 4, 1869	The Chief arrived with his queen from Cross Lake	37d
Mar. 8, 1869	Peterson arrived from Cross Lake along with the free traders	38
Mar. 11, 1869	Baptiste Cook started this morning back for Cross Lake.	38d
Apr. 1, 1869	George Paupanekiss arrived from Cross Lake with three trains of dogs	41
Apr. 2, 1869	George Paupanekiss preparing to go back.	41
Apr. 3, 1869	George Paupanekiss started this morning back for Cross Lake.	41
Apr. 17, 1869	Albert Sinclair arrived from Cross Lake	42d
Feb. 5, 1870	Abel Fraser arrived from Cross Lake	45
Apr. 19, 1870	Abel & Halcro arrived from Cross Lake for some more supplies	46
Apr. 20, 1870	Abel and Halcro started on their return for Cross Lake	46

B.154/a/69 Norway House – Post Journal 1869-1872

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Jan. 18, 1869	Henry & Felix arrived from Cross Lake and brought some Fur	7d
Jan. 21, 1869	George & Edward arrived from Cross Lake	7d
Jan. 22, 1869	George Paupanakiss started alone for Cross Lake	8
Jan. 23, 1869	Some of the Freetraders arrived from Cross Lake	8
Mar. 4, 1869	The Old Chief & his wife arrived from Cross Lake	11d

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Mar. 8, 1869	Peaterson arrived from Cross Lake along with some of the Freetraders who are on their way to Red River	12ª
Mar. 10, 1869	Baptiste Cook arrived from Cross Lake	12 ^a
Mar. 11, 1869	Baptiste Cook & Peterson started for Cross Lake	12ª
Apr. 1, 1869	George, Halcro & Albert arrived from Cross Lake	13
Apr. 3, 1869	The Cross Lake men returned home again.	13
Apr. 16, 1869	Albert & Peterson arrived from Cross Lake	14
Oct. 2, 1869	The Traders are making ready to send down to Cross Lake	26
Oct. 4, 1869	One Boat of Freetraders started for Cross Lake William Cochran in charge	26
Oct. 5, 1869	One Boat started for Cross Lake to oppose the Traders G. Paupanakiss in charge	26
Oct. 17, 1869	J. Crate & Edward arrived from Cross Lake an Indian died this morning from a Jack Fish bite	27
Nov. 13, 1869	Halcro & Abel arrived from Cross Lake	29
Mar.4, 1870	George Paupanakiss & Albert Sinclair arrived from Cross Lake	34d
Mar. 7, 1870	George returned to Cross Lake alone	34d
Mar. 9, 1870	Flett & two men started for Cross Lake	35
Mar. 11, 1870	Mr. Stewart & party returned from Cross Lake	35
Jan. 5, 1871	Two other trains also started for the Indian camps in the direction of Cross Lake.	53d

B.154/a/70 Norway House – Post Journal 1872-1874

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Jan. 6, 1873	Henry & J. Bushey started for John Scott's Lake.	15d
Jan. 15, 1873	Edward & Halcro returned from Cross Lake	16
Jan. 16, 1873	Henry & Bouchez returned from John Scott's Lake	16
Feb. 10, 1873	Edward & Scott started for Cross Lake Henry & J. Bouchez started for John Scott's Lake	17d
Feb. 19, 1873	Old Henry & Bouchez returned from John Scott's Lake	18
Feb. 21, 1873	Edward & Scott returned from Cross Lake	18d
Mar. 31, 1873	Rev ^d Mr. Semmons went down to Cross Lake to see some of the Indians there	20d

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Dec. 19, 1873	Henry Curleyhead with an Indian lad, started to visit the Indian camps in the direction of John Scott's LakeTwo Indians arrived from Cross Lake	36d
Feb. 2, 1874	Rev ^d Ruttan started with three men for Cross Lake to go & see some of the Indians.	39
Feb. 5, 1874	Edward & 1 Indian started on a trip to see the Cross Lake Indians	39
June 1, 1874	Albert & J. Crate got ready to go to Cross Lake.	46
June 2, 1874	Albert & J. Crate started this morning for Cross Lake.	46

IM1014 B.154/a/71 Norway House – Post Journal 1874-1877

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Jan. 11, 1875	Abel & Crate started for John Scott's Lake	5d
Jan. 13, 1875	Edward & Amos started for Cross Lake	5d
Jan. 20, 1875	Abel & L.Crate returned from John Scott's Lake	6
Jan. 21, 1875	Edward & Amos returned from Cross Lake	6
Mar. 3, 1875	Two Indians arrived from John Scott's Lake	8d
Mar. 9, 1875	Edward & A Crate started for Cross Lake	8d
Mar. 30, 1875	Henry & a Boy went down to John Scott's Lake.	10
Apr. 10, 1875	Henry & Ma[?] returned from John Scot's Lake	11
Apr. 28, 1875	An Indian came in from John Scott's Lake for amunition	12
May 26, 1875	Thos. Grieve & a Boy got ready to start for Cross Lake	14
June 7, 1875	J. Crate & 2 Indians started in the large Canoe with Flour, Tea, &c to meet the wood Indians at Cross Lake.	15
June 17, 1875	Heard of a canoe belonging to a petty Freetrader starting for Cross Lake.	17
Oct. 1, 1875	The traders are reported to be off for Cross Lake or thereabout, Thomas Mesteagun going as their guide.	20
Oct. 5, 1875	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair left for Cross Lake,.	20d
Oct. 9, 1875	Garson & Garriock still at work	20d
Oct. 14, 1875	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair came back from Cross Lake	21

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Oct. 20, 1875	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair left with one man in a canoe, to take charge of Cross Lake PostGarriock moved into the men's house, his wife to cook for the men.	21
Oct. 21, 1875	Garriock took M ^c Lean's place	21d
Nov. 13, 1875	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair arrived from Cross Lake, to get his train of dogs.	22d
Nov. 16, 1875	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair left for Cross Lake	22d
Dec. 3, 1875	One sled left for Cross Lake post.	23
Dec. 5, 1875	Henry & 1 Indian Boy started for John Scott's Lake	23
Dec. 7, 1875	Sled returned from Cross Lake	23
Dec. 14, 1875	Halcro & Angus Smith, _B , came from Cross Lake Post	23d
Dec. 17, 1875	Henry Budd returned from John Scott's Lake	23d
Dec. 23, 1875	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair arrived from Cross Lake	24
Dec. 25, 1875	Halcro returned to Cross Lake.	24
Dec. 29, 1875	George Paupanakiss & family arrived from Cross Lake.	24d
Jan. 2, 1876	Mr. Alex. Sinclair left for Cross Lake, with Angus Smith, Amos Paupanakiss, & two sleds.	24d
Jan. 19, 1876	Mr. Ross left for Cross Lake with Paulette & Alex ^r Crate.	25d
Jan. 25, 1876	M ^r Ross returned from Cross Lake with Abel Fraser.	25d
Jan. 26, 1876	Paulet & Alex Crate returned from Cross Lake	26 ^a
Jan. 31, 1876	Mr. Alex. Sinclair & A. Smith, _C ,arrived from Cross Lake	26 ^a
Feb. 1, 1876	men loading sleds and getting ready to start for Cross Lake.	26 ^a
Feb. 2, 1876	Four sleds left for Cross Lake taking goods & provisions	26 ^a
Feb. 4, 1876	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair left for Cross Lake	26 ^a
Feb. 6, 1876	The four sleds that took down goods &c to Cross Lake returned this evening.	26 ^a d
Feb. 10, 1876	Abel Fraser left for Cross Lake.	26 ^a d
Feb. 17, 1876	Mr. Hughes (free trader) arrived from Cross Lake	26 ^b
Mar. 8, 1876	Magnus Budd left for Cross Lake taking down goods.	27
Mar. 9, 1876	Alex ^r Crate & D. Paupanakiss started for John Scott's Lake.	27

