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THE FUR TRADE IN EASTERN CANADA UNTIL 1870

by

NORMAN ANICK

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Lake Superior, Severn and Albany Districts after 1821

Introduction

During the 1810s, the decline in fur-bearing animals in the Nipigon region became more accelerated. The coalition of 1821 ended the overhunting of the region, and the number of posts was reduced. Lake Superior district was created after the coalition and placed in the Southern Department. The posts in this new district were formerly in the southern part of Moose district and North West Company's Pic, Fort William and Michipicoton departments. From the middle of the 1820s, the Lake Superior district's establishments, especially those on Lake Superior, were subjected to increasing competition from traders and settlers. In the 1840s, mining speculation began on both sides of the lake. Minerals were found on the American side and mines were opened which in the 1850s attracted many Americans.

Despite the fact that Severn district had only two posts, Severn and Trout Lake, after 1821, its decline continued. Simpson abandoned it between 1828 and 1832 to permit it to regenerate. Only one post, Severn, was maintained in the district in the 1830s and Trout Lake was added in 1844. Albany district, on the other hand, began to recover immediately after the coalition, and its improvement continued unabated throughout George Simpson's three decades as governor. Simpson founded beaver preserves in the district and adopted other necessary conservation measures. Lake Seul was the most westerly post in the district's interior, and Martin Fall the most easterly. Lake Seul was subjected to competition in the 1840s and afterward from

traders in the Rainy Lake and Red River regions. The other posts were secure; the lack of country provisions in the heart of the district discouraged traders from penetrating inland from Lake Superior and Lake Huron districts.

Lake Superior District

The Hudson's Bay Company's inventory of posts in 1821 lists the following establishments in the North West Company's Nipigon Department: Lake Nipigon, Sturgeon Lake, Lake Seul, Escabitchewan, Red Lake, Lesser Sturgeon Lake and Abimonde [or Atimonde] Lake.¹ Pic Department included Pic, Long Lake and Black River,² and Michipicoton Department, Michipicoten, Mattagami, New Brunswick, Batchewana Bay, Petoubeau (?) and Sault Ste. Marie Depot.³ For Fort William Department, the posts listed were Fort William Depot and Mille Lacs;⁴ for Lac la Pluie, Vermilion Lake, War Road and Whitefish Lake.⁵ The establishments occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1820-21 in Albany District, which included the region between Berens River district and Moose and Kinoogumisee districts, were Albany and its outpost at Capusco, Henley, Martin Fall and its outpost at Attawapiskat Lake, Osnaburgh and its outposts at Moose Lake and Crow Nest Lake, and Red Lake.⁶ Berens River district included Berens River and its outposts at Jack Head, Middle Olympic and Sandy Point Lake.⁷ Severn district was composed of Severn and its outposts at Trout Lake and Waynuskee.⁸ Lac la Pluie district had only one establishment, Lac la Pluie.⁹

Lake Superior district was created after the coalition of 1821 and was placed in the Southern Department. The posts comprising this new district were formerly in the southern part of Moose district, and in the North West Company's Pic, Fort William and Michipicoten departments. Lake Nipigon was

also included. We do not possess a list of establishments for 1821-22, but it is certain that none of the principal posts was closed. They were Fort William, New Brunswick, Michipicoten, the Pic and Lake Nipigon.

Michipicoten's outpost at Batchewana Bay was abandoned in 1821. At one time Batchewana Bay had been productive; however, by this date the returns did not defray the cost of its maintenance. By 1823, some residents of Sault Ste. Marie began settling there, hurting the trade at Michipicoten.¹⁰ Thus, in 1824-25, Donald McIntosh at Michipicoten sent his son, J. McIntosh, "to watch them at Bathiwana Bay, as much as to intercept the Indians of the Place as to be on the way of falling in with the Sault Indians who had come hither to look after furs." The same strategy was used in 1825-26.¹¹ Batchewana is listed as Michipicoten's "appendage."

The Pic, in 1823-24, had two outposts, Long Lake and Black River. Fifty-eight Indians frequented the three. The country was poor in provisions, causing frequent starvation in the winter. Long Lake and Black River each had a clerk.¹² Jacob Truthwaite was at Black River and Duncan Clarke at Long Lake in 1823-24. The ensuing winter, J. Vincent replaced Clarke.¹³ Nicholas Garry passed one hour at the North West Company establishment at the Pic on 28 June 1821, but left us no description.¹⁴ Simpson, on his journey around the world, dined with the post's master, Mr. MacMurray, on a small rocky island in its vicinity. Simpson says that it was "prettily situated at the mouth of a small river of the same name."¹⁵ D. McIntosh was its master in 1827-28.¹⁶ Because of its closeness to the American border, Sault Ste. Marie and Drummond Island, the hunters at times cheated the post with impunity. By 1827-28, most of the beaver had been destroyed, and beaver was seldom traded there.¹⁷ Long Lake is the only outpost listed in the Pic journals for 1840-41.¹⁸

Lieutenant Mervyn Vavasour, R.E., sent during the Oregon Crisis with Lieutenant Henry J. Warre, A.D.G., to report on the state of the military defences of Canada and the possibility of establishing military posts in central British America and on the Pacific Coast, passed the Pic as well as two other establishments on Lake Superior in May and June 1845. He said:

Fort Peak is surrounded by a Picket fence, the interior consisting of the 3 musket proof buildings forming 3 sides of an oblong, open to the Peak River on the east side of which and near its junction with the Lake Superior it is situated. This Post is capable of offering resistance against any sudden attack of Indians or irregular troops.

Michipicoten consisted "of 5 or 6 small wooden buildings situated on a sandy plain but overlooked by a small hill to the east." The third post was Fort William.¹⁹

Before 1821, some of Lake Nipigon's hunters traded at Fort William, but by 1823-24, this practice had been discontinued because of the proximity of the Americans to Fort William. In 1823-24, there were about 40 Indians, men and boys, hunting on Lake Nipigon, too many "for that part of the country and for the furs about it."²⁰ Alexander McTavish was the clerk at Lake Nipigon in 1824-25 and 1825-26.²¹

It is not certain whether Sturgeon Lake was retained after 1821. It was open in 1823-24, when 27 hunters patronized it. It served only as a wintering establishment,²² and between 12 and 16 packs of furs were annually obtained.²³ Provisions were difficult to procure there. In 1824, the master of Lake Superior district contemplated closing it, but decided that it should be kept open for another season to determine whether its trade could be diverted to Osnaburgh or Lake Nipigon.²⁴ The following

year, Chief Factor Dougald Cameron and Chief Trader Simon McGillivray, concluding that the hunters would otherwise go to the American border, advised that it should be retained.²⁵

In 1825-26, there was at least one outpost from Fort William, Whitefish Lake, located near the American frontier. It had been in operation the previous winter. Two traders were in opposition there in 1825-26.²⁶ Another outpost may have been founded at Pays Plat, "almost in the center between the Pic, Nipigon and Fort William." John Haldane wrote in September 1825 that he expected that free traders would winter there, and intended to counter them. A Mr. Sayers had wintered there two years before.²⁷

Lac la Flèche was the only outpost from Fort William in 1827-28, though Whitefish Lake and Pays Plat apparently had been in operation until that winter. Lac la Flèche was about 67 miles from Fort William, and was "a post of very little consequence to the concern," only three packs being made annually.²⁸ It was hazardous and expensive to supply, and the barren nature of the region barely permitted the men to subsist.²⁹ But Donald McIntosh at Fort William feared that if it were closed, an opposition party could settle in the area³⁰ or the Indians would go to the Americans.³¹ It was still Fort William's only outpost in 1830-31.³²

For 1826-27, Michipicoten had outposts at New Brunswick and Batchewana, and the Pic at Long Lake.³³ Batchewana Bay was designed to protect Michipicoten, but settlers and merchants at Sault Ste. Marie did succeed in drawing a few furs away. Lac la Flèche protected Fort William. There were, however, Americans settled within 20 or 30 miles, who attracted a few hunters. The American Fur Company was at Grand Portage. Simpson had intended to abandon Sturgeon Lake after the 1827-28 season, but changed his mind, because the Americans who had settled in the Lac la Pluie and Lac la Flèche regions were trading with the Indians and corrupting

their morals. Sturgeon Lake was "placed on a more respectable footing," and prices for furs were increased. The other establishments in the district were secure from opposition.³⁴

There were five clerks and 39 men assigned in 1827-28 to Lake Superior district, a reduction of two clerks and seven men from the previous outfit. George Keith, the district's master, was popular among the hunters, officers and men. Through careful management, he was able to increase the returns in 1827-28 despite the reduction in expenses.³⁵

Opposition parties from Penetanguishene were expected in 1829-30 in the Lake Superior district, but they did not materialize. The American's at Lac la Flèche, having suffered annual losses, withdrew in 1829-30.³⁶

In 1830-31, the permanent establishments in the district were Michipicoten, Pic, Fort William, Lake Nipigon and New Brunswick, and wintering posts were maintained at Batchewana, Long Lake and Lac la Flèche. A large number of men was needed, and formed "an item of expense nearly equal to the Outfit." Because of the district's lack of country provisions, not only the establishments but the natives depended principally on imported food. This expense drastically cut the district's profits. The barren nature of the country also worked to the company's advantage, discouraging petty traders from establishing themselves there.³⁷ Some of the Indians, however, by 1832 were attracted to Sault Ste. Marie, and others who encouraged free traders to come into their lands. However, the petty traders in Lake Huron district had lost too heavily in the 1820s and early 1830s to venture into Lake Superior.

New Brunswick, in 1831-32, was detached from Lake Superior district and transferred to Moose district. This was done because its hunters were increasingly attracted to

Lake Superior, and had come into contact with free men and Indians at Sault Ste. Marie. New Brunswick had been used as a "half way station" between Moose and Lake Superior, but the injurious effects on the natives outweighed this convenience.³⁸

Chief Factor George Keith, who had managed the district with "great regularity and economy for several years," fell ill in 1832, and was replaced by Chief Factor Angus Bethune from Sault Ste. Marie. Sault Ste. Marie was attached to Lake Superior district; Simpson did not think that it warranted a commissioned officer, as it was only a supply depot. It was placed under the charge of a clerk, having only one man, "the most economical footing on which it can be placed."³⁹

In 1831-32, a quarrel broke out among the inhabitants of Lake Nipigon, who had long been notorious for their feuds. Several murders were committed and Simpson, thinking that it was too dangerous to stay in their region, prepared to abandon Lake Nipigon post in the 1832-33 season. But the Indians had resolved their dispute by the summer of 1832, and the post was retained.⁴⁰

The hunters frequenting Michipicoten, Pic and Fort William suffered from starvation in 1831-32; those attached to the inland posts were also hard pressed, but not as much, provisions always being more plentiful inland.⁴¹ Simpson wrote,

Starvation prevails throughout in all seasons, to such a degree that whole Districts of country would be quite uninhabitable even to the wretched natives, who are from their births inured to misery and privation were it not that large supplies of Indian Corn, Flour, and other provisions, are issued to them every Fall at our Establishments, which with Rabbits and a few

Fish with a seasoning of "tripe de roche", constitute their only dependence in the way of living, but when Rabbits are scarce their situation is quite deplorable.⁴²

The liquor trade was discontinued in the Lake Superior district in 1835-36, and the hunters, instead of receiving their traditional "regale" of liquor, were given additional flour, Indian corn and other imported supplies. This created much dissatisfaction; some did not hunt as actively as in former years, while others withdrew to other districts where they could obtain spirits. The additional imported provisions raised the expense of the district. So extensive was the distribution of supplies that the hunters frequently could not pay their entire debt. A large stock of trading articles was kept at the various posts in order to discourage the "enroachments" of petty traders, a policy which was still successful in 1836.⁴³

In 1835, the American Fur Company's principal establishment was moved from Mackinac to La Pointe, about 100 miles from Sault Ste. Marie, on the western shore of Lake Superior. The company posed no major threat to the trade.⁴⁴ In 1833, Simpson had concluded a three year agreement with William Aitken, one of its wintering partners, in which the American Fur Company pledged not to interfere in the trade across the border on the shores of Lake Superior in return for an annual payment of £300. This agreement subsequently was extended and remained in force until the American Fur Company was purchased and reorganized in 1843 by Pierre Chateau Jr. and Company.⁴⁵

The American Fur Company, in the early 1830s, extended its enterprises to curing fish, and conducted fisheries on the Canadian side of the boundary line. These activities did not injure the Hudson's Bay Company's trade. However, the American Fur Company subsequently established a retail

shop at Sault Ste. Marie for the purpose of purchasing fish for goods and buying furs. Simpson did not protest against this action, but in the summer of 1833 he instructed Keith to send merchandise valued at £500 to Sault Ste. Marie. Sault Ste. Marie was separated from Lake Superior district and placed under the supervision of Mr. Nourse, an "intelligent clerk." Simpson expected that it would soon increase in importance.⁴⁶

The Southern Council's winter arrangements for Lake Superior district in 1836-37 were: Michipicoten, Chief Factor John D. Cameron and Dougald McTavish, clerk; Agawang, John Robertson, postmaster; Pic, William Clouston, postmaster; Long Lake, Louis Denis LaRonde, postmaster; Fort William, Chief Trader Donald McIntosh; and Lake Nipigon, John Swanston, clerk. Michipicoten was the principal post in the district. The complement of servants did not exceed 36, and the outfit included 850 pieces of provisions and tobacco from Sault Ste. Marie, and 300 pieces of goods from Moose.⁴⁷

By 1837, a large part of the district's provisions, including flour and Indian corn, was purchased in the United States. Food was sold to the Indians at a rate which was only a little above cost and charges. In 1836-37, a band of 50 natives, suffering from starvation, was maintained free of charge at Fort William for eight months; another, of 40 Indians, was maintained for two months.⁴⁸

Mr. Cotte, the agent of the American Fur Company at Grand Portage in 1841-42, employed some Indians attached to Fort William to construct sleds but apparently did not trade with them. Simpson made a mild complaint to one of the company's partners, Ramsey Crooks, and Cotte subsequently was prohibited by his company from continuing this practice. The American Fur Company's agent at La Pointe, Dr. Borrus, on the other hand was circumspect in his actions and polite

in his communications with the master at Fort William.⁴⁹

The Cleveland Company established itself in Lake Superior district in 1839-40 or 1840-41; where we are not told. It withdrew in 1842-43. In 1842-43, the district was free from opposition, "except from the few petty traders belonging to the Sault who infest the Goulait and Batchewana Bays."⁵⁰

Lac d'Original was founded as a temporary outpost from Fort William to protect the trade near the boundary line during the period of opposition from the Cleveland Company. After the latter's failure, Simpson hoped to close it. However, a few "strangers" subsequently established themselves at the upper end of Lake Superior, and consequently it was retained.⁵¹

In the summer of 1841, an agricultural settlement was formed on the Kaministikwia River by a number of retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and several half-Indian families. Fearing that this community, possessing men who could act as interpreters and voyageurs, could become a menace to the trade of the interior country, Simpson ordered that none of its residents should be employed or given assistance. Within two years it dissolved, being unable to subsist without supplies from the company.⁵²

The arrangements made for 1843-44 in Lake Superior district were: Michipicoten, Chief Trader John Swanston and five men for the winter and two for the summer; Batchewana, Joseph Turner, postmaster, and two men for the winter; Pic, Erland Erlandson and five men for the winter and two for the summer; Long Lake, C. Roussain, postmaster, three men for the winter; Nipigon, J. Anderson, clerk, and seven men for the winter and two for the summer; Fort William, H. McKenzie and eight men for the winter and two for the summer; and Lac d'Original, L.D. Delaronde, postmaster, and two men for the winter. In all, the district had two chief traders, two clerks, three postmasters and 32 men.⁵³ Erland Erlandson

had been master at Long Lake the previous winter, and was transferred to Pic because of his "steadiness and attention."⁵⁴ The district's returns and profits increased by £1,000 in 1842-43.

The Hudson's Bay and American fur companies continued their co-operation in the mid-1840s to exclude opposition from the shores of Lake Superior. Ramsey Crooks indicated to Simpson, in the first part of 1844, that if an opposition appeared at Pigeon River, he might place a post beside it for their mutual protection. Swanston at Michipicoten was instructed by Simpson to communicate with the officer in charge of La Pointe if an opposition did appear. Lac d'Orignal was retained.⁵⁵

The arrangements for 1844-45 were: Michipicoten, Chief Trader John Swanston and five men; Batchewana, Joseph Turner, postmaster, and two men; Pic, E. Erlandson, clerk, and five men; Long Lake, C. Roussain, postmaster, and two men; Lake Nipigon, James Anderson, clerk, and six men; Fort William, Hector McKenzie, clerk, and seven men; Lac d'Orignal, Michel Collin, interpreter, and two men.⁵⁶

By the spring of 1843, a United States joint-stock company had begun to exploit a copper mine on the western shores of Lake Superior at Copper Harbour. The mine was expected to employ between 800 and 1,000 men.⁵⁷ In 1844-45, the mine and the fisheries which were operated near it attracted numerous Americans from all parts of the Union. From there, some began spreading out on both sides of the lake.⁵⁸ The same year, the American government established a military post at La Pointe. Petty traders subsequently settled there and they attracted many of the Hudson's Bay Company Indians, especially those attached to Fort William. Meanwhile, traders at the American military post at Sault Ste. Marie injured the trade of Batchewana and Michipicoten.⁵⁹

The competition from Americans promised to accelerate later in the decade. The United States government was cutting a canal on the south side of Sault Ste. Marie, connecting the St. Marys River with Lake Superior. An American steamer was expected to be in operation on Lake Huron in 1846, and a number of sailing vessels were being constructed on Lake Huron. Simpson calculated that within a short time the Lake Superior district trade would be "very unproductive." The United States government was careful to exclude all British subjects from interfering with the fur trade on its side of the boundary line.⁶⁰ Despite the increased competition, the district's returns in 1844-45 showed an improvement of £1,800.⁶¹

Simpson encouraged the Indians of Fort William to make an agricultural settlement on the Kaministikwia River near Fort William, calculating that it would keep them about the post and away from the Americans. He also requested the Roman Catholic bishop of Toronto to send a missionary, and the bishop promised to do so in 1847.⁶²

The district's profits, in 1845-46, again increased, this time by a few hundred pounds. This gain Simpson considered only temporary, for the competition was annually increasing and the government was encouraging the Indians to become agriculturalists on Manitoulin Island, where a settlement had already been formed. The district was so rocky and barren that it would be impossible to employ "free trappers" to replace the Indians.⁶³

By the mid-1840s, much exploration for minerals had been conducted on both the British and American sides of Lake Superior. The region was thought to be rich in minerals, especially in copper, iron, lead and silver. The Canadian government began selling blocks of land to mining companies at 4 shillings per acre, and Simpson applied to purchase the lands the company occupied on Lake Superior.⁶⁴ He did so

because he feared that miners could claim the company's land.

In his application, Simpson gave the following description of the posts:

Batchewana - This post is situated in the bay of the same name, about 35 miles west of the Sault de Ste Marie. It consists of several dwelling and store houses and a small farm.

Michipicoten - This post stands near the mouth of the river of the same name and is of much importance to the Company in the prosecution of their fur trade and fisheries. Besides the stores, dwellings, wharves etc., there is a farm on both sides of the river.

Pic - This establishment is situated at the mouth of the Pic River - and has a farm attached.

Fort William - This is a very important post to the Company; it is situated at the mouth of the River Kaministagoish and forms an entrepot for the interior country of Prince Rupert's Land. The buildings and farms are on a large scale.⁶⁵

It was not until the early 1850s that Simpson received titles to the lands.

In 1845 and 1846, many Indians were employed as guides by exploring parties, receiving handsome wages. But the explorations were completed by the summer of 1846 and the Indians returned to hunting. The mining companies were reluctant to hire them as miners because their labour was considered to be unproductive. These companies also indicated that they would discourage their employees from having contact with them.⁶⁶

The exploring parties did much harm to the hunting grounds. Many wooded areas were burned because of their negligence.⁶⁷

Initially, the Hudson's Bay Company conducted a profitable trade in provisions and boats with the mining companies, £2,600 being received in 1845-46. The same posts were occupied in 1846-47.⁶⁸

Between 1845-46 and 1846-47, the returns from Lake Superior district declined more than those from any other district in the Southern Department. Some of the district's Indians had left their hunting grounds for Manitoulin Island, and those in the vicinity of Fort William, near the American border, were giving many of their furs to Americans and the numerous exploring parties along the shores of Lake Superior.⁶⁹ Hitherto, Simpson had given the American Fur Company £300 per annum to protect the trade in this quarter, but in 1843, following the purchase of that company by Pierre Chateau Jr. and Company, Simpson terminated the arrangement and discontinued the payment of the allowance. The competition between the Hudson's Bay and American Fur companies further accelerated in the next few years, when one of the American Fur company's partners, Henry A. Sibley, contracted to supply with goods the trader Norman W. Kittson, who in 1845 opened a post at Pembina. The two men thus gained a stranglehold over the fur trade south of the American border from Pembina to Lake Superior.⁷⁰

The posts in the Lake Superior district in 1846-47 were Fort William, with an outpost "near" Pigeon River, Lake Nipigon, Pic, Long Lake, Michipicoten and Batchewana.⁷¹

The influx of settlers into the Lake Superior region abated somewhat in the latter part of the 1840s. The land was found to be not as rich in minerals as had previously been thought, and mining speculation ended by the end of the decade.⁷²

During the mining boom, the Indians became increasingly vociferous in their demands for compensation from the government for the loss of their lands, and at one point

resorted to an act of violence to press their claims. A treaty was signed in 1851 in which they ceded all their lands on Lakes Huron and Superior for a sum of £4,000 and an annuity of £1,000, half of which went to those who traded at the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. The money was distributed through the company, which had acted as a mediator during the negotiations. With these grants and the revenue obtained from the fur trade, the hunters were "very comfortable and independent." They were now more attached to the company and more distrustful of the Canadian and American settlers and the miners and fishermen on the American side of Lake Superior.⁷³

The chiefs in the vicinity of Fort William in 1798 had granted a "considerable extent" of land on the banks of the Kaministikwia River to the North West Company. This grant, however, was contrary to the Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited the purchasing or leasing of land from Indians by private individuals. Simpson did succeed in having the government recognize this arrangement in the 1851 treaty, though the grant was reduced to the mouth of the river and "the whole of the left bank to a depth of 12 miles." The other land the North West Company had acquired was set aside as an Indian reserve.⁷⁴

At the beginning of the 1850s, a settlement of half-Indian families was forming on the banks of the Kaministikwia River where two Jesuit priests were residing. Simpson feared that it would injure the trade and corrupt the morals of the Indians and alter their way of life.⁷⁵

The curing of whitefish for the American market by the Hudson's Bay Company was discontinued as a separate business by 1850-51. However, "small quantities," the surplus catch from the posts, were subsequently disposed of in the United States.⁷⁶ The establishments in the district in 1850-51 were Michipicoten, Batchewana, Pic, Long Lake, Lake Nipigon and Lac d'Original.⁷⁷

After the collapse of the mining boom on the Canadian side of Lake Superior, the fur trade recovered. The returns remained constant in the late 1840s and actually increased in 1850-51, principally because there was a greater demand for British manufactures at the company's retail stores.⁷⁸

Another period of mining speculation on the Canadian shores of Lake Superior began in the early 1850s. In 1853-54, the Montreal Mining Company owned 21 locations, each measuring 10 square miles, but no mine which could be worked to advantage had yet been discovered. There were five or six exploring parties at various locations on the lake, and they interfered with the fur trade to some degree. Formidable competition also came from Americans at Isle Royale and the Old Grand Portage, settlers at Sault Ste. Marie and fishermen.⁷⁹ The company's posts gave more attention to the whitefish and trout fisheries in order to assure the Indians an adequate supply of provisions. Simpson calculated that this measure would discourage them from trading with merchants and miners.⁸⁰

The sales shops became more remunerative in the mid-1850s, the profit derived in 1854-55 being £400. Though not actively prosecuted, the whitefish and trout fisheries at Fort William were disposed of at a fair margin of profit. The value of the furs received in 1854-55 increased by 25 per cent.⁸¹

The establishments in Lake Superior district in 1853-54 were Michipicoten, Fort William, Pic, Long Lake, Lake Nipigon and Batchewana, with temporary outposts at Momainsee, Pigeon River and Lac d'Orignal.⁸²

Chief Trader John MacKenzie replaced Chief Trader Swanston as master of the district in the summer of 1854.⁸³ Formerly, Michipicoten had been the principal post; however, in the mid-1850s, Fort William, because of its proximity to the American border and its position on the line of communications with the interior, eclipsed it. Fort William, in

1854-55, was under the charge of Chief Trader Boucher, but he lacked sufficient energy to counteract the American opposition, which made "considerable encroachments." He was transferred to New Brunswick House and was replaced by John McIntyre, a clerk, who had had experience with fishing and farming.⁸⁴

The ship canal connecting St. Marys River and Lake Superior, which was being completed in 1855, meant that a large influx of settlers could soon be expected. Simpson was prepared to adapt to the new conditions, as he had in Lake Huron and on the Ottawa River. More emphasis was to be placed on the retail shops to compensate for the reduction of the fur trade, which inevitably accompanied the establishment of numerous settlements. Fort William and Michipicoten, Simpson expected, would soon become valuable properties.⁸⁵ Orders were given by Simpson to McIntyre to increase the activity of the retail shop, there being a demand for articles from Isle Royale and other American settlements, and the Indian village near Fort William. So long as certain articles continued in demand, they were to be sold at as high a price as possible.⁸⁶

There were two outposts from Fort William in 1854-55, Pigeon River, where John Finlayson was in charge, and Lac d'Orignal, under François Mizzolue. Neither served to advantage, and Simpson ordered McIntyre to encourage the masters to be more active. They were to avoid as much as possible crossing the American border.

If Americans go in the direction of the Company's post at Bois Blanc, the people of Lac d'Orignal must follow them there. But, as a general rule, you should interfere as little as possible with the Bois Blanc Indians, who are very closely watched by Postmaster Chastillain.⁸⁷

Mining speculation subsided in the mid-1850s and by June 1857 there was not a single mine in operation on the Canadian side of Lake Superior.⁸⁸ The collection of furs in 1856-57 was valued at £6,600, the highest for several years. The only post which was exposed to competition was Fort William, and it was the only one to show a decline in returns. After the completion of the canal, the population on the American side of the lake rapidly expanded. Superior City, at Fond du Lac, was a boom town, and a road had been constructed to connect it with St. Paul. The expansion of the American population made Fort William's whitefish and trout industries more remunerative.⁸⁹ The only settlements on the Canadian side of Lake Superior in the mid-1850s were either beside or in the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts.⁹⁰ The Hudson's Bay Company post was the only settlement on the Canadian side of Sault Ste. Marie.

The company's respite was short-lived after the end of the second period of mining speculation. The Canadian government was determined to open Lake Superior to settlement and exploitation. In 1856-57, it allocated £5,000 for the construction of a road from Lake Superior westward toward Red River, but no route was immediately selected.⁹¹ In the late 1850s, it passed a fisheries Act, similar to the one for the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This Act promised to "operate to the prejudice" of the company.

Steam communication was established in the summer of 1858 between Collingwood and Fort William, in order to convey the mails to Red River. Three trips a month were made; the mails were to be carried from Fort William to Red River by either the Pigeon River or the Grand Portage route.⁹² Expecting that the company would oppose the delivery by force, the first party was armed with revolvers. Mr. Kennedy, who was to deliver the mail from Fort William to Red River, publically stated that "his life was in danger

from the Company's animosity towards him."⁹³

The government, at the end of the decade, was surveying the region near Fort William and laying out townships. New settlements along the shore of Lake Superior were encouraged.⁹⁴

Chief Factor John MacKenzie was transferred in 1857-58 to Moose Factory to replace Chief Factor Miles, who went on furlough. Chief Trader Watt, at Albany, succeeded MacKenzie, and Chief Trader Hardisty was transferred to Albany.⁹⁵

There were, in 1860, more American and Canadian traders engaged in the fur trade than previously, necessitating an increase in the company's tariff. As many furs were received in Lake Superior district in 1859-60 as in 1858-59, but they were purchased at a higher cost.⁹⁶

A.G. Dallas writes in 1863 that Lake Nipigon, Fort William and Pic were "comparatively free from opposition." During the summer, Fort William was "almost abandoned" by both the Indians and the company's employees.⁹⁷ Chief Factor MacKenzie resided at Michipicoten, where the district's affairs were "conducted with the utmost precision and regularity and upon a long established routine which has been undisturbed for very many years."⁹⁸

Severn District

In the decade before the coalition of 1821, a decline in the numbers of fur-bearing animals began in Severn district, and it became more accelerated after 1821. Simpson wrote in 1827 that no other district afforded "such a melancholy proof of the rapid exhaustion of the country."⁹⁹ After 1821, Severn district had two establishments, Severn and Trout Lake, the latter having only a "Small Outfit."¹⁰⁰ Severn had a good marten hunt every three or four seasons, but this hunt did not cover the cost of its outfit.¹⁰¹ Trout Lake was

a source of much contention and recrimination between the masters of Severn and Albany districts. Hunters not infrequently received their debt at Trout Lake and traded at an establishment in Albany district, and vice versa.¹⁰²

Simpson believed that Severn district could be saved only if hunting were discontinued for a least five years. He said in his 1827 report that Trout Lake would be closed in the autumn of 1827,¹⁰³ but there is a journal for the 1827-28 winter. Robert Cummings, its new master, "found the Place in a very wretched state indeed the Dogs almost from walking for want of Sustenance and the garden and Every other thing about the Place in bad Order."¹⁰⁴

Severn was retained for the 1827-28 winter, with its complement reduced to one clerk and four men, to give "assylum" to the hunters who could not remove this year to Albany or Island Lake. Simpson intended that they should be attached to Merry's House the following winter.¹⁰⁵ Before the post could be evacuated in the early summer of 1828, it was destroyed by fire. No lives were lost and all the property was saved.¹⁰⁶ Trout Lake was also abandoned.

While the Severn region was much improved by 1830, Simpson decided that it should be given a few more years to recuperate. Severn and Trout Lake would be re-established "when it will be time to abandon Merry's House again."¹⁰⁷

Severn was open by 1832, but the Northern Council did not decide to reoccupy Trout Lake until 1843. Because Trout Lake had formerly generated disputes between the masters of Albany and Severn districts, William McKay, who was to re-establish it, was warned to discourage the Albany Indians from visiting him. Thomas Corcoran, at Albany, was instructed to turn away any Trout Lake hunter coming to an establishment in his district.¹⁰⁸

William McKay and John Cromartie, the master of Severn, departed from York Factory in August 1843 with the outfit for

Severn district. After reaching Severn, McKay started off with seven men for Trout Lake, but was forced to return at the end of August before reaching his objective.¹⁰⁹ No post was founded in 1843. The following July McKay reached the lake and immediately began constructing two buildings, one "40 feet by 16 feet to be divided in the midil,"¹¹⁰ and the other a store, "16 feet squar."¹¹¹

This site was retained only until the summer of 1845 when the inhabitants, finding that it was poor for fishing, removed to an undesignated location.¹¹² The buildings at the old site were dismantled¹¹³ and the wood was used to construct a house. A winter fish house, constructed during the year, was pulled down in the spring and its wood was used for an "Indian house."¹¹⁴ A new house was begun in the summer of 1846 but was not completed until November. McKay wrote on 7 November, "This afternoon I entered the new house after two years recedance at Trout Lake I now only can say that I have a house - the house that I occupyed was only a Kitchen and a Indian house, as it had to serve for that purpose."¹¹⁵ This comment would indicate that the new house was a master's residence. A store was under construction between February and May 1847.¹¹⁶ All the buildings were constructed of squared wood and covered with bark.

There are a few descriptions, though not extensive, and two ground plans of Severn in the Severn journals and reports before it was burned in 1828. In his report for 1815, James Swain says that Severn was situated on Severn River, five miles from the seacoast and commanded a fine view of the surrounding country. He continued:

The ground on which it stands is somewhat dry, and from the Gateway to the edge of the bank is two hundred and ten feet, the front of S.E. line of the stockades is three hundred feet long, the whole space before which is a level grass flat

two hundred and fifty yards long. The several buildings are in very good condition being only fifteen years since they were completed. The dwelling house, the trading room, the kitchen and carpenters shed are covered with sheet lead as is a small place where the Powder is kept. The store house, the provision shed and servants kitchen are covered with weather-boarding.¹¹⁷

James Keith commented in 1823 that the buildings were extensive and commodious

but in consequence of the ponderous flat leaden roofs and massive brick chimneys resting on such a moist swampy base, and having received no props or bracing since their first erection, they are getting off the level and perpendicular and require repairs. The Factory and stores are now too capacious for the present reduced scale of the District.¹¹⁸

Simon McGillivray, in an entry in his journal on 11 November 1825, complained: "This is one of the coldest Houses I have ever inhabited in the Indian Country, and was it not for a Canadian stove, the house would be inhabitable. There is a good chimney in the Guard room and in spite of great fires, the water freezes in the buckets."¹¹⁹

A stable was erected for a horse in June 1826. It was "10 feet long by 8 in breadth inside and 7 feet high - it is put behind the large house as there is very little snow on that patch of ground during winter."¹²⁰

There is no description of Severn in the Hudson's Bay Company archives after the post was re-established.

