



A Message to our Readers

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This Newsletter comes to you as a special double issue. Last spring was a very intensive time while we prepared for the Colloquium at Rocky Mountain House, Alberta, last May, so, as we knew we would have much to share with you in the fall, we decided to combine our spring and fall issues into one. We hope you find much of interest to read in the following pages.

Colloquium News

The Rupert's Land Colloquium, in the beautiful setting of Rocky Mountain House, was an immense success, with over 140 people registered, and about 55 papers presented. As well, it featured a wonderful exhibit of new art works focused on David Thompson, and we were able to tour the finely renovated visitors' centre at the Rocky Mountain House historic site. The volunteer Friends of Rocky Mountain House, and especially Carolyn Kent, made this event possible; we could not have succeeded without Carolyn's amazing helpfulness and dedication. Our thanks also to the local Parks Canada staff, and to the staff of the Walking Eagle Hotel, which provided such a comfortable base for our sojourn.

For this year's Colloquium, we are not printing a volume of papers, as mailing and printing costs do not make it practicable. However, about 30 of the papers will soon be available, at very moderate cost, on DVDs; watch our website for an announcement. Our current Harington Fellow, Mallory Richard (who is introduced elsewhere in this Newsletter) and Anne Lindsay are hard at work on the editing and formatting of the papers. Our thanks to all the contributors who have prepared and submitted their papers for this new digital publication.

As soon as one Colloquium ends, our plans for the next one begin. Please mark your 2010 calendar (as soon as you have one!) for May 19-23, 2010, the dates of the next Biennial Colloquium, to be held in Winnipeg, marking a return to our home at the University of Winnipeg. As I shall be retiring sometime in the following year, this will be the last of 14 Colloquiums in which I have had an active role. They have been some of my favourite gatherings over the years, in venues ranging from Stromness, Orkney, to Churchill, Manitoba, to Whitehorse, Yukon, to Vancouver, Washington, and St. Louis, Missouri south of the border. Our forays to these and other historic locales have come about through generous invitations from local people who have put great efforts into welcoming us and have helped us to create memorable events in special places. Where will the next invitations come from? We are always interested to see.

The Winnipeg Visit of Dr. C. Richard Harington

This fall we began planning for a very special event, which we wanted to feature in this Newsletter (hence our November mailing date). As announced at the May Colloquium, Dr. C. Richard Harington, last March, made a most generous additional donation to the Harington Fellowship, which he first endowed in 1986, and that amount was then enhanced by matching funds that the University of Winnipeg is now able to apply to such gifts. Dr. Harington,

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Director's Message

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a distinguished paleozoologist who is curator emeritus at the Canadian Museum of Nature in Ottawa, had never visited our Centre or met the students whom his awards have helped support over the last 22 years. When I asked him if he would like to come to Winnipeg and give a lecture, he was most receptive.

So in the second week in October, Dr. Harington and his wife, Gail, came for three days, and he gave the annual Bonnycastle Lecture at the university, on the topic of climate change over 400 million years, as seen through the fossil record. The University of Winnipeg Foundation also organized a fine reception for him, in our beautiful, newly restored Convocation Hall. We sent messages to all 22 Harington Fellows from past years, inviting them to come and meet Dr. Harington and receive from him a certificate of recognition, and eight of them were able to attend. The occasion also enabled us to gather news of the Fellows' doings and accomplishments since their fellowships; a column in this Newsletter tells of the activities of several of them. Their achievements are impressive; seven hold Ph.Ds, and several have published books. Our most recent Harington author is Donna Sutherland whose new book, *Nahoway, a Distant Voice*, is announced in this issue.

David Thompson and Charlotte Small, a New Edition and New Recognition

At the May Colloquium, our keynote speaker was Dr. William Moreau, who has been preparing the Champlain Society's eagerly awaited new three-volume edition of David Thompson's writings. The first volume will appear early in 2009. This is a work that we will all want to have, and as the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies has been collaborating on it with the

Champlain Society, a special offer of it will be available to our members. Watch for details on our website.

Shortly before the May Colloquium, we learned that the then Minister of the Environment, John Baird, had accepted the nomination from Parks Canada and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, of Charlotte Small as a Person of National Historic Significance, based on a report that I submitted back in the fall of 2006. We understand there is some discussion about the placement of plaques in her honour; two logical places would be at Rocky Mountain House and at the Thompson house in Williamstown, Glengarry, Ontario. Two years ago, I gave a talk at the American Society for Ethnohistory meetings on textual representations of Charlotte Small over the last century, drawing on some of the research I did for my report. As our evolving images of Charlotte hold a certain fascination and relevance in the present, I have ventured to include a somewhat condensed version of it in this Newsletter.

Passings

As this Newsletter was being prepared, we were most sad to hear of the passing of Lloyd Keith, one of our longest-term members and a faithful Colloquium participant, on November 9. We fondly remember seeing him at Rocky Mountain House in May. Among his many projects, Lloyd's magnum opus, the sixth volume to appear in our Rupert's Land Record Society series (2001), was *North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800-1821*. Beautifully prepared and documented, it is an essential reference work for all working in this region and period of fur trade history. Our deepest sympathies to his wife, Karen, and to his family.

This year, we have also sadly lost two other scholars of great importance for the history of Rupert's Land (for full obituaries, see the

website of the *Globe and Mail*). Distinguished historical geographer Richard Irwin Ruggles died on January 9, 2008, at the age of 84. He was co-author with John Warkentin of the *Historical Atlas of Manitoba* (1970), a major work that remains an essential resource. Then in 1991 appeared his *A Country so Interesting: the Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870*, the second volume in our Rupert's Land Record Society series. Originally planned as a volume in the Hudson's Bay Record Society series, the demise of which is described below, it then came to McGill-Queen's University Press and to our series. It is a beautiful, award-winning volume much in demand, and now unfortunately out of print.

We also regret to report the passing of Hartwell Bowsfield on 10 August 2008, at the age of 86. A dedicated archivist and historian, he was the last editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society (its final three volumes) before company accountants closed down that distinguished documentary series in the early 1980s. The loss of that publishing program was the stimulus for our founding of the Rupert's Land Record Society series in which appeared the Ruggles

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The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies

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Director's Message

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volume mentioned above; it includes nine volumes to date, and carries on under a co-publishing agreement with McGill-Queen's University Press. (For the series listing, see <http://mqup.mcgill.ca/>). Two new volumes are soon to be announced.

If you have special memories of Lloyd Keith, Richard Ruggles, or Hartwell Bowsfield, send them along so we may have a section in the next Newsletter for recollections of these scholars and good people so important to our fields of study.

Memberships, Gifts, and Looking to the Future

As we mailed out no Newsletter in the spring, this double issue must doubly solicit your attention to membership renewal! Dues of \$25 per year (US\$25 from outside Canada) are now owing for 2009—and for 2008 also, if perchance you are not caught up. Please look quickly at your mailing envelope and address which indicates the year

through which you have paid, and send a cheque while memory is fresh! Memberships are a critical means of support to our work, as well as a benefit, we hope, to their holders.

Donations are most gratefully received. All donations of more than ten dollars above the membership fee receive a charitable tax receipt from the University of Winnipeg Foundation. A donation may also be enclosed with your membership renewal; a separate cheque, made out to the University of Winnipeg Foundation, will facilitate its processing. Or, an even easier approach is to go to: <http://www.uwinnipegfoundation.ca/> Click on "Give Online." On that screen, go to the list of entities and scroll down until you see our heading, Centre for Rupert's Land Studies; the next steps are simple.