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Mar. 11, 1876	M ^c Rae, Ja ^s Crate & an two Indians boy left for Cross Lake, loaded with goods & provisions. Magnus Budd returned from Cross Lake & brought up a load of fur.	27d
Mar. 15, 1876	Two trains of free-traders started for Cross Lake, & B ^{te} Cook followed them.	27d
Mar. 17, 1876	Alex. Crate returned from John Scott's Lake bringing fur.	28
Mar. 25, 1876	Abel Fraser & S. Macrae started for Cross Lake B ^{te} Cook returned [28d] from Cross Lake, having made a trip as far as Pipestone Lake.	28
Mar. 28, 1876	Three sleds started for Cross Lake loaded with tea, flour & pemmican.	28d
Mar. 30, 1876	Four sleds started for Cross Lake, loaded with flour. Three sleds returned from Cross Lake S. Macrae returning with them.	28d
Apr. 1, 1876	Four sleds returned from Cross Lake.	29
Apr. 3, 1876	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair arrived from Cross Lake.	29
Apr. 6, 1876	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair left for Cross with 2 3 sleds loaded with goods.	29
Apr. 14, 1876	Abel Fraser returned from Cross Lake.	29d
Apr. 19, 1876	Ja ^s Crate, D. M ^c Rae & Halcro came from Cross Lake, bringing fur, M ^c Rae & Crate were tripping from Cross Lake Post.	30
Apr. 21, 1876	Halcro returned to Cross Lake taking down sundries.	30
Apr. 25, 1876	Rev ^d J.H. Ruttan returned from Cross Lake	30
Apr. 26, 1876	James & William Crate started for Cross Lake. Tho ^s Mustagun also started for the same place to assist at the Rat trade	30d
May 10, 1876	Two Boys arrived from Cross Lake. Mr. Sinclair sent them for a Canoe.	31d
May 15, 1876	Abel going on to Cross Lake.	31d
May 27, 1876	Paulet started for Cross Lake in a canoe.	32d
June 3, 1876	Paulet returned from Cross Lake.	33
June 8, 1876	B ^{te} Cook started for Cross Lake in a canoe with Geo. Garrioch. Abel returned from Cross Lake yesterday.	33d
June 15, 1876	The boat came up from Cross Lake with furs, B ^{te} Cook & Geo. Garrioch coming with it	34

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
June 17, 1876	M ^r Alex ^r Sinclair returned from Cross Lake.	34
Aug. 14, 1876	The Cross Lake Indians were paid their treaty money today.	38d
Aug. 21, 1876	Garrioch	39
Sept. 26, 1876	The Cross Lake Outfit being laid out.	40d
Sept. 30, 1876	Geo. Paupanakiss left for Cross Lake with one boat, to take charge of that post	41
Oct. 8, 1876	James Crate returned from Cross Lake.	41d
Oct. 14, 1876	Two boats belonging to M ^r Hughes started for below, one to Cross Lake & one to Cross Portage.	41d
Oct. 17, 1876	M ^r D. M ^c Tavish left for Cross Lake with one boat to make arrangements to oppose the traders	42
Oct. 23, 1876	M ^r D. C. M ^c Tavish returned from Cross Lake	42
Dec. 1, 1876	M ^r . D.C. M ^c Tavish left for Cross Lake.	44
Dec. 7, 1876	M ^r D.C. M ^c Tavish returned from Cross Lake.	44d
Dec. 11, 1876	Henry Budd went to John Scott's Lake	45
Dec. 20, 1876	Hugh Cockran left for Cross Lake.	45d
Jan. 3, 1877	3 sleds as far as John Scott's Lake.	46d
Jan. 9, 1877	Angus Smith, Alexander Crate,& John Cook, arrived from John Scott's Lake.	47
Jan. 14, 1877	Angus Smith, John Cook, Alex Crate, started for Cross Lake with 3 sleds.	47
Jan. 17, 1877	Angus Smith, Alex Crate, John Cook, arrived from Cross Lake	47d
Jan. 31, 1877	Angus Smith started for Cross Lake	48
Feb. 5, 1877	Angus Smith arrived this evening from Cross Lake	48d
Feb. 12, 1877	Mr. D. MacTavish, John Cook, & Angus Smith, started for Cross Lake, 3 sleds Willie Crate & Donald Paupanikiss arrived from Cross Lake.	49
Feb. 14, 1877	W. Crate & Donald Paupanikiss returned to Cross Lake.	49
Feb. 15, 1877	Mr M'Tavish arrived from Cross Lake	49
Feb. 27, 1877	Hugh Cockran came up from Cross Lake bringing the body of a little girl, of Spinooches	49d
Mar. 1, 1877	Hugh Cockrane returned to Cross Lake.	50
Mar. 18, 1877	Thomas Mesteagun's son arrived from John Scott's Lake.	51

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Mar. 21, 1877	George Paupanakiss & W. Crate came up from Cross Lake	51
Mar. 23, 1877	George Paupanakiss & Willie Crate returned to Cross Lake, with Robert Paupanikiss 3 sleds.	51
Apr. 11, 1877	Thomas Mesteagon came in for good, from John Scotts Lake. where he has been trading for the company_	52d
Apr. 15, 1877	Halcro with 3 sleds from Cross Lake	53
Apr. 18, 1877	Willie Crate & Donald Paupanakiss arrived from Cross Lake.	53
May 26, 1877	Paulet & Alex Crate arrived from Cross Lake	54b
June 5, 1877	Halcro sent up two men from Cross Lake for Potatoes	55
June 6, 1877	George sent up two men from Cross Lake	55
June 16, 1877	Jack Hall started for Cross Lake.	56
June 18, 1877	The Split Lake, Cross Portage & Cross Lake trading partners arrived together this morning George Paupanakiss is still at Cross Lake looking after his goods & to see some Indians that had not come in yet.	56
July 10, 1877	George & D. Paupanakiss started for Cross Lake to wait for the Nelson River Boats	57d
Aug. 25, 1877	Cross Lake Band of Indians got their payment today	61
Aug. 30, 1877	The last of the Wood Indians have left for Cross Lake as they could not remain longer for their provisions.	61d
Sept. 16, 1877	M ^r D. Sinclair returned from Cross Lake having surveyed the reserve at that place for the Indians	63
Sept. 26, 1877	Laid out the Cross Lake Outfit.	64

Appendix I: Norway House Journal Transcriptions, Excerpted References to Tapastanum

References to Tapastanum and Others Norway House Journal

B.154/a/52 Norway House- Post Journal 1850-1851

Commencing on the 1st June 1850 Ending on the 31st May 1851 By Rod^k M^cKenzie Junior

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
May 27, 1851	The Indian Tepastennum and brothers arrived	40d

B.154/a/53 Norway House – Post Journal April 1850-September 1851

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Sept. 4, 1851	Tepastenum and party took their departure for their	60
	hunting grounds.	