The following description of Trout Lake is given by an unknown author in 1823:

The Buildings at this settlement are two dwelling Houses and one store the latter is in good Repair but the dwelling houses are Indifferent, being built with the materials of the old houses which were formerly at this place but we intend building one [_____] this summer and repairing the other.¹²¹

Albany District

Osnaburgh, Albany, Martin Fall and the former North West Company house at Lake Seul comprised Albany district in 1821-22. Attawapiskat was relinquished. In 1822-23, a post of Escabitchewan (Ball Lake) was in operation and attracted some Indians who usually traded at Lake Seul. Whitefish Lake, an outpost from Lac la Pluie, also competed with Lake Seul.¹²² Cedar Lake was established in 1825-26 to prevent the lake's hunters from going to the Lac La Pluie region and to obtain rice,¹²³ but it did not fulfil these objectives and was closed in 1828-29.¹²⁴

Until 1823-24, John Davis was in charge of Lake Seul, with Charles McKenzie, the former North West Company master, serving as his assistant. Nicol Finlayson succeeded Davis. Between 1827-28 and 1844-45 McKenzie, a man of good education who had a penchant for the classics, led a rather dull existence as master of Lake Seul. In 1828-29, he had a wife and two children, a son and a daughter. Employed at his post were four engagés and three apprentice boys; all but one of the engagés had wives and children. They lived "entirely on white fish & potatoes," the soil being fit for the cultivation of only potatoes. There were five horned cattle, too many, in McKenzie's opinion.¹²⁵ In his journal for 1837-38, McKenzie wrote: "We are here 10 Servants in our several Capacities 9 women, 25 children - a grand Total of

45 human beings - Half too many for a fishing post."¹²⁶

After Cedar Lake was closed, Louis Denu de La Ronde (most likely the Louis-Denis de Laronde previously mentioned), in the summer of 1828, founded a post at Red Lake, and wintered there with two men.¹²⁷ McKenzie recommended in the spring that it should be abandoned, because it "created a good deal expenses & accumulated a good deal of debts" among the Red Lake Indians, who would otherwise have traded at Lake Seul.¹²⁸ Red Lake was not reoccupied the following winter.

The establishments in Albany district in 1827-28 were Albany, Martin Fall, Osnaburgh and Lake Seul. Simpson intended to transfer Sturgeon Lake to the district in 1828-29. He desired in 1828 that a post be established on "the borders of Weenusk Country," inland from Cape Henrietta Maria, for the bands which formerly had been outfitted from Trout Lake and Severn. In addition, he thought that there should be an outpost from Osnaburgh in the country at the head of the Albany, Berens, Poplar and Severn rivers, where martens and muskrats were relatively plentiful.¹²⁹

Nevertheless, Winisk River post was not founded before the summer of 1833, a year after the re-establishment of Severn. George Bainston left Albany in July 1833 with three men, John Beads, John Daniel and William Beebles, and an Indian boy.¹³⁰ On 11 September, they reached Aubeckoogan Lake, and "fixed on a Bay on the North Side, within a mile of Gunn's old post."¹³¹ Probably more than one house was built, as a men's house is mentioned in the journal.¹³² Most of the Indians who frequented it had received debts at Martin Fall.¹³³ Bainston named his establishment Fort Concern.¹³⁴

The post did not recover its expenses: the furs collected were valued at £556, while the expenses totalled £767.¹³⁵ It was too close to Martin Fall to be of advantage,

and Thomas Corcoran at Martin Fall recommended that it should be relocated at Attawapiskat Lake. Bainston also favoured its relocation. He suggested Indian Head Lake, because an establishment at Attawapiskat Lake would hurt the Trout Lake hunters.¹³⁶ It was abandoned, but it is not certain whether another post was established in its stead.

Between 1826 and 1829, Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy was master of Albany district. Under his administration the profits of the district rose from £7,000 to £9,600.¹³⁷ His successor in 1829-30, Chief Trader McTavish, found fault with his arrangements and suggested that the district should be remodelled, giving up Osnaburgh and Lake Seul and transferring Sturgeon Lake to Lake Superior district. McTavish argued that the Osnaburgh Indians would receive their supplies at Martin Fall and Sturgeon Lake; those frequenting Lake Seul would trade at Whitefish Lake, an outpost from Lac la Pluie, and Dalles, in the Winnipeg. The Lake Seul-Osnaburgh region would be permitted to recuperate. Simpson considered the plan "wild," and the arguments presented to support it unimpressive. He thought that it would create suffering among the natives. Osnaburgh was in the middle of an immense, thinly populated region, the closest establishment being Martin Fall 200 miles away. It was visited by more hunters than in previous years; a number of those frequenting the old posts of Blood Vein River, (Blood River) near eastern Lake Winnipeg, Trout Lake and Severn had attached themselves to it.¹³⁸

Simpson was unequivocal in his support for the maintenance of Lake Seul, believing that its abandonment would deliver its hunters to the Americans, who were in opposition at Whitefish Lake and Lake of the Woods. If it were closed, the Indians would still hunt in the Lake Seul region, and the company would be required to pay the same prices as the opposition.¹³⁹

McTavish, in the summer of 1830, was transferred to his former post of Lake Nipigon and replaced by Chief Trader Jacob Corrigan, who was instructed to pursue Kennedy's policy.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Simpson did recognize that the country had been over hunted in the previous decade, and advised Corrigan to discourage a trade in certain animals.

The posts occupied in 1830-31 were Albany, Martin Fall, Osnaburgh, Lake Seul, Sturgeon Lake and Cedar Lake. All were retained in 1831-32, as Simpson considered them "necessary for the convenience of the natives and the protection of the trade." At Osnaburgh, an explosion destroyed the store and severely injured the master, Alexander Collie.

A few months after Corrigan's appointment, Simpson decided that the district required a chief factor as master, and Chief Factor Alexander Stewart was selected. However, on his journey to Albany, he suffered a "slight paralytic affection," and subsequently was given leave of absence. Corrigan continued in his position.¹⁴¹

The Indians suffered from starvation in 1831-32, there being few rabbits. Beaver, however, was plentiful.¹⁴² Before 1832-33, the transportation between Hudson Bay and the interior was divided between the men of the coast and the interior, but subsequently it was performed entirely by the latter.¹⁴³

In 1836-37, the following arrangements were made for Albany district: Albany, Chief Trader Jacob Corrigan; Martin Fall, George Barnston, clerk; Osnaburgh, John Vincent, postmaster; Lake Seul, Charles McKenzie, clerk; and Sturgeon Lake, R. (Robert or Roderick) McKenzie, clerk. Exclusive of the commissioned officers and clerks, the district had a complement of 18 labourers and 2 apprentice labourers. Its outfit consisted of 500 to 600 pieces of provisions and merchandise.¹⁴⁴

Sturgeon Lake was abandoned at the end of the 1836-37 season, its receipts having barely covered its expenses. Simpson believed that those who traded at it could be accommodated at the neighbouring establishments. The posts remaining in the district were Albany, Martin Fall, Osnaburgh and Lake Seul. The district's profits in 1836-37 totalled £8,600, an increase of £800. Many areas were still rich in beaver.¹⁴⁵

Before the summer of 1837, Corrigan had been invited twice by Simpson to appear at the Southern Department Council and discuss personally with him the affairs of his district. Much to the governor's chagrin, he did not come. Simpson concluded that a change of management would be beneficial to the district,¹⁴⁶ and replaced him in the summer of 1837 with Chief Trader Thomas Corcoran.

By the late 1830s, Simpson was becoming concerned that too many beavers were being hunted in Albany district. On his instructions, measures were taken by the masters of Moose and Albany districts to preserve that animal. A beaver preserve was created in 1839 on Charlton Island, and it was so successful in its purpose that Simpson in 1843 ordered Thomas Corcoran at Albany to transport young beavers to the island of Agoonska, where another preserve would be formed.¹⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Barnston prevailed upon the hunters to abstain from hunting beaver in the lower part of the district. More emphasis was placed on hunting small animals such as foxes, otters and martens.

The concept of private hunting grounds had been current in some regions of Albany district in the earlier part of the 19th century.¹⁴⁸ Hunting grounds had been partitioned among families. This practice was waning by the 1840s, resulting in less productive hunts, and consequently Simpson advised Thomas Corcoran to encourage its reanimation. Simpson believed that the hunter would exert greater efforts

in preserving the fur-bearing animals on his property.¹⁴⁹ The restrictions on hunting beaver were lifted in 1844-45, but the Indians were not permitted to use traps, hunt young beavers or hunt out of season.¹⁵⁰

Serious flooding occurred at Albany in the spring of 1843, causing "the destruction of the establishment;" however, little property was lost.¹⁵¹

For the 1844-45 winter in Albany district, the following arrangements were made: Albany Factory, Chief Trader Thomas Corcoran, five men and two apprentices; Martin Fall, James Heron, postmaster, and two men; Osnaburgh, George McPherson,, postmaster, five men and one apprentice.¹⁵²

The district was undisturbed by opposition in 1845-46, and its expenses were "as low as they can well be brought."¹⁵³ While there were no rival traders, Indians from Long Lake and Severn were encroaching upon the district's hunting grounds injuring the district's receipts. The masters of the posts had complained about this for several years, but all the measures adopted to exclude these hunters were unavailing. Simpson was anxious that nothing should be done which could lead to a "rupture" between the Severn and the Albany Indians.¹⁵⁴

Of the posts in Albany district in 1846-47, only Lake Seul was exposed to competition. Simpson wrote in 1847 that the trade of Lake Seul had "been in some degree affected by high prices given for furs by the American traders at Pembina and by our own establishments near the boundary line, as a means of protecting the trade." The hunters trading at Lake Seul were complaining that they were not being paid as much as those who were going to the frontier. Simpson thought that it would be necessary to raise the post's tariff.¹⁵⁵

The other establishments in Albany district in 1846-47 were Albany, Martin Fall and Osnaburgh. In January a fire almost completely destroyed Albany. The loss of property,

exclusive of the buildings, was estimated at £1,200. The district that year yielded "handsome" returns.¹⁵⁶

A "serious decline" of £1,500 in the district's receipts occurred in 1847-48, part of which was caused by the mismanagement of John Clouston at Martin Fall. Thomas Corcoran relieved him of command during the winter, and Simpson sent Mr. Wilson from Moose to replace him. Of Martin Fall, Simpson said, "That has long been a valuable post and we must not allow the trade to suffer for want of an efficient manager."¹⁵⁷

The district's trade was also injured by American opposition. We are not told where it was located, but the posts which suffered were Lake Seul and Osnaburgh. The company's officers were at a disadvantage because the dispensing of liquor within the district was prohibited. All the posts' masters recommended the revision of the tariff and the introduction of liquor; Simpson, however, would not make a decision before discussing them at a Council of the Southern Department.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile a quantity of rum was to be sent in the autumn of 1848 to Albany, with instructions to keep it in the depot.¹⁵⁹ The master of Albany was prohibited from sending any of it to Lake Seul and Osnaburgh unless hunters went to the Lac la Pluie region in search of liquor. Even then, rum was not to be issued by the two posts before it was evident that these Indians could not be persuaded to remain, and then only in very small amounts.¹⁶⁰

Albany Factory was in the process of being reconstructed in 1848, but because of the decline in the district's trade, some of the men designated specifically for this work were transferred early in 1849 to Moose.¹⁶¹

The Lake Seul trade in 1848-49 was still being seriously injured by the American opposition on the Lac la Pluie frontier, who were offering higher prices and liquor.

Simpson would introduce spirits into Albany district only as a "last resource," and for the moment, authorized Corcoran to raise the tariff for furs by not more than 10 per cent. The tariff for the Southern Department was to be reviewed at the next meeting of the Council.¹⁶²

Though we are told that the Lake Seul Indians were journeying to the American frontier at Lac la Pluie as early as the mid-1840s to obtain liquor, Simpson says that American traders were not established on Lac la Pluie itself before 1850.¹⁶³ In 1850-51, some Lake Seul and Osnaburgh Indians withdrew from their hunting grounds and resided closer to the Americans,¹⁶⁴ causing a significant reduction in the trade of the two establishments.

A decline in returns was also felt at Martin Fall, as many of its hunters were journeying to Long Lake and other Lake Superior district posts, where the tariffs were higher and presents of provisions and ammunition were dispensed. Meanwhile, the Long Lake Indians were penetrating into the Martin Fall hunting grounds, which were richer in fur-bearing animals. In order to encourage the hunters of Albany district to remain at their posts, the tariff was raised by 15 to 20 per cent in 1851-52.¹⁶⁵

Albany district and the other districts in the Southern Department in the early 1850s lacked capable and experienced officers, the Columbia enterprise being given priority. Albany district in 1851-52 did not have a commissioned officer,¹⁶⁶ Chief Trader Corcoran having taken leave of absence in 1851 to obtain medical attention. He returned in 1852 and remained until 1855, when a relapse of his illness obliged him to withdraw from the service. Simpson considered him an excellent officer.¹⁶⁷ He was replaced by Chief Trader Watt, formerly at Lachine.¹⁶⁸

W.T. Lonsdell, the clerk at Lake Seul, who was in ill-health, retired at the end of the 1854-55 winter. His

replacement was William F. Lane, a clerk, "an old and experienced officer."¹⁶⁹ He had been stationed at Red River (Lower Fort Garry).¹⁷⁰

Liquor was still not dispensed at Lake Seul and Osnaburgh as late as 1857, and Simpson was determined to withhold it as long as possible. In 1856-57, the Lake Seul Indians were within reach of the petty traders at Red River who had purchased large supplies of liquor from the United States.¹⁷¹ Some of them had extended their operations "to within half a day's march" of Lake Seul. Competition in 1857-58 was also expected from Lonsdell, the former master at Lake Seul. Simpson formed a party to follow him if he attempted to settle in the post's vicinity.¹⁷² There is no information on Lonsdell's subsequent activities.

To compensate for the withholding of liquor, Simpson in 1857-58 yielded to the demands of the hunters at Lake Seul and Osnaburgh for such articles as tea, sugar and green blankets.¹⁷³ Lake Seul was by this time free from competition from Lac la Pluie, the American traders having retired from that region by 1854.¹⁷⁴

Albany district was described by Simpson in 1857 as an "extensive and valuable district."¹⁷⁵ In 1854, its posts were Albany, Martin Fall, Lake Seul and Osnaburgh.¹⁷⁶

A Mr. Nouride was appointed in 1857-58 to replace Lane at Lake Seul, but Nouride was unable to proceed there because of bad health, and Mr. H. Belanger was sent instead.¹⁷⁷ In 1858-59, William Linklater was in charge of Osnaburgh and Thomas Taylor of Martin Fall. Both were postmasters.¹⁷⁸ Watt was given leave of absence in 1859-60.¹⁷⁹

Governor Dallas, in 1863, found the trade of Lake Seul "much better than expected."¹⁸⁰

The first description of Lake Seul in the post-1821 period is given by John Davis in his report for Lake Seul district for 1823-24.

State of the Posts. The Buildings at Lake Seul Post are in a very indifferent state the Mens house and Store in particular and will soon fall down if not taken down. The Masters dwelling is old and so defective and cold as to require another building. - The stockades were put up on only two sides of the square that was to inclose the buildings, but I found them too far extended for so small an establishment.¹⁸¹

Nicol Finlayson wrote the following winter:

Of the posts. Lac Seul is in very good Condition now is stockaded complete men's & clerk's houses finished, a large store, fish house stables, & Cow house, even all built last year so that there is no houses required to be built except one for the reception of a Chief Factor or Trader for which I have provided logs and Posts to lay the foundation. I have cultivated a new piece of ground and railed it all in - into which I planted 18 Kegs potatoes, the old ground is entirely out. I expect if the season, is favourable, upwards of 300 Kegs will be got in the fall.¹⁸²

Charles McKenzie's first description is in 1827-28.

We got a quantity of timber cut for a new house, but the men are so awkward, that it will take some time to get it up - & this old House that I live in will be down in spite of supporters. The store & the men's house are new buildings, but they will soon decay for want of a proper covering - no more Pine Bark or Cedar can be got here, the Country being entirely burnt. I know of no place or spot in all this track of country more eligible for a post than this place, as a regular Establishment than can be depended

on for provision at all seasons of the year, with many other advantages it has above the other Lakes in its neighbourhood & if there were about ten more Indians attached to the Lake itself, a number of small furs could be expected from it yearly.¹⁸³

McKenzie notes in his report for 1834,

Some improvements have been done at this place since the last Report. An excellent store was built of 40 feet by 25 & of 12 feet posts - pavillon roof covering with Cedar shingles which had taken 7,500. The whole building is of the very best timber Norways pine, split with the saw. It has also a gallery or balcony at one end & an awning before the shop & store doors. A new Byre or Cow houses, a fresh shed has been built two years ago. There is also a good dwelling house for the Master, but the Mens house & the Stockade require to be renewed next year. The stockades in particular were put up in 1822, are falling.¹⁸⁴

In his journal of the ensuing winter he said,

We finished at length the Enclosure of this Fort & heavy job - it was these two springs - the Fort is 180 feet by 110 - which have taken 1200 stockades of 15 feet long to enclose it, & if should last from 12 to 15 years - & not much longer in this hot sand. Having got up the Gates with these Bars - I gave a small "Regale" to the men.¹⁸⁵

His most complete description occurs in his 1837-38 journal.

Of Buildings. There is a Store & Trading Shop This Building undoubtedly is as good as any of the Kind in any inland post in the Country - Being 42 feet long by 25 broad - 12 feet Posts - on upper & lower flooring - Pavillon Roof Covered with Cedar

Shingles. The Body of the Building being of Norway Pine - except the Sleepers & plating which are of Juniper & the Rafters of pine on account of lightness. It has a Galary at one end to dry furs & a vestibul at the doors. Tis now 3 years since it is finished & should be a Store to stand 40 years. A dwelling house & Kitchen - 40 by 20 feet - 8 feet post with a Garret - Pavillon roof - but covered with Cedar Bark which appears Chiaper [sic] at first but dearer on the long run. The house is 8 year's standing & being of the best materials - will stand 30 years yet with some repairs to the Roof.

A men's house of 44 by 22 feet nearly ready to enter it divided in to two parts. The one 26 feet long & the other 18 & Strange to relate this house is not large enough for the 5 or 6 men who winter here. The house when finished is the best mens house in Albany River being all of Norway Pine. There is another house of sound Timber on the outside the Fort where 3 men with their large Families winter. A fish Shede [sic] a Byar and a Root house. The Fort newly stockaded - of the best materials - all these Buildings are within the span & work of the last 8 years.¹⁸⁶

The next report occurs in 1842-43.

I cannot say that there was much improvement made about the place - tho' we must always be Repairing damages unless a piece of New Ground of 60 pans [?] square that was broken out last fall & planted this spring with potatoes - & the Front of our store was Clap-boarded - the whole might be so had we had nails for that purpose we have boards enough within our own means - but no nails

& much less paint to preserve the weather boarding.¹⁸⁷

The final description is given in an unsigned report for 1845.

The Buildings are not of the worst - but they often stand in want of repair. The best sort of wood will soon decay in this Sandy Soil. The Master's House is now 18 years old. It was covered I know not how often with Cedar Bark and it has no other damage except the foundation logs are much decayed. The Company's store is of the best in the County, and will stand until the Foundation will crumble.¹⁸⁸

The earliest description of Osnaburgh in the Osnaburgh "reports" is in 1813-14, when William Thomas wrote:

The buildings at Osnaburgh are two viz: a warehouse or Store with the upper [sic] floor appropriated to the Masters residence and a house in which the men reside when at home; they are in a very indifferent state more especially the Warehouse.¹⁸⁹

John Davis said in 1817-18:

The House at Osnaburgh for the residence of the Master was finished and inhabited in the Winter, it is merely a NW house built in the usual manner of round logs without going through the carpenters hands and the vacancies plastered with loam. These houses are warmer and better adapted for this country than houses built by a carpenter of squared logs and look equally decent when neatly finished.¹⁹⁰

William McKay, in 1818-19, demolished the "Old Dwelling house," as some of the logs had become decayed, and he intended to rebuild it during the summer.¹⁹¹ The next description was by John Davis in 1823-24.

At Osnaburgh the buildings have been entirely renewed within this last twelve month. The Masters house and Stores are finished and the Mens and Cattle houses from the beams [?] left there in summer may be expected to be completed before winter sets in. They consist of three buildings occupying three sides of a square, and at a distance calculated to be safe to others in case one building should take fire. The stockades inclosing the buildings have been reset and for the most part renewed, the front ones are ripped in two and edged closed together.¹⁹²

Nicol Finlayson wrote in his Lake Seul report in 1824-25 Of Osnaburgh. The state of this post is in as forward a state as Lac Seul, there is no ground taken on besides the old garden which if properly managed will produce more potatoes than is sufficient for the number of people who will winter there.¹⁹³

The last report is by Alexander Collie in 1829-30. The store that was built this spring is nearly the size of the old one that was destroyed and will do very well for one season and when another one is built it will serve for a depository for the posts beyond Osnaburgh. In the spring 2200 Stockages were set up round the garden which with 1100 set last spring completely encloses it a small house of 20 feet by 15 with a high garret to serve as a temporary store was also built in the spring.¹⁹⁴

The following are reports on the state of the buildings at Martin Fall between 1819 and 1839. John Davis said in 1819-20:

There are two posts on this district Martin Fall is the principal one which is likewise a depot for lodging goods in the spring for the services of the upper districts, for this purpose there was a house built 22 feet by 20 of solid logs with an upper story it is yet unfinished though sufficiently so to be of service to the business this year. Apartments have been likewise put up in the old house for the accommodation of officers who may reside there in the summer and there has been a few necessary alterations about the house.¹⁹⁵

In 1823-24 Jacob Corrigal wrote:

The building is one large House two story high was built in the spring 1805. All the business of the Inland Settlements from Albany was at that period transacted at this place but as that is not the case now the House is too large and incomodious.¹⁹⁶

The next report is by Edward Mowat in 1826-27.

Laid the foundeashon of a sheade 12 fot wide and 26 fot long being 5 fot defreans between the breast of the first on and the [] in the front of the pleas the breath of geates right oupistet to the door of the dwealen haues and 6 fot difreans from the corner near of the men haues to the corner of the last. menches shed and from the corner of the men haues to the corner of the dwelen haues is 6 fot which leaves the disteans for fauer geates which is all fineshed great postes sent and the fouer geatses along the leant of the year from the stout to the men haues is 45 fot and the breath from the dwelen haues to the sheades is 30 fot which foremes the yeard which is all lead with two inches plank 15

fort long and 200 in number and 80 plank clay the garrat of the stoar and the men haues which is all feneshed being all cut this winter and 255 wather.¹⁹⁷

In his report of June 1834, Thomas Corcoran noted: State of building. Those here are very good and by keeping them in proper repair may last twelve or fifteen years. The trading room was newly fitted up in the spring of 1832 and is well adapted for the convenience of transacting business as any other in the Southern Department. A new store has been built here last spring, the dimensions of which are 28 feet in length, 14 in breath and the side walls 8 or 9 in length, the use to which this House is appropriated is for storing lumber of all sorts about the place old stores etc., and the garret of it is intended for canoes to preserve them from the effects of the weather.¹⁹⁸

The final report is by an unknown author in 1838-39. Our Buildings having been constructed out of the timber and boards of the old Depot, are getting somewhat out of repair ... but we have collected plank and boards to reconstruct a House for the men and put a new covering on the store. After this there will still remain the principal House to be covered, for which there are already a few boards sawn, but when this last work shall have been completed, it may be reckoned the post will stand on its present foundation for many years to come.¹⁹⁹

SECTION III
The King's Posts, Saint-Maurice, Mingan
and
Eastern Hudson Bay

The History to 1821

Introduction

The French fur traders were content to await the middlemen Indians, principally the Montagnais, at Tadoussac, leaving the task of exploring the interior to the Jesuits. It was not until the early 1650s that fur traders ventured as far inland as Lake Saint-Jean. When the Company of New France was disbanded in 1663, the French government created the domaine du roi (King's Posts), stretching from Isle aux Coudres to two leagues below Sept Îles along the St. Lawrence River and northward to Hudson Bay. The King's Posts were farmed out to Jean Oudiette. Because Tadoussac was exposed to competition from Quebec and Trois-Rivières, Oudiette in the 1670s removed his principal trading establishment to Chicoutimi, and other posts were extended further into the interior.

The English, in 1668, founded Charles Fort on Rupert River, and a post was founded by the French on Lake Nemiscau in opposition to them in the early 1680s. Charles Fort was captured by Pierre de Troyes in 1686, and the settlement on Lake Nemisau, no longer being necessary, was soon afterward abandoned.

By the turn of the 18th century, merchants from the settlements on the St. Lawrence River were sending Indians to conduct a trade in liquor with the domaine's inhabitants, and two of the lessees, the Sieurs Riverin and Guillimin, adopted their trading practices. There ensued two decades of intensive hunting, and the domaine's Indians, trading almost exclusively for liquor, suffered from famine. The

lessees experienced considerable financial losses and to reduce their expenses, they withdrew from the posts above Lake Saint-Jean.

François-Etienne Cugnet, who accepted a five-year lease in 1720, succeeded in eliminating the liquor trade and dealt more equitably with the inhabitants of the domaine. He re-established the posts which had been abandoned and founded new ones. Until the mid-1730s, the domaine returned a profit, but subsequently it became increasingly more impoverished, and Cugnet's debts mounted. He did not renew his lease in 1746. His debts were so extensive that he was obliged to sell by auction his property in the domaine to repay them. The British, upon conquering Canada, found the King's Posts Indians in a starving condition. They continued the French practice of farming out the posts.

Parties from Albany Fort after 1701 wintered on Eastmain River, but a permanent settlement was not established on the river until 1736. In 1751, the Hudson's Bay Company dispatched an expedition to Richmond Gulf to exploit the minerals discovered at nearby Great Whale River and trade with the region's inhabitants. The mines were unproductive and were exploited for only one winter. Subsequently, Richmond Fort concentrated upon the fur trade and whale fishing at Little Whale River. After failing to attract the Naskapi Indians, John Potts, the expedition leader, concluded that the Richmond Gulf region was too sparsely inhabited to ever make the fur trade rewarding, and in 1758 he relocated Richmond Fort at Little Whale River where he intended to concentrate upon the whale fishery. However, the whale fishery was not a success, and the expedition was recalled in 1759.

Until the mid-1770s, Eastmain did not experience any competition from Canadians. In 1778-79 and 1779-80, a representative from Eastmain resided on Lake Mistassini. When

George Atkinson of Eastmain was in London in 1787, the London Committee decided that the complement of his post should be augmented to facilitate the founding of posts in the interior country. These plans were abandoned in 1788 and no further explorations were made until after 1790. Penetration inland was begun in the mid-1790s. Posts were founded at Little Whale River, Nasquiscaw Lake, Nemisaw (Némiscau) Lake and Cheaquacheston.¹

The Nor'Westers made their first appearance on the eastern coast of Hudson Bay in 1792-93 at Richmond Gulf, and the following year they wintered at Great Whale River. They did not return until the winter of 1801-02, when a party travelled overland from Hays Island to Rupert River House. These men did not remain and it was not until the autumn of 1803 that the Nor'Westers established themselves in opposition to Rupert River House. The following year, other Nor'Westers settled on Old Factory Island and at Big River. The North West Company withdrew from the eastern coast of the bay in September 1806 and never returned.

The reforms initiated by the Hudson's Bay Company between 1810 and 1814 placed Eastmain and Naosquiscaw as separate districts within the Southern Department. James Clouston was appointed master of Naosquiscaw district while George Atkinson, considered an able administrator but an irascible individual who often was at odds with his officers, continued at Eastmain. In May 1817 the Committee pointed out to Thomas Vincent, superintendent of the Southern Department, that Atkinson was not paying enough attention to the company's business. Vincent replaced him with Alexander Christie, who had conducted the lumbering industry at Moose until its discontinuance in 1817. The office at Eastmain was upgraded to that of a "second," for it was expected that it would assume more importance in the future.²

The London Committee wrote in 1813 to Thomas Thomas, the superintendent of the Southern Department, that explorations should be conducted inland of Eastmain as far as Labrador in search of good beaver lands. In 1816, George Atkinson Jr. voyaged 350 miles up Great Whale River. He found no beavers and but a few Indians along his course. The discouraging results of Atkinson's explorations only made the Committee more anxious to prosecute further attempts to reach the Eskimos, especially since it had received reports from a Labrador merchant named Cartwright that the Moravian missionaries in that country were carrying on a lucrative trade in furs with them. Vincent was instructed in February 1818 that if there were sufficient goods at Great Whale River, an expedition should be sent to the north to seek out the Eskimos and if necessary establish a post in their lands. The master at Eastmain was ordered not to encourage visits from the Eskimos at his post to avoid jealousy and rivalry with the Indians. That summer, George Atkinson Jr. went inland of Richmond Gulf with the intention of crossing overland to the Atlantic Ocean or Hudson Strait. His progress was halted a little more than half way between Richmond Gulf and Ungava Bay when his guide refused to proceed further. The country he saw around him was barren of trees and he was informed that it was so all the way to the sea. James Clouston, in 1819-20, explored inland from Nasquiscaw Lake to the mouth of the Kaniapuscow River, and from thence to Richmond Gulf. He reported that the region he crossed was not productive in fur-bearing animals. In 1822, the London Committee once again requested the exploration of the region eastward of Eastmain to the heads of the rivers flowing into the sea in Labrador.³

The Hudson's Bay Company exploited the whaling industry off and on before 1821. The first attempts were given up after the recall of the Richmond Gulf expedition in 1759. A

small post was founded about 1793 on Little Whale River, and at least seven men were there for the fishery. The enterprise ended with the sinking of the Company's supply schooner and the death of the establishment's master, George Jackman. The whaling industry was not resumed until 1808 when the Committee, on the recommendation of George Gladman, ordered the transfer of Big River post - which had been founded in opposition to a Canadian settlement but which now obtained its trade principally from the Eastmain Indians - to Great Whale River. The returns of the whaling industry between 1809 and 1812 were disappointing; however, the high prices for oil encouraged the Company to persevere. The industry continued to be a losing venture before the coalition of 1821.⁴

The North West Company succeeded in acquiring the lease for the King's Posts in 1802. This made it more formidable inland because it could supply its posts overland from the St. Lawrence River. In 1810, it competed with Eastmain and its outposts from Lake Mistassini and Lake Kaniapiskau. The opposition against the Nor'Westers was directed from Nasquiscaw Lake House, the headquarters of the newly created Naosquiscow district, by James Clouston, who founded outposts at Rush Lake and Lake Mistassini. In 1815, the Nor'Westers withdrew from both Lake Mistassini and Lake Kaniapiskau, and concentrated their strength at Lake Waswanipi. In the summer of 1819, men from Nasquiscaw established themselves on Lake Waswanipi. Between 1819 and 1821, Lake Waswanipi was the only location where the two companies were in direct opposition to each other.

Exploration and Settlement of the King's Posts and the Eastern Coast of Hudson Bay

As has been seen in Chapter I of Section I, Tadoussac, from the earliest historic times, was an important fur-trading site for the French. The French traders were reluctant to venture inland from Tadoussac, and left the task of exploring the Saguenay River, Lake Saint-Jean and the Hudson Bay region to the Jesuits.

Father Jean de Quen, in charge of the Tadoussac Mission, in 1647 was the first Frenchman to penetrate as far as Lake Saint-Jean, called Piagouagami by the Porcupine Indians. In his relation, the father made no mention of any French trading settlement above Tadoussac.⁵ He returned to Lake Saint-Jean two years later and again in 1651-52, when he built a church and a house. During the last voyage, he was accompanied by traders,⁶ the first mention of non-ecclesiastics visiting the lake.

In 1659, Rosme Lalemant, the superior of the Jesuit missions in New France, decided to dispatch a mission to the "Kilistinons," or Crees, inhabiting the area around James Bay.⁷ As the Iroquois held possession of the rivers "offering any convenient access" to these people, it was necessary "to seek out remote routes, so rough and dangerous as to be considered impassable for those pirates." Accordingly, the route leading to Lake Chomouchoine was chosen, and Father Gabriel Druillettes, with a party of 40 canoes, left Tadoussac in June 1661. From Lake Saint-Jean, which hitherto had marked the limit of French penetration, he turned northwest, passing Lake Chomouchoine on his twenty-third day from Tadoussac and reaching Lake Nikabau three days later. Druillettes noted, "Nekoubau is a place noted for a market that is held there every year, to which all the savages from the surrounding country resort for the purpose of conducting their petty traffic."

Because of the threat from the Iroquois who were relentlessly extirpating the inhabitants of the Saguenay region, the Jesuit could proceed no farther. Indeed, a party of French traders from Trois-Rivières, which had originally started with the father but had fallen behind, was "cut to pieces,"⁸ probably near Lake Saint-Jean, by the Iroquois. It is unlikely that another party of traders ventured into the Nikabau-Chomouchoine region until the conclusion of the first Iroquois war.

From Father Charles Albanel's account of his journey to Hudson Bay in 1671-72, we learn that the missionaries had not yet ventured as far as Lake Mistassini. Albanel does not mention posts at either Lake Saint-Jean or Chicoutimi, where the natives were Christians. Of Lake Saint-Jean, Albanel said, "It was formerly the place whither all the Nations between the two seas, those of the East and the North, used to repair for purposes of trade; and I have seen more than twenty Nations gathered there."