Every gift helps! I will add, if I may, that in order to provide for the future of the Centre and support of the directorship when I retire, we also need the help of all our friends and supporters to attract major gifts to build a secure endowment. At

this point, our endowment funds for the Centre and Directorship total somewhat over \$100,000, carefully built up over the years. To support an incoming Director, serving half-time as a regular faculty member, and half-time as the CRLS Director, however, requires an endowment of at least one million dollars. Is this too much? Some say we should aim for three million dollars and seek to endow a genuine Chair of Rupert's Land Studies, perhaps named after a major donor. That indeed would be my dream. Could it ever be a reality, to create a permanent place for these fields of studies and these good works?

If you have any thoughts on how to help, please be in touch, as we need to develop a workable plan for succession and continuity within the next two years.

With all best wishes for the coming holidays and the New Year.
Jennifer S.H. Brown

The CRLS Advisory Council: Notice of a Vacancy and Request for Suggestions

The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies has an Advisory Council of 12 members, four from the University of Winnipeg, four from among the membership, and four connected with institutions or organizations affiliated with our work and interests.

With the much regretted passing of Lloyd Keith, we have lost one of our dedicated council members representing the membership, and we hope to fill this position before the council meets again in the late winter. The council's nominations committee will take up this question. To help in its deliberations, would you kindly send any names you would like to suggest (either your own or that of another) for consideration to Jennifer Brown at j.brown@uwinnipeg.ca by **January 5, 2009**.

Please keep in mind the following criteria for any names suggested. First, Advisory Council members are asked to be current members of the Centre in order to vote at meetings and to show involvement with our activities; we look for a high level of interest in and support for our work. Second, Lloyd Keith was our only American member, and though not required, it is good to have an American representative, as a good many CRLS members reside in the US. In any case, some regional diversity is desirable among those representing our members. Third, we ask that council members make every effort to attend Advisory Council meetings. We try to schedule dates suitable for those who must travel, so that they can arrange more than one good reason to come to Winnipeg. Unfortunately we do not have travel support for those attending, though we are glad to help arrange accommodation.

To view the structure, present composition, and responsibilities of the Advisory Council, please refer to the CRLS website at www.uwinnipeg.ca/academic/ic/rupert

Thank you for your help and advice on this important matter.

News from The Hudson's Bay Company Archives

*Maureen Dolyniuk
Manager, Hudson's Bay Company
Archives*

Archivist of Manitoba Appointment

We are pleased to announce that a national competition has resulted in the appointment of Scott Goodine to the position of Archivist of Manitoba beginning December 1. Scott currently leads the Private Records group at the Provincial Archives of Alberta and has served as President of the Association of Canadian Archivists for the past two years.

Online Resources

We are pleased to report that descriptions of all post records documenting the company's activities in close to 500 locations across North America are now in the Keystone database and are accessible online. Work is progressing in adding descriptions of 20th century HBC records, private records and still images holdings to Keystone.

The Archives of Manitoba website has been redesigned in accordance with government requirements, and launched phase II of "Rearview Manitoba: Our Heritage is Closer than it Appears" which includes two exhibits based largely on HBCA holdings: Thanadelthur and Alexander Kennedy (www.gov.mb.ca/rearview).

Use of the Records

HBCA holdings have attracted some television programming interest in recent months, including the following:

Lois Leonard, Dr. Gordon Mason, a botanist from Sheffield, England and a film crew came to HBCA in August to film a documentary on a 19th century plant collector and botanist David Douglas. David Douglas was assisted

by the Hudson's Bay Company in his travels across North America and his activities have been well documented in the HBC records. This project is being undertaken by the Oregon Cultural Heritage Commission (OCHC) in cooperation with the US Forest Service, Forestry Commission Scotland and the support of scholars and scientists in North America, the UK, Hawaii and France.

History Television's *Ancestors in the Attic* program was in the Archives in October filming for an episode which included post journals for Port Harrison and Povungnetuk, as well as related maps and photographs. When it airs, the program will also highlight the significant resources of the HBCA.

Acquisitions

A major acquisition in the last few months was an album of ninety photographs and a diary documenting Gertrude Perrin's 1936 voyage as a tourist aboard the Hudson's Bay Company's ship the *Nascopie*. The ship carried supplies and mail for its various posts in the eastern Arctic. In addition to HBC personnel, other passengers included a government survey party, a detachment of Mounted Police posted to the Arctic, a missionary and eight tourists. Her account of the trip, the people on board and the captioned images all provide a different and valuable perspective on the voyage. This acquisition will be featured in an upcoming "Rearview Manitoba" online exhibit.

The processing of the HBC records donated in 2007 continued to move forward as a priority in 2008. This major accrual of records document the continuing history of HBC including

the emergence of the retail department store business in addition to the fur trading business that continued into the 20th century. We are pleased to report that over 25% of the 1,394 linear feet of records have now been processed and are accessible to the public.

New acquisitions are available for consultation when they are fully processed. Depending on the records and donor agreements in place, access restrictions may apply. Also, Fur Trade Scholars interested in donating records to the HBCA should contact Marcia Stentz, Archivist (marcia.stentz@gov.mb.ca) or Debra Moore, Head, Acquisition and Special Media (debra.moore@gov.mb.ca).

Hours

Research Room hours are **Monday to Friday, 9:00-16:00** throughout the year. We are closed for inventory for one week, the first full week in September after Labour Day. Researchers traveling from out of town are encouraged to check with the Archives before planning a visit.

Contact Information

Maureen Dolyniuk

Manager, Hudson's Bay Company Archives

130-200 Vaughan St.

Winnipeg MB R3C 1T5

HBCA general - telephone: (204) 945-4949, fax: 948-3236, e-mail: hbca@gov.mb.ca

Maureen's direct telephone and e-mail: (204) 945-2620, mdolyniuk@gov.mb.ca

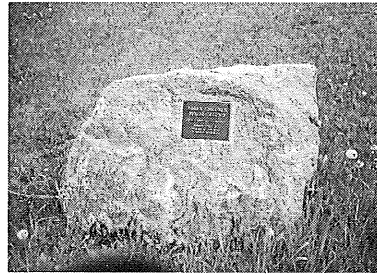
News from the United Church Archives for Manitoba and North Western Ontario

The United Church of Canada was a partner with the federal government in three Indian Residential Schools in Manitoba located at Norway House, Brandon, and Portage la Prairie. Studies of the residential school system have raised more questions than answers about the illness, death and burial of children who died at the schools.

In keeping with the evolving process within the Church of apology to and reconciliation with First Nations communities over the schools and their legacy, the archives has initiated a number of projects to provide further information on these issues. These projects will support the work of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and assist future researchers.

Because of the reporting relationship between the schools and the Federal government the Archives holds few records created by school officials. These are within the federal system. However, a wealth of information about the schools can be found in records of the various levels of Church administration and in private manuscript holdings.

The finding aid developed for Conference level administrative records in the mid 1990's includes detailed file level description which identifies all references to the schools. With the services of student interns, the personal papers holding and records created by the Church at the presbyterial and congregational level are being assessed. A research



Individual graves are not identified. There is no complete list for children who died at the School.

project to identify sources of information in municipal, provincial and federal government records that might shed further light on the illness, death and burial of children who died in Manitoba schools is nearing completion and will provide greater understanding of the context in which the schools functioned.

Diane Haglund, Archivist

A panel on the impact of issues related to residential schools on Canadian archives is scheduled as part of the annual conference of the Association of Canadian Archivists to be held in Calgary in May 2009. Conference Archivist Diane Haglund will participate.