B.154/a/54 Norway House – Post Journal 1851-1852 By Roderick McKenzie Junior

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
May 26, 1852	Tepastennum and party	39d

B.154/a/58 Norway House – Post Journal 1853-1854 From May 1853 to December 1854

DateJournal EntryFolio NumberJune 6, 1854The Indians Paul, John Scott and Isaac arrived45dJune 9, 1854The Indian Mesakeekooniss and party arrived46June 10, 1854The Indian Tepastennum & party arrived46Sept. 30,
1854The Indian Mesakeekooniss took his winter supplies60

B.154/a/59

Norway House – Post Journal 1854-1855 For the year ending 31st May 1855 By R. M^cKenzie Jr.

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
June 6, 1854	The Indians John Scott & Isaac	2
Sept. 30, 1854	The Indian Mesakeekooniss & party were supplied with their equipments	14d
Jan. 3, 1855	The Indian Mesakeekooniss & party	24d
Jan. 16, 1855	The Indian Tepastennum & brother arrived	26
Jan. 18, 1855	The Indian Tepastennum & brother took their departure_also a party of the village hunters	26
Apr. 19, 1855	The Indian Tepastennum and party have got their wants supplied and are ready to start_	35d

B.154/a/60

Norway House – Post Journal 1855-1856 Commencing 1st June 1855 and ending 31st May 1856

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Jan. 16, 1856	Budd and M ^c Iver with two sleds of Dogs went off to visit "Tepastennum" the Indian & his band.	28
Jan. 24, 1856	Henry Budd and Donald McIver who went off on the 16 th Ins ^t for the purpose of visiting. "Tepastennum", arrived, having got their sleds well loaded with furs from some Indians before reaching Tepastennums encampment they returned without seeing him	28d
Feb. 28, 1856	Mr. Lilley and Henry Curleyhead with a train of Dogs went off to see the Indian "Tepastennum"	32
Mar. 10, 1856	Mr. Lilley and Henry Curleyheadreturned McIver & Peter went off to bring home some Furs	33
Mar. 12, 1856	Henry & Norman preparing to be off to the Indian Tepastennum again for some Furs which could not be taken on the first trip.	33d
Mar. 13, 1856	Henry & Norman with a train of Dogs started for "Tepastennum" accompanied by Hector & Allan with two trains of dogs who are to assist them for the days march	33d
Mar. 20, 1856	Budd and Norman who went off on the 13 th Ins ^t , returned	34
Mar. 21, 1856	McIver and Allan were sent off for some furs accompanied by the wood Indians.	34

B.154/a/62 Norway House – Post Journal 1st June 1856-31st May 1857

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
June 2, 1856	Kanehapenow the chief and Menoocoonaicis arrived	1
June 3, 1856	the Indian Tepastennum and a dozen others arrived	1
Dec. 29, 1856	Henry and McIversent off to see the Indian "Tepastennum". The Cumberland Indian also left.	16

B.154/a/63 Norway House - Post Journal 1857-1858

1st June 1857 – 31st May 1858

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Dec. 3, 1857	Henry and Malcolm sent off to see Tepastennum.	16
Jan. 25, 1858	Henry and Murdoch sent off to Tepestennum. Hector and Murdock McIver sent off to see Stevenson.	19
Jan. 29, 1858	Tepestennum and some other Indians arrived	19d

B.154/a/65 Norway House – Post Journal 1861-1863

[Written on folio 2- "copied from Journal kept by W. Sinclair Esq. to the 22nd Inst."]

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Feb. 19, 1861	Henry and Edward started off to see Teapastennum. Flett and an Indian to look after Indians in the	6d
	Winepagoosis side.	
Apr. 1, 1862	Three Indian boys arrived from Teapastenam.	42

B.154/a/66 Norway House – Post Journal 1863-1868

From Jan. 1, 1863-Dec. 14, 1868

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Dec. 28, 1863	George & Halcro with 1 sled left for Cross Lake to	26
	visit Tepastenam.	
Jan. 9, 1864	George & Halcro arrived from Cross Lake.	27
Jan. 12, 1864	George & Paulet started to see Tepastenam, Charles	27
	& Halcro to visit the chief	
Jan. 16, 1864	Mr Ross & two men arrived from Cross Lake	27d
Jan. 22, 1864	George arrived from Tepastenam	27d
Jan. 26, 1864	George, Paulet & Halcro started with 2 sleds to see	28
	the Chief.	

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Feb. 9, 1864	George, Paulet & Halcro arrived from the Chief.	29
Mar.22, 1864	Tepastenam & party of Bush Indians arrived.	31-31d
Mar. 28, 1864	two marriages in the village to day Johnny Oig gave a feast in celebration of them his son being one of the Bridegrooms.	31d
Mar. 29, 1864	Tepastenam & party of Bush Indians departed	32
Aug. 8, 1864	Tepastenam & band of wood Indians arrived	43d
Feb. 13, 1865	Tapastannum returned to his hunting grounds	59
Apr. 5, 1865	Teapastennum, his son & another Indian arrived from the bush	63
Apr. 7, 1866	Teapastennum took his departure this evening.	63d
Jan. 2, 1866	Tapastennum came in from the bush	85
July 29, 1868	Big Tom Steersman	150
Oct. 5, 1868	The Old Chief (John Scott) took the remainder of his advances	156

B.154/a/67 Norway House – Post Journal 1868-1869

Date	Journal Entry	Folio Number
Dec. 17, 1868	Henry arrived with Furs yesterday evening from	24
	John Scott's Lake	
Feb. 22, 1869	Tepastenum arrived yesterday.	26d

Appendix J: Treaty Annuity Paysheets, Cross Lake, 1875

C-7135 Indian Affairs. Treaty Annuity Paylists. Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5. 1871-1876 (R.G. 10, Volume 9351) Folios 120-121

Indian Treaty Pay Sheet, Treaty No. 5 Cross Lake Band Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross Chief Letter J Sept 25th 1875 Folios 120-121

Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Rela- tions	No. of Per- sons Paid	Remarks
Sep 25	1	Ta-pas-ta-num or D.W. S. Ross, Chief	1	1	1	1	1	5	
[Sep 25]	2	Paa-sah-pan-noo-koo		1	1			2	Drawn by the Chief
[Sep 25]	3	Isaac Ta-pas-ta-num	1	1	10	100		3	
[Sep 25]	4	Proud McKay Councillor	1		2	1//0		5	
[Sep 25]	5	George Garrioch do [Councillor]	10	1,001	15	7		3	
[Sep 25]	6	Wee-chuck-hoo-na- cas]	1	2		3	2	8	Grand Children
[Sep 25]	7	Mas-qua	1	1	1			3	
[Sep 25]	8	Blacksmith	1					1	
[Sep 25]	9	Ap-ce-ne-nish	1					1	orphan
[Sep 25]	10	Noah			1			1	orphan
[Sep 25]	11	[Kee-cee-kas-ta-oh-kee-nam]	1	2	3	4		10	
[Sep 25]	12	John Scatch	1	1	1	1		3	Drawn by his father
[Sep 25]	13	Quas-kin-wes-kee- num	1	1	1		1	4	Mother
[Sep 25]	14	Ques-kin-nee –pin- wes-cum	1	1	4	1		7	

Treaty Annuity Paylists, Treaties 1, 2, 3, 5, 1871-1876, Folios 120-121

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Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Rela- tions	No. of Per- sons Paid	Remarks
[Sep 25]	15	Ka-kee-kay-noo-kee- soo	1	1		1		3	
[Sep 25]	16	Kaa-nee-hah-pea-now	1	1				2	
[Sep 25]	17	Tea-wa-hah-pe-koos	1	2	2	2		7	
[Sep 25]	18	Pah-paa-moo-tah-oh- kee-mah	1	1		1		3	Drawn by Nº 17 (his father)
[Sep 25]	19	Magnus	1	1				2	[Drawn by no. 17 (his father)]
[Sep 25]	20	Mee-chaw	1	1		1		3	
[Sep 25]	21	Thomas Ques-kee- noo-kee-caw	1		2			3	
[Sep 25]	22	Pah-kwab	1	2	2	5		10	
[Sep 25]	23	Kah-wee-che-quan- mah	1	1	1,01	2		5	
[Sep 25]	24	Ques-kah-kee-tem	1	1	3 3	3		5	
[Sep 25]	25	Baptiste Kah-nee-tah- way-	1	-10	157	0,		2	
[Sep 25]	26	Elijah John Scott	1(0)	1,0	189	2		5	
[Sep 25]	27	Oh-nee-peen-nash	1	5/11/	4	3		9	
[Sep 25]	28	Way-see-poo-way-sis		1			*1	2	*Brother
[Sep 25]	29	Nah-[y]ak-wa-skum	1	1	1			3	
[Sep 25]	30	Kee-quau-oh-otway		1	1	1		3	Widow & children
[Sep 25]	31	Mary Cook		1				1	
Sep 25	32	Margaret Garrioch		1				1	Widow
[Sep 25]	33	Annie Ques-kee-num		1				1	
[Sep 25]	34	William Nee-ka-nash	1	1				2	
[Sep 25]	35	Peter Nelson River	1	1	2			4	Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}

Treaty Annuity Paylists, Treaties 1, 2, 3, 5, 1871-1876, Folios 120-121

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Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Rela- tions	No. of Per- sons	Remarks
[Sep 25]	36	John " [Nelson River]	1	1		1		Paid 3	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	37	John Bruce	1	1	2	5		9	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	38	Robert Frog	1	2	2	5		10	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	39	Andrew Oke-way-te- no-kay	1	2	2			5	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	40	James do [Oke-way- te-no-kay]	1					1	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	41	John do [Oke-way- te-no-kay]	1					1	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]



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	Baptiste hal- Ree- tal way-		/	-			9	10	1	
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Letter J, Chief Donald William Sinclair Ross, August 11, 1877, Folios 120-121 Indian Affairs. Treaty Annuity Payliste.
Freaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, 1871 - 1876

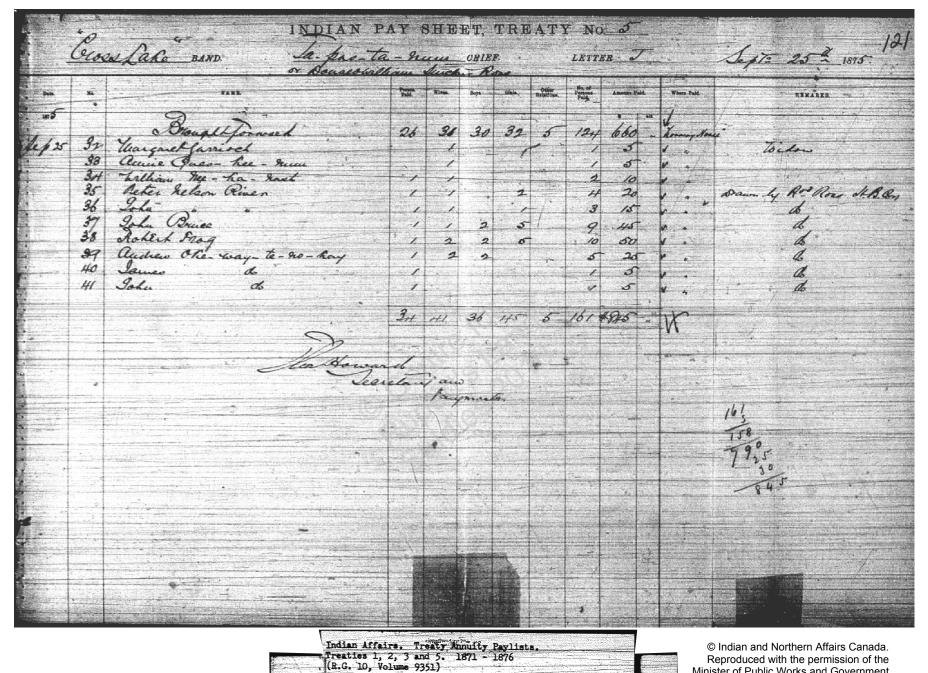
(R.G. 10, Volume 9351)

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Appendix K: Treaty Annuity Paysheets, Cross Lake, 1876

C-7135 Indian Affairs. Treaty Annuity Paylists. Treaties 1, 2, 3, and 5. 1871-1876 (R.G. 10, Volume 9351) Folios 284-285

Indian Treaty Pay Sheet, Treaty No. 5 Cross Lake Band Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross Chief Letter J August 14th 1876 Folios 284-285

Date [all 1876]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Rela- tions	No. of Per- sons Paid	Remarks
Au- gust 14	1	Ta-pas-ta-num or D.W. S. Ross, Chief	1	1	1 10	1	1	5	
[Augu st 14]	2	Paa-sah-pan-noo-koo			7	210		2	Drawn by Chief
[Augu st 14]	3	Isaac Ta-pas-ta-num	1		7 5	2		3	[Drawn by Chief]
[Augu st 14]	4	Proud McKay "Councillor"	1	T) Y	2	2		6	
[Augu st 14]	5	George Garrioch Do [Councillor]	1	10	1			3	
[Augu st 14]	6	Wee-chuck- koo- ha- ces	1	2		3	2	8	Drawn by Chief
[Augu st 14]	7	Mas-qua	1	1	1			3	[Drawn by Chief]
[Augu st 14]	8	Blacksmith	1					1	
[Augu st 14]	9	Ap-ce-ne-nish	1					1	