Albanel travelled through Little and Big Mistassini lakes, and then down Rupert River. Six leagues from the sea, he found "two deserted houses."⁹ This was the post of Charles Fort, the first English settlement on the bay, founded in 1668 by Captain Zachariah Gillam who resided there one winter. Thomas Gorst returned in September 1670 and constructed two houses which

consisted of three rooms a peece & has many floors. The cellar held ye beer wee brewd there for our dayly drinking, together with the Beefe Pork and Butter. The chamber held our dry Provisions as bread, flower, peas and oatmeale and on the ground floore was our kitchin, dyining roome and lodging - which were standing cabbins such are used in his Maties shipps. The house themselves are built of timber cutt into sparrs

set quite close to one another and calked with mosse instead of okam to keep out ye wind and ye weather. Thatched with a ranke sort of grasse growing in ye marshes much like ye saggs [?] which are every where in our English brookes. Wee had a large chimney built of bricks which wee carryed along with us, and wee spared not ye wood, that country affording enough to keep alwayes Summer within, while nothing but ice and snow are without doores. Wee had also erected a good oven and feasted our selves at pleasure with venson pastry.¹⁰

Charles Bayly spent the winter of 1673-74 there when Albanel made his second voyage to the bay. As Bayly believed that Albanel had traded with Indians residing "within the Hudson's Bay Company's Pattent," he detained him and sent him to England aboard the company's ship.

After a winter of privation, Bayly was replaced as governor at Charles Fort by Captain William Lyddal in September 1674. Originally, Lyddal had not intended to winter at Rupert River, but was prevented by the advent of cold weather from leaving. Additional houses were constructed at the fort, as well as a "Brew-house and Bake-house." The 30 men, including the crews of the two ships, passed a trying winter, having expended too great a proportion of their provisions early in the season.¹¹

In 1679, Josias Boisseau, the agent for the lessees of the domaine du roi, and Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, with Frontenac's approval, commissioned Louis and Zacharie Jolliet to report upon the progress of the English on Hudson Bay and seduce the bay Indians away from them. The Jolliet brothers retraced Albanel's route, arriving in early summer at Charles Fort, where they were well treated. Bayly, who had replaced Lyddal in 1675, spoke candidly with them. Upon his return,

Louis Jolliet warned Frontenac that the English, if permitted to remain on the bay, would "render themselves Masters of all the trade of Canada inside six years."¹²

After capturing Moose Fort in June 1686, Pierre de Troyes marched upon Charles Fort. Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène, who was ordered to reconnoitre the fort, reported that it

was a long rectangle, flanked by four bastions, without any cannon; that there was a redoubt within, which was not quite in the middle of the place, constructed like the one at Monsipi except that it was covered with a flat roof without a parapet; that there was a ladder against the roof on account of fire; that the redoubt had four little bastions raised from the ground as high as a man, supported not by posts, but only by pieces of wood extending from the redoubt, and that there seemed to be eight cannon on it.

On the night of 3 July, Troyes launched a surprise attack, having little trouble breaking down the door of the fort. A grenadier immediately climbed to the roof of the redoubt and "threw a number of bombs down the chimney into a stove pipe that ran from top to bottom in the middle of the redoubt. Everything blew up." The English offered little resistance and surrendered after suffering a few casualties. Afterward, the French blew up the redoubt and demolished the stockade, for it would have required too many men to guard the fort.¹³

Because Charles Fort had been captured before the signing of the Treaty of Neutrality of 6/16 November 1686, Rupert River remained in French possession.

As a result of decreasing returns in 1701 and the glut on the beaver market, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to

exploit the isinglass of Slude River. A professional miner, Gottlieb Augustus Lichteneger, was commissioned to survey the mineral resources of the river, but for some reason he was not sent. However, Henry Kelsey did winter in 1701-02 on the Eastmain, and found that martens were plentiful. It is not certain whether he returned in subsequent years; but Anthony Beale did winter at Eastmain in 1711-12, and conducted a trade in liquor. His successor, Thomas Macklish, relied heavily upon the trapping done by his own men, which was supplemented by a trade in brandy with the Indians. After Macklish became master at Albany in 1715, he sent men regularly to winter on the Eastmain.¹⁴

Internal Development of the King's Posts to 1762

The inhabitants of the Saguenay region suffered considerably in the 1650s and 1660s at the hands of the Iroquois, who penetrated as far north as Lake Mistassini. Many Naskapi and Montagnais Indians took refuge in the sterile interior of Labrador, and those who remained to face the Iroquois were in a constant state of excitement, unable and unwilling to continue their hunts, which resulted in widespread famine.

When the Company of New France was disbanded in 1663, the French crown created the domaine du roi (King's Posts), an area stretching from Isle aux Coudres to two leagues below Sept Iles along the St. Lawrence River, and northward to Hudson Bay.¹⁵ The domaine was farmed out to Jean Oudiette. Under Oudiette's tenure, the condition of the Saguenay region slowly recovered from the onslaught of the Iroquois, although Tadoussac languished as a trading centre and was abandoned for some time after a smallpox epidemic in 1670.¹⁶

Although the fermier retained the exclusive right of trade within the domaine in return for a fixed rent, this right could not be easily enforced, especially as the

governors and intendants of New France themselves supported traders who traded illegally in the domaine. In 1671, Count Frontenac granted a congé to a trader named Collin, representing Dame Lambert, to winter in the Saguenay region. Collin subsequently was accused of living in the manner of the Indians and debauching them. Upon the complaint of the fermier, Colbert ordered Frontenac to desist from this practice.¹⁷

Joseph-Antoine le Febvre de la Barre, Frontenac's successor, extended his protection to Aubert de la Chesnaye. La Chesnaye founded posts in the 1670s at Rivière du Loup and Bicq, which attracted many of the King's Posts Indians.¹⁸ When the fermier petitioned the crown for the suppression of these posts, La Barre sent a memorandum to France to illustrate that Rivière du Loup was too distant from the Saguenay region to conduct a trade with the domaine's Indians.¹⁹ Apparently in response to this petition, an ordnance, issued in April 1684, forbade the inhabitants of the domaine from trading with the Indians without the permission of the fermier; and an ordnance of June 1685 restricted the trade of the French settlers along the south coast of the St. Lawrence River between Matane and Lauzon to the Indians of the south shore, and specified that it could be conducted only in the private dwellings of the inhabitants.²⁰

While these ordinances seriously limited La Chesnaye's activities on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, he continued to poach upon the domaine from his post at Trois-Rivières, which was under the superintendance of Sieur Dubois. From Trois-Rivières he sent "canoes loaded with merchandise to trade with all the nations of the north" bordering on Hudson Bay. La Chesnaye smuggled his furs to France through Ile Percée, with the knowledge and protection of de la Barre, thereby escaping the duty.²¹ It is

not certain whether the crown took immediate measure to arrest La Chesnaye's activities, but the return of Frontenac to New France and the advent of the second Iroquois war seem to have seriously handicapped his subsequent career as a fur trader.

By the late 1670s, an extensive trade had developed between the natives of the Saguenay and the merchants of Quebec and Trois-Rivières, and large numbers of vessels from France were fishing for cod, seal and porpoise along the domaine's coast and trading liquor for furs with the Indians. The relative cheapness of the goods from Quebec so hurt the trade of Tadoussac that Oudiette was forced to transfer his main trading post to Chicoutimi, where he built "a house for use a store," and a church 35 feet long by 20 wide.²² Oudiette intended to intercept the Indians of the interior before they could descend the Saguenay River. To improve his financial position, he reduced his prices for furs, but the wily natives of the interior, cognizant that they could drive a better bargain on the shores of the St. Lawrence, succeeded in discovering a route to Trois-Rivières bypassing Chicoutimi. Oudiette subsequently sub-farmed the domaine to Sieur Riverin, who in turn experienced financial problems.²³

During the 1680s and 1690s, a series of posts was established north of Chicoutimi. Father Beschefer states in his relation of 1681-83 that the Montagnais Indians visited Lake Kinogami, 20 leagues north of Chicoutimi, attracted "by the traffic that they carry on with the French, with whom they trade their peltries for goods from France."²⁴ This establishment was founded probably in the 1670s. By the latter part of the 1670s, a post was in operation a short distance from where the Metabitchiwan River flows into Lake Saint-Jean, near the Jesuit mission which had been founded by Father Nouvel, perhaps about 1665.²⁵ Louis Jolliet established a post in 1679 on the neck of the water connecting

Big Mistassini and Little Mistassini lakes, which is shown on the map he made that year.²⁶ On Father Laure's map of 1732, there is an "Ancien Establishment" noted between the two lakes.

No establishments appear on Jolliet's map between his post and the English on Rupert River, but on a French map published in 1689 by Jaillot there is one placed where Rupert River flows out of Lake Nemisaw. It is described as "Poste pour couper les Sauvages par la haut de la traite de Tadoussac et les empêcher de descendre a la Baye de Hudson." It evidently was one of a series of French settlements designed to compete with the English on the bay, and was founded some time after the journey of the Jolliet brothers. The Compagnie de Nord in 1685 was granted a twenty year monopoly of the trade of Hudson Bay, with the right of establishing posts at lakes Abitibi and Nemiscaw. Hence it is probable that there was no establishment on Lake Nemiscaw before 1685. It likely was founded in that year, for there is evidence that Zacharie Jolliet was in charge of a house on the lake one year before Troyes's 1686 expedition.²⁷ It was abandoned after the capture of Charles Fort.

A post was in operation on Lake Nikabau by 1690. Joseph Laurent Normanin, sent by the crown in 1732 to survey the region, reported:

Autrefois, c.à.d. du bonhomme Peletier il y avoit un petit establissement, à environ une lieue de l'entrée de ce lac de coste du Sud. Ce petit establissement consistait en un maison au rapport des Sauvauges, car il n'en paroist aucuns vestiges.

Cette maison servoit à faire la traite et estoit batie de mesme facon que celle du post de Chomontachane.²⁸

There is no indication that it was re-established.

The post which Normandin saw at Chomouchoine was built after 1720; he found no vestiges or recall by the Indians of an earlier one, but François Etienne Cugnet, a fermier of the domaine in the 18th century, indicates that one had existed.²⁹

By the turn of the 18th century, merchants of Trois-Rivières, Batiscan and Champlain, were sending Abenaki and Algonkin Indians to hunt near the posts of Chicoutimi, Lake Saint-Jean and Lake Nikabau, and trade furs for liquor with the native Indians. Large numbers of fur-bearing animals were slaughtered.³⁰ Sieur Riverin, the fermier between 1710 and 1714, adopted the practice of his competitors, restricting his trade almost exclusively to liquor.³¹ Though he could show a substantial increase in the trade for a time, the natives, hunting only fur-bearing animals to pay for the liquor, suffered from famine.

After Riverin's death in 1714, the new fermier, Sieur Guillimin, continued his predecessor's trading practices, supplying but few necessary articles to the Indians and charging exorbitant prices for his liquor. By 1714 the number of fur-bearing animals had been so reduced that Guillimin, during the period of his lease, 1714-18, suffered a severe financial loss.³² As a result, the posts above Lake Saint-Jean were abandoned. For the Indians of the domaine, Guillimin's tenure meant more years of famine.

When Guillimin's tenure expired, Intendant Michel Bégon could find no merchant who would lease the domaine. Sieur Rivet administered it for him until October 1719, when François-Etienne Cugnet, recently arrived from France, accepted a five-year lease.³³ Unlike his immediate predecessors, Cugnet extended credits to the Indians, and his establishments supplied food to starving natives during the winter, and tended those whom age or infirmity rendered incapable of participating in the hunt. The liquor trade was

suppressed, although liquor was dispensed as presents from time to time.³⁴

Cugnet, during the late 1720s and early 1730s, re-established Chomouchoine and Mistassini.³⁵ Normandin, during his visit to Chomouchoine in 1732, remarked,³⁶

Cet établissement conste en le qui siut Une maison scitueé a 1 arpent 1/2 environ du bord du lac, batie de pieux de bout et couverte d'ecorce d'epinettes, planchée de pieux doubles en haut. Le plancher d'en bas de planches de boulots. Une chambre d'onze peids de long sur 11 peids de large, et 6 pieds de hauteur Au dessus de cette chambre et un petit grenier qui a 3 pieds de haut, il est fait en chouron et couvert d'ecorce d'epinettes.

Dans la d.^e chambre est une porte et une fenestre du costé du Ouest. La fenestre a deux pieds de large sur deux pieds du haut, et la porte est large de deux pieds et demy. Au bout de la d.^e maison du costé du Sud est une cheminée d'une terre sableuse.

Au Ouest de cette maison est un magasin aussy de pieux de bout qui a 15 pieds le longueur sur 12 pieds de largeur. Le. d.^t magasin est garni de tablettes de planches de boulots et d'ecorces a fin d'empescher la poussiere detomber sur la marchandise. Un comptoir large de deux pieds, de la hauteur de trois pieds, et demy, et la porte afin d'empescher que les sauvages ayent communication avec l'endroit où est la marchandise. Les planchers sond de pieux ronds et doubles endoits de mousée.

Un grenier de mesme espèce que ce lui de la maison et couvert aussy d'ecorces d'epinettes. L'endroit où est scitué la maison et le magasin est déserté environ un arpent au dessus de la maison tout aux tour. C'est les s^{rs} Desgroslier et Amelin qui ont fait ce désert et cette maison et magasin il y a un an. Au Ouest Nord de cette maison, de costé du Sud du Lac, est la véritable riviere de Nic8pa8 parce qu'elle sort du lac de ce nom et vient tomber dans le lac de Chomontch8ane dont la décharge est au Sud Sud Est.

The post on Lake Mistassini was a short distance north of the old one on the channel of water connecting Little and Big Mistassini lakes. New posts were opened on Lake Manikouagan and a lake called by Cugnet Lac des Nascapis, which is impossible to identify. They were not maintained during the winter; in the spring the masters of Iles Jeremie and Sept Iles ascended to them and returned by autumn with the Indians' hunts.³⁷ Cugnet's policy of expanding the number of establishments in the domaine was designed to dissuade the Indians from hunting in regions remote from their habitations.³⁸

The founding of posts in the domaine's interior and the equitable treatment accorded to the natives initially produced a profit; however, by the middle of the 1730s revenues no longer increased. The expense incurred in supplying the interior settlements from Chicoutimi forced Cugnet to lower his prices for furs, and this induced the Indians of Chomouchoine to trade at Trois-Rivières, where prices were higher and liquor could be obtained. Sieur Desgrosliers informed Normandin, when he visited Chomouchoine in 1732, that only 17 Indians had visited him that spring. Some took credits in the autumn, but sold their furs at Trois-Rivières.³⁹

Eighteen years later, the Jesuit father Claude-Godefroy Coquart, the missionary for Tadoussac, wrote,⁴⁰

Chomoukchwan was formerly dependant upon Lake St. John. The savages took their Peltries thither, or some one went after them, as is being done to-day. For some years the winter was passed there; but it has been seen to be a quite useless expense, and that it is sufficient to go there at the melting of the ice. This post is situated back of Three Rivers. It would be a question of preventing the savages from going there; and, instead of 8 or 900 Martens that are generally obtained at that place, there would be many more. They are attracted thither by the brandy that they get in trade, and that is given them to take into the interior. That is a road which we have not highterto been able to close.

The Agent of Chekoutimi sends thither a trader, whom he furnishes with merchandise, also two frenchmen and some savages of his post. At the end of July, all these men have returned. The savages are worthless, and one cannot place too little confidence in them; the journeys to Three Rivers have completely spoiled them, and it would be a desirable achievement and a great profit for the post of Chekoutimi if they could be retained at home, and if the people of Three Rivers could [be] prevented from sending savages or frenchmen to the woods with liquor to trade with them. Desgroseilliers pursued this plan during the space of many years - and successfully, whatever Monsier Cugnet may say of it. The question now is, to find a man

who can make the voyage every year in the capacity of a trader, either wintering at Chekoutimi, or repairing thither early in the spring; and I think that he will always be there in time, if he will leave Quebec at the end of april.

There is no doubt that the Indians belonging to the other interior posts also frequented Trois-Rivières and Quebec. Moreover, as the major rivers of the domaine run north-south rather than east-west, Cugnet failed to obtain the trade of the Naskapi Indians residing in Labrador; nor were many Indians from the depths of Ungava seen at the domaine's northern posts. The trade of each interior establishment was limited to the Indians in its vicinity; for example, only the inhabitants of Lakes Chomouchoine and Nikabau patronized Chomouchoine.⁴¹

Despite Cugnet's efforts to restore the once abundant fur-bearing animal population, few such animals could be found in the Saguenay region south of Lake Saint-Jean. Father Coquart wrote in 1750 that there were few hunters in the vicinity of Chicoutimi, "for the environs of Chicoutimi are so drained of animals that they would risk dying of hunger."⁴² Of Lake Saint-Jean he noted,

The people of Lake St. John are the sad remnants of an astonishing multitude of savages who inhabited the lands 60 or 70 years ago. There only remains one large family, who work fairly well for the interests of the post.⁴³

Coquart remarked about Iles Jeremie:

The Post of the Jeremie Islets, situated 30 leagues below Tadoussac, produces Seal-oil and Peltries. They hunt the Seal from the first ice until toward Twelfth-day, and resume this pursuit from about the 15th of March, sometimes sooner, until the ice disappears. It is done at

point des Betsiamioutes, two leagues from the post. The time between the 15th of January and the 15th of March the savages spend in the woods, hunting; thus this post has varied resources. The usual yearly production is 35 to 40 Casks of oil. I do not know, however, what it will be this winter, for since many people were lost through sickness last year, It may easily happen that this year there will not be a great production of oil. However that may be, not much time is needed to attend to this post. The agent can detain for the sea some of those who have continued to hunt in the woods, unless his experience shows him that the forest hunting is more profitable than that of the sea.

He receives not only the Peltries from the savages domiciled at the Post, but also those of the savages from the interior, who bring them to him at his post. This indeed is the quarrel that has always been carried on between the agents of Chekoutimi and of the islets; the former reproaches the latter with Taking away his savages, but in reality, each attaches to himself the savages of Manawan and Ounichtagan. They have the dispute, but those who have the posts have only the gain, since both agents work for the same master; the noble Emulation, however, between the two posts, the desire to show good returns, keeps up this petty war. They steal each other's savages; they invent a thousand little ruses to attract them. There is no great harm in all this. Moreover, at the beginning of June the agent of the Islets departs for Manikwagan, and goes up the River to a certain place, where he

meets the savages who inhabit these lands; he trades with them, and Brings back their Peltries. Thus the post of the islets may well produce 4 to 500 Beaver-skins, sometimes 800 and more handsome martens, well-dressed skins of the Caribou, and sealskins. When the Foxes are found along the sea, they are not the least resource.

Besides, this post causes no expense. It has no passages to pay for, except that of a canoe in the spring, which is sent from Sept isles to Quebec; and the agent gives nothing for Northing. Also Monsieur Cugnet, therefore, said of this Post of the islets that it caused him the least expense, and brought Him in proportion the greatest profit.⁴⁴

Father Pierre-Michel Laure, the missionary for the King's Posts between 1720 and 1737, wrote about Tadoussac in his account of the domaine in 1730,

At The mouth of that river is the alleged capital of the Province of Saguené - I mean Tadoussac, which consists of merely a wooden dwelling and a storehouse. It must be admitted, however, that its situation is very fine, and very well suited for a town. The harbour is spacious, healthful, safe, and sheltered from every wind; medium-sized vessels anchor, at high water, at the foot of the hill. This was the place where the english formerly came to trade with the Savages. A hole in a rock, in which they had placed a mooring-post for their ships, is still to be seen there; and only two years ago there was found, in the sand disturbed by a high wave, their iron chain about 30 brasses in length.⁴⁵

By the end of the 1730s, Cugnet realized that if he could not obtain the trade of the Naskapi, the exorbitant rent he paid, which had nearly doubled between 1719 and 1737,⁴⁶ and his dwindling receipts would lead to his financial ruin. In 1742, Jean-Louis Fornel established a post in Hamilton Inlet on Hamilton River, which drained the interior of Ungava. Believing the possession of Hamilton Inlet would secure him the Naskapi trade, Cugnet, two years later after the death of Fornel, presented a memorial to the crown in which he offered to develop a sealing industry there at his own expense.⁴⁷ However, the Widow Fornel was given exclusive possession of the inlet, and retained it until the English conquest.⁴⁸

Because of his failure to obtain Hamilton Inlet and his mounting debts, Cugnet did not renew his lease in 1746. Until the end of the war with the English, the Intendant Gilles Hocquart, unable to find a lessee, commissioned Cugnet to supply the various posts, the crown paying part of the cost.⁴⁹ After the war, the Widow Fornel rented the domaine until 1756. The debt left by Cugnet was so large, that he was required to sell by auction his property in the Domaine to repay it.⁵⁰

As the expiration of the Widow Fornel's lease coincided with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the crown again could not find a lessee and was forced itself to administer the domaine at a considerable loss.⁵¹ The British, upon reducing Canada in 1760, found the King's Posts Indians in a starving condition.

General Amherst ordered that the crown should administer the domaine, and an agent was appointed to supply the posts and oversee the trade. However, the revenue, when examined in 1762, was found to be "trifling," and consequently the British administration decided upon continuing the French practice of farming out the posts. A lease for a period of

14 years at £400 per annum was granted to the partnership of Thomas Dunn and John Grey.⁵²

Mingan

The claimants to the Seignory of Mingan in 1767 maintained that the French West India Company (Compagnie Royale des Indes Occidentales) in 1662 had granted to François Byssot de la Rivière the territory called Mingan, extending from Egg Island (Ile aux-Oeufs) to Phelypeaux Bay (Brador Bay).⁵³ A concession dated 11 February 1668 is preserved in the archives of Quebec,⁵⁴ but there seems to have been an earlier one in 1661. Byssot established a settlement at a place called Econachon, or Mingan, 35 leagues to the east of Sept Iles, and remained there the rest of his life, seal-fishing, hunting and trading with the natives. After his death his son, François-Joseph Bissot, resided at Mingan for 40 years and was aided in the conduct of the post by Louis Jolliet, his brother-in-law.⁵⁵ In 1680, Jolliet was granted Anticosti Island.⁵⁶ Bissot retired to Quebec in 1733 and leased the post to Jean de Lafontaine de Belcour, his son-in-law, who resided there only one year. Subsequently, it was rented from Bissot and Jolliet's heirs by Jean-Louis Volant d'Haudebourg, who held it for 20 years, and after this period it was leased by the heirs of Bissot and Jolliet to Messrs. de Lafontaine and Tachet.

During its 100-year history under French rule, the post of Mingan was burned three times by the English, in 1690, 1711 and 1759. The Sept Iles, originally the seignory's western boundary, were ceded to the King's Posts when the latter were established in 1663, the new boundary being set at the Moisie River, five leagues below Sept Iles. In 1734 or 1735, François-Etienne Cugnet, the director of the King's Posts, represented to the crown that the Moisie River was

too near the post of Sept Iles, and succeeded in having the boundaries moved to Cape Cormorant, 15 leagues below Sept Iles.⁵⁷

In the CIIA series in the Public Archives of Canada there is an undated and unsigned memorandum on the trading posts in New France, which is strikingly similar in its details to de Bougainville's mémoire, and may have been used by the latter. The following are its descriptions of the establishments in Mingan seigneurie and the King's Posts.⁵⁸

Maigant

La principale production de ce Poste est la pelleterie, la quantité n'est point fixe puisqu'elle dépend du nombre de sauvages qui y viennent en traite, les pelleteries sont: har-
tres, castors, Renards, Loutres et quelques
Loups cerviers, il s'y fait trente à quarante
barriques d'huile de loup marin que les engagés
tuent sur les glaces à coup de fusil.

Tous les postes précédents tout donnés par
brevet de la Cour à différents particuliers qui
les exploitent pour eux mêmes ou qui les
afferment; Monsieur Hacquart a pour la vie
la concession du gros Mekatina, et Monsieur De
La Porte la survivance du poste de La Brador

Les Iles, Les Islets de Jérémie

Tadoussac

Postes appartenant au Domaine du Roy, exploité
par le Directeur de Domaine, la principale pro-
duction est la pelleterie, quelquefois cent
cinquante barriques d'huile de loup marin tué
sur les glaces, les anglais de la Baye d'Hudson
ont de proche en proche communiqués jusqu'à
Tadoussac, Principal obsta.

Chicoutimy

Poste situé sur le Saguenay à trente lieues de son embouchure appartenant aussy au Domaine, son revenu est en pelleteries, Tadoussac est l'entrepôt de Chicoutimy, Sept Isles et des Islets de Jérémie, un seul bâtiment suffit à l'exploiter; à Tadoussac il y a un village d'environ cinquante Montagnais, c'est une mission desservie par les Jésuites.

Les sauvages connus dans tous les postes sont les Montagnais qui habitent les bords de la mer et ne sont que l'hyver dans les bois pour y chasser, environ deux cents hommes, les Kechectigots ou cracheurs environ cent vingt hommes et le Naskapis ou Outardes reposees plus de six cents homes. Ces derniers sont le plus loin faire chasser les uns et les autres, ne viennent à mer que la printemps, ils en repartent à la fin de Juin, le sauvages qui font la traite depuis Maigant jusqu'au Cap Charles forment environ cent fouilles, ils sont très paresseux et l'usage de l'eau de vie en éteindra peu à peu la race, les Sauvages habitués à Chicoutimy et Tadoussac sont beaucoup plus nombreux.

Les Eskimaux viennent quelquefois dans les Postes, mais ce n'est que pour les ravager et faire la guerre aux Sauvages de la traite.

English Settlement on Richmond Gulf

After 1701, parties were sent from Albany to winter on the Eastmain River, but a permanent settlement on the river was not made until September 1736, and was some distance from the wintering post.⁵⁹ As the lessees of the King's Posts did not maintain a post north of Lake Mistassini in the

period between 1736 and 1763, it was free from competition, and its journals record no departure from the day to day routine before the 1770s.

Fourteen years after the founding of Eastmain, the Hudson's Bay Company dispatched an expedition to exploit the minerals discovered in the Great Whale River region. Upon reaching Richmond Gulf, the intended site of the principal settlement, in September 1751, John Potts, the leader of the expedition, sent eight men in "Long Boats" with tools and provisions, to "Whale River" (Great Whale River) "to work at ye mines if possable [sic] all ye winter," but bad weather prevented them from leaving Richmond Gulf. Three men soon after went overland to the site of the mine, but they reported on their return that supplies could be conveyed by the land route only on sledges. Not until the beginning of November was there enough snow to permit the use of sledges,⁶⁰ and when mining was finally begun in December "Very Little Ore" could be found. The miners lived in a tent, probably constructed of logs, covered with two pieces of old canvas.⁶¹

The party at Richmond Gulf also resided in makeshift quarters, waiting for a sloop to transport the timber and the "Flankers" which were being "Framed" at Albany.⁶² Four days after landing, the carpenter was engaged in "fixing cabbins and Bed Places for ye people," and other men were "fixing Pallasadoes."⁶³ In October, "a Little Store House," designed to store fresh provisions, was constructed⁶⁴ and "upon ye side of a Hill upon a Level" a cellar "forty feet Long and fourteen feet Under Ground from the Entrance," was dug to hold the beer.⁶⁵ The following month, the carpenter fixed "some Pallasadoes to keep ye people upon the watch in ye night, from geting to the outer Passasadoes; w^{ch} will prevent the watch from trading or convercing with ye Indians in ye night time."⁶⁶

During the winter, some timber was found in the post's vicinity, and in February the men began squaring timber for the foundation of the cellar under the first flanker, which Potts intended to build "wth Double Logs perticularly ye Celler."⁶⁷ By the end of June, the flanker of two storeys had been completed,⁶⁸ and work was then begun on the southeast flanker. The sloop from Albany brought little timber in the summer of 1751, and the men had to rely almost entirely upon the wood in the vicinity of Richmond Gulf.⁶⁹

When the ice broke in Richmond Gulf, Potts sent the miners, whom he accused of negligence and indolence, back to England so that they could give the company "an account of their proceedings;" Potts did not believe "one word" they said.⁷⁰ Thus ended the mining operations at Great Whale River, and subsequently Richmond Fort concentrated upon the fur trade with the Indians and whaling on the coast of Hudson Bay.

The construction of the post progressed slowly because of the paucity of timber in its vicinity. Work was completed on the southeast flanker before the winter of 1751-52, but construction was discontinued that winter upon a third flanker; in late winter, after timber was obtained from the "Lady Lakes," work recommenced.⁷¹ In May, Potts began "digging a hovel (Dock like) on the enterance of a Hill ye w^{ch} is within ye Pallasadoes," where he intended to construct a "Strong magazine and Sides and Ends of w^{ch} to be made of Strong Flatt Stones of a Dry nature; the arch of w^{ch} will be turn^d wth Bricks, and Cover^d with 12 foot Earth."⁷² Palisades were placed around the fort.⁷³

At the beginning of June, Potts sailed for Little Whale River, intending to begin a whale oil industry there. A log tent was constructed there, to serve as a "Store House."⁷⁴ Indians were employed to do the fishing, and paid mostly in

brandy and tobacco.⁷⁵ After the fishing ended in the middle of August, Potts returned to Richmond.

The winter of 1752-53 was uneventful at Richmond, and the fort, composed of four flankers and surrounded by palisades, was finished. Boards were cut for a house which Potts intended to erect at the mouth of Little Whale River, to serve as his residence during the whale fishing season.⁷⁶ At the end of June, Potts and the carpenter went to Little Whale River, and laid the foundation of the house, named by Potts "Whale River House;" a log tent and a "Little Store house wth Ruf Boards" were constructed, to be used until the house was completed.⁷⁷ The whale fishery does not seem to have been a success.

During the ensuing winter, the carpenter continued his work upon the house at Little Whale River.⁷⁸ At the end of January, a group of men led by Henry Pollexfon sent with supplies to Little Whale River encountered a few Eskimos, who proved to be friendly; they accompanied the Englishmen to their destination and stayed there for nearly three hours, during which time they were given food.⁷⁹ Potts, "in Great hopes of making apeace between the Indians and Eusquamays and bring ye Latter into ye Way to Trade," sent an assortment of trading goods to Pollexfon, who had remained at Little Whale River house after encountering the Eskimos, "wth Necessary Orders for him, how to Trade of Present ye Said Goods if ye Eusquamays shou^d come there any more and to use them kindly, and if Possible to bieng some of them to ye Fort."⁸⁰

The same day, Pollexfon brought two Eskimos to Richmond from Little Whale River, and they were entertained and given presents. When they left the following day, Potts fired a cannon to demonstrate that the fort was well defended.⁸¹ As the Eskimos indicated that they would be back to trade, Potts placed two cannons in the southwest and northwest

flankers to protect the sloop if "ye Eusquamays shou^d offer to her any Dammage" and recalled all the men hunting partridges.⁸²

The Eskimos appeared in the afternoon of 3 February but upon coming into view of the fort, took shelter behind some rocks, apparently fearing the Englishman's cannon. After the Eskimos gave signs of peace, Potts personally advanced to greet them. They were admitted to the fort, and given food and presents.⁸³

Four days later, while Pollexfon and his men were hunting, the Eskimos plundered Little Whale River house; the boy Matthew Wardson, who had been left in the house, was missing when Pollexfon returned. The Eskimos took all the ironwork they could find, a few muskets and a pound of gunpowder.⁸⁴ Upon learning about this, Potts placed Richmond in a state of defence, and the men were placed on rations, for "no man dar Venture out to hunt for any kind of provision." Potts decided against searching for the boy; he feared that if the Eskimos killed the search party, there would be too few men left to defend the fort. A well-armed body of men was dispatched to Little Whale River to bring to Richmond all the supplies and ironwork which remained there.⁸⁵

A council held resolved that if any Eskimos should come to the fort without bringing the boy, two of them would be taken prisoners and kept in irons until he was surrendered. When three Eskimos arrived at the end of February, Potts himself put two of them in irons, locking them both together right leg and left, and threatened them with death if the boy was not immediately returned. The third Eskimo was set free to inform his people.⁸⁶

The two Eskimos were imprisoned in the lower guard room. They were tranquil during the night, but by morning began to talk in an angry manner, and leaned for some time at the end

of a partition. Suspecting that small arms were placed behind the partition, Pollexfon, who was commanding the watch, ordered a man to conduct a search. The Eskimos blocked the man's path, and when Pollexfon and the carpenter attempted to push them, one took out a concealed knife and made a thrust at the carpenter. Thereupon, the other seized two guns which were behind the partition. A fight ensued, in which the two Eskimos were shot and killed.⁸⁷ Their corpses were given to the principal Indian of the post, who disposed of them.⁸⁸

After this episode, the men did not venture from the fort, and roots and stumps of trees around it were used as fuel.⁸⁹ In May, the Eskimos again plundered the post at Little Whale River, finding the shot and hatchets which had been hidden beneath the ground floor.⁹⁰ Fear of the Eskimos was general among the Indians, and in the spring only the Richmond Indians would consent to take part in the whale fishery at Little Whale River. Potts was obliged "to keep up their Dutch Courage wth brandy," which added to his expenses.⁹¹ Later in the summer, 15 canoes of Indians, promised presents of brandy, came from Great Whale River but they arrived too late to make the fishery a success.⁹²

Because of the threat from the Eskimos and the losses sustained in trade, Potts, as early as the autumn of 1754, favoured the abandonment of Richmond. However, he awaited a decision from London before making any move.⁹³ In order to ameliorate the Indian trade, in December 1754 he sent a few of the Richmond Indians in quest of the Naskapi Indians, with presents to induce them to trade with the post.⁹⁴ In July 1755, a small party of Naskapi visited Richmond, but they had already bartered their furs with Indians who dealt with the French.⁹⁵ Another band, which arrived in May 1756, brought few furs.⁹⁶ There is no further mention of contact with the Naskapi.