Cairn at known burial site for Brandon Residential School on land now used for pasture by Agriculture Canada.



Slumping river banks threaten the historic depot building at York Factory NHS. See article on page 13 for more details.

Conference Announcements

“Fur Trade and Metis History: Patterns of Ethnogenesis”

A two-day conference will be held in conjunction with the Canadian Historical Society, at Carleton University, Ottawa on May 25th and 26th, 2009. The conference’s focus is on how fur trade and Metis communities “may illuminate new models of indigenous identities.” For more information, contact Carolyn Podruchny carolynp at yorku.ca Heather Devine hdevine at ucalgary.ca Brenda Macdougall b.macdougall at usask.ca or Nicole St.-Onge nstonge at uottawa.ca.

2008 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Ethnohistory

This year’s annual meeting of the American Society of Ethnohistory was held in Eugene, Oregon. For more information on the Ethnohistory program, the Society, and its journal, please see: <http://www.ethnohistory.org>

The 40th Algonquian Conference

The 40th Algonquian Conference met on October 23-26, 2008 in Minneapolis. Rupert’s Land members presenting included Jennifer Brown, Anne Lindsay, John S. Long, Toby Morantz, Richard Preston, Theresa Schenck, Ruth Swan, Clinton Westman, and Lynn Whidden.

Introducing our New Harington Fellow: Mallory Richard

We are most pleased to introduce Mallory Richard, who is the 22nd student to hold the Centre for Rupert’s Land Studies Harington Fellowship, generously endowed by Dr. C. Richard Harington. A Master’s student in the University of Manitoba and University of Winnipeg Joint Master’s programme in history, Mallory is currently writing her thesis with the support of a Manitoba Graduate Scholarship and, as of May, a SSHRC award, under the supervision of Dr. Jennifer Brown.

Mallory has had a longstanding interest in museums, stirred particularly by the experience of working and volunteering at the Canadian Canoe Museum in her hometown of Peterborough, Ontario. She also has a passion for fur trade history that developed while pursuing an undergraduate degree in Canadian Studies at Trent University. These interests have been the inspiration for her thesis work, which explores museum representations of the fur trade, and particularly their approaches to including Indigenous perspectives, through a study of three museums across Canada.

Mallory looks forward to getting to know many of our members, and would be pleased to be in touch with any who share her interests. Her contact information is: malloryrichard@hotmail.com for e-mail, or she can be reached by phone at (204) 480-6103.



Red Lake Woodlands Arts Festival

A Tribute to Norval Morrisseau and the Woodland Artists

July 4 – 6, 2008, Red Lake, Ontario

David Malaher

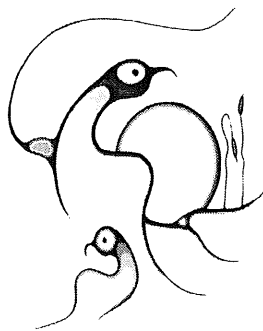
Norval Morrisseau, originator of Canadian Woodland Art in the 1960s, died at age 74 on December 4, 2007. An Ojibway, born in Fort William, Morrisseau lived with his family on the Sand Point Reserve in Lake Nipigon until age 9 when he was sent back to Fort William to attend St. Joseph's Indian Boarding School which he left at age 16. Instead of studying the usual lessons at school, Morrisseau showed his early inclination to make drawings, a skill he was able to live off, however precariously, for the rest of his life.

The Red Lake Regional Heritage Centre organized this three-day tribute to Norval Morrisseau to show off the strong legacy of artists who are continuing his Woodland style of art. Roughly 50 visitors from out of town joined about twice that number coming from Red Lake and other northwestern Ontario towns to see an exhibition of Woodland art, hear speakers describe the struggles of developing the art form and marketing it in the early days and to learn plans for on-going generations of artists in painting, carving, quilting, dance and theatre. A large community dinner on Saturday night was followed by an original biographical play of Morrisseau's life by the De-ba-jeh-mu-jig Theatre Troupe from Manitoulin Island.

Nearly 30 paintings in the Woodland style by different artists were on display along with 18 large poster size reproductions of Norval Morrisseau paintings. On Sunday the posters were auctioned off to help pay for a part of the Festival expenses. Art dealers were in attendance to present their experiences working

with Morrisseau and to offer advice to owners of Woodland art on valuations and selling in the current market.

Several town folk spoke about their recollections of Morrisseau as a neighbour and artist over the years from the 1950s to 1970s. Although Morrisseau is no longer alive there are many people living who carry strong feelings about his artistic and personal influence. A morning-long guided tour of the town of Cochenour and McKenzie Island was



Carl Ray, with thanks to the private collection of Janet Hager, Cochenour

led by Mayor Phil Vinet, Anglican Minister Levi Beardy and celebrated fashion designer Linda Lundstrom, all school mates in Cochenour at the time Morrisseau emerged onto the international art scene bringing new attention to the Red Lake region besides its well known gold mining

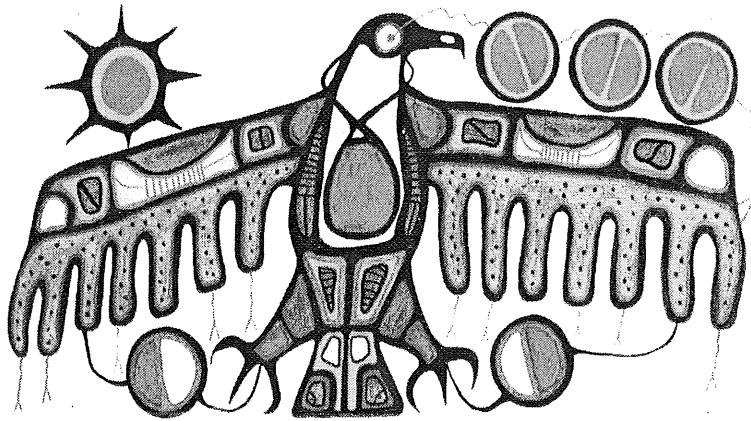
Morrisseau's life was never easy and he was constantly in a battle between art and alcoholism. Diagnosed with tuberculosis around age 23 he returned again to Fort William for 10 months rehabilitation in the sanatorium. Married to Harriet Kakegamic shortly after his discharge, the couple lived in various small communities in northern Ontario, moving to McKenzie Island on Red Lake in the late 1950s where gold

mining was the main economic driver. Morrisseau was a born artist with an independent talent for depicting native legends in bold, graphic images. There was resistance to his art from some people who felt he was breaking a taboo by depicting beliefs and traditions of the Ojibway culture but Morrisseau believed this task had been given to him in a vision and was sanctioned by his grandfather. In McKenzie, Morrisseau's paintings on plywood caught the eye of Esther Weinstein who, along with her husband Dr. Joseph Weinstein, bought samples of Morrisseau's work and encouraged him to continue painting his marvelous, mythical images.

At the same time, Bob Sheppard, an OPP Constable on McKenzie Island, spotted Morrisseau's unusual work and alerted his friend Selwyn Dewdney of the Royal Ontario Museum about the young Ojibway. Dewdney, Sheppard, the Weinstains and Morrisseau all met in July of 1960 at Red Lake. This circle of native art enthusiasts soon expanded to include Premier John Robarts of Ontario, Senator Allister Grosart and art dealer Jack Pollock. Financial grants, art exhibits, a commission for Expo 67, and development of an art cooperative carried Morrisseau to heights of attention that could not have been imagined for a Canadian native artist from 1960 to 1975. One of the art dealers at the Festival estimated that Morrisseau probably created around 25,000 paintings. Many accepted as payment for clothing, housing and food, are hanging today in private homes around the world unrecorded.