Date [all 1876]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Rela- tions	No. of Per- sons Paid	Remarks
[Augu st 14]	10	Noah	1					1	Drawn by Chief
[Augu st 14]	11	Kee-cee-kas-ta-oh- kee- nam	1	2	3	5		11	
[Augu st 14]	12	John Scatch	1	1		1		3	
[Augu st 14]	13	Ques-kin-wes-kee- nam	1	1	1		1	4	Drawn by Chief
[Augu st 14]	14	Ques-kun-nee-pin- wes-cum]	1	1	4	1		7	
[Augu st 14]	15	Ka-kee-kay-noo-kee- soo	1	1		1		3	
[Augu st 14]	16	Kaa-nee-hah-pee-now	1	1				2	Drawn by Chief
[Augu st 14]	17	Tu-ma-hah-pee-koos	1	2	2	2		7	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross
[Augu st 14]	18	Pah-paa-moo-tah-oh- kee-mah	1		5	1,0		3	
[Augu st 14]	19	Magnus	10	1,001	65			2	
[Augu st 14]	20	Mee-chaw	1	Silic	1	1		4	
[Augu st 14]	21	Thomas Ques-kee- noo-kee-san	1	1	2			4	
[Augu st 14]	22	Pah-kwabKwab	1	2	2	5		10	
[Augu st 14]	23	Kah-wee-cha-quan- mah	1	1	1	2		5	

Date [all 1876]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Rela- tions	No. of Per- sons Paid	Remarks
[Augu st 14]	24	Ques-kah-kee-tem	1	1		3		5	
[Augu st 14]	25	Baptiste Kah-nee-tah- way	1	1				2	Drawn by wife
[Augu st 14]	26	Elijah John Scott	1	1	1	2		5	[Drawn by wife]
[Augu st 14]	27	Oh-nee-peen-nash	1	1	4	3		9	Drawn by M ^r R Ross
[Augu st 14]	28	Way-see-poo-way-sis	1				1	2	Drawn by Sister
[Augu st 14]	29	Nah-yah-wa-skam	1	1	1			3	Drawn by Chief
[Augu st 14]	30	Kee-quan-oh-otway		1	1	1		3	widow [Drawn by Chief]
[Augu st 14]	31	Mary Cook		1	401	6,		1	
[Augu st 14]	32	Margaret Garrioch			5	10		1	
[Augu st 14]	33	Annie Ques-kee-num		1	es			1	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross
Au- gust 14	34	William Nee-ha-nash	1	Sillo				2	
[Augu st 14]	35	Peter Nelson River	1	1	2			4	
[Augu st 14]	36	John Nelson River	1	1	1	1		4	
[Augu st 14]	37	John Bruce	1	1		5		7	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross to be changed to Norway House Band

Date [all 1876]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Rela- tions	No. of Per- sons Paid	Remarks
[Augu st 14]	38	Robert Frog	1	2	1	6		10	
[Augu st 14]	39	Andrew Oke-way-te-no-kay	1	2	2			5	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross
[Augu st 14]	40	James Oke-way-te-no-kay	1	1		1		3	
[Augu st 14]	41	John Oke-way-te-no kay Following were not on	1					1	
[Augu st 14]	42	1875 list Sallie		1				1	
[Augu st 14]	43	Baptiste Garrioch	1	2	1	1		5	
[Augu st 14]	44	Joseph Ques-kee-qua-pow	1		2	2		5	
[Augu st 14]	45	Mary		1	40 ¹	2		3	Widow
			0	1 Silver	3 7	010			

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	6 User chuck too has a	and the second	2 1	The first reach builting	2 8 v	40			Drawn by Chief
	8 Blacksmith	1.7				75 5		1	
	10 Noahi	4		5	W				Aroun by chief
	12 John Seatch man 13 Lyes- Kin-wes-Kee- nan	v. / -	1 1		1 44	20 35		1/1	Drawn by chief
	14 Lugo - kino nee - pino we 15 Na - kee - kay noo - ku - s 16 Naa - nee - kah - pee noo		13			16	,	Jan	
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Indian Affairs. Treaty Annuity Paylists. Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5. 1871 - 1876 (R.G. 10, Volume 9351)

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Indian Affairs. Treaty Annuity Paylists. Freaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, 1871 - 1876 (R.G. 10, Volume 9351).

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Source: Library and Archives Canada/RG 10, Indian Affairs/Reel C-7135

Letter J, Chief Donald William Sinclair Ross, August 14, 1876, Folios 284-285

Appendix L: Treaty Annuity Paysheets, Cross Lake, 1877

C-7135 Indian Affairs Treaty Annuity Paylists Treaties 1, 2, 3, and 5 1877 (R.G. 10, Volume 9352) Folios 147-149

Indian Treaty Pay Sheet, Treaty No. 5 Cross Lake Band Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald W^m Sinclair Ross Chief Letter J Paid on Aug. 11th [1877] at Norway House C-7135 RG10

Vol. 9352

Date [all 1877]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
Aug 25	1	Ap-ce-ne-nish			0	7100			Son of 44 paid
				0/0		1/0)		
[August 25]	2	Blacksmith	1		130	0		1	
[August 25]	3	Bruce John	1	Sill	ile .	4		6	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross Changed to Norway House Band
F.A.		G 136							
[August 25]	4	Cook Mary		1				1	
[August 25]	5	Frog Robert	1	2	1	6		10	
F.A.	-	C : 1	1	1	1			2	G 31
[August 25]	6	Garrioch George	1	1	1			3	Councillor
[August 25]	7	Garrioch Margaret		1				1	
[August 25]	8	Garrioch Bap- tiste	1	2	1	1		5	

Treaty Annuity Paylists, Treaties 1, 2, 3, 5, 1877, Folios 147-149

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Date [all 1877]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
[August 25]	9	Kee-cee-ha-ta- oh-kee-man	1	2	2	4		9	
[August 25]	10	Ka-kee-kay- noo-kee-soo Tho ^s	1	1		2		4	should be Thomas Thomas
[August 25]	11	Kaa-nee-kah- pee-now	1	1				2	should be John Scott
[August 25]	12	Kah-nee-che- quan-nah	1	1	1	2		5	
[August 25]	13	Kah-nee-tah- way Baptiste	1	1				2	
[August 25]	14	Kee-quan-oh- otway (xx)		1				1	
[August 25]	15	McKay, Proud	1	1	2	2		6	Councillor
[August 25]	16	Mas-qua	1	1	1,01	60		3	
[August 25]	17	Magnus	1		15	2,10		2	
[August 25]	18	Mee-cham	1		1	Y		4	sh ^d be Mee-che- o Albert
[August 25]	19	Mary (w)		1)	7/6			1	
[August 25]	20	Noah							
[August 25]	21	Nah-yah-wa- skam	1	1	1			3	
[August 25]	22	Nee-ha-nash William	1			1		2	[Councillor No 15 [draw?] for wife]
Aug 25	23	Oh-nee-peen- nash	1	1	3	2	1	8	
[August 25]	24	Oke-way-te- no-kay Andrew	1	2	2	1		6	
[August 25]	25	[Oke-way-te- no-kay] John	1	1	1			3	
[August 25]	26	[Oke-way-te- no-kay] James	1					1	