Without the patronage of these Indians, Richmond could not expand its fur trade. The Pishepouci Indians were still going to Eastmain, and Potts could find no tribes to the north. He noted in a letter dated 20 July 1755 to the Committee in London, "Richmond Fort can never rise but on the ruins of Eastmain and indeed almost all the Furs that have been sent home from hence, would have come to Your Honours through the Channel of Eastmain had Richmond Fort never been settled."⁹⁷

The failure to expand the Indian trade resulted in the fort's transfer from Richmond Gulf to Little Whale River, where Potts intended to concentrate upon the whale industry. Potts, with five men, in August 1756, went to Little Whale River to select and clear a site for a new factory.⁹⁸ Richmond's flankers were one by one dismantled and re-assembled at the new location.⁹⁹ Work continued throughout the winter; meanwhile, those who were not engaged in the construction resided at Richmond. As the new post proved to be draughty, it was sprayed with water which immediately turned to ice.¹⁰⁰

In 1757, as in previous years, the whale fishery at Little Whale River was not productive. This summer the Indians were frightened away by the threats of the Albany Indians. Despite the constant failure of the fisheries, Potts preserved his intention of removing his post to Little Whale River.¹⁰¹

The carpenter failed to complete the new fort by the autumn of 1757, and as Potts did not want to divide his forces for fear of the Eskimos, all the men resided in the remains of Richmond for the winter.¹⁰² During the summer, four men pulled down the remaining part of the factory and it was conveyed aboard the sloop to Little Whale River.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, Potts removed his men to the new post, which he named "Whale River Richmond Fort."¹⁰⁴

12 Taken from Richmond Fort Journal, 1758-59. (Hudson's Bay Company, B.182/a/11/70.26.)

Whale River post was maintained only one year. In 1759, the London Committee, concluding from Potts' reports that neither the Indian trade nor the whale fishery could ever be profitable, ordered the return of Potts and his men to England.¹⁰⁵ Before leaving, the men set the "Old Timber" on fire "to get ye Iron Work,"¹⁰⁶ and much of the fort was consumed by flames. It is probable that it had not been completed before its abandonment.

Anglo-Canadian Rivalry Until 1821

After the abandonment of Little Whale River, Eastmain remained the only Hudson's Bay Company post on the east coast of Hudson Bay until an outpost from Eastmain was established on Rupert River in the early 1770s. However, Rupert River House was given only a few trading goods, and the Indian trade was relatively small. The post's principal function was to supply Eastmain with geese.¹⁰⁷ It was near the site of Charles Fort, for John Kay says that he dug the old settlement for bricks and "got a great many."¹⁰⁸ Until the late 1770s, there is no mention in the Eastmain journals of competition with Canadians, and not until the late 1780s do they indicate where the Canadians are established.

John Long's book, Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, contains the earliest reference to the conduct of the fur trade in the King's Posts in the post-1763 period. In the winter of 1781-82, John Long constructed a "little fort" on "Lake Shaboomochoine." Although he asserts that the Indians "were agreeably surprised to see a trader at a place where no one had settled before," there is little doubt that this was Lake Chomouchoine. At the conclusion of the trading season, Long retired from the lessees service for "an employ less hazardous," where he "could partake of the pleasures of society with less fatigue both of

body and mind." He mentions that a "brother trader" had settled on Lake Saint-Pierre.¹⁰⁹ The lessees, in 1788-89, maintained posts at Manikuagan and Wayshow, the latter being the principal one, the other being subordinate to it.¹¹⁰ Manikuagan was still open in 1792-93.¹¹¹

The master at Eastmain, George Atkinson, in 1778 dispatched James Robertson to Lake Mistassini "to build a log Tent till more hand can be spair'd to build a house,"¹¹² and Robertson spent the winters of 1778-79 and 1779-80 somewhere on the lake.¹¹³ In 1782, some "Canadians" resided in a log tent "Just beside where James Robertson had his."¹¹⁴ The Eastmain journal does not indicate whether these Canadians represented the lessees of the King's Posts or Dobie and Grant at Témiscamingue. After the North West Company purchased Témiscamingue and its dependencies from Dobie and Grant in 1786, it is certain that Nor'Westers visited Lake Mistassini from time to time,¹¹⁵ and they were permanently settled there by 1796.

No further measures were taken at Eastmain to counter the increasing competition from the Canadians until May 1793, when Bartholomew Nelson, Atkinson's successor at Eastmain, sent George Jackson to Cheasquacheston Lake by way of the Nodoway River. When Jackson arrived at the chief Indian's tent, after paddling three hours into the lake, he met three Frenchmen and 17 Indians "belonging to the Canadian Company at Quebec being 7 canoes in all;" the Frenchmen had arrived only two hours before with "a considerable assortment" of trading goods. Jackson continued,

The Trader Informed me that he was Master at Swapmouson, a large settlement 10 days paddle to the south^d and that he was going to set out Immediately for his house near Quebec where his principal stock of Trading Goods were deposited, and then to return with them to Cheasquacheston,

where he Intends to reside during the Ensuing Winter for which purpose he left 2 men behind him who were to be employ^d during his absence in erecting a Temporary House.

The Frenchman added,

that he had heard it was the Intention of the other Frenchman of whom I had herd such an unfavourable account, to settle at Cheasquacheston in opposition to him, and that he meant shortly to return and errec' a house, so great had been his success during his visit at the place as to carry away with him nearly 2000 Beaver the greatest part of which were traded with those Indians belonging to the Factory.¹¹⁶

The above narration by Jackson indicates that the North West Company was endeavouring to penetrate into the area which hitherto had been the preserve of the lessees of the King's Posts and the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1792, a two-masted vessel commissioned by the North West Company landed in Richmond Gulf; a house was built, defended by a brass cannon, and posts were erected for whale nets.¹¹⁷ Although the Canadians told the Indians they would return the ensuing winter, there is no subsequent mention of this post in the Hudson's Bay Company archives. However, Nor'Westers did winter at Great Whale River the following year.¹¹⁸

To counter the inroads of the Canadians into Eastmain's trade, Bartholomew Nelson, on 20 June 1793, sent John Clarke and seven men to Lake Mistassini, for it was from Mistassini and the region "adjacent" to Cheasquacheston that Eastmain received its "principal Trade."¹¹⁹ As he was informed by two Indian families that there were little or no country provisions during the winter at Lake Mistassini, Clarke stopped at Nasquisaw Lake on 2 August and erected a log tent "upon a spot nearly in the middle of the Lake on the North

Side having a view of the whole Lake."¹²⁰ Later in the month, he built "a Hovel" in which to store his trading goods, and the following month he began erecting a dwelling house 30 feet by 18 constructed of squared logs.¹²¹ Nasquiscaw was supplied from Rupert River.¹²²

Nelson, in September 1793, also dispatched James Fogget and some men to Cheasquacheston. However, as they were deserted by their Indian guides and found that their canoes could not endure so long a voyage, they returned to Eastmain. In June 1794, Fogget again tried to reach Cheasquacheston, but he was forced to stop at Nemiscaw Lake because his canoes were unfit for further travel.¹²³ A log tent was immediately constructed, stockades were set, and during the autumn and winter another log tent and a "warehouse" were erected.¹²⁴ Nelson desired to move the post to Cheasquacheston the following year,¹²⁵ but before the spring of 1795 he was replaced at Eastmain by William Bolland, who was content to oppose the Canadians at Cheasquacheston from Nemiscaw lake. There was no large-scale construction at the post, and indeed the men were still residing as late as the winter of 1797-98 in a log tent.¹²⁶

Both Nemiscaw and Nasquiscaw, named in 1795-96 by its master, John Clarke, St. John's House, were maintained only as wintering posts, all the men returning in late May with their trade to Eastmain. In February 1796, St. John's House was destroyed by fire; the dwelling house was almost levelled to the ground, the stockades were "blown away," and two men were injured.¹²⁷ Clarke returned in June to trade with the Indians and the post was restored in the summer of 1796.¹²⁸

Nasquiscaw initially drew away a substantial part of the Canadian trade at Lake Mistassini. The Canadians were reinforced after 1796 and dispensed presents and raised their prices. Clarke adopted the same tactics, but fared badly in competition.¹²⁹

William Bolland, in the autumn of 1797, sent George Atkinson Jr., a half-Indian son of the former master at Eastmain, and his brother to winter at Masackamee Lake,¹³⁰ but they failed to reach their destination. They succeeded the following October, and passed the winter in recruiting hunters to journey with them to Eastmain. The two Atkinsons returned to Eastmain in June with 21 canoes of Indians.¹³¹ As Nemiscaw was subjected to increased competition from the Canadians at Cheasquacheston¹³² and Bolland could spare few men from Eastmain, George Atkinson Jr. went to Nemiscaw in June 1800, and from there founded a post that autumn at Cheasquacheston.¹³³ He returned in 1801-02,¹³⁴ after which the post was probably abandoned. Nemiscaw was closed in favour of Cheasquacheston, named Windsor House.

Nasquiscaw was retained, but remained a minor establishment until James Clouston's arrival and the creation of the "Naosquiscaw District" in 1814. Clouston stated in his report for 1814: "Naosquiscaw house is situated on the North side of a Lake of the same name the post is almost insulated by small lakes."¹³⁵

During the winter of 1801-02, some Canadians landed at Eastmain, surveyed the post from a distance and then travelled some distance up the Rupert River. They returned to Hannah Bay.¹³⁶ Another party reached Rupert River post in July 1802, and tented with some Indians a short distance from it.¹³⁷ This group left by autumn, but when Thomas Alder returned to Rupert River in September 1803 with his winter supplies, he found another party building a house about two miles below him.¹³⁸ Later in this journal, he said that the Canadian post was about three miles distant.¹³⁹ The Canadian master, Robert Folster, a former Hudson's Bay Company employee, at times had as many as 14 men, and captured much of the trade. Having only a few men with him, Alder found it impossible "to cope" with so many; however, he

did show considerable energy, personally following a number of Nor'Westers as far as Moose Fort in search of Indians.¹⁴⁰ The Canadians returned to Rupert River in 1805-06, being supplied from Charlton Island. They departed in August 1806, after setting fire to the house and the things they could not carry with them.¹⁴¹

In September 1804 two Canadians, McTavish and McDougal, visited Eastmain on their way to Old Factory Island, where they intended to winter. Mannall treated them kindly, giving them a bed,¹⁴² but when a Canadian appeared at Eastmain in January 1805 requesting provisions, Mannall, no longer well disposed, bluntly told him that such a request would never be honoured "except on the greatest necessity."¹⁴³ A man was then dispatched from Eastmain to reconnoitre the Canadian post, and Mannall instructed his men to carefully observe the movement of the Nor'Westers.¹⁴⁴ In July 1805 a ship from Eastmain cruised the coast to protect the trade.¹⁴⁵ The Canadians built a "look out post;" Mannall does not state where¹⁴⁶ however, it probably was in sight of Eastmain. Being outnumbered, the Nor'Westers received only a small portion of the Eastmain trade. In April 1806 they abandoned Old Factory Island post which they "partly demolished."¹⁴⁷

George Jackman, in 1795, sailed from Eastmain bound for Little Whale River, where the Canadians had passed the previous winter. Three miles up the river he built a post, but the enterprise ended with the sinking of the schooner and Jackman's death. In July 1804 Thomas Alder visited Little Whale River, and on "the point" where Jackman's settlement had stood he set up "a lofty beacon, wth a note in a bottle, adress'd to the unfortunate M^r Jackman, or any of his people, if living."¹⁴⁸

Alder then sailed to Great Whale River and ascended the river until he observed some Canadians building a house. He

conversed with their leader, Mr. McDougal, who informed him that he had received orders to return to Charlton Island.¹⁴⁹ In his report, Alder recommended that posts be established on the coast to catch whales for oil and prevent many of Eastmain's furs from falling into Canadian hands.¹⁵⁰

The following summer Bolland, having few men to spare, decided to concentrate his efforts at Big River, the location McDougal had selected for the 1805-06 winter. On his arrival at Big River in October, Alder found that his company's post was already in operation.

McDougal was a man of bad character who did not hesitate to use force when he possessed a superiority in manpower. When he visited Alder on 19 February 1806, he was "insolent and abusive" and threatened to take by force anything Alder obtained in trade. On 6 March he seized sledges belonging to some Indians, and when Alder demanded their return McDougal challenged him to a duel.¹⁵¹ Later in the month, McDougal and a number of men forcibly entered Alder's dwelling house. They physically abused both Alder and George Atkinson, who were alone at the time, giving the former "a violent blow to the face." McDougal ordered that the two should "be crop'd, and the one half" of their heads shaved, after which they should be "kick'd out" of their house. McDougal's men refused to carry out this order, and Alder and Atkinson were released with another warning that all their furs would be confiscated.¹⁵² McDougal subsequently pitched a tent between Alder's dwelling house and warehouse; and Atkinson, tenting some distance from the post, was kept under constant surveillance by four Nor'Westers, who would not permit him to hunt and attacked him once.¹⁵³

McDougal, throughout the trading season, continued his practice of intimidating the Indians and harassing Alder and his men, who were outnumbered nine to five. By the end of April the log tent, which had been hastily pitched and badly

constructed, had crumbled because of the thaw. McDougal accused Alder of pulling it down, and vowed that he would dismantle his post if it were not immediately rebuilt. Alder refused and defied McDougal to attack him. Four days later, on 25 April, five drunken Canadians led by George Storking burst into Alder's house and abused those inside, though they do not seem to have plundered the post.¹⁵⁴ As there was a rumour that McDougal desired to kill Atkinson, Alder and his men remained armed and on the alert in their house for most of May.¹⁵⁵ Despite McDougal's continual harassment, Alder obtained 2,319 MB in trade.¹⁵⁶

When Alder returned in September 1806, he found that the Canadians had withdrawn and burned their house, but not before plundering the Indians of all their furs and distributing large amounts of liquor.¹⁵⁷ The Indians did little hunting during the winter of 1806-07, and only a few furs were traded. During this winter, a new dwelling house was constructed.

The North West Company did not return to the bay area after the summer of 1806. Because of the poor market for furs, caused by the Napoleonic Wars, Bolland was instructed to survey the eastern coast of Hudson Bay to determine where a whale-fishing industry would prove profitable. After his voyage in the summer of 1807, George Gladman stated, "The Canadian Company, having evacuated the coasts of Hudson Bay, I am of opinion a Trading Post at Great River will be of no use towards increseing the Furr Trade, this post was only made to prevent the Canadians who also had a settlement there from getting all our Northern Trade." Instead, he recommended the establishment of a whaling and fur-trading post at Great Whale River.¹⁵⁸ This recommendation was approved and Big River post was closed.

Alder arrived at Great Whale River in June 1808. In his journal for 8 August, he stated that he saw between the

entrance of the river and the first fall a house "which the Canadians had begun to build."¹⁵⁹ It was probably the post founded by the Canadians in 1793-94 and abandoned the ensuing winter.¹⁶⁰

Alder supervised the whaling industry during the summer at Great Whale River, returning to Rupert River in late August. There is no indication that Great Whale River was maintained during the winter. The following summer Alder returned, but too late in the season to conduct a profitable trade in oil;¹⁶¹ and in the summer of 1810 he found that there were too few Indians for the whale hunt, as the Little Whale River Indians were unwilling to participate.¹⁶²

The post served as a winter residence perhaps as early as 1812-13. Provisions, however, were scarce. In the summer of 1816, Alder and his men left Great Whale River having been "entirely starved out," and they¹⁶³ subsequently wintered at Big River. Great Whale River was maintained as a summer residence,¹⁶⁴ and the whale-oil industry there, though not profitable, was continued.¹⁶⁵

Despite a general scarcity of animals on the east coast of Hudson Bay during the winter of 1816-17, adequate provisions were obtained at Big River. The old dwelling house on the north side of the river served as the residence, and a "good sized store House" was erected on the south side, where Alder intended to build "permanent dwellings" if the London Committee decided upon maintaining the post.¹⁶⁶

On the recommendation of George Gladman, who surveyed the east coast of Hudson Bay in 1816, the company concluded that Great Whale River offered more advantages than Big River, and instructed Alder to return to his former establishment when the ice broke in the spring.¹⁶⁷ However, Alder disputed Gladman's observations,¹⁶⁸ and received support for his representations from Alexander Christie,¹⁶⁹ the master of Rupert River House. Big River remained in operation until 1823 or 1824.

Until the turn of the 19th century, there are no records of fur-trading posts on the Saint-Maurice River above Trois-Rivières, though there were undoubtedly petty traders from Trois-Rivières in this region during the French regime. The first reference to the fur trade there occurs in the Alexander McKenzie papers during the XY Company period.

By September 1803, the XY Company had at least one post on Rivière du Lièvre du Loup offered his services to that company,¹⁷⁰ and was hired for three years as an "Commis pour les Chenaus, et le Haut de la Rivière du Lièvre."¹⁷¹ Albert was in charge of a post in 1803-04.¹⁷² There may have been another one in the Rivière du Lièvre region, for we read in a letter written by Daniel Sutherland to Gabriel Foubert, whose establishment is not mentioned, that a man would be temporarily assigned to him.

il vous sera utile cette autumme, soite pour voyager ou pour travailler a la Maison, et vous enverrez Cayolle dans la riviere du Lievre pour aider a rendre les effets a la poste ou ils doivent hiverner, et alors restera avec vous....Votre fils Gabriel ira avec eux pour hiverner....Lavendure ayant tout ce que lui est necessaire vous n'avrez pas besoin [sic] e lui rien avancer. Il faut donner le montant discomptes de votre fils Gabriel et de Chelefoux a Mons Albert, aisique le bled d'Inde que vous avrez prepares....Comme on aura besoin de Farine pour la Riviere de Lievre, il faut tacher en avoirn change pour vos Marchandises, dans le cours de l'automme et l'hiver, et alors ils pourront l'envoyer chercher chez vous, sans faire des Frais et vous en tiendra un compete exact des tous ce qui vous les fournirez.¹⁷³

After the coalition of the XY and North West companies in 1805, the North West Company created the St. Maurice Department. Jean-Baptiste Perrault left Trois-Rivières with Alexander Fraser, the department's director, in May 1806 to winter in the interior. There were twelve men and three canoes in the party. Twelve days after their departure, they reached Rivière-aux-Rats,¹⁷⁴ 40 leagues from Trois-Rivières, and because the river's current was too strong, Perrault remained there until the beginning of July. He then started with two canoes, each manned by four men,¹⁷⁵ and passed through the Portage des Deux Coeurs and the "7 portages of Wémontâching"¹⁷⁶ before reaching his destination, somewhere in the Weymontachingue region. He constructed "a house of thirty feet for ourselves, and a shed of twenty feet." As his assistant, Perrault had William McKay, "a Man of ability, but too much given to drinking to have any business entrusted to him."¹⁷⁷

The Algonkins of Lac des Deux Montagnes having indicated that they would hunt in the neighbourhood of Lac Négâgâming, Fraser in October sent a "Mr. Blak" to reinforce Perrault. The latter immediately dispatched Blak to Négâgâming, but he returned after losing part of his supplies on his journey. In order to re-equip Blak, Perrault deprived himself of a part of his supplies, which were not extensive. On his second journey, Blak's wife, a Canadian who was unaccustomed to the rigours of travelling, suffered a miscarriage. By winter she had recovered sufficiently to travel, and Blak departed with her for Montreal, leaving one of his men in charge of his post at Négâgâming. He took his wife to Sorel and returned at the beginning of February.¹⁷⁸ This displeased Fraser, and Blak was dismissed at the end of the trading season.¹⁷⁹ He obtained seven "Good packs" of furs. Perrault had 22 packs to show for his winter. At the end of June, Perrault was replaced at Weymontachingue by William Morrison.

The following year, Perrault set off for Portage de la Roche with three canoes, "well laden," manned by 11 Iroquois and one Canadian.¹⁸⁰ Portage de la Roche seems to have been in operation for a number of years; the year before it had been under the management of a Mr. Constant, who resigned and "went down into Canada." Perrault ascended the Ottawa River, turned eastward along Rivière du Lièvre, crossed Lac des Sables and reached Portage Brûlé. From there he passed through Rivière du Lac Rond into Great Lac de Neschkang. After traversing this lake, he reached the Portage des Buttes, then descended into Lac Rond, which led to the "Portage de La Roche qui remûe."¹⁸¹

The hunters attached to this post were principally Algonkins of Lac des Deux Montagnes. Two lodges of them were encamped near the settlement when Perrault arrived at the beginning of November. In late autumn or early winter, a Mr. Lecuier came into the region with three men and two sledge loads of goods, and resided during the spring at Lac des Sables, "10 leagues" from Perrault. Lecuier drew away a considerable part of the trade; Perrault obtained only 14 packs of furs, while his post usually produced 24 or 25 annually. After the departure of his Iroquois in the autumn, Perrault had only two men. He wrote to the company's agent in Montreal, Mr. Ogilvie, in February apprising him of his competition, but by then it was too late to take any measures. Ogilvie apparently chastized him for failing to make a report in the autumn.¹⁸²

His contract having expired, Perrault, at the end of trading season, indicated that he would not continue to serve at Portage de la Roche. A Mr. Fisher, perhaps the Alexander Fisher who was later at Lac des Deux Montagnes, replaced him.¹⁸³

The North West Company in 1802 leased the King's Posts for a period of 20 years at £1,025 per annum, and the

seigneurie of Mille-Vaches for the same term at £300 a year. Angus Shaw was appointed to administer the acquired territories, with his headquarters in Quebec.¹⁸⁴ The following year, Shaw and a well-supplied expedition retraced Albanel's and Jolliet's route, and established a supply depot on Charlton Island.¹⁸⁵ By 1806 the North West Company had rented Mingan seigneurie. James McKenzie in 1806 was appointed a "Wintering Partner for the Kings Posts & Mingan." The outfits henceforth were no longer to be supplied from Quebec but by the company's agents in Montreal. The headquarters apparently were removed from Quebec.¹⁸⁶ Two years after his appointment, James McKenzie set off on a tour of the establishments under his charge. The following are his observations upon them.

Tadoussac

Tadoussac, from its central situation, is considered the headquarters of the King's Posts. It is here the French are said to have first landed and to have built a small town after their arrival in Canada, but no other vestiges now remain of such a place but the foundations of a few houses. The present buildings, consisting of a dwelling house, outhouses and a chapel which has stood one hundred and ten years, stand upon the angle formed by the junction of the Saguenay with the St. Lawrence. The Saguenay flowing on the west between two immense ramparts of rocks, a chain of high mountains in the shape of a semi circle on the north and east, and the St. Lawrence in front, give this place rather a romantic appearance.

The harbour is a beautiful sandy bay in the shape of a horse shoe, a mile in circumference. The bank on which the houses are built rises

about twenty feet above the level of the water. It is divided into two equal parts by a brook of clear water and, though composed of sand, it is covered with green turf.

The people fishing, the whales playing in the basin before the house, the cattle grazing around the gardens, the birds flying about, with the universal verdure which prevails in the summer season, give the place a lively appearance. But how sadly the scene is reversed in the winter, when, not only the animated part of the creation retires from the horrid prospect, but the very rocks and trees seem to shrink and groan under the heaps of snow which cover them. The latter are actually torn up by the roots or broken in splinters by the westerly wind which rushes from the Saguenay with a violence which threatens to sweep every thing before it.

There are six field pieces at Tadousac, by the respectable appearance of which, (as well as by the Indians showing themselves in red dresses,) the clerk of the post, Mr. Martin, saved the place, in 1775, from the depredations of the American privateers, who, in the same year, plundered and destroyed most of the rest of the ports, for want of like advantages and stratagems.¹⁸⁷

Chicoutimi

E-She-qua-ti-mi, in the Indian language, signifies "the water is still deep," hence "Chicoutimi." The post so called is situated on the point formed by the Saguenay, on the north and north-east and the Chicoutimi River, which is small and rapid, on the south-west. At this place there is

a good dwelling house, a chapel and a store which was built in 1707, as written above the door. The goods for the interior posts are brought this length in the summer in a schooner or boats, and afterwards conveyed by the Indians in small canoes up the country by way of Chicoutimy River, which brings them to Lake St. John.¹⁸⁸

Lake St. John

The post of Lake St. John is built on the south of the lake, four leagues from its entrance, at the mouth of a beautiful river where the Jesuits, under the French Government, had a settlement for the purpose of instructing the Indians, until expelled for receiving too costly presents of furs for their spiritual services.

Some marks of their industry and improvements are still to be seen at this place. The plum and apple trees of their garden, grown wild through want of care, yet bear fruit in abundance. The foundation of their church and other buildings, as well as the church yard, are still visible. The bell of their church, two iron spades, a horseshoe, a scythe and a bar of iron, two feet in length, have lately been dug out of the ruins of this apparently once flourishing spot, and, adjoining, is an extensive plain or meadow on which much timothy hay grows. An island in the lake, near this place, swarms with snakes which, the Canadians believe, were conjured by the Jesuits, from their own residence.¹⁸⁹

Aswapmouchoin [Chomouchoine]

The word Assuap means "to watch" and Mousua, "moose deer," which in former years were very numerous at this place, but are now as scarce as they are on

the Plains of Abraham. Assuapmousoin is indeed the poorest and shabbiest of Her [sic] Majesty's posts. A hut, a small store and a small potatoe garden were all the improvements that could be seen at this lonely, miserable place. The Indians of this post consist of a dozen lazy families, who are not Christians. They live, in winter, chiefly on hares, and, in summer, on fish. This place communicates with the River St. Maurice by small lakes and rivers, and is said to lie due north from Maskinongé.¹⁹⁰

Mistassini

Our post is situated at this end of Lake Mistassini, and that of the Hudson Bay, which is fitted out from East Main Factory, and called "Birch Point," is built four days journey farther off, on the edge of a small lake out of which the water communication to the Factory takes its source.¹⁹¹

Portneuf

This post is built upon a high sand bank, with a fine river meandering before it and which soon loses itself in the St. Lawrence. The deceased Mr. Peter Stuart resided there with his family while manager of the posts, to which circumstance Portneuf still owes several elegant buildings, besides a chapel in which His Holiness the Pope might not be ashamed to officiate.¹⁹²

Isle Jeremie

The 22nd, we did not go farther than Post of Ile Jérémie, which takes its name from the man who

first settled here. It is eight leagues from Portneuf. The buildings, among which is a chapel, are built upon an eminence amongst woods and rocks. This is the best of the Kings Posts for furs.

A Canadian of the name of Vallé stays here with his family; he keeps the place in high order, and is a very civil person. His wife appears to have nothing prepossessing in her person and manners, but she makes up for any deficiency in these respects by keeping her husband's account.¹⁹³

Godbout

The buildings at Godbout, like all those of King's Posts, are placed in a cluster, without order or method, as if they had dropped from the clouds, on a low sand point on the east side of the Godbout river; the high chain of rocky mountains which guards the coast keeping, with a surly look, a respectable distance behind this motley group.

This river, in which between fifty and sixty tierces of salmon are annually caught in nets, is but a few yards wide, and so choked with sand that only small craft can enter it even at high water. Wild fowls, codfish and lobsters are got in great plenty at this place in the warm season, and the post may be reckoned among the best for furs and seal oil.¹⁹⁴

Seven Islands

The Bay of the Seven Islands is seven leagues in circumference. The point of which the houses

(placed in the same beautiful confusion as at Godbout,) are built is low, sandy and covered with the usual uniform of His Majesty's Posts, brushwood and stunted spruce. The Seven Islands, stretching in the form of a crescent about a league along this point, defend it like a line of battle ships from the ravages of the waves, and form one of the best harbours on the coast.¹⁹⁵

Mingan

The situation of this post appeared to us the most delightful we had seen in the course of our travels through this barbarous coast. The beach, composed of hard sand and covered with turf, is for six leagues level enough for a coach and six to drive on. The Mingan river runs gently about an acre behind the buildings till it falls into the Gulf, a mile below them. The view in front of the post, it must be owned, is a good deal obstructed by a cluster of islands, but this is in some degree recompensed by the shelter they afford, the grass which grows on them, and the numerous flocks of wild fowls that hatch around their edges.

The harbour is fit for "seventy fours" to ride in, and the buildings, among which is a chapel, are as good as any on the coast.

The wood about Mingan is the same as has been described at the Seven Islands. Salmon and trout are taken in the river, and seals shot in the harbour before the house. Mingan island is a mile in circumference, low and covered with grass, and lies three leagues above the post and

one from the shore. The post stood here in the time of the French, who had it fortified; a chimney and a well are, however, the only marks now remaining to prove the existence of such a place.¹⁹⁶

Nepioshibou

On the 29th, we continued our journey from Mingan for thirty leagues to Nepioshibou, on the "Man River," where we arrived on the 30th, our course being north-east always, along a rugged shore and among islands. There is no harbour but for small craft, and that, in the river, which is difficult of entrance at this post. The situation is pretty, the banks of the river, though sandy, are green, but the river is not considerable. From eighty to one hundred tierces of salmon are annually caught here. The sand on the west of the buildings has been left by the sea in deep furrows as at Mingan. The buildings consist only of a dwelling house, a store and a shade. With respect to furs, this may be ranked among the inferior posts.¹⁹⁷

Musquarro

The 31st, we now hastened towards the end of our journey and the last of the posts on the seigniory of Mingan, Musquarro where we arrived on the 1st of September, the distance twenty leagues from the last post, fifteen of which were across a deep bay and along a sandy beach much exposed to the open sea, the remaining five leagues we passed upon islands.

Masquaro post is built on the river of that name, in a bay among rocks and islands, and so well concealed that, in 1775, the American pirates did not discover it. This place has a new chapel, with a small house and store which, all together, make but a shabby appearance, but quantities of beavers and martens are found throughout the country bordering the post.

The Indians are much in the habit of trading with the Labrador fishermen, and of going with their furs to Great Esquimaux Bay, to which the distance across the country is but short, and where a number of peddlars from Quebec trade and fish.