All his paintings will never be tracked down. Morrisseau, however, definitely left the art world richer with the Woodland style and many capable and self confident Native artists who are carrying on with

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Norval Morrisseau, Thunderbird, *Red Lake Regional Heritage Centre*

Norval Morrisseau

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images of legends once thought to be taboo for anyone to see. The success of this wide-ranging festival is thanks to Michele Alderton, Director and Curator of The Red Lake Regional Heritage Centre and many others in the region who generously shared their knowledge of Norval Morrisseau with neighbours and visitors alike.

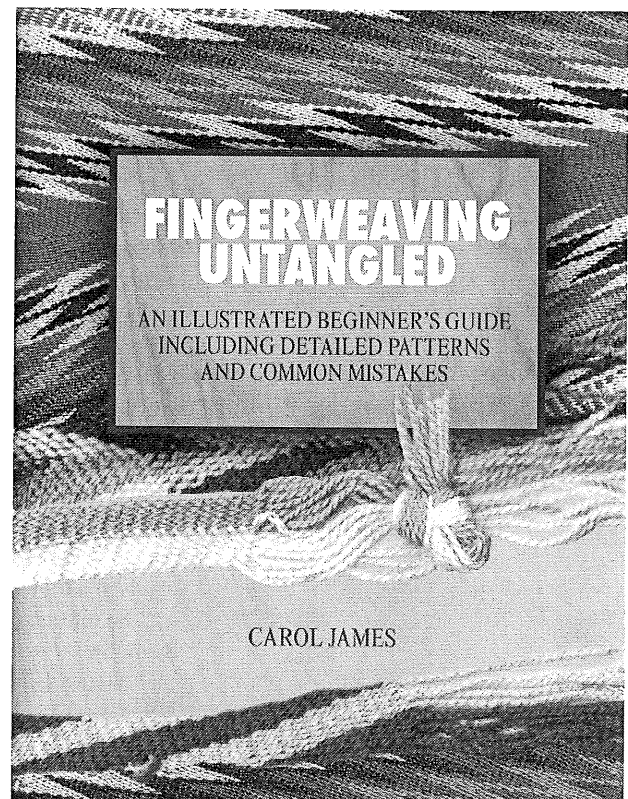
On the internet, see Morrisseau in Red Lake on the Red Lake Regional Heritage Centre website at <http://www.redlakemuseum.com>

New in Print

Carol James, *Fingerweaving Untangled*

Released in spring 2008, and already in its second printing, Carol James puts together a guide for fingerweaving sashes, with detailed coloured illustrations and photographs showing patterns and techniques as well as common mistakes and how to correct them. The book also includes instructions for beading, in addition to providing tips on finding the most suitable yarn. Relevant for beginners and experts alike, *Fingerweaving Untangled* has something for everyone, and can be

FiberArts:Winnipeg: 2008, 64 pp., paperback, \$19.95
Available at McNally Robinson or through Carol's website, www.sashweaver.ca



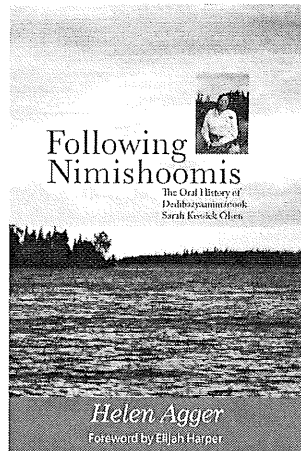
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New in Print

Helen Agger, Following Nimishoomis: The Oral History of Dedbaayaanimanook Sarah Keesick

Following Nimishoomis follows the life of Dedbaayaanimanook Sarah Keesick Olsen in the community of Namegosibiing (Trout Lake) in northwestern Ontario, as told by her daughter. The story describes in rich detail the challenges faced by her community in the face of encroaching European settlement in the early 20th century. Rupert's Land Members who identify themselves will receive a 10 per cent discount on the purchase of this book. For more information, see Thetus Press' website at:

<http://www.thetusbooks.ca/book.asp?b=91>



Donna Sutherland, Nahoway, A Distant Voice

Donna Sutherland researches the life of her great-great-great great Cree grandmother, Nahoway Sinclair in her book, *Nahoway, A Distant Voice*. Throughout the book, Nahoway's life and labours are described at the same time as Sutherland tells her own story of her journey to reclaim her Cree/Scots Metis heritage. This book can be ordered from White Buffalo Books.

Material Histories come to Life on New Website

Fur Trade Collections in Scotland is a new website featuring beautiful images of artifacts and stories that give them greater depth and meaning. Well worth visiting for the images alone, this website brings together North America and Scotland as well as material culture and the stories of the people behind the articles, and is a credit to the fine work of our member, Dr. Alison Brown, on this topic.

<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/materialhistories/collections.php>

William Lonc, S.J. and Shelley Pearen, Jesuit Letters from Manitoulin Island, 1842-1863.

This is the second volume of French letters, translated by William Lonc, s.j. and Shelley Pearen, written by Jesuit Missionaries stationed at the Holy Cross Missionary. A book launch was held October 23 and hosted by the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, Manitoulin Island..

Deirdre Simmons, Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Keepers of the Record describes the development of one of the world's most complete archival collections. Simmons documents the creation of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, tracing its history over three centuries, from the days of the fur trade and North American exploration through to the growth of the retail empire and Canada's evolution as a country. For more information, see McGill Queen's University Press at <http://mqup.ca/book.php?bookid=2171>

Newsletter Contributions

If you would like to submit an article, book review, or notice to the Rupert's Land Newsletter, we ask that it be submitted in Rich Text Format (preferred) or Microsoft Word. If submitting by email, please include the word "newsletter" in your subject line, and ensure you get a response from us indicating that we received your submission. We regret we cannot always accomodate all submissions for any given newsletter, but appreciate members' valuable contributions.

Passing of Lloyd Keith

Harry Duckworth

H. Lloyd Keith, who passed away after a nine-year battle with cancer on November 9, had many friends – I was reminded of this by the speed with which the news of his death traveled, and how many people forwarded it to others.

Lloyd taught Canadian history at Shoreline Community College, in Seattle, until ill health forced his retirement. He was a meticulous and persistent scholar of the fur trade of western Canada and the American Northwest. He wrote many articles, and completed one great book, *North of Athabasca. Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800-1821* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), in which he gathered together all the known journals and fragments of journals relating to the NWC's on-again, off-again attempts at the fur trade in that remote region. This book, with its thorough introduction, annotation and biographical notes, is a goldmine of primary information on the Northwest Territories at the dawn of their written history.

Lloyd's physical presence was that of a mountain man – tall and bearded (though admittedly with spectacles) – but his manner was gentle, a bit formal, unfailingly considerate, and more modest than he should have been about his own accomplishments. I think of him in pictures – at the Edmonton Colloquium in 1996, drinking a beer to celebrate the arrival of his grandson; on our porch at dinner, on an unusually warm October evening in Winnipeg; or my last sight of him, checking out the site of Rocky Mountain House last May, with John Jackson, before they started the drive home to Washington. He always appeared at colloquiums and fur trade meetings – more recently, his health must have made it difficult – talked of his latest discoveries, and enjoyed listening to others. Those meetings will not be the same without him.

Lloyd Keith gave a substantial gift of research materials to the HBCA in 1994, a listing of which can be found at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives under "H. Lloyd Keith fonds."