Treaty Annuity Paylists, Treaties 1, 2, 3, 5, 1877, Folios 147-149

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Date [all 1877]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
[August 25]	27	Paa-sah-pan- noo-koo		1	1			2	
[August 25]	28	Pah-paa-moo- tah-oh-kee- mah	1	1		2		4	Should be Tho ^s Ross
[August 25]	29	Pah-kwab	1	2	2	5		10	
[August 25]	30	Ques-kin-wes- kee-nam	1	1	1	1		4	
[August 25]	31	Ques-kim-nee- pin-wes-cum	1	1	[4]	1		7	
[August 25]	32	Ques-kee-noo- kee-saw Tho ^s	1	1		1		3	
[August 25]	33	Ques-kah-kee- tem	1	1	1	4		7	
[August 25]	34	Ques-kee-num		ss0	S	100			
[August 25]	35	Ques-kee-qua- pow Joseph	1		25	0		5	Children of the woman by her own Father, money pd to Woman
			· ·	Sin					
[August 25]	36	River Peter Nelson		1	2			3	dead, Widow's name Mary
[August 25]	37	River, John	1	1	1	1		4	
[August 25]	38	Scratch John	1	1	1	1		4	
[August 25]	26	Scott Elijah John	1	1	2	2		6	
[August 25]	40	Sallie		1			1	2	a daughter (insane)
[August 25]	41	Ta-pas-ta-num or DW. S Ross	1	1	1	1		4	Chief

Treaty Annuity Paylists, Treaties 1, 2, 3, 5, 1877, Folios 147-149

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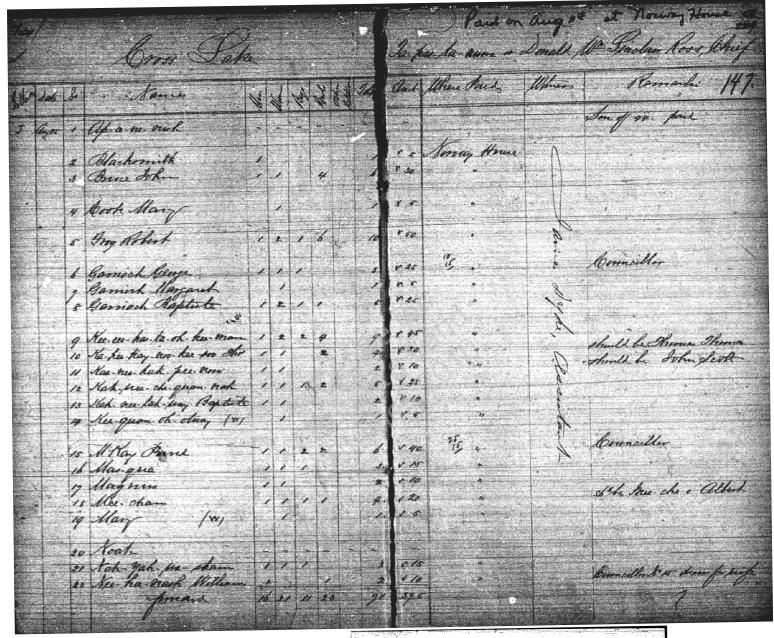
Date [all 1877]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
[August 25]	41	Ta-pas-ta-num Isaac	1	1	1			3	
[August 25]	43	Tu-ma-kah-pee- koos	1	1	2	2		6	
[August 25]	44	Wee-chuck- koo-ha-ces	1	2	2	1		6	
[August 25]	45	Way-see-poo- way-sis							
		added 1877							
[August 25]	46	Thomas Andrew	1					1	Son of Thomas No 10
[August 25]	47	Oka-way-te-no- kay-o George	1		20.			1	
[August 25]	48	Min-ne-ko-na- sis John	1	1	0	3,0		6	
[August 25]	49	Kas-ke-has-ka- ho-ga-num [Thos]	1	Ceive	15	0//		1	
[August 25]	50	Ta-pas-ta-nam Jacob	1	2017	710			1	
[August 25]	51	Garrioch Alex- ander	1	5				1	
[August 25]	52	Ke-ne-wan-o-ta- uas-squee (w)		1	2	1		4	
[August 25]	53	Ques-kee-qua- pew Eleanor		1				1	Daughter of No 35
[August 25]	54	M ^c Kay George	1	1	2	3		7	
[August 25]	55	M ^c Kay William	1					1	
[August 25]	56	Solomon	1	1	2	2		6	
[August 25]	57	Whiskey John	1	1	2	1		5	
[August 25]	58	McKay John	1	1				2	

Treaty Annuity Paylists, Treaties 1, 2, 3, 5, 1877, Folios 147-149

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Date [all 1877]	No.	Name	Per- son Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
[August 25]	59	Seaman John	1					1	
[August 25]	60	Quas-ke-kappo Michael							Absent, pay double in 1878





Letter J, Chief Donald William Sinclair Ross, August 11, 1877, Folios 284-285

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Indian Affairs. Treaty Annuity Paylists. Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5. 1877
(R.G. 10, Volume 9352)

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Letter J, Chief Donald William Sinclair Ross, August 11, 1877, Folios 284-285 ©Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2008).

Source: Library and Archives Canada/RG 10, Indian Affairs/ Vol. 9352/Reel C-7135 Indian Affairs. Treaty Innuity Paylists. Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5. 1877 (R.G. 10, Volume 9352)

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Letter J, Chief Donald William Sinclair Ross, August 11, 1877, Folios 284-285

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Appendix M: Excerpts from Methodist Baptismal records [Rossville Mission]: People from Cross Lake and John Scott's Lake Baptized June to September 1875, United Church Archives, Winnipeg, Wesleyan Methodist Register of Baptisms Norway House, 1840-1849 and Treaty Annuity Pay List, Indian Treaty Pay Sheet, Treaty No. 5 Cross Lake Band, Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross Chief Letter J, Sept 25th 1875.

		Parents' Name			
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Age When Baptized
[1875] June 13 No. 1575	Catherine	James and Isabella	Jacob	Cross Lake	6 months
[1875] June 20 No. 1579	Nancy	Jacob and Annie	Pacase	Cross Lake	6 months
[1875] July 4 No. 1581	Lydia	John and Peggy	Minokenee- sis	Cross Lake	3 months
[1875] July 11 No. 1582	Donald William Sinclair Ross	A noted conjuror for many years, who long resisted the teachings of Christianity	Tapastanum	John Scots Lake Norway House District	70 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1586	Thomas Kisiastāo- kanum	Pagan parents	Kisiastāo- kanum	John Scots Lake Norway House District	25 Years
[1875] July 18 No. 1587	John Scott Kisiastāo- kanum	[Pagan parents]	[Kisiastāokan um]	[John Scots Lake Norway House District]	27 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1588	Isaac	Donald William Sinclair Ross	Tāpastānum	[John Scots Lake Norway House District]	23 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1589	Magnus Chomoha- pācoos	John and Charlott	Chomohapā-koos (The father not yet baptized has had several wives, says he has putt hem all away but one. Is thinking to be baptized.)	[John Scots Lake Norway House District]	19 years