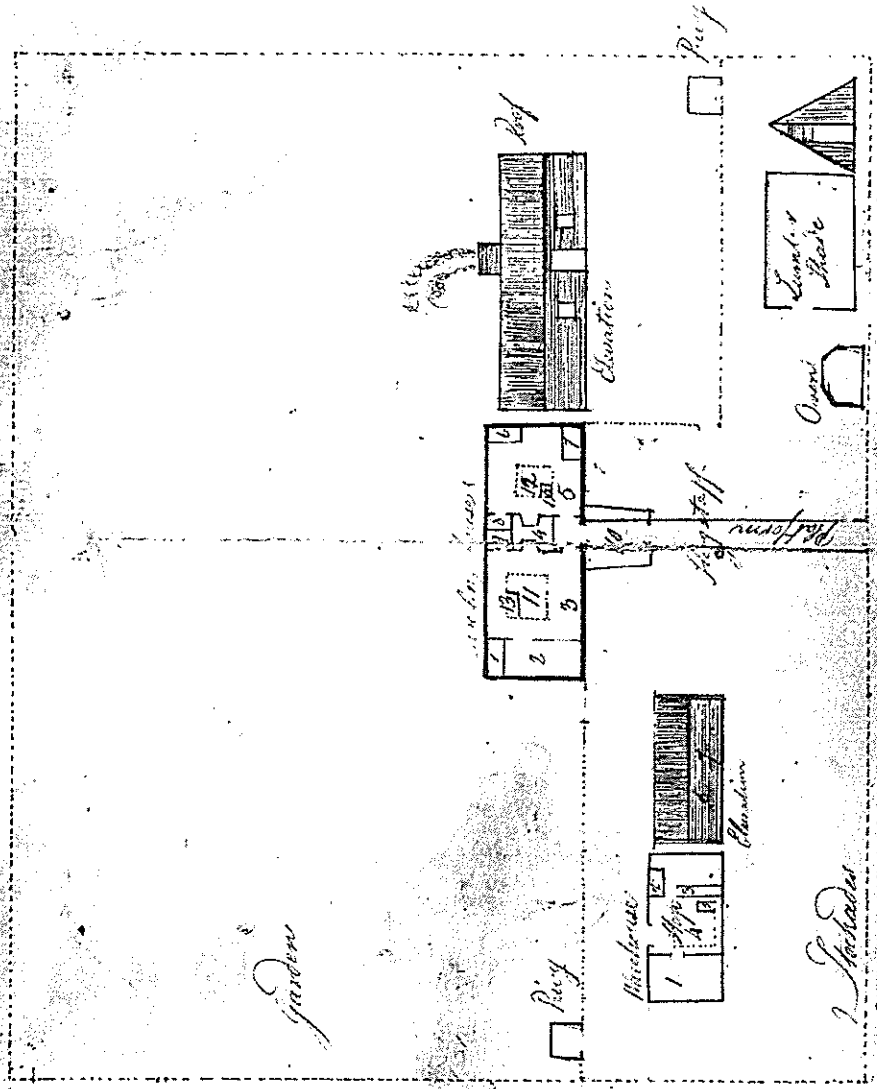
There were two cows at Masquaro, which have lately died for want of grass, and two superannuated cats were the only domestic animals to be seen.¹⁹⁸

Natasquan

The largest river on the south or Mingan is the Natasquan, near half way between Napioshibou and Masquaro, it is about two and a half miles wide at the entrance but very shallow. Two hundred and fifty tierces of salmon are taken in nets out of this river every year by five men. The sand on the east side of the mouth of this river is collected into high hillocks in the shape of a sugar loaf; to use a comparison more familiar at Natasquan, we may say they resemble a woman's cap. Exclusive of the river already mentioned, there are seven more on this seigniory, into which salmon enters and which are pretty large, but it would be too tedious to describe them here.¹⁹⁹

13 Nasquiscaw. (Hudson's Bay Company, B.143/c/3/70.1-1816.)

- Dwelling house*
1. Kitchen
 2. one bedroom
 3. kitchen room
 4. 1st floor
 5. Bath room
 6. 1st floor
 7. 1st floor
 8. Cupboards
 9. Porch
 10. Porch
 11. Cellars
 12. Cellars
 13. do
 14. do

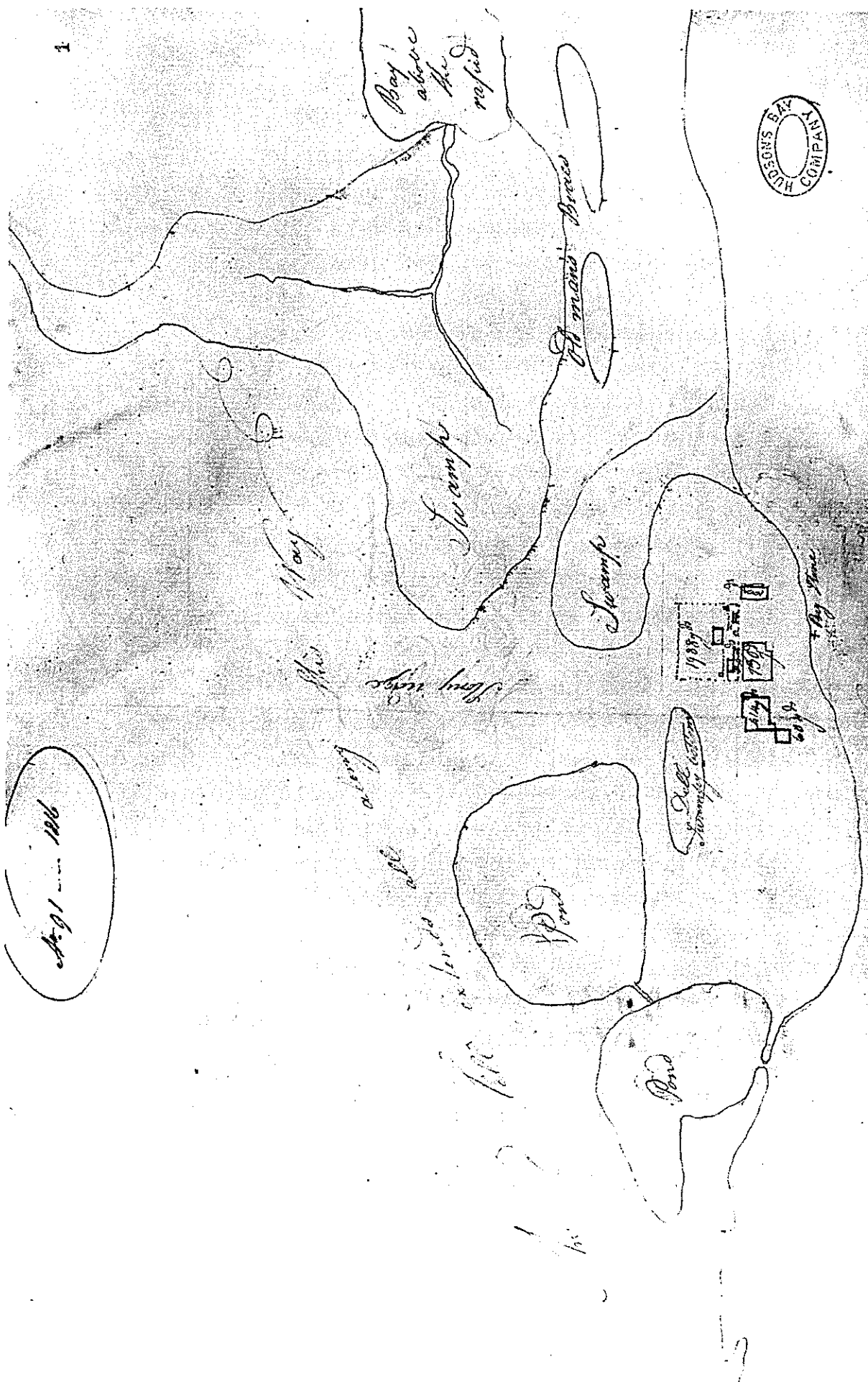


- Storehouse*
1. Ventilation Room
 2. Counters
 3. Cellar
 4. Cellar
 5. Latch
 6. Latch
 7. Latch

Storehouse
 One of each of 24 feet per side

14 Nasquiscaw, 1816. (Hudson's Bay Company, B.143/c/3/70.1.)

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The acquisition of the lease of the King's Posts made the North West Company more formidable inland because it could now supply its settlements overland from the St. Lawrence River. By 1810 its posts at Mistassini, Kaniapiskau and Manikouagan were severely injuring the Hudson's Bay Company's trade. In 1812, an outpost was established by James Clouston, the master of Nasquiscaw, on Lake Mistassini, though not near the Canadian house.²⁰⁰ Three years later, the Nor'Westers on Lake Mistassini rebuilt near it.²⁰¹ Clouston then sent two men to settle at Little Mistassini Lake to intercept the Indians who usually came from the south in the spring.²⁰² It is not certain whether these men reached their destination; if they did, they did not reside there more than one winter.

Under Duncan MacDonald's superintendence, Mistassini showed improved returns. The Canadians did not return to their post in the autumn of 1815, but instead went "to the Eastward." Clouston, needing every man available to counter them, evacuated Mistassini the ensuing spring.²⁰³

In the autumn of 1815, James Robertson founded an outpost from Nasquiscaw at Rush Lake. Having committed most of his men to his outposts, Clouston found himself hard-pressed to compete with Robert Folster and one man, who settled near him in 1815-16.²⁰⁴ The following winter, Folster moved to the Canadian post on Lake Mistassini,²⁰⁵ but Clouston could not spare anybody to oppose him. The only available man, John Isbister, had been sent in the spring of 1816 to Nichikun, where "Two Small log houses" were built.²⁰⁶ Indeed, Nasquiscaw was so short of men in the autumn of 1817, that not enough wood could be cut for the winter, and part of the stockades and palisades enclosing the garden was used for firewood.²⁰⁷ During the winter of 1817-18, John Isibster resided at Nichikun with only his wife and an un-dependable Indian.²⁰⁸

Following the North West Company's withdrawal from Mistassini in the autumn of 1817, Waswanipi was the only Canadian settlement in the vicinity of the Hudson Bay Company's posts. James Clouston, in his report in 1818-19, listed three others further inland: Chomouchoine, Chepishaw, east of Mistassini, and Manahan, in the direction of Nichicun. The latter two Canadian posts were "lately established."²⁰⁹

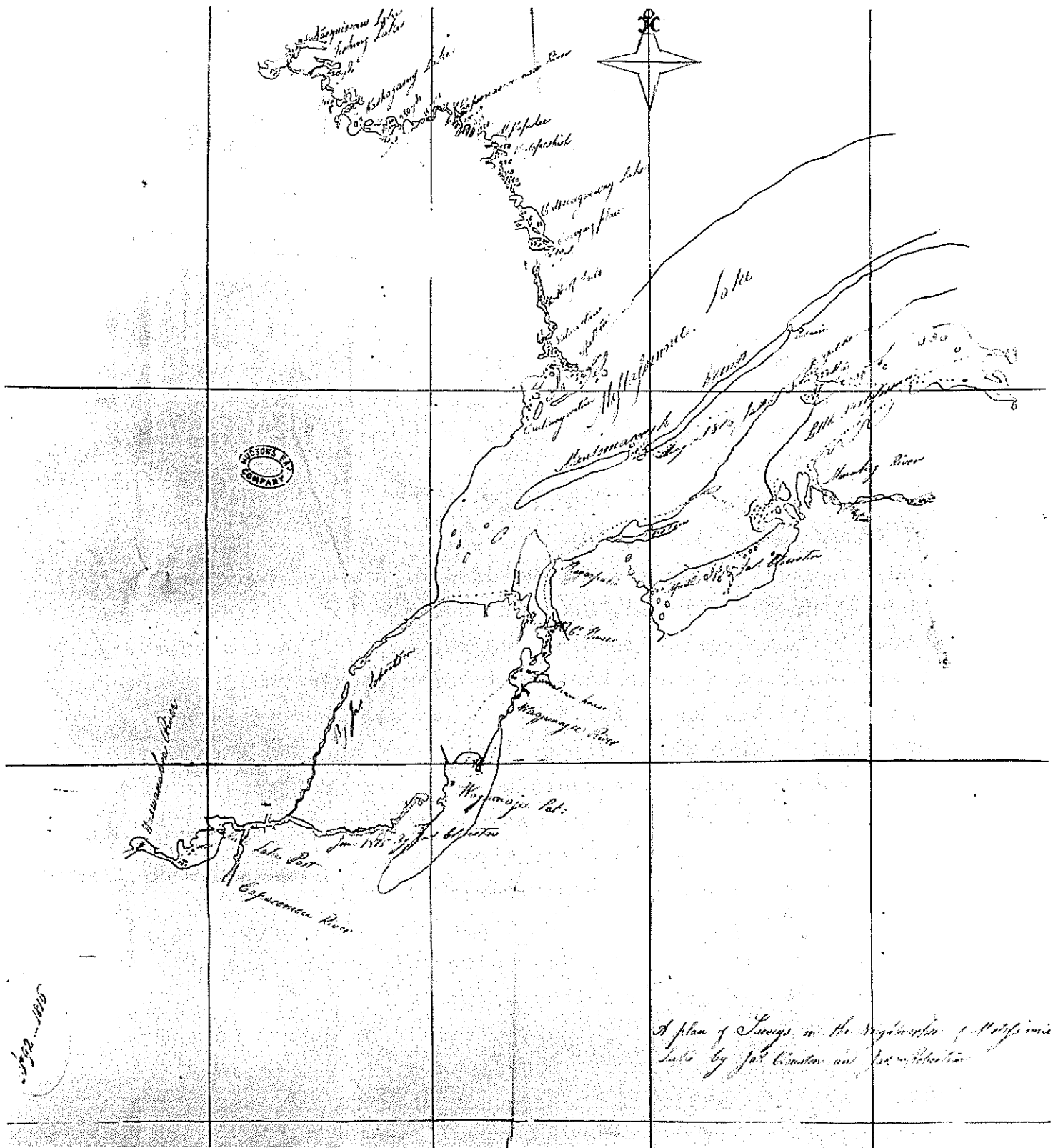
After receiving reinforcements in the summer of 1818, Clouston dispatched Roderic McCulloch and William Donald and two others to settle on Lake Mistassini. The new post was about 50 miles from the previous one, at a more convenient part of the lake, and was designed "to serve as a Depot for other Posts intended to be established in that quarter as soon as the means is afforded."²¹⁰ However, by September 1820, McCulloch had failed, in his explorations east of Mistassini, to find any new Indian tribes,²¹¹ and the plans for extending settlements inland were abandoned.

By 1815, the North West Company had relinquished its post at Kaniapiskau, and competed with Rupert River and Eastmain from Lake Waswanipi. Not until 1717 did James Russel at Eastman have sufficient men to form a party for Waswanipi,²¹² but lack of provisions prevented it from leaving that summer.²¹³ Greely and his party departed in the following summer. He could get no further than Big Lake when winter set in, and settled "at the farthest end of the Lake."²¹⁴ All the men died of starvation during the winter.

Although Big Lake had been founded from Eastmain, it was placed in Naosquaiscaw district, which was under Clouston's supervision. Greely's post was removed, in the summer of 1819, about 30 miles closer to the entrance of the lake. Clouston stated in his report for 1818-19,

The Houses are situated on a point formed by the Lake and a narrow which communicates with another

- 15 Plan of survey in the neighbourhood of Mistassinni Lake by Jas. Clouston and Jas. Robertson, no date. (Hudson's Bay Company, B.133/e/1.)



A plan of the region in the neighborhood of Kashaganay Lake by J. A. Winston and J. A. Johnston

1875

Lake and consists of two Small Dwelling Houses each 18 feet by 12 intended for the men. The Warehouse contains a Shop and victualling shed on the Ground floor with a Store room above.²¹⁵

This probably refers to Greely's post.

Early in the summer of 1819, five men settled near the Canadians at Lake Waswanipi, and in August George Monin, an experienced trader, took charge of the post. From the time of his arrival until the liquor was "all expended," he was "scarcely a day free from being in a state of inebriation." He neglected to obtain country supplies and rapidly consumed his European provisions. During the spring, when all the Canadians were away in search of Indians, Monin sent his men to construct a summer house for his opponent, Mr. McRae. As a result, not one fur was traded at Monin's establishment, which lost £300.²¹⁶

Richard Hardisty, who replaced Monin during the summer of 1820, was given a complement of nine men; the Canadians had a master, a clerk named McFarlane, six men and a boy. Soon after his arrival, Hardisty received an invitation from McRae to breakfast with him. He refused, believing that any fraternization between his and McRae's people would be prejudicial to his post, for his men had as yet "little acquaintance" with the Indians; the latter were so afraid of the Canadians that they would be deterred from trading with him if they thought that he was subservient to them.²¹⁷

There were considerable differences of opinion between the two masters, especially upon fishing rights and chasing Indians.²¹⁸ The Hudson's Bay Company's post, according to a report written in 1829, was "situated on the face of a hill at the Head of Waswonaby River."²¹⁹

Without waiting for instructions from Rupert House, Hardisty in the autumn of 1820 dispatched John Walford from Mistassini to settle at Cheaquacheston.²²⁰ In January 1821

McRae, apparently hitherto unaware of Hardisty's move, went to Cheaquacheston and pitched a tent "about a Gun Shot" from Walford's house. There he and his men remained until the end of January, when the lack of provisions forced their withdrawal.²²¹

On the coalition of the two companies, the leases for the King's Posts and Mingan seigneurie passed into the Hudson's Bay Company's possession. The establishments in the King's Posts listed in an inventory of posts made in 1821 were Tadoussac, Chicoutimi and Lake Saint-Jean.²²² Those in Mingan seigneurie were Mingan, Islet de Jeremie and Sept Iles,²²³ though the latter two formed part of the King's Posts. Waswanipi, which was in the North West Company's Témiscamingue Department, is also listed.²²⁴ In the inventory, the following posts appear for the Hudson's Bay Company's Eastmain district: Eastmain Factory, Nasquiscaw and its outposts at Nichikun, Mistassini and Rush Lake, Waswanipi and its outpost at Cheaquacheston, Rupert River House and "Whale River."²²⁵

The Post-1821 Period

Introduction

On the coalition of 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company came into the possession of the lease for the King's Posts. However, the lease expired the following year, and a new lease was granted to the highest bidder, a partnership of three Quebec merchants known as the King's Posts Company. At first the Hudson's Bay Company considered this a minor loss, but within a few years the lessees, from their posts at Chomouchoine and Peeyaguagaming, succeeded in attracting hunters from Rush Lake and Waswanipi, and the Hudson's Bay Company was obliged to settle posts on Lake Timiskamay and Pike Lake. In response, the King's Posts Company servants for a time resided on Caipomo Lake, which the Hudson's Bay Company considered to be within Rupert's Land.

The competition was also animated in Saint-Maurice district, and between 1827 and 1831, both companies maintained three posts in the district: both were at Weymontachingue and Wabijiwoine, and the Hudson's Bay Company was at Rat River and the King's Posts Company at La Tuque. The trade was largely conducted in liquor, to the detriment of the Indians.

The Hudson's Bay Company inherited the North West Company's lease for Mingan seigneurie. From its post at Cormoran on the seigneurie's peripheries, the company conducted a very active competition for the hunts of the Sept Iles Indians. Sept Iles was handicapped by an annual shortage of merchandise in the spring. Though it did receive a respectable part of the Sept Iles trade, the exorbitant prices paid for furs made Cormoran an unprofitable post.

In 1822, the Hudson's Bay Company leased the seigneurie of Mille Vaches. By the mid-1820s, the company, from the seigneurie's post at Portneuf, was enticing the King's Posts Indians with presents of liquor, and men from the post at times entered the domaine in search of hunters. The King's Posts Company stationed men on the seigneurie's frontiers and sometimes within the seigneurie itself to intercept the natives going to Portneuf. There were a number of violent incidents and numerous arrests were made at the instigation of the two companies. In 1829, the Hudson's Bay Company appealed to the courts of Quebec for an order restraining the lessees from interfering with the trade in its seigneurie. The courts ordered that this right should be upheld and the King's Posts Company, concluding that it now had no means of protecting its trade, sold its lease to the Hudson's Bay Company.

When Governor Simpson recommended to the London Committee the purchase of the lease for the King's Posts, he believed that the King's Posts could be operated at a profit. He attributed its annual deficit to his company's competition. After acquiring the lease, the Hudson's Bay Company failed to realize a profit at any time. Settlers and lumbering companies began moving into the King's Posts in force in the late 1830s. The principal posts affected by this influx were Tadoussac, Sept Iles, Chicoutimi and Ile Jeremie. Lake Saint-Jean, being further inland and more difficult to reach, was not materially injured until the 1850s. After 1850-51, the headquarters of the master of the King's Posts was transferred from Tadoussac to Ile Jeremie, and a few years later Ile Jeremie post was relocated at Bersimis. Tadoussac was subsequently used as a summer fishing station, with two men wintering to care for the buildings. Believing that its small trade could be collected at Tadoussac, Simpson closed Chicoutimi in 1856. At the end of the 1858-59 outfit,

Tadoussac, Godbout and Sept Iles were abandoned, and only Lake Saint-Jean and Bersimis were retained. Simpson did not renew the lease, and the government officially took possession of the King's Posts in November 1859. The company continued to operate posts at Lake Saint-Jean and Bersimis, having raised buildings at its own expense at both locations in the latter part of the 1860s.

The Rupert River district posts, during the 1840s and 1850s, produced more furs of high quality than those of any other district in the Southern Department. Whale fisheries were also prosecuted at Fort George in the 1840s, and they were extended in the 1850s to Little Whale and Great Whale rivers.

Competition Between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Lessees of the King's Posts, 1822-1831.

Upon the expiration of the North West Company's lease for the King's Post in 1822, a new lease was granted for 20 years to the highest bidder, Mr. Goudie, and his partners Joseph Remy Vallières de St. Réal and William Phillips, merchants of Quebec City. After Goudie's death in 1823, his partners sold the lease to James McDonall, also a merchant of Quebec City. Four years later, McDonall received £14,000 from the partnership of William Lampson, Dwight Boyden and Moulton Bullock, the first merchant of Quebec City, the last two of New York city. Subsequently, Dwight Boyden sold his share to his two partners for £10,000.¹ These lessees were known as the King's Posts Company.

For a time the Hudson's Bay Company regarded the loss of the lease as a minor setback. Within a few years, however, the lessees had established themselves on the frontier of the domaine, and actively competed for the Indians of Ungava. After the union of the two fur-trading companies,

the North West Company post at Waswanipi was retained, and Hardisty continued as master. Cheaquacheston was abandoned, as were Rush Lake, Nasquiscaw and Nichikun.² Because the Hudson's Bay Company failed to retain the King's Posts, Mistassini was maintained, but it was removed about 60 miles "thro' the Lake;" it was kept up as a "frontier post" to prevent the Indians of the region from frequenting the establishments of the domaine.³ Big River post was closed during the summer of 1823, and the Indians belonging to it subsequently traded at Eastmain.⁴

From their posts at Chomouchoine (also called by the English Aswapmouchoin and Assapmousoin) and Peeyaguagaming, the lessees of the King's Posts drew away some of the Indians who hunted at Rush Lake and Waswanipi. After exploring the region towards the lessees' posts in 1824, Chief Trader James Clouston, sent reinforcements by Governor Williams, in 1825 established posts at Waipatchinaukaniskau, about 150 miles south-southwest of Chomouchoine, and at Lake Timiskamay (Témiscamie), 120 to 140 miles from Mistassini. Alexander Collie and two men departed from Mistassini and reached Lake Timiskamay at the beginning of September 1825. They selected a site "on a point nearly at the middle of the Lake," the only place where there was wood suitable for house building. During most of the winter, Collie was in distress for want of provisions.⁵

The post at Waipatchinaukaniskau was founded by James Robertson, who obtained sufficient country provisions. Originally, Clouston had intended to pass the winter with him and personally supervise the conduct of the trade, as he suspected that some Rush Lake and Waswanaby (Waswanipi) Indians would go to Chomouchoine to evade paying their debts.⁶ However, he remained most of the winter and spring at Mistassini. In the summer, he directed Robertson to evacuate Waipatchinakaniskau, and settle at Kinnooshaigumisee,

or Pike Lake, located 20 miles closer to Chomouchoine.⁷ The lessees countered by having Presque Verault (Verreault), hitherto the master at Chomouchoine, winter at Caipomo Lake, which Chief Factor Joseph Beoiley, the master of Rupert River district, considered to be within Hudson's Bay Company territory. Meanwhile, seven men resided for the lessees at Chomouchoine, an increase of four men over the previous year. Two men were then sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to reinforce Mistassini.⁸

When our literary records of the Saint-Maurice district resume in 1826, we learn that Rat River post was in existence⁹ and was supplied from Trois-Rivières. Weymontachingue, which was under Alexander McDonald's charge in 1826-27, was supplied from Trois-Rivières via Rat River.¹⁰ Pierre de Rocheblave was the Hudson's Bay Company agent in Trois-Rivières. Wabijiwoine was open this winter,¹¹ and there was an opposition post there as well. In the spring, a Hudson's Bay Company man either was murdered or died accidentally. The corpse was conveyed by a Mr. Doherty and two men to Trois-Rivières. One of these men, Boisvert, is described as being "an intolerable drunkard," and McDonald requested that another man be sent to replace him.¹² The opposition departed shortly after the death. Wabijiwoine was "situated in a very central part of the country," and Indians from Trout Lake, Grand Lac, and Waswanipi resorted there, especially during the summer.¹³

A greater effort was made in 1827-28 by the lessees to challenge the Hudson's Bay Company in the Saint-Maurice River district, and they engaged more men. In the latter part of July, a Mr. Vassal, likely Stanislas Vassal who represented the lessees, passed Rat River with "four north canoes loaded,"¹⁴ bound for Weymontachingue, where he seems to have established a new post. At the beginning of September

he departed with two canoes and settled at Wabijiwoine in opposition to John McAlister.

By October, Vassal was becoming dissatisfied with his situation and indicated to McAlister that he would leave his employers' service if he received an attractive offer.¹⁵ But later in the year, the large assortment of goods and the liberal prices paid by the King's Posts Company made such an impression on the natives that, according to Chief Trader Robert McVicar, their confidence in the Hudson's Bay Company was "considerably shaken." The King's Posts Company men also represented to the Indians that their opponents could not successfully compete with them and therefore would withdraw from Saint-Maurice River district in 1828-29.¹⁶

McVicar, who became master of the district in 1828, decided that the least expensive way to make an impression upon the natives and improve his men's morale would be to renovate the buildings at the posts. He wrote:

When I visited last winter the Post of Rat River and Wemontachingue for the purpose of obtaining information, the first thing that attracted my attention and struck me with considerable astonishment, was the miserable and desolate appearance of the Company's establishments. - the worst fishing Huts in the North were comparatively Palaces to the wretched Hovels occupied by the officers, and the men's dwellings, particularly those at Weymontachingue, were actually worse than Pig Styes-and when the Indians collected and crowded, I may say, on the top of each other in this small but wretched abode - and the usual necessary quantity of spirits distributed amongst them, which instantaneously plunged them into a lamentable state of intoxication the horrible confusion and uproar that

ensued presented a scene of human wretchedness appalling beyond description....Both the officers and men were become so dispirited and disgusted with their wretched habitations and general mode of living (to which we may justly attribute a great deal of the expense and trouble we were at in engaging the latter) that I considered it advisable in order to attach them to the service, to cheer and enliven their spirits with a prospect of their being more comfortable hereafter....Independent of all these considerations which I conceive are of themselves sufficiently important to justify my conduct in this respect - new dwellings and stores to contain and secure the Company's property were indispensable.¹⁷

At Rat River and Weymontachingue, McVicar also introduced livestock and agriculture, so that the amount of provisions required from Lachine could be cut, reducing the posts' expenses.¹⁸ McVicar was successful in recovering some of the hunters at Weymontachingue who in the two previous winters had gone over to the opposition. Although he was not in good health, he was active, travelling to Wabijiwoine and Michiskun in August to make preparations for the winter's campaign.¹⁹

In August 1828, Jacob Corrigan, the master at Waswanipi, in conformity with Beioley's instructions, dispatched James Robertson to establish a post at Michiskun "for the security of the Honble Company's Trade in that Quarter, which had become endangered by the encroachments of the Lessees Servants from the St. Maurice River." When Robertson reached Michiskun at the beginning of September, he found a party of Hudson's Bay Company men, a Mr. McKenzie and five men, who had made their way up the Saint-Maurice River from Weymon-

tachingue.²⁰ Robert McVicar had visited both Michiskun and "Opitchiwan" (also written Wabijiwoine, Wabichiwan Obijiwine and Obigiwoine) in the spring of 1828, with the intention of establishing posts at both places,²¹ and it is possible that he had supervised the construction of Michiskun, for he was absent from Weymontachingue until February 1829.²²

The lessees also settled at Michiskun, and maintained there at times as many as seven men. It is not certain whether McKenzie and his men remained with Robertson throughout the winter. However, Robertson's opposition was so formidable that the lessees withdrew the ensuing spring to their post at Opitchiwan.²³

By the summer of 1828, Andrew McPherson of Rupert River district had settled on Grand Lake. The houses were situated on a "Rocky point," and were "spacious in every respect." McPherson was given six men in order to compete with the "petty traders" who frequented the region.²⁴

A post was founded by the lessees in 1828-29 at Chippishaw, and it succeeded in attracting some of the Timiskamay Indians.²⁵ So active were the lessees' men, that a clerk and an Indian came within one-half day's paddle from Timiskamay in May 1829 to overtake an Indian.²⁶ The lessees also maintained, in 1830-31, "a small post about half way Between Pike Lake and Swabmooswan."²⁷

There was a total of five officers, 16 winterers, and eight extra men allocated by the Hudson's Bay Company for the Saint-Maurice district in 1828-29. They were assigned in the following manner: Weymontachingue, Robert McVicar, Mr. Hamel, eight winterers and two men extra for the trading season; Wabijiwoine McAlister, McKenzie, four winterers and four men extra for the trading season, and Rat River, Mr. LeBlanc, four winterers and two men extra for the trading season. Hamel at Weymontachingue previously had served for three years with the King's Posts Company in Saint-

Maurice district, and was considered a bright young clerk.²⁸

The contest between the two companies was showing its baneful effects upon the inhabitants of Saint-Maurice district by 1828-29. While there were only 38 men and boys attached to the district and 21 "stragglers," 999 gallons of liquor had been imported by the Hudson's Bay Company alone for the 1827-28 outfit. In addition, there were no fewer than seven "petty adventurers" in Weymontachingue's vicinity. This inordinate distribution of liquor had reduced the natives to "mere skeltons," and had impaired their mental faculties.²⁹

Although the trade was unprofitable, both companies increased their expenses and efforts in 1828-29. The King's Posts Company had posts at Weymontachingue, Wabijiwoine and Rat River, though Rat River post may actually have been at LaTuque.³⁰ It concentrated its efforts in the autumn at Wabijiwoine, but McVicar's men there succeeded in debting all but a few hunters, so that McVicar could report that his rivals did not have "the slightest prospects of making a pack this season."³¹ Bested in a free competition, the opposition resorted to acts of violence. According to McVicar, Michel Guille, while escorting an Indian to Wabijiwoine, was attacked by eight or nine King's Posts Company men. He successfully defended himself, breaking three paddles over their heads and almost killing one of them, Thomas Laframboise. McVicar intended to abandon Wabijiwoine if the opposition withdrew; they, however, remained.³² At Weymontachingue, not one hunter visited the opposition post.³³

McVicar was incapacitated the following winter by ill-health, and Chief Trader Cuthbert Cumming supervised Saint-Maurice district in his stead. The opposition assigned 18 men to the district in 1829-30, eight more than in the previous winter. Cumming had an equal number at his disposal.

He suspected that the King's Posts Company was increasing its strength in order to penetrate toward Timiskamay, in the Grand and Trout lakes region.³⁴

The King's Posts Company persuaded J. Naud who had defected to them from the Hudson's Bay Company, to subpoena Cumming and five of his men to appear at Trois-Rivières at the beginning of September 1829 as witnesses in a hearing concerning his desertion. This was a most crucial time in the trading season, and left the field open to Cumming's rivals.³⁵ The proceedings against Naud were postponed, but not before McKenzie had departed for Trois-Rivières.³⁶ Besides Naud, a Mr. Pagé had deserted.³⁷

The King's Post Company men continued their harrassment during the autumn. Three men, led by Mr. Hamel, who were searching for hunters, were taken prisoner by an opposition party in October. No resistance was offered.³⁸ Hamel seems to have been conveyed to Trois-Rivières where he remained for nine days, and the opposition obtained the autumn hunts of the eight natives whom he had been seeking.

Hamel returned to Weymontachingue with a constable and from there went with three men and the constable in search of those who had arrested him. They sighted the lessee's men 28 miles above Weymontachingue. The constable ordered them to surrender, but as they threatened to resist, he let them pass, saying that he would apprehend them at Weymontachingue. Cumming gave him eight of his men, and 12 men besieged the opposition "Fort" at Weymontachingue. The constable declined to force the door, claiming that his warrant did not authorize such an action. Vassal would not hand over the four men, and after a siege of 24 hours, the constable departed without making any arrests.³⁹

As a result of the opposition's tactics, the Hudson's Bay Company's autumn trade at Weymontachingue declined by 50 per cent from the previous year.⁴⁰

Cumming, in his report for 1830-31, says that Rat River was 86 miles above Trois-Rivières, on the south bank of the river. It had lost its importance by 1830-31. There were no Indians resident in its vicinity, and the few furs which were collected were from the Algonkins of Trois-Rivières hunting in the vicinity of Rat River, but took most of their furs to Trois-Rivières where they disposed of them to the highest bidder for cash. It was kept up principally as a depot for the upper posts, and a clerk and five men were stationed there throughout the year. The King's Posts Company's post at La Tuque was "about fifteen miles higher up with a corresponding complement of men and a clerk." There was no agriculture at Rat River.⁴¹

Weymontachingue, the principal establishment in Saint-Maurice district, was 240 miles above Trois-Rivières, situated on the north bank of the Saint-Maurice River. The few natives attached to it were Tête de Boule, who had "no fixed habitations," but wandered throughout their hunting grounds. Since 1829, seven men and three women trading there had perished from immoderate drinking. Between 10 and 12 men were stationed at the post. The King's Posts Company's establishment was "a little above," and had a "corresponding number of men," under the command of Stanislas Vassal.⁴²

Obijiwoine (Obedjiwan) was about 150 miles above Weymontachingue, built on the south bank of the river. Little trading was done there. Cumming, however, considered it important because of its proximity to Rupert River district; it was within 40 miles of the height of land which divided the waters flowing into Hudson Bay from those running into the Saint-Maurice River. Since Mr. McAlister's departure, apparently one or two years before, no person of ability had been found to manage the post and the opposition had established itself there more solidly, acquiring a knowledge of the adjacent country. From Obedjiwan, the lessees'

men every summer visited Trout Lake and the Michiskun region, and it was impossible to follow them. Robertson was alone at Michiskun during the summer, and inadequately prepared to counter them. Four men were necessary there, and a good master at Obedjiwan. The complement of men at Obedjiwan varied from six to ten "according to circumstance," and it was supplied from Montreal.⁴³ It was about 80 miles from Michiskun and 140 miles from Trout Lake.⁴⁴ There was an outpost from Rupert House at Jackfish Lake, about 60 miles from Aswapmouchoin, the King's Posts Company's establishment. Only one man was left for the summer at Jackfish Lake, despite its proximity to Aswapmouchoin.⁴⁵

John McKenzie was the Hudson's Bay Company master at Rat River in 1830-31. In August, Vassal, in a "loaded canoe," passed it on his way to Weymontachingue.⁴⁶ Vassal had two clerks and 11 men for Weymontachingue and Obedjiwan. Cumming thought that at least four of these men would desert,⁴⁷ and seems to have offered them attractive salaries, but without success.

At Obedjiwan, the four men at the Hudson's Bay Company post refused to serve under Mr. Delormier, and at the end of December 1830, they appeared at Weymontachingue "with many complaints against him the principle of which was that he half starved them." Cumming sent them back, and Delormier was recalled to Weymontachingue⁴⁸ and replaced by Michael Langoman. Delormier, having been so humiliated, desired to be released from his contract, but his services were required at Rat River.⁴⁹ Morale was low among the Hudson's Bay Company employees, and the inability of the company to prosecute Naud for desertion made them more arrogant and intractable.⁵⁰

Not until the winter of 1830-31 was there an exchange of information between the masters of Saint-Maurice and Rupert River districts on what measures could be taken to

counter the interference of the King's Posts Company in the southern regions of Rupert River district.⁵¹ Cumming suggested that the following arrangements should be made for the ensuing campaign: Mr. J. McKenzie and nine men at Obedjiwan; Mr. G. Delormier and five men at Rat River; Mr. A. Hamel and six men at Machimagusi; and Cumming and five men at Weymontachingue. Machimagusi was a favourite Indian rendezvous site every spring.⁵² He further suggested that four men should be permanently attached to Michiskun.