Lloyd Keith chats with friends at Rocky Mountain House National Historic Site, May 2008.

photo courtesy of Harry Duckworth

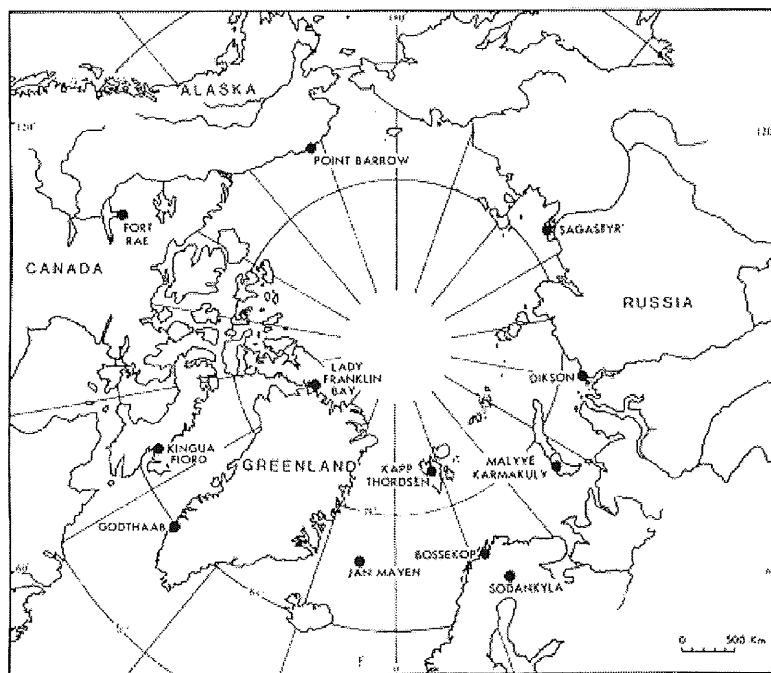
Innovations from the International Polar Year: 2007 – 2008

David Malaher

Canada's Arctic region shares the polar space with five other countries, the largest being Russia. In 1882-83 the first International Polar Year (IPY) brought scientists from eleven countries with territorial or scientific interests in the region together to conduct joint studies and publish their findings. In the 1930s and 1950s follow-up Polar Years continued the international theme of study and dissemination for the benefit of everyone. The fourth IPY is now closing and the use of film to view and analyze live action has become a popular tool for study the flora, fauna and human activities in the far north. Canadians have joined this movement to film northern subjects but the Europeans are leaders as demonstrated by many film festivals with not only northern subjects but also held in diverse polar locations.

While on a tour of northern Russia in October including a visit to Lubeck, Germany, I was introduced to the fringes of this new film tool. I was surprised to learn the wide range of sites where studies are done and the subjects discussed. Cay Wesnigk, a former exchange student from Germany whom Rosemary I hosted in 1979, is now a leading film director and producer whose work is frequently selected for conference viewing. A recent event where he participated was held in the city of Salekhard near the mouth of the Ob River, right on the Arctic Circle (66° 33' north). Salekhard is interesting in this context because it was one of the earliest Russia ostrogs, established in 1595, built by the Tsars to exploit the enormous Siberian fur resources. Like many other early Russian ostrogs, Salekhard has not just survived for hundreds of years; it has grown to a population of 37,000.

The combination of its origin, its survival and its role in today's society makes Salekhard, and other former fur trade places, worth studying and film is one of the study tools. There may be a role for Canadians to use film in studying our northern fur trade legacy, for example. Film is not only made on site but it can also be a powerful means of helping a local audience to relate to their families and past ways of life. Similarly, film could be a medium for presentation of studies at a Rupert's Land Colloquium. Anyone who has attended a film festival with northern subjects, or who is interested in this theme, is invited to consider submitting news items for the Newsletter. With further background information about current practices in Canada, or anywhere, it may become feasible to add serious film production to the study of Rupert's Land.



The Dr. C. Richard Harington Fellowship: News from the Fellows

This fall, the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies welcomed its 22nd Harington Fellow, Mallory Richard, whose biographical sketch appears elsewhere in this Newsletter. On October 7-9, we were delighted to have Dr. Harington visit the Centre and the University of Winnipeg. A reception to honour him and recognize his generosity was held in collaboration with the University of Winnipeg Foundation, and we invited all former Harington Fellows to attend. Our correspondence with them provided opportunities to learn about some of their activities and achievements since the time of their fellowship; they are busy, accomplished people! Those from whom we have news are listed in chronological order.

Renée (Jones) Fossett was our first Harington Fellow, in 1987. Her revised University of Manitoba PhD dissertation, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic 1550-1940*, was published in 2001 by the University of Manitoba Press and is a major contribution to Inuit history.

Peter Geller, after holding a Harington Fellowship in 1989-1990, went on to complete his PhD at Carleton University. In 2004, UBC Press published his book, *Northern Exposures: Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45*. He taught and served as dean for a number of years at the University College of the North in Thompson, MB. He has recently taken a position as Academic Governance Administrator at Grant McEwan College in Edmonton.

Ingrid Botting (Fellow, 1992-1993) received her PhD in social history from Memorial University in 2001. She is currently a researcher with the Winnipeg Regional Health Authority Research and Evaluation Unit, as well as an associate professor at the University of Manitoba in Community Health Sciences.

Rick Yarish (Fellow, 1993-1994) worked as an organizational analyst and project manager with cultural research for a Winnipeg research house. He is currently serving as a legislative clerk with the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

Scott Stephen (Fellow, 1995-1996) Both before and after completing his Ph.D. at the University of Manitoba in 2006, Scott Stephen has taught numerous courses at the universities of Manitoba and Winnipeg and is now a historian with Parks Canada in Winnipeg. .

Alvina Block (Fellow, 1996-1997) completed her PhD degree in history at the University of Manitoba, doing in-depth research on the relations of Aboriginal people and Mennonite missionaries in the American west and in Manitoba from the 1880s to recent times.

Beth Pritchard (Fellow, 1997-1998) is an elementary school teacher with Kings School here in Winnipeg. She continues her family-history research on the Red River descendants of fur trader John Pritchard.

*Donna Sutherland (Fellow, 2000-2001) has gone on to write two books, *Peguis - A Noble Friend* (2003), and *Nahoway - A Distant Voice* (2008), as well as to establish her own publishing company, White Buffalo Books. Her first children's book, *Little Chip* will be released soon.

*Roland Bohr (Fellow, 2001-2002), after completing his PhD in history at the University of Manitoba in 2005, became an assistant professor of history at the University of Winnipeg. His revised dissertation on Aboriginal archery and European firearms in the Subarctic and on the Northern Plains is under review for publication. He is doing innovative research and teaching on Aboriginal material culture history.

*Anne Lindsay (Fellow, 2003-2004) is in her fifth year of invaluable service as assistant for the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, while completing Honours studies at the University of Winnipeg and doing expert archival research on a wide range of Aboriginal and fur trade topics.

Monique Olivier (Fellow, 2004-2005) has just completed a Masters degree in Social Anthropology from the University of Aberdeen in Scotland, focusing on intersections at which tradition and history become entangled and systems of knowledge collide at Winnipeg's annual Festival du Voyageur.

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News from the Harington Fellows

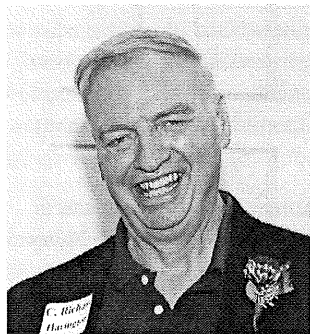
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Mike Sanders (Fellow, 2005-2006) is in the second year of a Master's degree program at the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba. His thesis research focuses on exploring the participation of Pikangikum First Nation people as firefighters within the Ontario provincial fire management system over the last six decades.