		Parents' Name			
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Age When Baptized
[1875] July 18 No. 1592	Baptiste Armstrong	Pagan parents		Deers Lake Norway House District	30 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1594	Maggie Kwāskekāt um	[Pagan parents]	Wife of James Kwāskekātum	Cross lake	35 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1595	Charlott Chomoho- pacoos	[Pagan parents]	Formerly wife of John Chomoha- pacoos but has been put away.	John Scots Lake N.H. Dist.	55 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1596	Betsy	James and Maggie	Kwāskekātum	Cross Lake	7 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1597	Elizabeth	James and Maggie	Kwāskekātum	Cross Lake	5 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1598	Mary	James and Maggie	Kwāskekātum	Cross Lake	3 years
[1875] July 18 No. 1599	Jane	John Scott and Nancy	Kesiastāo- kanum	John Scots Lake N.H. Dist.	1 year
[1875] July 18 No. 1600	James	John and Mary (This is the wife he intends to keep and be married to)	Chomo- hapokoos	[John Scots Lake N.H. Dist.]	7 months
[1875] July 18 No. 1602	Abel Frazer	Isaac And Mary	Kesiastāo- kanum	John Scot's Lake N.W. Dist. [the same was crossed out in this space and the re-entered. Comment: crossed out by mistake J.H.R.]	6 months

		Parents' Name			
When Baptized	Child's Name Son or Daughter	Christian	Surname	Abode	Age When Baptized
[1875] August 22 No. 1613		ns. onjuror who has long christian religion_	Indian name Chomohapā-koos, He chose to be named after Rev. James Evans as he thought with pleasure on the earnest conversation had with him many years ago.	[John Scots crossed out] Split Lake. Norway House District	66 years
[1875] August 22 No. 1615	William	Morwick	His parents Unknown	John Scots Lake	8 years
[1875] September 26 No. 1622	George	© Rubel	Kisikastioka- now	John Scots Lake	12 years
[1875] September 26 No. 1623	Thomas		[Kawāskinepi nāskum He had been leading a praying life about 1 year. Is lame.	John Scots Lake	22 years
[1875] October 1 No. 1624	Mary	Wife of Donald Will Ross	iam Sinclair	John Scots Lake	65 years
[1875] December 5 No. 1628	George	Joseph and Mary Ann	Mallett ["Adopted by George Garrioch by agreement before the childs birth"]	Jack River	13 days

Rossville Methodist Register of Marriages at about the time of the signing of Treaty Five:

Date	Names	Married?	Occupa-	Details
			tion	
1875	Charles Frederick	Bachelor/	Hunter	At Rossville
Rossville	Machekānape [20]	Spinster		Banns Minister: John H. Ruttan
No. 306	[Cross lake]			Both made marks
July 12	Charlott M ^c Koy [18]			
	[Rossville]			
1875	John Fisher [33]	Bachelor/	Hunter	Banns at Rossville
No. 315	[Oxford House]	Spinster		Both made marks Ministers: Rev.
September	Henrietta Nepanās [22]			Orrin and John H. Ruttan
27 th	[John Scots Lake]			
1875	Donald William		Hunter	"After living together about 40 odd
Rossville	Sinclair Ross [70]			years and having a large family lately
316	Mary Ross [65]			being baptised are now married ".
October 1	[both: John Scots			[Parsonage at Rossville]
	Lake]			Minister:
				John H. Ruttan
			6 703	[both made mark]

Treaty Annuity Pay List: [note that some annuities were drawn by other people, and therefore it is likely those people who did not draw their own annuity were absent]

Indian Treaty Pay Sheet, Treaty No. 5 ¹ Cross Lake Band Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross Chief Letter J Sept 25th 1875 [120-121]

Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
Sep 25	1	Ta-pas-ta-num or D.W. S. Ross, Chief	1	1	1	1	1	5	
[Sep 25]	2	Paa-sah-[pan]-noo- koo		1	1			2	Drawn by the Chief
[Sep 25]	3	Isaac Ta-pas-ta-num	1	1	1			3	
[Sep 25]	4	Proud McKay Councillor	1	1	2	1		5	

¹Government of Canada Records at the Archives of Manitoba, C-7135, RG10, Vol. 9351, folios 120-121.

Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
[Sep 25]	5	George Garrioch do [Councillor]	1	1	1			3	
[Sep 25]	6	Wee-chuchoo – ha- cas	1	2		3	2	8	Grand Children
[Sep 25]	7	Mas-qua	1	1	1			3	
[Sep 25]	8	Blacksmith	1					1	
[Sep 25]	9	Ap-ce-ne-nish	1					1	orphan
[Sep 25]	10	Noah			1			1	orphan
[Sep 25]	11	Kee-cee-kas-ta-oh- kee-nam	1	2	3	4		10	
[Sep 25]	12	John Scatch	1	1	1	1		3	Drawn by his father
[Sep 25]	13	Quas-kin-wes- kee- nam	1	1	1		1	4	Mother
[Sep 25]	14	Ques-kin-nee –pin- wes-cum	1	[1]	4	3		7	
[Sep 25]	15	Ka-kee-kay-noo- kee-soo	10,	l ³	50.	1		3	
[Sep 25]	16	Kaa-nee-hah-pea- now	1)	1				2	
[Sep 25]	17	Tea-wa-hah-pe-koo	10	2	2	2		7	
[Sep 25]	18	Pah-paa-moo-tah- oh-kee-mah	1	1		1		3	Drawn by N° 17 (his father)
[Sep 25]	19	Magnus	1	1				2	[Drawn by N° 17 (his father)]
[Sep 25]	20	Mee-chaw	1	1		1		3	
[Sep 25]	21	Thomas Ques-kee- noo-kea-caw	1		2			3	
[Sep 25]	22	Pah-kwab	1	2	2	5		10	
[Sep 25]	23	Kah-wee-[cha]- qua-mah	1	1	1	2		5	
[Sep 25]	24	Ques-kah-kee-tem	1	1		3		5	
[Sep 25]	25	Baptiste Kah-nee- tah-way	1	1				2	
[Sep 25]	26	Elijah John Scott	1	1	1	2		5	

Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
[Sep 25]	27	Oh-nee-peen-nash	1	1	4	3		9	
[Sep 25]	28	Way-see-poo-way- sis		1			*1	2	*Brother
[Sep 25]	29	Nah-[y]akl-wa-skum	1	1	1			3	
[Sep 25]	30	Kee-quau-oh-otway		1	1	1		3	Widow & children
[Sep 25]	31	Mary Cook		1				1	
Sep 25	32	Margaret Garrioch		1				1	Widow
[Sep 25]	33	Annie Ques-kee- num		1				1	
[Sep 25]	34	William Nee-ka- nash	1	1				2	
[Sep 25]	35	Peter Nelson River	1	1	2			4	Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}
[Sep 25]	36	John " [Nelson River]	1 entr	d	317	1		3	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	37	John Bruce	-i e	ies	2	5		9	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	38	Robert Frog	5	2	2	5		10	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	39	Andrew Oke-way- te-no-kay	1	2	2			5	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	40	James do [Oke- way-te-no-kay]	1					1	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]
[Sep 25]	40	John do [Oke- way-te-no-kay]	1					1	[Drawn by R ^{od} Ross H.B. C ^{oy}]