Before Cumming and Chief Factor Joseph Beioley could co-ordinate their measures, the King's Post Company sold its lease for the King's Posts to the Hudson's Bay Company. The posts at Obedjiwan and Weymontachingue and all their property were delivered up to Cumming. Nothing is mentioned about La Tuque. Expecting no major opposition in 1831-32, Cumming intended to abandon his establishment at Obedjiwan after the closing of the autumn trade in 1831. Delormier was given permission to resign, and a Mr. Durocher was engaged for Rat River.⁵³ McKenzie and Hamel also retired. Cumming's arrangements for the summer were: A. Benoit and two men to reside at Obedjiwan; Jean Plamondon and three men at Weymontachingue; and M. Durocher and three men at Rat River.⁵⁴

The earliest references to the seigneurie of Mingan in the Hudson's Bay Company archives is in 1826, when we are informed that Chief Trader Joseph Larocque, its master, had abandoned the post of Cormoran (also written Cormorant) in the summer of 1826 and desired to withdraw from Nabisipi, also called Napenshipou. Two other establishments were open in 1825-26, Mingan and Musquarro.⁵⁵

We learn in a letter written in August 1828 by Larocque that since the abandonment of Cormoran, some of the Mingan hunters had been trading at the King's Posts. Therefore, in the summer of 1828 Cormoran was re-established by William McKenzie, who was selected by Larocque because of his know-

ledge of the country and its inhabitants. Cormoran was located on the western boundaries of Mingan seigneurie "within a short distance" of Sept Iles.⁵⁶ On a visit during the winter, Larocque found McKenzie and two of his Orkneymen incapacitated by scurvy.⁵⁷

A considerable portion of the Canadians engaged in Mingan seigneurie were dismissed and replaced by Orkneymen in the summer of 1828. Larocque wrote in August 1828 that his post, Mingan, was "in a great ferment" as the Canadians joined "in swearing vengeance on les Anglous de Petit Nord." The few Canadians whom he desired to retain indicated that they would leave with their comrades.⁵⁸ The Orkneymen who replaced the Canadians, however, lacked experience in salmon fishing, which hurt the industry's production that summer.⁵⁹

A post was founded in 1828-29 by the King's Posts Company at Coucadjoux [likely Cocoshol], at "the Eastern Extremity" of Mingan seigneurie, in the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Musquarrou. It was managed by a Mr. Brown, and according to Larocque, was "very unproductive," as Brown's Abenakis made poor hunts. Coucadjoux received few furs from the Mingan Indians, and indeed, Musquarrou's returns were higher than in previous years. This Larocque attributed to the energy and ability of its Master, A. Robertson.⁶⁰

In 1828-29, Chisholm Wentzel was at Musquarrou, Gautier at Natosquene (Natasquan) and W. McKenzie at Cormoran. All three squandered their property and kept drinking until they had expended their stock of liquor. Larocque did not learn about McKenzie's penchant for spirits until his visit to Cormoran in the summer of 1829.⁶¹ McKenzie had previously been dismissed from the King's Posts Company's service because of his excessive drinking, but Larocque had thought that his reputation as a drunkard had been created by his enemies. Before founding Cormoran, he had remained at Mingan with Larocque for a year, and had given him no cause for

complaint.⁶² Wentzel and Gauthier were removed before the end of the trading season.

In June 1829, there were "8 schooners with 2 or 3 Barges accompanying each" hovering about Larocque's best salmon fishery at Natasquene (Natashquan), ostensibly to fish for cod, but really to trade for furs with the natives. Larocque sent Robertson and all the men he could spare to evict them.⁶³ Several of these fishermen were equipped by a Mr. Buteau of Quebec.⁶⁴

The King's Posts Company increased its complement of men at Sept Iles in 1829-30 to prevent the post's hunters from trading with Musquarro and Cormoran. In response, Larocque recalled Robertson from Natashquan, replacing him with Horatio Munro, and placed him in charge of Coroman. McKenzie subsequently served as Robertson's assistant. Munro was removed in September from Natashquan on James Keith's orders. William Gladman was in charge of Musquarro.⁶⁵

Robertson was prevented by illness from leaving Mingan in the late summer with his supplies for Cormoran, and McKenzie was entrusted with the outfit. Larocque ordered him not to open the liquor before Robertson's arrival, but he disobeyed and dispensed spirits to his men and the crew of the schooner which delivered the supplies. Needing every man in his struggle with the King's Posts Company, Larocque could not remove McKenzie that winter.⁶⁶

In the contest along the Mingan frontier, the King's Post Company's establishments were hampered in 1829-30 by a lack of adequate supplies and indifferent management. Robertson's post at Cormoran, near Sept Iles, was well supplied. By the latter part of May 1830, Sept Iles had expended all its trading articles, and Larocque expected that Robertson, an experienced and shrewd trader, would collect "handsome although Expensive Returns" from the Sept

Iles hunters. The Indians' only major complaint about the King's Posts on Mingan Seigneury's peripheries was that they annually ran short of goods in the spring. Larocque believed that if this problem was remedied, not only would his establishments fail to obtain any furs from the King's Posts Indians, but he would be hardpressed to prevent his natives from hunting in the King's Posts, where country provisions were more plentiful.⁶⁷

However, Cormoran proved "most" unprofitable, as the furs were purchased at exorbitant prices and Robertson's salary was £75 per annum. Robertson was transferred to Mingan and replaced by John Tait, an old employee of the company who had served in Saskatchewan and commanded a smaller salary. The outfit for Cormoran was reduced, and Tait was given only one man.⁶⁸

The other establishments retained for the 1830-31 season were Musquarro, Natashquan, Nabisipi and Mingan. Musquarro was kept up because the King's Post Company maintained its post at Cocosho specifically to attract the Mingan hunters; the Abenaki Indians who had been brought to Cocosho two years before had returned to Quebec. The 1830-31 outfit for Musquarro included William Gladman and two men at Musquarro and Joseph Réaume and three men "to watch the opposition." Natashquan had three "Fishermen," including the master. At Nabisipi, which had only four Indians, Pierre Volant, a former employee of the North West Company, was master and probably resided there alone. Alexander Robertson and William McKenzie were at Mingan. Only four natives hunted that winter in its vicinity; however, others took debt there before going into the interior.⁶⁹

The Hudson's Bay Company, in October 1822, leased the seigneury of Mille Vaches, with its post of Portneuf, from the heirs of Thomas Dunn, Robert Dunn and James Stuart.⁷⁰ From Portneuf, it carried on an increasingly active trade

with the Indians of the King's Posts, enticing them with presents of liquor, and men from Portneuf at times penetrated into the domaine in search of Indians.

In the autumn of 1828, Mr. McLeod, most likely Peter McLeod, of the King's Posts stationed his men at "every Creek and river" in Portneuf's vicinity, and intercepted all but four of the natives going to the post.⁷¹ Those who did take debt at Portneuf were disinclined to hunt, and spent part of the winter drinking at the establishment.

The King's Post Company intensified its pressure upon Portneuf seigneury in 1829-30. Chief Trader Roderick McKenzie wrote in October 1829,

instead of their setting a Post in the interior as was given out by them in the early part of the season they have directed their efforts in opposing us at the very door - McLeod with this intent procured reinforcements from the adjoining Post - His son and three men are stationed a short distance up Portneuf River - a person of the name of Brinston as principal and seven men is encamped within a mile of us, a few paces above high water mark -

McKenzie was unable to force their withdrawal.⁷² On 23 October, McKenzie and William Davis, while on their way to meet an Indian who was returning from the interior, were stopped and "assaulted" by a Mr. Brinston and three men. The Indian was led to Brinston's camp and his furs were taken by McLeod's son.⁷³

Brinston and his men withdrew from Portneuf seigneury at the beginning of the winter, but a party of King's Posts men may have resided on its borders in the spring. Davis wrote in April 1830,

Mr. Brownson whom you have no doubt heard of, we are to expect here the latter end of next

month with seven or eight Voyageurs to take his station along side of us as he did last fall - and Mr. McLeod will act his part by sending people up the Portneuf River to watch for the Chicoutimi Indians who took debt here last autumn.⁷⁴

The King's Posts Company hired additional men from Malbaye for the spring season.

At the instigation of the lessees, warrants were issued in 1829 by George Linton, a constable of Quebec City, for the arrest of Cowie, Davis and a third man resident at Portneuf, on charges of trading liquor to the Indians. The three men were convicted and imprisoned for 24 hours in a Quebec jail.⁷⁵ The attorney general of Lower Canada, James Stuart, subsequently ruled this conviction illegal, as the law under which they had been convicted had been repealed in 1791.⁷⁶

Davis was arrested in May 1830 at the instigation of the King's Posts Company, detained at Malbaye for five days and released without being charged. Cowie, replacing Davis during his absence,⁷⁷ in retaliation secured a warrant for the arrest of some King's Posts men who, some time during the winter, had assaulted a number of his men and stolen their property. Peter McLeod Jr. and two men were arrested by a constable, Mr. McKickens, and placed aboard the company's schooner, which was in charge of Mr. Munro. The constable and a number of Cowie's men then went in search of Peter McLeod Sr. and found him with five men in a canoe about a league from his post at Ile Jeremie. McLeod threatened to shoot the constable or anyone who tried to apprehend him, and after almost being captured twice, succeeded in escaping. Shortly afterward, McKickens received information that four men at Brownson's and McLeod's encampment in Portneuf seigneurie had been implicated in the robbery, and they were

arrested. The seven prisoners were taken to Quebec by James McKenzie and led into jail under an escort of soldiers.⁷⁸

During the summer, a number of constables searched in vain as far as Godbout for Peter McLeod Sr. and the other men against whom Cowie had taken out warrants. No native or trader would reveal their hiding places. McLeod was believed to be in the vicinity of Godbout because his family was there. At Jeremie, McLeod's post, there was only Mr. Brownson, a pilot and another man.⁷⁹ In the summer of 1830, Cowie successfully resisted all the attempts by the King's Posts' men to establish encampments in Portneuf seigneurie. McLeod was in the seigneurie or in its vicinity in March 1831, but he was not arrested. Cowie decided that he would have the warrants enforced only if the King's Posts Company's officials obtained warrants for the arrest of any of his men at Portneuf.⁸⁰

Cowie wrote at the beginning of March 1831, "I have got a new house built at the first rapid a league up the river and have prevented our neighbours as yet from making encampments above that spot and it will be a main object to keep a strong hold there." McLeod's son and eight men were on the peripheries of the seigneurie in the spring of 1831.⁸¹

The Hudson's Bay Company, in the latter half of 1829, appealed to the courts of Quebec for redress and an order restraining the lessees from interfering with the trade at Portneuf. The lessees presented a weak case in their defence, claiming that the French government had granted Mille Vaches (Portneuf seigneurie) only for the purpose of agriculture, and that if the Hudson's Bay Company maintained possession of Portneuf "all the Indians of the King's Domaine can be enticed away from the lessee." The advocate general ruled in February 1831 that the Hudson's Bay Company's rights within the seigneurie should be protected, and markers should be set to divide the boundaries of Mille Vaches and the King's Posts.⁸²

After this ruling, the lessees, believing that their opponents were now in a position to ruin the trade of the King's Posts, sold their lease for £25,000. Included in the sale to the Hudson's Bay Company, were the lessees' posts at Trois-Rivières and Cocoshô.⁸³

When Larocque visited Sept Iles in June 1831, shortly after the purchase, he found that it was lacking an adequate supply of the principal articles of trade.⁸⁴ Many of the hunters who had given their furs to Mr. Vallee, its master, had not been paid.⁸⁵ Some Naskapi families were expected and as supplies would not arrive in time from Quebec, Vallee was ordered by Larocque to direct them to Cormoran, where W. McKenzie and three men were stationed in June.⁸⁶

Descriptions of the King's Posts in the 1820s

The following are the names of the establishments maintained in 1830-31 in the King's Posts and Portneuf seigneurie and the number of natives patronizing them: Sept Iles, 140 Montagnais and Nascapis; Godbout, 97 Montagnais; Ile Jeremie, 154 Montagnais and Nascapis; Portneuf, 66 Montagnais; Tadoussac, 13 Montagnais; Chicoutimi, 19 Montagnais, Lake Saint-Jean, 76 Montagnais; Aswapmouchoin, 78 Montagnais and Tête de Boule; and Shipshaw, 38 Nascapis.⁸⁷

W. Nixon, an engineer in the 66th Regiment, in 1828 explored the region between Quebec and Lake Saint-Jean. He says about Tadoussac,

At Tadoussac, a chapel the clerks' house, forge and two stores, together with six huts or barns, form the post, six adults generally reside there; I saw a very fine English bull, two cows, the same number of calves, seven sheep and one horse. A Mr. Wagner was its master in 1828.⁸⁸

At Chicoutimi, the master was Mr. Nicholas Andrews, a clerk who had resided there for six years.⁸⁹ His predecessor had been Mr. McLeod (Peter McLeod Sr.).⁹⁰

Chicoutimi was "the chief post of the company, it being the depot of the interior;" there was "a small chapel built by the Jesuits, one hundred and two years ago."⁹¹ The "house" at Chicoutimi was built in 1794 and 1795.⁹² Joseph Hamel, a surveyor, says in 1828 that Chicoutimi "lies about 58 miles from Tadoussac, on the left bank, and at the junction of the river Chicoutimi with the Saguenay."⁹³ There were four buildings, "reckoning the church or chapel."

Joseph Bouchette, who took part in the 1828 survey of the Saguenay River, related about Chicoutimi,

The King's Posts' Company establishment, situated at the eastern extremity of the peninsula at the confluence of the Chicoutimi River and the Saguenay, consists of a commodious dwelling-house for the resident clerk or agent, which is situated on the rising ground commanding a view of the Saguenay and the harbour; - a store, judiciously placed near the landing - a bakehouse stables and barn - several pieces of tilled ground, and a garden furnish the Post with various vegetables, potatoes principally, as also [s]ome luxuries for the table.⁹⁴

Charles H. Grauvreau, a notary public, who was examined by a committee of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, stated that Chicoutimi was "erected on a point of land on the N.W. of the said River [Chicoutimi]," and consisted of "a large house, inhabited by the clerk of this Post, a store, bakehouse, barn stables and other buildings; and 7 or 8 arpents higher up on the banks of said River, are a chapel and burial ground."⁹⁵

Andrew Stuart and David Stuart, on their surveys in 1828, entered the mouth of Aswapmouchoin River, and about an hour and one-half later, at noon, encamped for lunch. After dining for an unspecified period of time, they set off in the direction of Lake Saint-Jean post. At a quarter past two, they went ashore at "Blue Point," where they saw "the ruins of the chimney of the house belonging to the old post at which Mr. Tasche carried on the fur trade during twenty years." They encamped that night at Pointe aux Pins, and the following afternoon reached the mouth of the Metabitchewan River.⁹⁶

Hamel says that the establishment occupied in the 1820s by the King's Posts Company on the Aswapmouchoin River was "about 15 leagues from its mouth."

Joseph Bouchette gives this description of Lake Saint-Jean post.

The establishment of the post consists of a dwelling-house for the resident clerk, a store, bake-house and stable or barn, with a spacious garden, yielding abundance of vegetables, particularly potatoes for the use of the inhabitants of the Post. It is situated upon the same site where the Jesuits in the 16th century had an establishment, and there remains yet the furrows made by the plough on the lands adjoining to the garden, which at that period were entirely cleared but are now covered with a growth of spruce, aspin, fir, birch and pine, some part thereof producing Timathy hay.

The master of the establishment was a Mr. Murdoch.⁹⁷ Bouchette wrote about Tadoussac:

This establishment is the most extensive of the King's Posts, consisting of 13 buildings, including a chapel. The residence of the agent

of the Company is a neat one story building of commodious size, having a very tolerable garden, which part of it producing with other cultivated spots about the place, the vegetables for the inhabitants of the Post. The chapel is of about similar dimensions as that of Chicoutimi; its red roof and spire with the surrounding buildings, the range of small field pieces on the edge of the plain which extends at the foot of the Mountains that rise to a considerable height.... The beautiful growth of fir trees rising in as many cones upon the terrace, which I believe was once the seat of the fortifications of the French, situated on the west side of the creek which runs down from the hills, whose craggy summits contrast with peculiar effect with the firs below them, combine to form a very pleasing scenery from the River in coming up harbor or doubling the point of L'Islet, from the Saguenay.⁹⁸

Bouchette said about Rat River,

It is abroad stream, between which and the Little Rat River, on an alluvial flat formed by those rivers at the foot of the high mountains, is situated a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company; it consists of a store, two dwelling-houses and very good garden which furnishes the Post with the necessary vegetables: a dwelling-house is building for the resident agent.

The same comment is found in his Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada, published in 1832.⁹⁹

Of the posts at La Tuque, he said:

The most remarkable place on the St. Maurice is the post of LaTuque about 100 miles from the town of Three Rivers... The Post is in 47° 18' 30" N. lat. by observation, and longitude 73°w. by account, variation of the compass 11°w. It is a place of trade for the King's Post Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, who have respectively an establishment here, which consequently excite a spirit of opposition injurious, perhaps, to one or other of the parties, and ultimately so to natives. The King's Post Company's establishment consists of two dwelling-houses, a storor & c.; the Hudson's Bay of a dwelling-house only, which is however the best at the post.

The post's name was derived from the "conical hill" of La Tuque. The clerk at the Hudson's Bay Company's post was a young Canadian.¹⁰⁰

Bouchette wrote about Portneuf, Portneuf has an excellent harbour, but it is only to be entered at high water by small craft....The small settlement at Portneuf consists of a church, 70 feet by 30, a wood-built chapel, the agent's house, stores, &c. and 2 or 3 other habitations.¹⁰¹

He wrote about Tadoussac, The company holding the King's Post have a post here for carrying on their trade with the Indians; it comprehends nine buildings employed as stores, shops, &c. besides the post-house, which is 60 feet by 20, and a chapel of 25 feet by 20. A missionary visits this post every year and passes some time. The only place of residence here is erected on a bank of sandy

alluvium, elevated about 50 feet above the river, forming a flat terrace at the base of the mountain which suddenly emerges at a short distance behind. This residence is a neat one-story building of commodious size, having a very tolerable garden, which, with other cultivated spots about the place, produces the vegetables for the inhabitants of the post.¹⁰²

The Post-1831 Period in Rupert River District

Although the purchase of the King's Posts eliminated a major competitor for the trade of the Ungava Indians, Pike Lake and Michiskun posts, which had been established to protect this trade, were maintained for fear that petty traders from the St. Lawrence River would attempt to move northward. The post-1831 period featured a new, vigorous penetration into Ungava by the company. After the establishment of Fort Chimo in 1830, Nichikun was re-established and a new post was founded at Lake Kaniapiskau to facilitate the opening of overland communications with Chief Trader Duncan Finlayson at Chimo.¹⁰³

James Kellock, with Thomas Beads and James Robertson, reached Nichikun in June 1834, and found "the old Houses in a ruinous state as the Roofs had fallen in," but they "repaired them so as to render them habitable."¹⁰⁴ Later in the summer, Kellock sent Robert Chilton and Thomas Beads, with a small assortment of trading goods, to settle on Lake Kaniapiskau. As their guide did not know the route, they did not arrive until the first week in September. Chilton almost starved during the winter, catching few fish, and when Kellock visited him in the spring he found him "a mere living skeleton." Only two Indians were seen in December and none during the winter, and only 19 MB were traded.¹⁰⁵

In his report of 15 August 1835, Joseph Beoiley, the master of Rupert River district, enumerates the following posts under his supervision: Rupert River and Eastmain, Thomas Corcoran, master; Mistassini and Timiskamay, both commanded by William McKay, Waswanipi, Michiskun and Pike Lake, supervised by John Spence, and Nichikun and Kaniapiskau, under James Kellock.¹⁰⁶ Two years later, Pike Lake was abandoned¹⁰⁷ but was re-established in 1839.

Big River post was closed between 1824 and 1837. Eastmain was abandoned in the summer of 1837 and all the goods and provisions were conveyed to Big River, where a new post was constructed, christened Fort George by its master, Thomas Corcoran.¹⁰⁸ Corcoran, upon leaving Eastmain, commented, "The Eastmain store is not only empty of goods of all sorts, but also gutted of the greater part of its windows and doors, and stripped of its covering of lead, which makes the place appear wretchedly dreary."¹⁰⁹

The Rupert River district posts, under Joseph Gladman's superintendance during the 1840s and 1850s, produced more furs of high quality than those of any other district in the Southern Department. In 1847, the posts were Rupert River, Fort George, Mistassini, Timiskamay, Waswanipi, Michiskun, Pike Lake and Nichikun.¹¹⁰

From Fort George, men were sent as early as 1851 to settle at Little Whale River.¹¹¹ Robert Hamilton, who conducted trial fisheries at both Great Whale River and Little Whale River in the summer of 1852, mentioned a trading post at the latter river.¹¹² Men were living there in a makeshift house in the summer of 1853, conducting a whale fishery.¹¹³ There are indications in the 1853-54 Fort George journal that men resided at this new post throughout the winter and were supplied with a small assortment of trading goods.¹¹⁴

The progress made at Little Whale River was so encouraging that Governor Simpson, in 1854, placed James Anderson in charge of the newly created Eastmain district, with instructions to establish permanent settlements at both Great Whale River and Little Whale River for whale fishing. Simpson did not expect immediate profits but he believed that Anderson should pursue this industry so long as there were prospects of its ultimate success.¹¹⁵ Fort George, with its outpost at Little Whale River, was transferred to Eastmain district.¹¹⁶ During the summer of 1854, Robert Hamilton supervised the fishery at Little Whale River. A fishery was not established at Great Whale River until the summer of 1857.

Before the establishment of the fishery at Great Whale River, the returns were inadequate to compensate for the extensive financial investment.¹¹⁷ However, the discovery of lead ore at Little Whale River and a growing trade in seal oil with the Eskimos gave promise for the future.¹¹⁸ Because of the inhospitable nature of the region and the large capital required for the development of the whale fishing industry, Simpson calculated that the company would be free from competition.¹¹⁹ The fisheries made poor returns for the next decade, and failed entirely in the summers of 1864 and 1865; during the latter summer, only 130 whales were taken at Little Whale River and none at Great Whale River.¹²⁰

Descriptions of Posts in Rupert River District

When the Hudson's Bay Company re-organized its posts into districts in 1811-13, each master was required to report upon the progress of his district. Included in these reports are descriptions of the posts. The posts are listed below in alphabetical order.

Eastmain

James Russell noted in 1814, "The buildings at Eastmain are only in a half finished state and are by far too large for the District of its present Plan."¹²¹

There is no further description until July 1825, when Erland Erlandson remarked: "The buildings remain the same as last year, but are decaying for want of Repairs; the plastered House in particular for want of Lime which we cannot supply from our own resources, there being no lime store in the vicinity of Eastmain."¹²²

Erlandson, three years later, described the dwelling house in the following manner:¹²³

its exact condition cannot easily be ascertained, but I am of the opinion that it is irreparable - at all events to repair it thoroughly would require more Timber than would be sufficient for a new House.

By 1829-30, the dwelling house had become uninhabitable:

No alteration has taken place in the buildings. The dwelling house is, in consequence of decay, actually tottering with every blast of wind, in fact it is no longer habitable. The men's house, however, is large enough to accommodate all, and with some alteration may be made very comfortable.¹²⁴

In 1832-33 "The old Dwelling House, from its decayed state being found uninhabitable," was "taken down, and such of the logs, Boards etc. as appeared sound, and likely to be of service" were "carefully laid by till wanted."¹²⁵ "A Row of Stockades" was "run across the Yard in front of the Ruins of the Old Dwelling House," the following year.¹²⁶

The first complete description of Eastmain occurs in Thomas Corcoran's report of July 1836.

The state of the Eastmain Building is anything but good. The foundation of the dwelling house which serves as Men's house, Kitchen, dairy, "masters" house etc. etc. etc. is in such an extreme state of decay, that unless renewed in a short time, it will be tumbling down. It is also so cold in the winter owing to its never having been weather boarded though built near about thirty years that it is scarcely habitable particularly when the wind blows with any force from any quarter. The foundation of the Store also, like that of the dwelling House is in such an extreme state of decay that a new one will have to be built as soon as possible as many of the logs of the upper part of this building are rotten, which is not the case with the dwelling house and it would be of no use on that account to renew the foundation of it. The roofs of both houses are good from the circumstance of their being covered with lead. There are some other houses here, but not one of them, except the Cow House built last year, and the Powder Magazine lately built, fit for any purpose in their present condition. Except that such things (empty casks, canoes, boards etc.) as are put into them are secured from the effects of the sun they might nearly be as well out of doors; for the roofs are so bad that they keep out no rain, - snow.¹²⁷

Mistassini

Neither of the first two Hudson's Bay Company posts on Lake Mistassini is described in reports. Two years after the establishment of the third, 1823, John Walford wrote:

The premises at Mistassinni consist of a Store and dwelling House both of which have been built last year; before there were only two small log huts neither of which had any roof on them capable of keeping the rain out, consequently all we had to put over the goods in order to keep dry were canoe coverings - The houses now there are in a rough state but when finished I think will make substantial buildings, sufficient for the purpose intended - There is timber prepared for another House which is at home. These buildings are essentially necessary.¹²⁸

Construction proceeded slowly the following year.

The houses at Mistassinni are situated on a Point of land within a quarter of a mile of the narrow part of water leading from Mistassinni Lake to Capathti-coashish Lake and about fifty miles further from the coast than the old Mistassinni houses. I had another house partly built last May; intended for the labourers, but it is not half finished; there are two others, a store and dwelling house and both want new roofs: the bark which has been on two winters only is rotten and will not keep the water out.¹²⁹

The ensuing year Walford reported:

The Houses at Mistassinnie are two - or dwelling house and Store, which are much in the same state as last year excepting that part of the dwelling house has been lined. A fireplace has been built in the new mens House which is yet

unfinished. The dwelling house and Store want new Roofs the Bark on them being worn out and of little service towards keeping the water out when it rains. The houses are situated on a Point of Land within a 1/4 mile of the Narrow Part leading from Mistassinnie Lake to Oapathticooshish Lake and about fifty miles further from the coast than the old Mistassinni Houses.¹³⁰

Rupert River House

The first report on Rupert River occurs in 1819 when Alexander Christie related,

The storehouse built last year being rather too small for containing the Inland Supplies and Returns, as well as the Property belonging to People employed in the Interior, I employed the men intended for Inland (who wintered at Ruperts River) in building a separate House, the dimensions of which is 28 feet long, 16 feet broad and 12 feet high in the side walls - with a cellar underneath - the first floor is divided into a store Room and Provision Shed, the second Floor when finished will be divided into Bed rooms for the summer.¹³¹

A second report by Christie, written the following year, states:

The Houses are all in a most ruinous state, the Cattle shed in particular, must if possible be rebuilt this fall, and the foundation of the Dwelling House is tumbling into the Cellar.¹³²

Joseph Beioley described Rupert House four times in his reports. The first report was written in 1823.

The Buildings of the Rupert River Post are the same in number as before but some of them have been recently rebuilt and others repaired and considerably enlarged. They are last summer most of them in an unfinished state from the short time which had elapsed since Mr. Christie commenced them; the Stockading was also in part new and in part old and in a very decayed state. Since Mr. Christie left it considerable progress has been made in weather boarding the Outside of the House and in lining and fitting up Rooms in the Inside.¹³³

The second report, sent the following year, indicates that little construction had taken place during the year.

With the exception of a Magazine 8 1/2 feet high in front, 5 feet high at the back - and 7 1/2 by 5 1/2 feet wide inside completely finished weather boarded and roofed watertight; and of a porch to the Mens House about 24 feet long by 12 or 14 ft wide part of which may be applied to other purposes as the reception of stores in use etc. There has been no addition made to the Buildings since the last Report.¹³⁴

There is no further description of the post by Beioley until 1834.

During the past season further additions to the Buildings required for the increased business of the place have been made, a new Store about 30 feet by 16 was commenced and has been completed, and likewise a Forge or Smithy 21 feet by 14 for the Blacksmith to work in.¹³⁵

The final report by Beioley, which is the last description of Rupert River in the Hudson's Bay archives, reads:

The Buildings of this post are the same as last year with the addition of Two Erections each 30 feet long, 14 feet wide, and about 7 feet Height of Side Walls - the one of which is finished and applied to the purposes of shops for the Carpenter and Cooper respectively and the other which is only finished externally is, when the internal Fittings are completed, intended for a new Warehouse or Trading Room.¹³⁶

Timiskamay

In his report of 14 June 1829, William McKay gave the following description of Timiskamay:

The Buildings of this Post consist of a Store and Dwelling House. The Latter has two apartments, one for the clerk and the other for the men, with a fireplace into each - this House is in Length 24 feet 12 feet in breadth and 6 feet from the Flooring to the Beams with split [] and Logs over the clerks Apartment and I got the mens covered with round sticks this winter. The Store is in length 15 feet 10 feet in breadth and 5 feet 9 inches from the Floor to the Beams. It has a garret floored with round sticks.¹³⁷

Two years later Alexander McKay wrote:

The Building consists of a Dwelling House and Store the latter 20 feet long 15 feet wide and 7 feet height of Side Walls with a floored Garret of round stick - and the former is divided into two apartments one of which for the

Master the other for the men there is an Outer Door to each apartment. Mr. Wm McKay Built a small House at the end of the dwelling House with a door opening in the Masters Room. The Ground in Cultivation is about 1/4 of an Acre.¹³⁸

Waswanipi

The following are descriptions by the masters of Waswanipi House in their reports. The earliest is by Richard Hardisty in 1821.

The Warehouse was at this time in a very unfinished state, having no flooring and the covering of such had Barks as not to keep out scarce any Rains whatever during the winter. I was enabled to get some weather boards sawn, and have this Spring had the warehouse etc. and covered with boards, and a flooring laid. The Mens House was also in a very bad state owing to the badness of the Bark it was covered with, but the Season for procuring other Bark being passed I was obliged to let it remain so for another year. The Master's House was building, the principal part however remained to be done....¹³⁹

Hardisty reported in 1823,

No addition has been made to the Buildings except the Mens House which was carried away last spring by the Ice has been replaced with one of Houses belonging to the Hudsons Bay Houses previous to the union; another fencing has also been put up in front of the Buildings in place of the one carried away at the same time as the Mens House. At the commencement of the Spring I had Six Hundred Stockades cut.¹⁴⁰

Five years later Jacob Corrigal stated:

The Houses here are the most indifferent I ever saw in the Country, there is one Room of one Story high 15 feet long by 11 feet wide 5 feet 10 inches under the beams which served for sitting Room Bed Room and kitchen etc. etc. There was a very good Bed Room built at the end of it last fall, there is one more building which has been meant for two story high and a garret which is the best Room, the length is 14 1/2 feet by 14 1/2 wide and the hight under the beams no more than 4 feet 10 Inches in the lower Room and the Middle Room 5 feet 1 Inch under the Beams.¹⁴¹

The last district report which describes the post is dated 31 May 1835, and is written by John Spencer.

The buildings about the place are in excellent condition, and will last for several years - there is a Dwelling House for the Trader a good House for the Men, an excellent Trading Room butting [?] which is small store for grain etc. and a Cow House for the cattle of which are 3 in number.¹⁴²

The King's Posts Saint-Maurice and Mingan After 1831

After the transfer of the King's Posts to the Hudson's Bay Company, Cowie conducted a survey of the establishments up the Saguenay River. While at Lake Saint-Jean, he prevailed upon its master, Mr. Murdoch, whom he considered, though in ill-health, still "a very useful" man, to continue at his post for at least another year.¹⁴³ Cowie made arrangements to abandon Chipshaw which was in charge of a Mr. Comeau, sending canoes to bring down its property. The hunters

patronizing it signified that they would return to their former post, Mistassini. Ashwapmouchoin was retained. The posts were in a disorganized state and remained so throughout the fishing season in the summer of 1831.¹⁴⁴

As the seigneurie of Portneuf was in the heart of the King's Posts, Simpson united it with the latter, forming the district of the King's Posts. Chief Factor William Connolly, who was on furlough for 1831-32, was to administer it in 1832-33, and meanwhile Chief Trader McLeod served as interim master.¹⁴⁵ Mingan seigneurie formed a separate district.¹⁴⁶

Richard Rae, Mr. Nourse and Mr. Hay were appointed clerks and Mr. Ross a postmaster. Jordan and Vallee, whose contracts with the former lessees had not expired, were retained.¹⁴⁷ Murdoch at Lake Saint-Jean, rated by John McLeod as "the first rate Indian trader in the King's Posts," apparently signed a new contract,¹⁴⁸ as did Verreaux at Aswapmouchoin. Only two men were stationed at Aswapmouchoin, which was in such a delapidated condition that Cumming thought that it would "fall down of its own accord very soon" if it were not rebuilt.¹⁴⁹

Stanilas Vassal, who was discharged after the transfer of the King's Posts, in the autumn of 1831 went to Aswapmouchoin to winter on his own account. Cumming wrote on 18 December 1831,

Vassale has just arrived from Ashawabmouswan almost starved to death but nevertheless has made a good hunt - I shall use my little influence to induce him to winter her for Political reasons and if I succeed [sic] I shall not consider the trouble it cost me unless were he to go to Three Rivers at Present he would do much mischief, that place is swarming with discontented and starving voyageurs wrething under the smart of dissappointed hops and would

readily enter into any speculation however wild and visionary and they only want a leader.

Vassale is just the man for them and if he can be kept here until the end of the spring trade much trouble and vexation will be avoided.¹⁵⁰

In 1831-32, many "strange" Indians were hunting in the domaine, either sent by residents of Malbaye seigneurie or trading with them. There were also parties of men scouring the domaine's coastline for wrecked vessels, and Cowie feared that they could have a corrupting influence on the natives.¹⁵¹ Most of the Indians formerly attached to Chicoutimi now traded at Portneuf. Those of Lake Saint-Jean, meanwhile, hunted about Chicoutimi.¹⁵²

At Sept Iles, a store 8 feet by 16 was destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder at the end of June 1831. Strangely, those who were in the store were but slightly injured, but two Canadians and two Indians who were working near it were killed.¹⁵³

Simpson retained the three posts in Saint-Maurice district, and Chief Trader Cuthbert Cumming continued to serve as district master. Competition was expected from petty traders from Trois-Rivières and Lake Saint Francis. Simpson contemplated outfitting the upper posts on the Saint-Maurice River from Rupert River district, which would cut expenses, and remove the company gradually from the "jealous eye" of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Trois-Rivières and Lake Saint Francis, but this was not found to be feasible and was never done.¹⁵⁴

Obedjiwan was under the charge of Mr. McKenzie in 1831-32, and received an outfit of 46 pieces, which was transported for the first time from Weymontachingue by the company's men, saving the expense of engaging Iroquois.¹⁵⁵ Cumming suggested that Obedjiwan should be transferred to Rupert River district; this would induce the natives to

remove further into the interior, and prevent their coming into contact with the Weymontachingue Indians, "who from there proximity and frequent visits to Three Rivers are very bad subjects, and not easily managed."¹⁵⁶ Only two men were stationed that winter at Obedjiwan, and five at Weymontachingue.