Jennifer Ching (Fellow, 2007-2008) graduated from the University of Winnipeg with a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in June of 2008. She is currently employed with the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies as well as the Diocese of Rupert's Land Archives and the United Church Archives.

*The three Fellows marked with an asterisk also made substantial chapter contributions to a book by Cree storyteller and historian Louis Bird, as a result of the Omushkego Oral History Project based in CRLS in 2000-2003. See *Telling our Stories: Omushkego Legends and Histories from Hudson Bay* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2005).

We invite all former Harington Fellows to keep in touch, visit the Centre, and send us news of your work and achievements; Dr. Harington enjoys hearing about them as well!



*Dr. Harington, during his visit to Winnipeg Convocation Hall, University of Winnipeg October 8, 2008
photo by T. Fricke*

Parks Canada News

Scott Stephen

In addition to the usual public programs at Canada's National Parks and National Historic Sites, Parks Canada has been involved in many special projects this year, including several at Aboriginal and fur trade sites. Those of you who attended the Colloquium last May will be particularly interested in the redevelopment of the Visitors' Centre at Rocky Mountain House National Historic Site. The text and design of several new exhibit panels have been finalized and should be ready for installation next spring, as will a new exhibit in the Visitors' Centre at Lower Fort Garry (just north of Winnipeg).

Speaking of the Rockies, a new interpretive trail is being designed in Jasper National Park. A short trail with nine interpretive panels will take visitors from Highway 16 to a viewing platform beside the Athabasca River, from which they can see the site of the second Jasper House (1829-1884). New interpretive panels are also being produced for a roadside turnout at the site of David Thompson's Kootenae House (1807). Both projects should be completed during the summer of 2009.

Restoration work continues on Prince of Wales' Fort near Churchill MB. Parks Canada masons and engineers, working closely with Public Works and Government Services Canada, are halfway through a major ten-year project to stabilise the walls of the old stone fort. A major stabilisation project of a different kind is just getting underway down the coast at York Factory: the iconic HBC Depot building there is seriously threatened by riverbank erosion. A multi-disciplinary team of government agencies, university researchers, and First Nations are working together to understand the complex interactions of water, ice, permafrost, flora, and humans on the site.

In all of these projects, large and small, Parks Canada is working with and consulting our Aboriginal partners. Some of these partnerships are long-term, as at Rocky Mountain House where Metis Local 845 offer an on-site interpretation program and manage the adjacent campground. However, even small or short-term projects call for consultation: the interpretive panels for that 10-minute walking trail in Jasper are being designed with input from no fewer than ten local First Nations!

Seeking Charlotte Small Thompson: Identities in Motion

© Jennifer S.H. Brown

An earlier version of this essay was presented at the meetings of the American Society for Ethnohistory in November 2006, in Williamsburg, Virginia; my thanks to Patricia McCormack for organizing that session.

This essay reviews representations of Charlotte Small in various published works. While preparing a research report for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 2006 in support of her (successful) nomination as a person of national historic significance, I became interested in how her story and identity have been portrayed over the last century. In the years 2007-11, several bicentennials commemorating David Thompson, mapmaker and fur trader, are being observed to mark some of the highlights of his explorations and surveys 200 years ago. His current fame has drawn new attention to his wife, Charlotte. Her largely undocumented roles and contributions are increasingly in the public eye, along with those of her famous husband.

It was in the early 1900s that the geographer J.B. Tyrrell first brought Thompson to public attention, citing the high quality of his maps and publishing his Narrative with the Champlain Society in 1916. In the 1920s, Tyrrell also contributed to our knowledge of Charlotte, recording her grandson's memories of her. But questions remain.

From Tyrrell's time onward, Charlotte's story and identity have been constructed and reconstructed in various ways to serve varied and changing purposes and interests. As with other Aboriginal people and their stories, she has also been drawn into the contemporary politics of intangible cultural heritage. Searches for her historical persona have led us to know her better in some respects. But the permutations that her identity has undergone tell us as much or more about later writers and their contexts, agendas, and priorities as about Charlotte herself.

Before I turn to that topic, here is a quick view of what we know about Charlotte. Her father, Patrick Small, was a Highland Scot who had charge of the North West Company post at Ile a la Crosse on the Churchill River from 1783 or 1784 to 1791 when he returned to England. In those years, he had three children by one or more Cree women whose identities are unknown. Thompson family records state that Charlotte was born in 1785. It is safe to say that until she married Thompson at Ile a la Crosse in 1799, she was brought up Cree, with the Cree language as her mother tongue.

From 1799 to 1812 when Charlotte and David Thompson left the fur trade country for Upper Canada, she accompanied him on over 20,000 kilometers of his survey and exploration work, according to Leanne Playter's wonderful map of Charlotte's "moccasin miles." Soon after the Thompsons left the fur trade, they were formally married by a Montreal Presbyterian minister. They had 13 children: five born at various fur trade posts, and eight born in Canada. Their marriage lasted 58 years (45 of them in eastern Canada), until they died in 1857 three months apart, in poverty and obscurity, in Montreal. Their union is the longest lasting fur trade marriage that I have so far discovered for the period before 1870 (Brown 2006).

We have no portraits of Charlotte, only a few artists' renditions. She may have acquired modest literacy from her husband; she signed her name when she and Thompson were married. But if she wrote anything else, nothing survives. Thompson sometimes mentioned writing letters to her when they were apart; but none of those letters survives, and we don't know to what extent she could read them herself. We know nothing of her Cree mother; and she and her father had no contact after he left North America in 1791 (he died in London in about 1809). Her main kin tie during her marriage was with her sister, Nancy Small, the fur trade wife of John McDonald of Garth; that family retired to Upper Canada in 1814 and lived not very far from the Thompsons. Nancy was not literate, so we have no writings from her hand.

In Charlotte's lifetime, writers of documents seldom mentioned her. Questions about her identity or ethnicity (Cree, Metis, Aboriginal, mixed-blood?) of the sort that we ask these days never arose. Her Cree name (which she must have had as a girl) is unknown; and when she married, Charlotte Small became Mrs. David Thompson. Thompson in his own voluminous writings never assigned her an ethnic label; the closest he came was when, writing of the "Nahathaway" [Cree] Indians in about 1847, he stated that, "my lovely wife is of the blood of these people." Unlike some modern writers, he never described her as Metis. In fact, searches of his writings show him using the term, *Metiss*, as he spelled it (reflecting the old correct French pronunciation of the final 's'). only once, in the 1840s when he was referring generically to the offspring of fur traders and Cree women (Brown 2006, with thanks to William Moreau and Sean Peake).

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Sixty years after Charlotte's death, J.B. Tyrrell became the first to cast her identity in broader terms, in terms of both gender and appearance. Tyrrell seems to have been the only person to tap into direct oral memories of Charlotte. In 1917, he interviewed one of Charlotte's grandsons, William Scott, who had lived with his grandparents as a boy from 1845 to 1850. Tyrrell's questions tell us as much about his perspective as about Charlotte. He was interested mainly in her domestic habits and in how she looked, perhaps seeking to know how "Indian" she was. In response, Scott told him that Charlotte was about five feet tall, "active and wiry," with black eyes and skin almost copper-coloured. She was "gentle and kind; very reserved in her ways, and manner. . . . an excellent housekeeper," who did not socialize beyond her family. She and her husband were "very companionable" (William Moreau, e-mail, 20 Feb. 2006, quoting from Tyrrell Papers, NAC). Tyrrell concluded in 1928, "Mrs. Thompson was a model housewife, scrupulously neat and devoted to [Thompson] as he was to her" (1928: 246).