Indian Treaty Pay Sheet, Treaty No. 5 Cross Lake Band Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross Chief Letter J August 14th 1876 [285-285] ²

Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
August 14	1	Ta-pas-ta-num or D.W. S. Ross, Chief	1	1	1	1	1	5	
[August 14]	2	Paa-sah-[pan]-noo- koo		1	1			2	Drawn by Chief
[August 14]	3	Isaac Ta-pas-ta- num	1	1	1			3	[Drawn by Chief]
[August 14]	4	Proud McKay "Councillor"	1	1	2	2		6	
[August 14]	5	George Garrioch Do [Councillor]	1		1			3	
[August 14]	6	Wee-chuck-koo- ha- ces	1	2	SIL	3	2	8	Drawn by Chief
[August 14]	7	Mas-qua		1 5				3	[Drawn by Chief]
[August 14]	8	Blacksmith	1	10				1	
[August 14]	9	Ap-ce-ne-nish	1).				1	
[August 14]	10	Noah	1)						Drawn by Chief
[August 14]	11	Kee-cee-kas-ta-oh- kee-nam	1	2	3	5		11	
[August 14]	12	John Scatch	1	1		1		3	
[August 14]	13	Ques-kin-wes-kee- nam	1	1	1		1	4	Drawn by Chief
[August 14]	14	Ques-kun-nee-pin- wes-cum]	1	1	4	1		7	
[August 14]	15	Ka-kee-kay-noo- kee-soo	1	1		1		3	
[August 14]	16	Kaa-nee-hah-pee- now	1	1				2	Drawn by Chief
[August 14]	17	Tu-ma-hah-pee- koos	1	2	2	2		7	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross
[August 14]	18	Pah-paa-moo-tah- oh-kee-mah	1	1		1		3	

² Government of Canada records at Archives of Manitoba, C-7135, RG10, Vol. 9351.

No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
19	Magnus	1	1				2	
20	Mee-chaw	1	1	1	1		4	
21	Thomas Ques-kee- noo-kee-san	1	1	2			4	
22	Pah-kwab	1	2	2	5		10	
23	Kah-wee-cha-quan- mah	1	1	1	2		5	
24	Ques-kah-kee-tem	1	1		3		5	
25	Baptiste Kah-nee-tah-way	1	1				2	Drawn by wife
26	Elijah John Scott	1	1	1	2		5	[Drawn by wife]
27	Oh-nee-peen-nash		1	4	3			Drawn by M ^r R Ross
28	Way-see-poo-way- sis	1	%O'			1	2	Drawn by Sister
29	Nah-yah-wa-skam	1	d				3	Drawn by Chief
30	Kee-quan-oh-otway	10ex	15	50,	1		3	widow [Drawn by Chief]
31	Mary Cook		1				1	
32	Margaret Garrioch	CIO	1				1	
33	Annie Ques-kee- num		1				1	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross
34	William Nee-ha- nash	1	1				2	
35	Peter Nelson River	1	1	2			4	
36	John Nelson River	1	1	1	1		4	
37	John Bruce	1	1		5		7	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross changed to Norway House Band
38	Robert Frog	1	2	1	6		10	
39	Andrew Oke-way- te-no-kay	1	2	2			5	Drawn by M ^r R. Ross
40	James Oke-way-te- no-kay	1	1		1		3	
41	John Oke-way-te- no-kay	1					1	
	19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37	19 Magnus 20 Mee-chaw 21 Thomas Ques-kee- noo-kee-san 22 Pah-kwab 23 Kah-wee-cha-quan- mah 24 Ques-kah-kee-tem 25 Baptiste Kah-nee- tah-way 26 Elijah John Scott 27 Oh-nee-peen-nash 28 Way-see-poo-way- sis 29 Nah-yah-wa-skam 30 Kee-quan-oh-otway 31 Mary Cook 32 Margaret Garrioch 33 Annie Ques-kee- num 34 William Nee-ha- nash 35 Peter Nelson River 36 John Nelson River 37 John Bruce 38 Robert Frog 39 Andrew Oke-way- te-no-kay 40 James Oke-way-te- no-kay 41 John Oke-way-te-	19 Magnus 20 Mee-chaw 1 21 Thomas Ques-kee- noo-kee-san 22 Pah-kwab 1 23 Kah-wee-cha-quan- mah 24 Ques-kah-kee-tem 1 25 Baptiste Kah-nee- tah-way 26 Elijah John Scott 1 27 Oh-nee-peen-nash 1 28 Way-see-poo-way- sis 29 Nah-yah-wa-skam 1 30 Kee-quan-oh-otway 31 Mary Cook 32 Margaret Garrioch 33 Annie Ques-kee- num 34 William Nee-ha- nash 35 Peter Nelson River 36 John Nelson River 37 John Bruce 1 38 Robert Frog 39 Andrew Oke-way-te- no-kay 40 James Oke-way-te- no-kay 41 John Oke-way-te- 1	19 Magnus 1 1 20 Mee-chaw 1 1 21 Thomas Ques-kee-noo-kee-san 1 1 22 Pah-kwab 1 2 23 Kah-wee-cha-quanmah 1 1 24 Ques-kah-kee-tem 1 1 25 Baptiste Kah-nee-tah-way 1 1 26 Elijah John Scott 1 1 27 Oh-nee-peen-nash 1 1 28 Way-see-poo-waysis 1 1 29 Nah-yah-wa-skam 1 1 30 Kee-quan-oh-otway 1 1 31 Mary Cook 1 1 32 Margaret Garrioch 1 1 33 Annie Ques-keenum 1 1 34 William Nee-hanash 1 1 35 Peter Nelson River 1 1 36 John Nelson River 1 1 37 John B	19 Magnus 1 1 1 20 Mee-chaw 1 1 1 21 Thomas Ques-kee-noo-kee-san 1 2 2 22 Pah-kwab 1 2 2 23 Kah-wee-cha-quan-mah 1 1 1 24 Ques-kah-kee-tem 1 1 1 25 Baptiste Kah-nee-tah-way 1 1 1 26 Elijah John Scott 1 1 1 27 Oh-nee-peen-nash 1 1 4 28 Way-see-poo-way-sis 1 1 4 29 Nah-yah-wa-skam 1 1 1 30 Kee-quan-oh-otway 1 1 1 31 Mary Cook 1 3 1 1 32 Margaret Garrioch 1 3 1 1 1 34 William Nee-hanash 1 1 1 1 1	19 Magnus	19 Magnus	19 Magnus

Date [all 1875]	No.	Name	Person Paid	Wives	Boys	Girls	Other Relations	No. of Persons Paid	Remarks
		Following were not on 1875 list							
[August 14]	42	Sallie		1				1	
[August 14]	43	Baptiste Garrioch	1	2	1	1		5	
[August 14]	44	Joseph Ques-kee- qua-pow	1		2	2		5	
[August 14]	45	Mary		1		2		3	Widow