Durocher and three men resided at Rat River in July 1831. Durocher's contract expired in October,¹⁵⁷ and he departed for Trois-Rivières in the latter part of the summer,¹⁵⁸ perhaps with the men. Cumming requested two engagés as replacements, but by the latter part of October they still had not arrived, and Rat River may not have been occupied for part of the autumn of 1831.¹⁵⁹ A Mr. McGruer was there in December, and he immediately "introduced into that Post Economy and regularity two requisites hitherto unknown there."¹⁶⁰ Nine men were assigned to the Saint-Maurice district.¹⁶¹ There were no petty traders in the district in the autumn of 1831; however, there was a report current that a Mr. Boucher of Maskinonge would oppose the company in the spring, and he had already begun by equipping a "villain" named Mipisineau.¹⁶²

Two of the three posts in Saint-Maurice district were relatively profitable. Cumming commented, in September 1831, to James Deith about the third one, Rat River:

Rat River, I agree with you has hitherto been a dead weight on this district and will ever remain so - it has always been by and by a very convenient ware house, where every Scoundrall and worthless character from Three Rivers and its environs who chose to apply were readily supplied with what ever they required for which no return has been, made - a reference to the Debt Book of that Post will satisfy any person of the truth of what I have stated.¹⁶³

Cumming, later in the year, wrote to Simpson that there were no Indians resident about Rat River. The only ones seen were those travelling from Trois-Rivières into the interior, and they invariably took their hunts to Trois-Rivières. No fur-bearing animals were caught in the Rat River region and the post was "a dead loss" to the district. Cumming recommended that it should be abandoned or should have only one resident. He did not think that it was essential as a depot, because supplies could be brought directly to Weymontachingue from Lachine.¹⁶⁴ Simpson concurred with Cumming's opinion, and Rat River was abandoned after the winter of 1831-32.¹⁶⁵

Having no organized competition, the company's posts in Saint-Maurice district showed a profit of between £200 and £300 in 1831-32. The previous outfit had shown a loss of about £1,400.¹⁶⁶

After Chief Factor Connolly assumed command of the King's Posts, McLeod was appointed his assistant. As Cumming intended to depart for Red River at the end of the 1832-33 season, Keith was advised to send McLeod to Saint-Maurice district if Chief Trader John Siveright could not be spared from Ottawa River district. Siveright remained on the Ottawa River, and McLeod was placed in charge of Saint-Maurice district, and held this position until his death in the early 1850s.¹⁶⁷

During the summer of 1832, two former King's Post Company employees, Nicholas Paradie and Joseph Traverdi, were active in the region between Wabijiwoine and Michiskun. Two others, Michel Longoman and Louis Paul, were "in the vicinity" of Weymontachingue and "fleeced" the Indians of "all there hunting materials, namely Traps, Guns and even there wearing apparell etc. etc."¹⁶⁸

No measures were taken in 1832-33 to make Michiskun more defensible against the incursions of petty traders, and

Richard Thomas was alone there in September, his men being at Rupert River House. Fortunately, a Mr. Leblanc was the only trader who went towards Michiskun in the autumn, and he was "escorted" by two of Cumming's men.¹⁶⁹

Michiskun's former master, Robertson, was sent to take charge of Jack Lake, which had been established solely for the purpose of protecting the trade of the region against the lessees at Aswapmouchoin. Cumming considered its retention unnecessary so long as Aswapmousoin was maintained, but it is not known when it was closed.¹⁷⁰

Before Cumming left Saint-Maurice district, he made the following arrangements for 1832-33: Louis Deserre and Felix Guill at Wabijiwoine (Obedjiwan) and postmaster McGruer, James Anderson and three men at Weymontachingue.¹⁷¹ John McLeod reached Weymontachingue during the latter part of the winter, and found McGruer, Anderson and three men there. He assumed command of the post and placed McGruer in charge of Wabijiwoine.¹⁷²

Vassal continued in the trade in 1832-33. There were "many" petty traders in Saint-Maurice district, and at least one of the Indians attached to Michiskun came into the vicinity of Weymontachingue looking for traders.¹⁷³

Chief Factor John Clarke was appointed master of Mingan in 1831,¹⁷⁴ and arrived in the seigneurie during the summer. He discovered that its management had been conducted with "little attention to system or economy and much want of energy seems to have existed in the internal arrangements of the District." He closed Cormoran, and suggested to Governor Simpson that Sept Iles should be attached to Mingan. In addition, he recommended that the company should obtain a lease to Anticosti Island, where two or three posts could be operated at a small expense.¹⁷⁵

Simpson declined to transfer Sept Iles to Mingan, but thought that the acquisition of Anticosti Island could be

beneficial. He discouraged Clarke from introducing the raising of grain and livestock at the seigneury's establishments, for provisions could be purchased at a cheaper cost in Montreal, and improvements would increase the value of the seigneury, giving the government a pretext to raise its rent upon the lease's expiration.¹⁷⁶

Clarke showed little disposition to implement the instructions of Keith who, being the master of the Montreal Department, was his superior. Keith complained about his arrogance and intractability as early as July 1832, and Simpson apparently remonstrated with Clarke about this. Nevertheless, Clarke continued to adopt in his communications with Keith a "tone and language" which Simpson considered "highly unbecoming and improper," and therefore in January Simpson replaced him as master of Mingan with Chief Factor Connolly. Simpson considered Clarke the "most troublesome and disagreeable" man he had ever encountered.¹⁷⁷ Clarke had long plagued him: while at Ile-à-la-Crosse in 1820, he had appropriated some of the goods and provisions bound for Simpson at Fort Wedderburn on Lake Athabasca; after the coalition of 1821, he had used the company's property for his private profit, and in 1830, he had severely criticized Simpson before the London Committee. Clarke was offered an appointment in the interior, but refused and retired.¹⁷⁸

Cocosho was established by the Hudson's Bay Company either in 1830-31 or 1831-32. Larocque had advised, in May 1830, that if a post were not founded there, the locality would soon be occupied by rivals. Musquarro was abandoned after Cocosho was opened.¹⁷⁹

There were fewer animals, both fur-bearing and non-fur-bearing, in the Cocosho than in the Musquarro region,¹⁸⁰ and the Indians wintering there in 1832-33 almost "starved to death" and did little hunting. In the spring of 1833,

many of them requested its master, William Gladman, to press for the re-establishment of Musquarro and the abandonment of Cocosho. Gladman favoured this not only because it would benefit the natives but because it would be more convenient to conduct the salmon fisheries at Musquarro.¹⁸¹ We learn in the 1832-33 Nabisipi journal that Robertson conducted seal hunts "below Cocosho" which were productive.¹⁸² Gladman was in charge of Cocosho in 1833-34.¹⁸³ However, no reference is made to it in 1834-35; instead, Musquarro is mentioned for the first time.¹⁸⁴ Hence it is probable that Cocosho was abandoned at the end of the 1833-34 trading season and Musquarro was reoccupied.

Nabisipi is not listed among the establishments in Mingan seigneurie in 1826, but it was in existence soon afterward. It was closed probably in the spring of 1831. The author of the Nabisipi journals of 1832-35, who did not sign his name but was probably Alexander Robertson, said that on 10 October 1832 he left Mingan with three men to "re-establish and assume the charge" of Nabisipi. One man, Alexander Gibson, had passed the summer there alone.¹⁸⁵ The houses, built during the previous occupation, were still in good condition and sheep were being raised in the vicinity.¹⁸⁶ There was a men's house, a dwelling house, a store, sheds and stables for the animals.¹⁸⁷ The dwelling house and store seem to have been set apart from each other.¹⁸⁸

The author did not reside at Nabisipi the following summer, but left two men to prepare for the winter and harvest the hay and potatoes.¹⁸⁹ In the winter of 1832-33, a major fire "almost burnt" the post to the ground.¹⁹⁰ The author was again master in 1834-35, after which the journals come to an end. The men residing there set traps to catch foxes and martens. There were also salmon nets,¹⁹¹ indicating that there was some fishing done.

On his way to Nabisipi in October 1832, the author stopped at Wachison, where he found "a harbour and House for Shelter." In January 1835, two of the author's men returned from Wachison with accounts of poor hunts,¹⁹² which indicates that it was a fur-trading establishment.

References are made to Natashquan throughout the three Nabisipi journals. The author, on his voyage to Nabisipi from Mingan in October 1834, stopped at Natashquan and was received "with Gross insults" by the men, who were intoxicated. He forbade any further distribution of spirits, and during the remainder of his stay was treated with respect.¹⁹³

When Simpson recommended to the London Committee that it should purchase the King's Posts, he believed that although both the North West and King's Posts companies had lost money, the posts would return a profit. He argued that the King's Posts Company had found the domaine unrewarding because of the Hudson's Bay Company's opposition.¹⁹⁴ After the Hudson's Bay Company acquired the lease, it failed to realize a profit at any time. The trade was hampered by settlers and lumbering companies, both of which began moving into the domaine in the late 1830s.

While there was only a slight decline in 1843-44 in the returns from Godbout, Sept Iles and Mingan seigneurie, Tadoussac, Chicoutimi and Ile Jeremie showed substantial reductions. The trade of the latter three posts was injured by a sharp increase in the opposition from traders on the south shore and from the large numbers of settlers and lumbermen who had moved into the posts' vicinity. Simpson estimated that the number of people on the Saguenay River had increased by 4,000 in two years.¹⁹⁵ Many of the settlers were from Murray Bay and Malbaye.¹⁹⁶ In 1843, there were 17 "lumbering establishments," all acting under licences granted by the crown. These licences, Simpson maintained, infringed upon the terms of the lease, which stipulated that

lands could be given to individuals only for the purpose of settlement and agriculture.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, he never directly challenged the crown's right to grant them.

One individual, a Mr. Siniard, squatted on land near Chicoutimi which at one time had been used by the post as a hay meadow. The company brought proceedings for trespass against him, but Simpson realized that it was impossible to eject all who had settled illegally, for attempts to do so would lead to "numberless suits and expensive litigation."¹⁹⁸ This conclusion was reinforced by the government's refusal to make a reply on the Siniard case.¹⁹⁹

Believing that Chief Trader Murdoch McPherson, the master of the King's Posts, was not resourceful enough to counter the activities of the settlers and lumbermen, Simpson resolved to transfer him back to the Northern Department in 1844.²⁰⁰ Simpson also found McPherson's management wanting in "regularity and attention." The affairs of Ile Jeremie were conducted "in an exceedingly careless and culpable manner, property being stolen from thence year by year to a large amount, without anything like a shadow of excuse for such neglect." The governor desired that henceforth the master of the King's Posts should sail aboard the company's vessel on the St. Lawrence River on all its trips throughout the navigation season, permitting him to repeatedly review the performance of his officers and correct the abuses at the posts on the river.²⁰¹

Simpson believed that the masters of Ile Jeremie, Sept Iles and Godbout should be replaced, but he did not think that changes could be effected immediately. The posts occupied in the King's Posts and Mingan in the spring of 1844 and the persons in charge were: Tadoussac, the officer in charge of the district with an apprentice clerk, who was to superintend the post while he was on his voyages during the summer; Ile Jeremie, Peter McLeod; Godbout, C. Jordon; Sept

Iles, A. Robertson; Mingan, A.A. Smith; Musquarro, L.M. Bryson; Natashquan, a fisherman; Chicoutimi, Simon Ross; Lake Saint-Jean, G. Skene, and Ashwapmouchion, P. Verreaux.²⁰²

Robertson was considered "exceedingly negligent, and by no means so correct in his habits as desirable." Bryson was reputed to be "so soft and easy that impositions are daily and hourly practiced upon him, both by servants and Indians and any strangers who visit the place." Jordan was considered a "good trader," honest and zealous, but "much disaffected towards the Company, owing to some imaginary slight or neglect of about 20 years standing." Simpson thought that Simon Ross was well qualified for his charge, and Aswapmouchion could not "be under better or more economical management than that of Verreaux." Although Smith at Mingan was relatively inexperienced, being only five years in the company's service, he had a good reputation among his colleagues.²⁰³

Chief Trader George Barnston was ordered, at the end of March 1844, to proceed to the King's Posts as McPherson's replacement. Only one change was made in the spring for the 1844-45 winter: G. Hamilton Dundas, an apprentice clerk, replaced the highly regarded Ross at Chicoutimi. Barnston was requested by Simpson to evaluate Dundas' abilities at Chicoutimi, and decide whether he would be equal to the management of Musquarro; Simpson was anxious to relieve Bryson as soon as possible.²⁰⁴ Barnston was to direct his attention particularly to Ile Jeremie and Sept Iles, which were mismanaged.

In 1844, Peter McLeod Sr. built a batteau for his private use, and this so infuriated Simpson that he determined to remove him at the end of the year. Alexander Comeau, "a very intelligent active officer," was selected as his successor. Alexander Robertson was warned by Simpson

that if he received any more unfavourable reports about him, he would be dismissed.²⁰⁵

Alexander Robertson said about Sept Iles in his report for August 1844,

The old establishment being in a most ruinous delapidated state, and the site of the Post inconvenient for shipping, and unsafe for the property, it being landed about a mile from the Establishment. It was suggested and resolved upon to remove the Buildings to the harbor and since 1842 is in operation, but in consequence of the very limited employment of hands attached to the Post; the want of a Tradesman and other necessary means for such an undertaking, the progress is slow and the Buildings put up in a very indifferent manner, and even that effected at much private expense and personal Labor of the person in charge.²⁰⁶

Sept Iles had four winterers, Robertson, a cooper and two labourers. At the River Moisie, six leagues eastward of Sept Iles, there were six salmon fisheries employing 12 men, seven Europeans and five native part-time servants, and yielding 100 to 130 tierces annually. A few years before, there had been only two fishing stations, employing seven men. Some cod fishing was done. While there were numerous "whales" along the coast, the Indians were not experienced in this industry. The fur trade had rapidly declined in the previous few years, principally because the country was exhausted, and the furs obtained could not cover the post's expenses. Before the establishment of the posts in Ungava in the 1830s, 30 to 40 Naskapi families from the interior annually visited Sept Iles, but Robertson had advised them to attach themselves to the Ungava settlements. In 1844,

there were 27 families of "indifferent hunters" attached to Sept Iles, too many for the Sept Iles region to sustain, because of the virtual extinction of the porcupine, upon which the Indians subsisted.²⁰⁷

Robert Michael Ballantyne passed the summer of 1846 in the King's Posts district. He resided six weeks at Ile Jeremie, and wrote,

This establishment, like most of the others on the St. Lawrence, is merely a collection of scattered buildings, most of which are storehouses and stables. It stands in a hollow of the mountains, and close to a large bay, where sundry small boats and a sloop lay quietly at anchor. Upon a little hillock close to the principal house, is a Roman Catholic chapel; and behind it stretches away the broad St. Lawrence, the south shore of which is indistinctly seen on the horizon.²⁰⁸

Of Sept Iles, where he passed almost four months, he wrote:

The establishment of Seven Islands is anything but an inviting place, although pretty enough on a fine day; and the general appearance of the surrounding scenery is lonely, wild, and desolate. The houses are built on a low sandy beach, at the bottom of the large bay of Seven Islands. The trees around are thinly scattered and very small. In the background, rugged hills stretch as far as the eye can see; and in front, seven lofty islands, from which the bay and the post derive their name, obstruct the view, affording only a partial glimpse of the open sea beyond. No human habitations exist within seventy miles of the place. Being

out of the line of sailing, no vessels ever visit it, except when driven to the bay for shelter; and the bay is so large, that many vessels come in and go without having been observed. Altogether, I found it a lonely and desolate place, during a residence of nearly four months.²⁰⁹

As the domaine in 1844 was about to be thrown open for settlement, Simpson withdrew his opposition to the erection of a lumbering camp by William Price of Quebec City on the southwest side of the Chicoutimi River, near Chicoutimi. Neighbours "of character and respectability," Simpson believed, were "much more desirable than total strangers." Price had a saw-mill near Tadoussac, and some of his employees had given that post some trouble.²¹⁰

The exertions made by Barnston and his officers to extend the trade and limit the interference of the squatters met with some resistance. Comeau, the master of Ile Jeremie and a former chief of police in Montreal, was robbed of the furs which he had forcibly taken from a small vessel conducting an illicit traffic on the coast. The individuals involved, according to Simpson, were Indians employed by McLeod, the clerk who had been discharged.²¹¹ Simpson declined to seek legal redress, because it was too difficult and expensive to obtain, but he engaged additional men to reinforce some of his posts and to be employed as a "Coast Guard."²¹²

Since neither legal resource nor force could protect the company, Simpson consulted his legal adviser in Quebec, Mr. Black, on whether he could surrender the lease and continue to operate without it. Black believed that the government could not object because it did not enforce the lessees' exclusive right of conduction of the fur trade.²¹³ Rather than have the company renounce the lease, Simpson decided

that it was prudent to have the government itself revoke the lease, and he opened communications with the government. The government procrastinated, not willing to surrender the rent (the government) obtained, and throughout the remainder of his tenure as governor, Simpson retained the lease but derived few benefits from it.

The practice of giving credit was restricted by Simpson in 1844 because many of the hunters received their supplies at the posts in autumn, and sold most of their furs in spring to the "numerous strangers" whom they met on their return. Few paid their complete debts and many paid nothing. Barnston was instructed that only those who had shown honesty in their dealings should be given credit. If this procedure did not increase profits, Simpson thought that advances should be completely eliminated and the number of men at the posts should be reduced.²¹⁴

Meanwhile, Barnston was given the task of gradually removing those employees who were not well disposed or who had engaged in a private traffic with the Indians and settlers. One individual, Jordan, the master at Godbout and a former employee of the King's Posts Company, was in league with his son-in-law, Mr. Poulin, who had established a post on Trinity River. Simpson thought that it would be impossible to dislodge Poulin, but ordered that a strict watch be kept on him so as to "give him so much annoyance, that he cannot make anything in that quarter." Jordan had indicated that he would retire if he were not given leave of absence, and Simpson was anxious to take advantage of this opportunity, although there was a shortage of officers in the King's Posts. Jordan, however, retired sooner than expected, and Simpson was required to send his "confidential servant," Mr. McIntyre, to temporarily manage Godbout.²¹⁵

Comeau had three men besides the "Coast Guard" at Ile Jeremie. Simpson gave him permission, in 1844, to employ

three more for the fisheries in the summer and use them as hunters in the winter, giving them one-half of their hunts as an incentive.²¹⁶

In November 1844, Tadoussac was under the charge of George Barnston; Ile Jeremie, Alexander Comeau; Godbout, James Anderson; Sept Iles, Alexander Robertson, and Mingan, Donald A. Smith.²¹⁷

There were only two posts in the Saint-Maurice River district in 1843-44 and for "some years past," Weymontachingue and Kikandatch. Simpson intended that in the autumn of 1844 a third should be established at Rat River, believing that it would collect some of the furs which were being obtained by the lumbering companies in that region. Its operation would not materially alter the expense of the district, as a reduction in the number of people employed at Weymontachingue would be made.²¹⁸ We learn from a report by Simpson in August 1845 that "Mr. Bell has been doing some little business at the Rat River."²¹⁹

On his tour of the King's Posts in the autumn of 1845, Simpson found that few hunters were now attached to Tadoussac, but he resolved that because of its position at the mouth of the Saguenay River, it had to be maintained.²²⁰ Between 40 and 50 Indian families patronized Chicoutimi: most of their hunts, however were obtained by "petty shopkeepers, publicans, and itinerant dealers." The exhausted state of the country in the Chicoutimi region made the establishment a losing venture, but it had to be kept up because it served as a link with the interior posts. A retail shop, catering to the settlers, was planned and the small amount of profit expected would partially cover the post's expenses.²²¹

Lake Saint-Jean, Simpson reported, until recently had yielded more profit than any other establishment below Quebec. Settlers, however, had begun to move into its vicinity. They had a corrupting influence on the natives

who "from being honest and industrious," had "become dissipated and worthless." Because of the alteration in their habits, the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec determined to found a permanent mission near the post and try to limit their contact with the settlers.²²²

The "small post" of Aswapmouchoin had only eight or ten families attached to it. Being near the height of land which stretched east-west across Quebec, Aswapmouchoin and the country surrounding it were "very poor in the means of living," and difficult to supply. Little profit was made, and the region's small population gave little hope for improvement. Because of its rocky landscape, it was not troubled by settlers.²²³

The company, in 1845, maintained in the seigneurie of Portneuf only a "guard house" manned by a couple of men who were given a few provisions and other supplies. This "guard house" was used primarily to keep up the line of communication along the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the supplies stored there were for the use of the company's servants passing by and for natives in distress. The seigneurie, rented for £300 per annum, was retained only to prevent traders from establishing there. A rent of £100 per annum was derived from Gibb and Company of Quebec, which had established saw-mills on the Portneuf River.²²⁴

Ile Jeremie had 40 or 50 native families attached to it. A number of pilots and traders from the south shore were constantly in its vicinity for the purpose of trading, hunting seals, and salvaging wrecks. Alexander Comeau, having managed this post only one year, had succeeded in limiting the number of "worthless characters" coming from the south shore, and had reanimated its trade. Nevertheless, only a small profit could be expected because the hunters were paid high prices for the small amount of furs and oil they obtained, and it was necessary to maintain a coast guard at the establishment.²²⁵

Simpson was so impressed with Comeau's abilities that he also placed Godbout and Sept Iles under his management, with a clerk directly in charge of each. The fur trade at both posts was "miserably small," the country north of them being exhausted. They were retained only because of their salmon and seal fisheries. These two industries, however, were declining in productivity for under the terms of the new lease, the salmon fisheries in the domaine were open to all. There were settlers around both posts.²²⁶

While Mingan seigneurie did not attract as many settlers as the King's Posts, American fishermen were illegally engaged in cod fishing, despite the fact that the coast was patrolled by British vessels. Four establishments were maintained, Mingan Nabisipi, Natashquan and Musquarro. Besides the masters, there were 12 men in the winter and an additional 22 in the summer for the fisheries. Sixteen fishing stations were in operation during the fishing season "on nearly as many rivers." There were only 50 Indian families attached to the four posts.²²⁷ The principal industries in 1844 were seal hunting and salmon fishing. Simpson calculated that despite the high annual rent paid, £300, Mingan could produce "fair profits" if the highly paid staff could be cut down and provisions could be imported more economically.²²⁸

Too much attention, Simpson felt in 1845, was shown to the salmon fisheries along the northern coast of the St. Lawrence River. The investment of money in this industry was "very heavy," but the produce was too small in most locations to make it rewarding. In 1845-46, the following fisheries were operated: at Tadoussac, Tadoussac Bay and Sainte-Marguerite River; at Godbout, Trinité River and Godbout; at Sept Iles, four stations on Rivière Moisie; at Mingan, Upper Saint-Jean, Lower Saint-Jean, two stations on Mingan River, Romaine, Corneille, Washishoe, Nabisipi, Goaniee, four stations at Natashquan, Musquarro, Chicaska, and Grand Romaine.²²⁹

The posts and their masters in the King's Posts and Mingan seigneurie in 1845-46 were: Tadoussac, George Barnston, G.M. Skene, clerk, with nine winterers and three summermen; Chicoutimi, Simon Ross, clerk and two winterers; Lake Saint-Jean, Robert Hamilton, clerk, and three winterers; Aswapmouchoin, Prisque Verreaux, clerk, and one winterer; Bon Désire, Charles Jordan Jr., interpreter; Portneuf, J.B. Gerard, labourer; Ile Jeremie, Alexander Comeau, clerk, Joseph McPherson, apprentice clerk, and four winterers; Godbout, Maurice Moor, apprentice clerk and two winterers and two summermen; Trinité River, Lataniville, labourer, and one winterer and two summermen; Sept Iles, James Anderson, clerk and three winterers; Mingan, Donald A. Smith, clerk, six winterers and 22 summermen for the whole seigneurie; Nibisipi, Alexander Gibson, postmaster; Natashquan John Isbister, interpreter and one winterer; Musquarro, L.M. Bryson, clerk, and two winterers.²³⁰

The returns from Tadoussac declined so sharply in 1845-46 that Simpson contemplated its abandonment, but he deferred making his decision until after he had toured the King's Posts in the summer of 1847. He felt that its existence as a supply depot was no longer essential because Chicoutimi and the interior posts could be supplied by steamers traveling up the Saguenay River.²³¹

No decision on Tadoussac's fate was taken by Simpson until the autumn of 1849, when he resolved that after the summer of 1851, it would no longer be the headquarters of the master of the King's Posts and would be reduced to a post "on the smallest scale" and would be occupied by a postmaster.²³² He also determined to make reductions in the costs of the King's Posts for 1849-50 and selected George Gladman to serve as Barnston's assistant.²³³ Gladman succeeded Barnston in 1850-51. In 1850, a "very important trade" in porpoise oil and leather sprang up in the Gulf of St. Lawrence,²³⁴ and its effects were also felt at the King's Posts.

Simpson ordered that Aswapmouchoin should be closed after the 1849-50 season. He expected that its hunters would trade at the Saint-Maurice district establishment, Kikandatch. John Miles, who toured the King's Posts late in 1849, considered this to be an unwise decision because the natives were reluctant to journey to Kikandatch, and instead favoured Lake Saint-Jean, which was rapidly becoming settled. He suspected that Prisque Verraux, the master of Aswapmouchoin, had bought a farm at Wyatchewan, nine miles from Lake Saint-Jean post, specifically to trade with these hunters after the abandonment of Aswapmouchoin. Yet he admitted that Aswapmouchoin, Kikandatch and Pike Lake, instead of protecting each others' trade, were competing.²³⁵

After Aswapmouchoin was given up, Verreaux and his son seem to have occupied it for a time and traded on their own. Simpson instructed Joseph Gladman, the master of Saint-Maurice district, to take precautions against their interference in his district's trade, and apprehend them and bring them down to Moose Fort if they ventured into Rupert's Land, across the height of land. This "extreme measure" would serve as a warning to all "interlopers."²³⁶

By 1851, there were nearly 1,000 families resident on the Saguenay River, engaged in agriculture, lumbering and seal, salmon and porpoise fishing, and they traded for furs when they had the opportunity. Simpson, considering the government's encouragement of lumbering in the King's Posts to be an infringement on his company's lease, withheld payment of the rent of £600 per annum for three years (1848-51). The government did not press for its payment, leading Simpson and his legal advisors to conclude that it felt that the payment could not be enforced.²³⁷

The establishments maintained in the King's Posts, in 1850-51, were Tadoussac, Chicoutimi, Lake Saint-Jean, Ile Jeremie, Godbout, and Sept Iles. Tadoussac was used only as

a summer fishing station, with two men wintering to care for the buildings and fishing equipment. The master of the district removed to Ile Jeremie, considered a more central and remunerative location, and the vessels which usually wintered at Tadoussac did so now at Quebec, where the marine stores for the district were kept. The salmon caught at Tadoussac were sold in Quebec directly from the nets, without being cured. The same practice was followed at the other posts.²³⁸

At Chicoutimi, there was a sale shop which catered to the settlers in the neighbourhood. By 1851, the fur trade had become unproductive and Simpson decided that Chicoutimi should in future be reduced "to the rank of a temporary outpost," having two men, who would care for the buildings and forward the supplies to Lake Saint-Jean. Adjoining the posts was a saw-mill owned by Mr. Price of Quebec, which gave some Indians employment; it was at this mill that the majority of the furs was collected.²³⁹

The company's principal competition at Chicoutimi came from a priest named Gagnon. Because the natives had been in the habit of taking debt at Chicoutimi and disposing of their hunts to the priest and others, Simpson, in 1851, ordered that credits should no longer be given and trading should be done in cash. Gladman was authorized to pay as much as £1 for martens in order to make the trade as unrewarding as possible for his competitors.²⁴⁰

Transportation to Lake Saint-Jean from the St. Lawrence River was difficult, and there were still relatively few settlers there in 1851. Nevertheless, the government had set aside money for the construction of a road between the lake and Quebec, and an influx of settlers was expected within a few years. Although the post would then be unproductive, Simpson believed that it could be useful "in protecting, to some extent, the trade beyond the height of land which, at no great distance, separates it from Ruperts River

district."²⁴¹ Hubert and Company had a "small shop" at Lake Kinougimeshish (Kénogamichiche), and traded for furs when they were available.²⁴²

Ile Jeremie, in 1851, was the most productive and important establishment in the King's Posts and was the headquarters of Chief Trader Gladman, who was assisted by a clerk and three winterers. The men conducted a fishery in the vicinity on shares with a settler. Advances in provisions and goods were given to the hunters at the beginning of the winter, and furs in excess of the debt were purchased for cash. There was considerable opposition from petty traders, many of whom visited Pointe aux Outardes, a congregating place for the Indians in the summer. The goods dispensed by these traders included liquor and articles which were of inferior quality but were attractive to the natives. Rather than enter into a competition in these items, Simpson resolved that a man should be stationed in the spring "a short distance up" Manicouagan River, at the first falls, to intercept the hunters going to Pointe aux Outardes.²⁴³

Godbout and its "small outpost" at Trinité River were manned by a clerk and four men. Their fur trades were negligible, the value of the furs from both posts being about £100 annually. Salmon fishing was the principal industry and a small amount of oil was also obtained. In the summer, six extra fishermen were hired.²⁴⁴

A postmaster and four men were stationed at Sept Iles, and seven extra fishermen were employed during the summer. In 1851, the furs, fish and oil collected were worth about £1,000. Simpson, in 1851, decided that it should supply fishing utensils to settlers in the vicinity, who would fish on shares.²⁴⁵

Mingan seigneurie's posts, in 1851, were Mingan and its small outposts, Musquarro and Natashquan. Employed in the

seigneurie were a clerk, a postmaster, 11 permanent and two extra fishermen in the summer. The clerk, Robert Hamilton, conducted the seigneurie's affairs with skill, and was transferred in 1851 to Abitibi, which had been mismanaged. He was replaced by Alexander Comeau. The value of the furs in 1850-51 was about £1,500; the oil and salmon were worth about £2,000, an increase over the previous year. Although Mingan was distant from Quebec, there were some petty traders to contend with; they constantly hovered about the coast, and combined cod and seal fishing with fur trading.²⁴⁶

After 1850-51, Musquarrou was no longer used as a trading post as Comeau did not want to expose his hunters to the ever increasing petty traders in its vicinity. Musquarrou's Indians were transferred to Natashquan, and they were encouraged to hunt on the many rivers which still remained unexploited by the rather indolent hunters attached to Fort Nascopie. There were 60 families in Mingan seigneurie in 1851. Some of the Indians were "lazy" and lived on the fruits of the hunts of the more enterprising members of their bands.²⁴⁷

The following are the posts and their officers in the King's Posts and Mingan seigneurie for 1851-52: Ile Jeremie, George Gladman, Thomas Anderson, apprentice clerk, and three servants; Tadoussac, William Stewart, postmaster and one man; Chicoutimi, Joseph Sauvé and a boy; Lake Saint-Jean, G.M. Skene, clerk, and three servants; Godbout, Bernard Verral, clerk, one cooper and two servants; Sept Iles; Donald Henderson postmaster, one cooper and three servants; Mingan, Alexander Comeau, clerk, one cooper, three or four servants; Musquarrou and Natashquan, John Isbister and five servants. The sale shops at Tadoussac, Chicoutimi and Godbout, having failed to show a profit, were closed. Trinité River was abandoned as a wintering post and retained only as a fishing station.²⁴⁸

Most of the merchandise at Chicoutimi was removed to Lake Saint-Jean in the autumn of 1851, and Simpson advised Gladman that Chicoutimi should be given up when convenient, "probably next year." At Tadoussac, more emphasis was to be placed on the herring fishery and as the fisheries at Ile Jeremie were not productive, little expense was to be made in running them. At Seven Islands, more attention was to be directed to salmon fishing.²⁴⁹

In a letter to the Quebec government dated 19 July 1852, Simpson gave the following descriptions of the buildings at the establishments in the King's Posts.

Tadoussac

A wooden dwelling-house of nine rooms, very old and in a state of decay; a wooden building used as a servants house; a woden building used as a shop; a wooden building used as a store; a wooden building used as an oil store; a wooden building used as a boat builder's shed; a wooden building used as a cooper's and blacksmith's workshop; a "block building" used as a powder magazine; and a log building used as a stable and cow house.²⁵⁰

Chicoutimi

A wooden dwelling-house of five rooms; a wooden building used as a shop and store; a wooden building used as a men's house; a log building used as a stable and cow house.