Charlotte (and David Thompson too) might have been pleased and flattered by Tyrrell's description of Charlotte as a successful English-Canadian housewife. Her grandson also drew attention to her domestic contributions (just as Thompson in his journals sometimes noted her contributions to their subsistence in the fur trade country). However, Tyrrell's portrait of Charlotte tells us as much about his early twentieth century ideas about women's proper domestic roles as it does about Charlotte. As well, it has another implication. Tyrrell made it clear in his description of Charlotte's black eyes and copper complexion that he was speaking of a woman of Native background, and his portrait of her as a model housewife celebrated her successful assimilation into mainstream society. Here was an Aboriginal woman who had become both civilized and domesticated in accord with the values of the time, ideas that were congruent with the goals of federal Indian policy of the 1920s under the direction of Duncan Campbell Scott.

From the 1950s on, David and Charlotte Thompson acquired a higher profile in popular writing. Authors who mention Charlotte do so most often with reference to their marriage, which Thompson dated to 10 June 1799. Data on what happened at and before this event, however, are lacking. We have no record of his presumed courtship, of what ceremony, if any, marked their union, or of others who witnessed it. In the absence of information on this subject, and since no one in Charlotte's own lifetime expressed how she or others thought about her identity, she and her marriage have been fair game for later interpretations, and writers have sometimes used their hunting licenses freely.

In 1955, Kerry Wood published *The Map-Maker: the Story of David Thompson*, which won the Governor-General's Medal in Canada that year for Juvenile Literature. Wood embroidered a romantic courtship for David and Charlotte. They met in late summer, 1798, he said, when David, traveling the Churchill River, visited the fur trade post of Ile a la Crosse. The post was under the charge of "an Irishman of good family, Patrick Small" who "had taken a comely Indian woman for a wife." [Small, in fact a Highland Scot, had left that place in 1791; but Wood dates his departure after Thompson's visit.]

When David left Ile a la Crosse for his winter quarters, Wood wrote, "was the image of the lovely Charlotte cherished in the young man's heart?" The next June, amid the beauties of a northern spring, lyrically described, David returned, "impatient to get back to the log fort where dwelt the smooth-cheeked girl who smiled so easily." Soon he "made a terse but beautiful entry in his daily journal for June 10th, 1799: 'This day married Charlotte Small'" (1955: 91, 93-94).

In 1971, James K. Smith published *David Thompson: Fur Trader, Explorer, Geographer*, in an Oxford University Press series of "lively brief biographies that emphasize character, anecdote, and social history" (back cover). Smith offered correct information on Charlotte's father, Patrick Small, but embroidered the marriage story somewhat differently. "Charlotte was fourteen years old, an age at which Indian and Metis girls were often married, and Thompson took her as his wife in the manner dictated by Indian custom—that is, by courting her with the permission of several of her male relatives and then declaring her to be his woman and confirming their union by making several gifts to these kinsmen" (1971: 67-68). Smith here extrapolated from practices sometimes recorded in other fur trade unions, but there is no record of Cree male kin being present or involved in this instance.

Wood and Smith did not label Charlotte as "Indian" or "Metis," but some subsequent writers felt more compelled to do so, and sometimes to embroider the Thompsons' story further. In 1976, poet Marion Smith published a small book telling the story of David Thompson's life in the form of a prose poem. She recounted his marriage as if in his voice, as follows: "In the spring of 1799/ I stopped at Isle a la Crosse/ and there met Charlotte Small/ a lovely metis girl./ Her

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father, a wintering partner/ some twenty years before/ was now retired in England/ having left a family in the west./ On June 10 she became my wife/ and many a mile and river/ we have travelled together since.”

This is an obscure publication that I was able to trace thanks to Pat McDonald who in 2001 published a substantial volume entitled *Where the River Brought them: 200 Years at Rocky Mountain House & Area*. McDonald’s book is a useful source on Rocky Mountain House, where the Thompsons spent considerable time and where their first child was born in 1801. On page 35, McDonald quoted Smith’s exact lines, introduced by the phrase, “David Thompson reflects on first meeting Charlotte.” Almost seamlessly, the poet’s voice became that of David Thompson. The use of the term, “metis,” which McDonald capitalized (“a lovely Metis girl”) caught my eye; I already knew Thompson scarcely if ever used that term. Fortunately, McDonald’s bibliography provided the source of the text, leading to Marion Smith’s poem. Unfortunately, poetic inventions are sometimes rendered as the voices of people of the past who would not have said those lines. And both texts assigned to Charlotte an identity not relevant to her life; she left the fur trade country in 1812, before the Red River Colony and its troubles became a catalyst for Metis identity formation in the Northwest. She had no ties with that community or that ethnic label as it developed in the West after 1812.

Looking again to the 1970s, we find a novel that presents more problems than Marion Smith’s poem. In 1972, Elizabeth Clutton-Brock, a Winnipeg writer, wrote *Woman of the Paddle Song*, a book about Charlotte’s life. (Her title evokes “The Song my Paddle Sings,” a poem by the Mohawk performer and poet Pauline Johnson.) Although Clutton-Brock’s introduction to the book explicitly identified it as a novel, her use of the first person and of texts presented as direct quotations from written correspondence between David and Charlotte have led some readers to assume that such letters actually exist. Again, Pat McDonald presents us with some difficulty here. His web site, www.DavidThompsonThings.com, while offering much useful information, often quotes from Clutton-Brock as well as Marion Smith as if they were documentary sources.

Textual (re)incarnations of Charlotte Small multiplied after Clutton-Brock. In 1977, Time-Life Books published *The Canadians*, with text by Ogden Tanner. Charlotte appeared briefly as a sidelight to Thompson: “His marriage to Charlotte Small, the half-breed [sic] daughter of a trader, interfered not at all with his explorations. On one long trip up the Saskatchewan River, Charlotte went along, leading two small children by the hand and packing a baby on her back, papoose style” (1977: 92). Tanner cited James K. Smith, and his text liberally interpreted Smith (1971: 68). (Surely the family was in a canoe most of the time, and not trotting on a riverside trail.) Tanner is the only author to hint that Charlotte and her family could have been an impediment but weren’t; most others credit her contributions to Thompson’s work.

Next came Peter C. Newman in *Caesars of the Wilderness* (1987). Newman mistakenly placed the couple’s meeting at Lac la Biche, not Ile a la Crosse, and told how Thompson “met and fell in love with a gentle fourteen-year-old Mixed Blood [capitalized] named Charlotte Small, the daughter of a prominent NWC bourgeois, who proved to be an invaluable lifetime helpmate” (1987: 90). He cited no source, and again assigned an ethnicity that needs to be questioned.

Most embroidered and probably most widely read is the popular biography of Thompson, *Epic Wanderer*, by D’Arcy Jenish (2003). He renders Thompson’s courtship and marriage as follows: “In September 1798, while traveling to his wintering ground, Thompson stopped at a company post at Isle a la Crosse...and was introduced to a strong, capable Cree woman. She was the wife of a former trader named Patrick Small and worked there to provide for her three children: Nancy, Patrick Jr., who was employed in the trade, and bright, perky Charlotte, who had just turned thirteen” (2003: 108). Although David’s visit lasted only a day, Jenish continues, “he thought often of Charlotte Small that winter and was tempted to write, though he suspected she could not read. He wondered how such a fleeting acquaintance could have made such a powerful impression. They had exchanged just a few words but he had been struck by her and she by him. He was certain of that because he had seen her eyes fastened upon him and she had come down to the water to see him off” (2003:109).

On May 20, Jenish writes, Thompson returned to Ile a la Crosse “anxious and excited” at seeing Charlotte again. “He began courting her immediately, and she was taken with this man who was handsome and sincere....He wanted a partner for life, not a country wife to be left behind when he retired from the trade.” On 10 June 1799, they were married

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“without fanfare or celebration, according to the customs of the Cree. Each consented to the union, her mother approved it, and they became man and wife” (2003: 110).

Jenish provides no source for this story; indeed the book contains only a rather general bibliography. In fact, Charlotte’s and David’s meetings and marriage can only be imagined. In surviving records, Charlotte’s mother is never named or mentioned as present. Thompson never mentioned meeting her, and her character (“strong, capable,” or otherwise) can only be surmised. In his preface, Jenish truthfully notes that Thompson rarely wrote about his wife or their children and states, “I have avoided trying to fill this gap in the story through speculation or supposition” (2003: 2). Indeed speculation and supposition have their place. But it helps to be explicit about their use, and a story can be more intriguing if readers know that its possibilities can only be imagined. Given how readers and the media so readily convert novelistic text into fact on the Internet, in images, and elsewhere, caution is much needed.

My search for Charlotte Small through all these (and other) works arose in response to a specific need. Two years ago, I was drawn into creating a new construction of her for aims and purposes that are very much of our times. In October 2006, Parks Canada presented a formal proposal to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to recognize and commemorate Charlotte Small Thompson as “a person of national historic significance.” The submission was made under the umbrella of a larger Parks Canada initiative that emphasizes “strategic priorities of Women’s history and Aboriginal history, and the System Plan themes of Peopling the Land: Settlement; and, Developing Economies: Trade and Commerce.” My report was to provide sufficient information “to assess the national significance of Charlotte Small,” so that her nomination might be presented to the Board.

Assessment here of course implied advocacy, making a case and presenting arguments in support of Charlotte as an Aboriginal woman important in Canada’s history and heritage. I didn’t mind doing this report, for it challenged me to discover how much could be learned about a woman who left no documents of her own and could only be glimpsed in the writings of others and through studying her contexts. But in taking on the task, I also entered into the subculture and accepted the parameters of a Canadian federal agency that has its own momentum, values, needs, and priorities under the Ministry of the Environment. Charlotte has become a subject for the enhancement of Canada’s intangible cultural heritage. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada used to focus on tangibles (sites and monuments, forts, battlefields, and the like). Now it is increasingly asked to deal with intangibles, literally, subjects we can’t touch or see because they lack a material presence and come with few documents, few or no images, possibly some oral history (which itself sometimes makes the Board uncomfortable), and considerable doses of inference.

My report went through several iterations to conform to the Parks Canada template and guidelines, and also to meet certain tactical considerations. I wanted to be up front about what we don’t know and cannot know about Charlotte. In order to talk about these issues, I invoked Frederic Gleach’s concept of “controlled speculation” (2003) as he applied it to interpreting the story of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith. I was told, however, that the Board would not be happy about speculation. I removed the reference, and found other means to make the same points. Still, if the Board was to support the nomination, it needed to make, as it were, a leap of faith. Much of the report had to be based on context and inference, and on what we have learned about the critical roles of fur trade women and wives in the success of the trade and the survival of their newcomer husbands and families, and about Thompson’s own life.

So what can we say about Charlotte? The ethnic terms that writers have applied to her from the 1970s onward include “Metis” (Marion Smith, Pat McDonald), “half-breed” (Tanner in *Time-Life Books*), and *Mixed Blood* (Peter Newman). In fact, she grew up Cree among Cree maternal relatives; when her Scottish trader father left, she was probably less than six years old. During her 13 years of life before her marriage, she surely lived in Cree winter hunting camps and summer fishing settlements around trading posts such as Ile a la Crosse. Implicitly her identity would have shifted during her 58-year marriage to Thompson, as he taught her English and perhaps some reading and writing, and as they produced and provided for 13 children. But a Metis identity applies to her only if defined in terms of “blood” or race, which are highly problematic criteria. The Thompsons retired from the fur trade country, as mentioned, in 1812, just as Red River was being founded, and never returned; Charlotte was 27 when she left. For the next 45 years, she lived in Anglo and Scots-Canadian communities in Upper Canada and around Montreal. Some descendants of Charlotte and of her sister, Nancy McDonald, would later move towards Metis affiliations and identity, as did her younger brother, Patrick, Junior, and his

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family, who stayed in Rupert's Land. But there is no sign that she herself did so. In the end, the Thompsons probably could have lived with J.B. Tyrrell's description of her near the end of her life, based on his talk with her grandson. She was Mrs. David Thompson, a Native woman who became an Anglo-Canadian model housewife with black eyes and almost copper-coloured skin.

But we can look critically at all these representations and bring to bear what evidence we have. When we tell stories about Charlotte we can be clear about when they are speculative, and use them to help interpret the clues that we do have. We could imagine a range of scenarios about, for example, her mother. Did Patrick Small's three children have different Cree mothers? Charlotte's mother would have surely remarried after Small left. It is likely that she married a Cree man, as no fur trader is on record as taking a woman previously connected with Small. Was Charlotte's mother even alive when her daughter married, or was she living elsewhere? We don't know; and any of these scenarios could help explain why she was never mentioned in written records.

Meanwhile, the story of Charlotte, grounded in what we do know, has a strong appeal in the present. At base, we have a warm tale of a 58-year marriage that was surely based on love and attachment, even if feelings were scarcely verbalized in writing. It's the story of a woman brought up Cree, whose Cree language and skills greatly helped her husband and family during their fur trade years, and who made a major transition into an eastern Canadian society remote in every way from her homeland, where she lived for the next 45 years. We have pathos as three of their 13 children die, and as the family slips into deepening poverty from the 1830s to the 1850s, and as an outstanding mapmaker and his wife die in obscurity in Montreal. Then come J.B. Tyrrell's resurrection of both David and Charlotte in the early 1900s, and the multiple representations they have experienced into the present.

In summer 2007, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board recommended Charlotte's commemoration to Canada's Minister of Heritage, and in the spring of 2008, John Baird, the minister at the time, accepted the nomination. Parks Canada, nationally and at its relevant historic sites, will generate fresh story lines, as descendants of Charlotte and her siblings are also doing. She will be the subject of still more stories. But some rich questions remain. We can help to tell a range of stories that have resonance and plausibility, but avoid freeze-drying Charlotte into personas and identities that she herself would not have recognized.

We can also challenge ourselves and others to read and write critically, and to ask questions about the statements, labels and categories we find (or don't find) in the documents and to inquire about them. In that way, Charlotte Small, and others whose stories present similar challenges, will receive authentic recognition that respects their complexity, the zones of silence in the historical record, and the things that we don't know, while making the best of whatever it is we are able to know.

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- Duckworth, Harry W. (ed.), The English River Book: A North West Company Journal and Account Book of 1786. Cloth (1990) \$30
- Keighley, Sydney, Trader, Tripper, Trapper: The Life of a Bay Man. Cloth (1989) \$30
- Losey, Elizabeth, Let Them Be Remembered: The Story of the Fur Trade Forts. Cloth (1999) \$30
- Lytwyn, Victor P., The Fur Trade of the Little North. Paper (1986) \$25
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