Lake Saint-Jean

A wooden dwelling-house of five rooms; a wooden building used as a servant's house; a wooden building used as a store; a log building used as a stable and cow house.²⁵¹

Ile Jeremie

A wooden dwelling-house of four rooms, "very old and in state of decay;" a wooden building used as a servant's house; a wooden building used as an Indian shop; two wooden buildings, each used as a store; a log building used as a cow house and stable, and a brick building used as a powder magazine.²⁵²

Godbout

A wooden dwelling-house of four rooms; a wooden building used as a servants house; two wooden buildings, each used as a store, and a wooden building used as a cooper's shop.²⁵³

Sept Iles

A wooden dwelling-house of seven rooms; a wooden building used as a store and shop; a wooden building used as a servant's house, and a log building used as a stable and cow house.²⁵⁴

Simpson explained to S. Derbishire, who represented the Quebec government, that

Most of these buildings are very old (the house at Tadoussac is supposed to have been standing for more than a century), others have been replaced by new ones, but we do not always rebuild on the same spot, in fact the wants of our trade frequently oblige us to shift our quarter...it would be proper that it should be well understood that the posts are mere perishable establishments and falling into decay. There are no wharves nor pickets round the posts, there are fences, of course, but we do not bind ourselves to restore them to the Government as they may

now be standing, as it may suit our purpose to diminish or extend our enclosures hereafter.²⁵⁵

The abandonment of Musquarro was suggested to Simpson in the early 1850s, but he considered that it was too valuable. It served as a base from which a large part of the coast could be watched, and its abandonment would give the trade of that part of Mingan seigneurie to Mr. Robinson at Mekatina.²⁵⁶

Petty traders, in 1853-54, began settling at the "Betsiannis" and up the Betsiannis (Bersimis) River, intercepting the Indians who annually came down to Ile Jeremie. James Anderson, Barnston's successor, recommended that Ile Jeremie should be removed to Bersimis River, and his suggestion was approved by Simpson, who advised that the new post should be located near the mouth of the river. Simpson desired that at least one man should remain at Ile Jeremie, because the lease for the King's Posts obliged the company to maintain and keep it in repair.²⁵⁷ After the founding of Bersimis, Ile Jeremie may still have been operated on a small scale.

The 1852 lease for the King's Posts did not contain the exclusive privileges embodied in the one for 1842. The domaine was thrown open for settlement, and as a result the fur trade rapidly declined.²⁵⁸ The leases for Mingan and Mille Vaches still granted exclusive rights of hunting, fishing and trading, but the government did not protect the company against the American and other fishermen frequenting the coast and rivers of the two seigneuries.²⁵⁹ In the 1850s, traders in Mingan seigneurie and immediately east of it competed for furs from both the seigneurie and Esquimaux Bay district, obliging the company to pay high prices to the inhabitants of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.²⁶⁰ Donald A. Smith, the officer in charge of the Esquimaux Bay district, favoured an establishment on Saint-Augustin River. Simpson,

however, was more inclined to reduce rather than expand the operations in this unprofitable region.²⁶¹

In 1856-57, there was a considerable reduction in the returns of Mingan seigneurie. During the summer of 1857, Simpson received several unfavourable reports about the activities and management of Donald Henderson, the clerk in charge of the seigneurie. Concluding that his conduct was directly responsible for the decline, Simpson replaced him with Alexander Comeau, who had distinguished himself in the King's Posts and Mingan. Henderson died soon after departing from Mingan.²⁶² In 1857-58, George M. Skene was at Lake Saint-Jean, Benjamin Scott at Tadoussac and James Smith at Bersimis.²⁶³

The salmon caught at the Moisie River and Bersimis River fisheries were considered to be the largest and best salmon caught on the coast, better than those at Tadoussac.²⁶⁴ The salmon at Godbout River and Trinité Bay were sold directly from the nets to the buyer, who was given an icehouse full of ice and the use of the company's buildings for the curing operation.²⁶⁵ The company's operations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were supervised from Quebec²⁶⁶ in 1858-59 by William Watt.²⁶⁷

Believing that Chicoutimi was expendable because its trade would be drawn to Tadoussac, Simpson closed it in 1856.²⁶⁸ There was no improvement in the returns from the King's Posts and Mingan in the ensuing two years. In May 1858, a year before the expiry date of the lease for the domaine, Simpson selected Hector McKenzie of Fort William on the Ottawa River to tour the posts along the St. Lawrence River, Bersimis, Godbout, Sept Iles, and Mingan and its two outposts, Musquarro and Natashquan. Expecting the lease for the King's Posts would not be renewed, Simpson instructed McKenzie to investigate the most eligible sites for trading posts along the river.²⁶⁹

The company already possessed two posts which did not belong to the government. Simpson wrote: "At Isle Jeremie we have already provided an establishment of our own, at the Bersimis River; and at Seven Islands, a small station has been erected at the Moisé River, in connection with the fisheries."²⁷⁰ Skene, a few years before, had been advised by Simpson to change the location of Lake Saint-Jean post, but this was not done, and the trade was still conducted at the old post in 1858. At the end of 1858, Simpson ordered Skene to raise a number of "inexpensive buildings" to which the company could remove upon the lease's expiration.²⁷¹ McKenzie did not conduct his survey until the autumn of 1858. By then Simpson had already decided that Tadoussac, Godbout, Ile Jeremie and Sept Iles should be abandoned at the end of the 1858-59 outfit, and instructed McKenzie to make arrangements to this end. The King's Posts had shown a deficit of £2,165.18.0 for the 1857-58 outfit,²⁷² the bulk of the furs having been collected at Lake Saint-Jean and Bersimis.²⁷³

Mingan's deficit was £2,792.16.7, the worst year ever experienced by the company in that seigneurie. Usually the returns were between £2,500 to £3,000; that year they were only £600.²⁷⁴ As Mingan's lease did not expire until 1863, the company had to remain there for four more years. Simpson, however, intended to remove the person in charge, hoping that this change would prove beneficial.²⁷⁵ The lease for the seigneurie of Mille Vaches was due to expire in October 1862.²⁷⁶

On his return in April from the King's Posts, McKenzie reported that the prospects for trade were better than in the previous year, but because the hunters were heavily indebted, the trade could never be profitable. He recommended that only Lake Saint-Jean and Bersimis were worth maintaining.²⁷⁷ At the end of the 1858-59 outfit, Tadoussac,

Godbout, Ile Jeremie and Sept Iles were abandoned and no fisheries were subsequently operated at any of the King's Posts. Colin Rankin, William Stuart and Benjamin Scott were recalled to Montreal and Peter McKenzie was sent to Lake Saint-Jean to serve as Skene's assistant.²⁷⁸ It is probable that a labourer resided at each of the four abandoned posts until the lease's expiration.²⁷⁹

The fisheries in Mingan seigneurie were curtailed, and no fishermen were engaged, the fisheries being conducted by the winterers in the district helped by Indians and freemen hired on the spot. Only two posts were open, Mingan and Natashquan, the latter being in charge of Postmaster John Linklater. Musquarro, Simpson wrote, had "not lately been kept up, although it has been suggested that the Company's interest have thereby suffered."²⁸⁰

Chief Factor James Anderson, Comeau's replacement at Mingan, was instructed by Simpson that after the termination of the lease for the King's Posts, the servants at Bersimis and Mingan should travel throughout the winter and spring up and down the coast, trading for furs with the Indians and settlers. Throughout the navigation season, "a well appointed pilot boat or other small craft" would sail along the coast, purchasing furs for goods and cash, and a clerk would be on board to conduct the trading. Simpson engaged an experienced pilot, Thomas Lavoie, a former employee of the company. Lavoie and the boat were to pass the winter at either Mingan or Bersimis.²⁸¹

In 1859-60, the following posts were in operation in Mingan and the King's Posts: Mingan, James Anderson and Peter McKenzie; Natashquan, John Linklater; Musquarro, which was reopened; Bersimis, B. Batson, George McKenzie and T. Lavoie; Lake Saint-Jean, G.M. Skene and F. Doré. The "Disposible," evidently the shop employed by the company, was commanded by Mr. Fortescue.²⁸² The lease for the King's

Posts was not renewed and the government officially took possession of the domaine's posts on 15 November 1859.²⁸³

The company retained an establishment at Lake Saint-Jean, having erected, before April 1859, a number of buildings there at its own expense. Sixteen acres of land were cultivated. In April 1859, Simpson applied to purchase the land at the price current in the domaine, and the government acceded, with the condition that four acres should be granted to the mission at Lake Saint-Jean.²⁸⁴

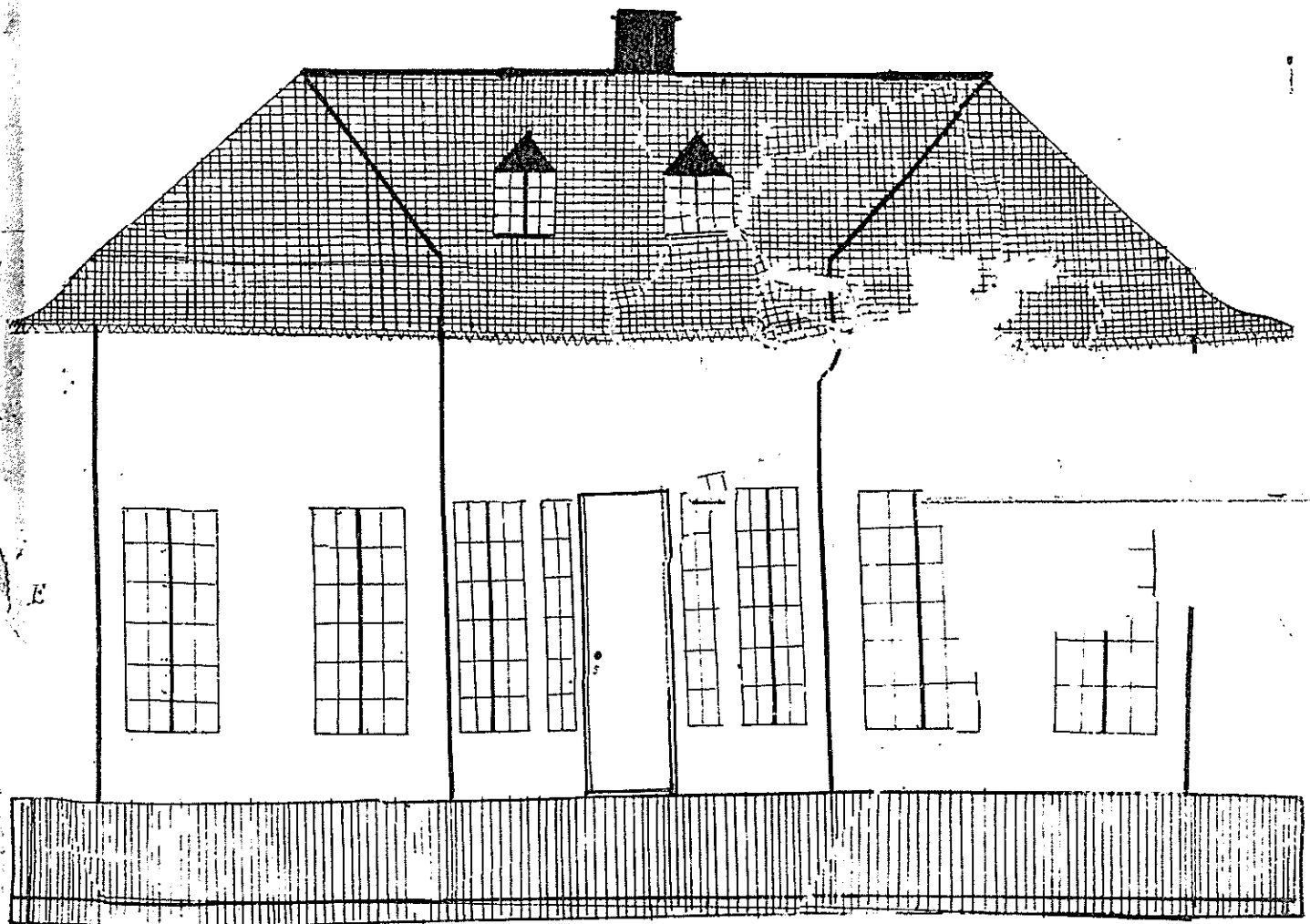
The grant requested by the mission interfered "very little" with Simpson's, cutting off only a small portion of one of the company's enclosed and cultivated fields, a concession Simpson was willing to make.²⁸⁵ A delay was caused by further surveys conducted by the mission. By the end of March 1860, Simpson was so anxious to obtain legal possession of the post that he resolved that if necessary he would limit his request to the "site of our building." He feared that if the mission succeeded in delaying indefinitely the purchase, it would eventually dislodge the company from its own establishment.²⁸⁶ It is probable that Simpson never obtained legal possession of the post. In 1863, the site of Lake Saint-Jean post was moved from the Metabitchewan River to Pointe Bleue.

Simpson did not intend to renew the lease for Mingan seigneurie when it expired in 1863, and therefore he ordered Anderson to "uniformly reject any propositions for an extension of the trade requiring an outlay of capital." No money was to be expended upon repairing old buildings or constructing new ones.²⁸⁷ Meanwhile, Simpson appealed to the government to protect his company's exclusive fishing rights or permit a reduction in the rent to compensate for the losses sustained.²⁸⁸

The company, in the 1850s, did not occupy the seigneurie of Mille Vaches, but sub-leased it to James Gibb of Quebec

16 House at Lake St. John built 1857. (Hudson's Bay
Company, B.111/a/4.)

Small Cottage



E

30' x 14' 20'

for the lease's unexpired term. Gibb was dead by 1859, and the sub-lease was maintained by his heirs. Simpson did not intend to renew the lease.²⁸⁹

After the expiration of the lease for the King's Posts, the government seems to have sold Chicoutimi post to a settler or shopkeeper.²⁹⁰ For 1859-60, the returns from Mingan seigneurie were £1,520.16.9, and from Lake Saint-Jean and Bersimis, £81.12.3.²⁹¹

The trade in the Saint-Maurice region, after 1840, was unprofitable, as the company paid "extravagant" cash prices for the furs it purchased from lumberers and settlers, and failed to recover some of the credits it had advanced to the Indians.²⁹² Simpson retained the posts of Weymontachingue and Kikandatch, and a "temporary guard house" at Rat River, in the 1840s,

to afford protection to a certain extent to the Eastern frontier of Ruperts River district, as if the St. Maurice posts were abandoned, it is to be apprehended that the half-caste Abeniques of the village of Nicolet and of the lower part of the St. Maurice would penetrate up to the head waters of the river and cross the height of land to the heart of Ruperts River district, in all probability drawing off the Indians of the posts of Michiskan and Waswonaby to the Settlements in the neighborhood of Three Rivers.²⁹³

By 1863, the guard house at Rat River had been closed and a new post, Cococash, added.²⁹⁴ John Bell was master of Saint-Maurice district until 1859-60, when he took leave of absence. He retired in March 1860.²⁹⁵

A few months before his death, Simpson contemplated making important changes in the conduct of the Gulf of St. Lawrence trade. Having resolved that the lease for Mingan seigneurie would not be renewed in 1863, he desired that new

establishments should be founded to collect the furs from those who hunted in the seigneurie and on its peripheries. Donald A. Smith, the master of Esquimaux Bay district, for some years had been urging him to place a small post on Saint-Augustin River, where a profitable trade in furs and oil could be conducted. He had repeatedly rejected this suggestion, having been reluctant to invest more capital in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Simpson was now favourable, and also desired two other establishments, "some good inland station, between North West River and Mingan," and another on "the Island at the entrance of Mingan Harbour," which belonged to the company.²⁹⁶

A post on Saint-Augustin River was in existence by 1871. Winfrid Alden Stearns writing in 1884, said that many Naskapi in the early 1870s resorted to Saint-Augustin, trading at the company's "flourishing" post. The company abandoned the establishment "afterwards" and "a generous, honest dweller of that region was allowed to take possession of it, who now supplies the Indians who come from the interior, to this, the only post of the region, for a distance of many miles in either direction."²⁹⁷

On a visit to Natashquan in June 1858, W.H. Watt, wrote: "The place here is one large heap of Ruins, and altho' I have been at very indifferent Posts during my servitude, it is, the first time I have seen the men in the same house with gentlemen in charge."²⁹⁸ Alexander Comeau said in defence of his post,

The Notasquane Shed, is the best building on the Posts as well as Coopers Shop - The House is very large, tho badly built I believe, and only four years old. A trading shop is now framed here for transshipment first opportunity - At Jerimie Bersiamis Godbout and all out-posts gents & men live under one roof to save

much labour of fire wood, tho divided in apartments as Notasquan - Mr. Barnston & Mr. Gladman lived at Jerimie under same circumstances.²⁹⁹

Stearns, who visited Natashquan in the early 1880s, wrote that the Hudson's Bay Company post was located at the "extremity" of "Natashquan point." On a small island opposite it was a "very neat house" belonging to a trader who passed most of his time voyaging between Natosquene and Quebec trading with the inhabitants along the shore.³⁰⁰

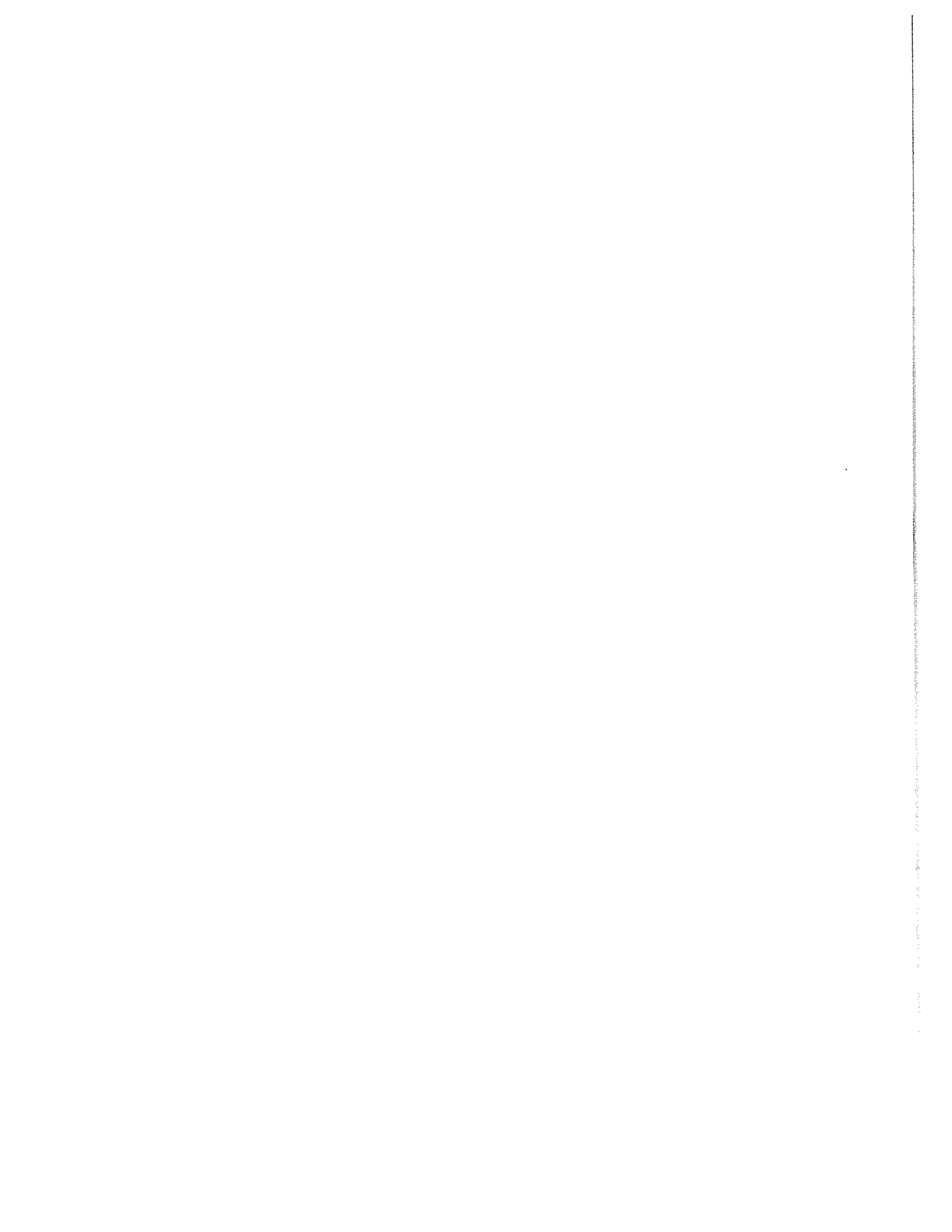
Wenowkapa House was founded some time after 1860, and in 1867-68 Allan Cameron was its master. The only information Cameron gave about his post is that he was unable to finish the "new house" because he did not have any nails, and that he built an oven of bricks which collapsed after its second use, not enough lime being available for its construction.³⁰¹

A.G. Dallas stated in a letter dated 14 November 1863, that in the spring of 1862 he "renewed" the company's lease for the King's Posts for three years at £500 per annum, a reduction of £300 from the previous lease.³⁰² The previous lease referred to was probably the one which had expired in 1859, for there is no indication that the company signed a lease between 1859 and 1863. Dallas did not state which posts were open in 1863. There are no further references to the King's Posts in the Hudson's Bay Company archives between 1863 and 1867.

A Hudson's Bay Company post was in existence on the Romaine River in the 1870s, but was abandoned by the early 1880s, when Stearns visited it.³⁰³ Mingan was the principal Hudson's Bay Company establishment in Mingan seigneurie at that time. Stearns wrote about it:

The attractions of the place are only its fishing and the houses of the company's post with that of the Guard de pêche. From your

position on board your little vessel in the harbor, you can see them all; the long plank walk with the net shop at its eastern extremity has near it the officers' house with a cosy little office close by; further down are the storehouses, wherein are the provisions, clothing and such like stores with which the general trading of the establishment is done, while bundles of fine fur hang suspended from cross bars and nails in the lofts above. Just around the bend, the walk continues to an old unused wharf where it terminates; being a distance of one-tenth of a mile. I say one-tenth of a mile,- many is the time that this plank walk has been paced, while sauntering for pleasure or to pass the time away, undoubtedly by each individual dweller of this establishment. A few barns or outbuildings, of one sort or another, placed here or there as the case may be, complete that portion of the post which has been built up to the present time. Most of these buildings have been tastily painted, thus presenting a neat and attractive picture to one viewing it from the vessel in the harbor, or the deck of the little steamer, that, plying between here and Quebec, touches all the important points along the coast for a distance of some few hundred miles.³⁰⁴



SECTION IV

LABRADOR AND UNGAVA

Labrador Before 1836

Introduction

There are no references in our documentary records to European settlements in Labrador until the turn of the 18th century, and for the period previous to this we must rely upon the traditions of the inhabitants and the documentary descriptions of remains. In the 19th century, there was a tradition that a large French settlement had been in existence in the 16th century in Bradore Bay. While no French settlement in Labrador is mentioned in 16th-century documents, the first Frenchman to establish himself in the bay at the turn of the 18th century, Augustin le Garduer de Courtemanche, found the remains of houses and stoves for melting seal oil. According to the native inhabitants, they had been built by Spaniards. Basque vessels were in the vicinity of Newfoundland as early as Cabot's time, and it may have been a Basque settlement.

The French did not venture to settle on the Labrador coast until the turn of the 18th century. They were attracted principally by the abundance of seals. Augustin le Garduer de Courtemanche founded a post on Esquimaux River in 1701, and in 1705 established a second one at Phelypeaux Bay (Bradore Bay), making it his headquarters. In 1714, he was granted Phelypeaux Bay and the adjoining coast two leagues above and below the bay for his lifetime. He was appointed commander of the Labrador shore and on his death in 1717 was succeeded in this capacity by his stepson, François Martel de Brouague.

The second French merchant to extend his operations into Labrador was Sieur la Vallée Constantin (Guillaume Cotentin dit Lavallée), whose engagés resided in 1715 at both Bay Rouge (Saint-Modet) and Rivière des François. In the 1730s, sealing and trading posts were operated by merchants at various locations along the Labrador coast, including Great Mecantina, Grand Saint-Modet, Baye des Chateaux and Cape Charles. In the 1740s and 1750s Sieur Fornel and later his widow possessed as many as three posts in Esquimaux Bay (Hamilton Inlet).

After the Peace of Paris in 1763, Labrador was placed under the administration of the governor of Newfoundland. Governor Palliser's regulations of 1765 stipulated that only ship fishers based in Great Britain could exploit the Labrador coast, and required all the French inhabitants beyond the boundaries of Quebec to leave their settlements.

Before 1770, only Captain Darby and the partnership of Noble and Pinson wintered from year to year on the Labrador coast. Darby established his residence on Charles River but abandoned it in the late 1760s after three of his men were killed by the Eskimos. Noble and Pinson resided at Temple Bay, three miles into Baye des Chateaux.

George Cartwright began his career as a Labrador merchant in 1770. During his 15 years on the coast, he founded various trading and fishing establishments. His first residence was Captain Carby's settlement on Charles River, which he renamed Ranger Lodge. In 1774, he removed to White Bear Bay, and in the following year to Cartwright Harbour in Sandwich Bay. Initially his operations were profitable, but between 1778 and 1782, he suffered a series of misfortunes: he was plundered by an American privateer in 1778; he lost a vessel off Newfoundland in 1781, and in the following year another of his vessels was captured by an American privateer. He was forced to file for bankruptcy in 1784, and his

possessions along the Labrador coast were appropriated by his creditors.

In 1774, Labrador was placed under the administration of the government at Quebec. The previous year, a proclamation had been issued by the crown confirming the merchants in their possessions in Labrador, provided that each annually fitted out a ship in Great Britain for the cod fishery. This regulation did much to encourage the exploitation of the seal industry, and by the turn of the century the most eligible locations as far north as Hamilton Inlet were occupied. In 1775, Sir Guy Carlton received instructions that the property and possessions of Canadian subjects in Labrador should be respected, and in 1784 two Quebec merchants were granted a licence to winter in Hamilton Inlet without being required to outfit a ship in a British port. In the succeeding years, various establishments were operated in the Inlet by Quebec merchants; the principal merchant until his death in 1823 was Jacob Pozer.

The French Period

The Norsemen may have been the first European discoverers of Labrador, but the tradition of inhabitants of Labrador in the 19th century was that the Basques were the first to frequent its coast. Cabot mentioned encountering, on his first voyage, a Basque vessel off Newfoundland.¹ The Bretons conducted cod fisheries before Cartier's voyages.

Lewis Roberts, in his Dictionary of Commerce published in 1600, says about Brest,

It was the chief town of New France that it was the residence of the governor, almoner, and other public officers; that the French drew from them large quantities of baccalao, whale fins and train, together with castor and other valu-

able furs; and further, that the French had also a Fort, at Tadoussac, solely in traffic with the Indians for furs.

According to Samuel Robertson, a resident of Sparr Point on the Labrador coast in the 1840s, Brest was the best fishing region for seals, cod and whales in Labrador in the 16th and 17th centuries. At first, it attracted Basque whalers and later Bretons from Brest, who fished for cod. A legend grew up, started by Roberts in 1600 and fostered by Samuel Robertson in the 19th century, that Brest was the site of a large European settlement created for mutual defence by the Europeans frequenting the Labrador coast.

Robertson writes that "the ruins and terraces of the buildings...were chiefly constituted of wood." He estimated "that at one time, it contained 200 houses, besides stores, &c. and, perhaps, 1000 inhabitants in the winter, which would be trebled during the summer."² Another writer of the middle of the 19th century, Noel H. Bowen, remarked that "near" the residence of Captain Jones (the most prominent occupant of this bay when he wrote), could be seen "Mounds of earth and rubbish in all directions, the ruins of the ancient post or town of Brest."³

According to Robertson, about 1630 a nobleman named Courtemanche was granted seigneurial rights to four leagues of the coast on each side of the town.⁴ Early in the 17th century, the Montagnais Indians forced the Eskimos residing along the Gulf of St. Lawrence to retire to Esquimo Island, where they fortified themselves, constructing "walls composed of stone and turf, with a ditch outside, in circuit more than half a mile." The remains of this fort were clearly visible in the 1840s. The Montagnais, encouraged by the French, assaulted it in about 1640, and almost completely extirpated the defenders. Robertson says that a thousand Eskimos were slain and he saw many human bones scattered

throughout the island. The survivors retired outside the Strait of Belle Isle.⁵ As this contest terminated the threat to the fishermen from the Eskimos and Courtemanche possessed the best of fishing locations at Brest, the town's inhabitants dispersed to other fishing areas along the coast.⁶ Subsequently, the Eskimos occasionally made predatory raids in the spring against the French establishments in the straits. By the end of the 17th century, Best was "little more than a private establishment," and its name was changed to Bradore.⁷

W.S. Wallace dismissed this account as mere legend, and said that there was no settlement before the beginning of the 18th century.⁸ There can be no doubt that parts of Robertson's account can be dismissed as the creation of a lively imagination, but there undoubtedly was a settlement which helped spawn the legend. Augustin le Gardeur de Courtemanche, the merchant whom legend made into the French nobleman, was the first man to leave us a description of the Labrador coast within the Strait of Belle Isle. He discovered, in 1705, in Phelypeaux Bay, another name the French gave to Bradore Bay, traces of an "establishment, stoves for melting oil from seals, houses, roofs and oil and other similar things." The Indians called Phelypeaux Bay Baye des Espagnols. According to them, the establishment had been built by Spaniards, who were later driven out by the Eskimos.⁹ The Spaniards were probably the Basques referred to by Robertson.

In August 1586, John Davis sailed 10 leagues into a harbour at 56° N. latitude, probably the modern Hamilton Inlet. The five men he sent ashore to an island "to fetch certaine fish" were attacked by Eskimos, and two were slain. George Waymouth, in 1602, surveyed an Inlet at 56° N. latitude, and in 1606, John Knight and three men, having gone ashore in 56° 48' N. latitude to repair their ship, which

had been damaged by ice, were killed by the Eskimos. Jean Bourdon, in 1657, sailed from Canada bound for Hudson Bay, but reached only 55° N. latitude (Cape Harrison). He too was attacked by Eskimos.

Medard Chouart des Groseilliers and Pierre-Esprit Radisson in 1682 sailed from Canada for Hudson Bay with Pierre Allemand as pilot, and on the way landed in 57° 30' N. latitude in the neighbourhood of the modern Okkak, where they passed two days in trading with the inhabitants from whom they obtained "some hundred skins of the sea wolf." Louis Jolliet undertook at least one voyage of exploration along the Labrador coast before 1694, and in that year he charted the coast as far north as 56° 11', a little to the north of the present-day Zoar.¹⁰

The Compagnie Royale des Indes Occidentales granted to François Byssot in 1668 the seigneurie called Mingan, which extended as far east as "la Grande Anse, vers le Esquimaux où les Espangnol font ordinairement la pesche."¹¹ In 1679, Louis Jolliet and Jacques de Lalande de Gayon, who had married Byssot's widow, received from the crown Mingan seigneurie. Its eastern boundaries were stated to be "la Baye apellé Lance aux Espangnols [Bradore Bay]." Jolliet and Lalande had indicated to Intendant Jacques Duchesneaux that they intended to establish seal and cod fisheries at Lance aux Espangnol,¹² but they apparently did not. In 1689, the Sieurs Riverin, Chanion, Catignon and Bouthier were granted a concession for 20 years of an area six leagues along both the Labrador and Newfoundland coasts in the Strait of Belle Isle,¹³ and in the same year Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye and a syndicate of merchants received a concession on both the Labrador and Newfoundland coasts from "le bas du Blanc Sablon" to the boundary of the concession given to Riverin and his associates.¹⁴ There is no indication whether either association of merchants exploited the concessions.

The first documentary evidence of a settlement on the Labrador coast occurs at the beginning of the 18th century. Augustin le Gardeur de Courtemanche, in the spring of 1701, engaged Pierre Constantin, a voyageur, to establish a post on Esquimaux River (most likely Saint-Paul River) for the purpose of hunting and trading with the Eskimos of the region. Constantin, apparently, had explored Esquimaux River the previous year.¹⁵ After the post was founded, Courtemanche requested a concession for the area between the Kégashka and Kessessakiou (Churchill) rivers, which was granted in October 1702.¹⁶ In the spring of the following year, Constantin was sent with Michel Doré, Jean Carrie and Jean Tapin to the post, referred to as a "fort." All but one or two of the winterers were subsequently recalled, as Courtemanche seems to have suspected their honesty.¹⁷ The fort was "in a bay perhaps 1/2 league from Esquimaux River bordered with islands where food of all kinds can be found in abundance and the islands are so rich in game that one could easily feed with it all the Frenchmen and savages."¹⁸

In 1705, Courtemanche surveyed the Labrador coast as far north as Hamilton River. At Phelypeaux Bay, where he found the remains of a previous settlement, he founded, in 1705, his second station,¹⁹ making it his headquarters. Within two years, cod, seal and salmon industries were operated on a moderate scale.²⁰ The crown granted Courtemanche 500 livres per annum to operate his posts.

Courtemanche's concession expired in 1712, and he requested and was granted, in 1714, Phelypeaux Bay and the adjoining coast two leagues above and two below the bay²¹ for his lifetime. Phelypeaux Bay is the only post in the concession mentioned in an anonymous mémoire dated 1715. The author stated:

The King has given this post to M.de Courtemanche, a Canadian Gentleman, during his lifetime. He carries on the seal fishery as a principal industry, and quantities of oils and skins are obtained. The seal skins are dressed like Morocco and give a very nice and lasting leather. He has a large garden and grows with success all kinds of vegetables - peas beans &c., &c., as well as all kinds of roots, herbs and salads. He keeps horses, cows, sheep and pigs. He has sown barley and oats which grow well.²²

While Courtemanche established harmonious relations with the Montagnais Indians, the Eskimos resented this new European intrusion and began pillaging the equipment left by French vessels fishing along the coast. In October 1716, the Eskimos were allowed into Phelypeaux Bay fort to trade.²³ They traded little, but desired everything they saw in Courtemanche's apartments, even "the buttons on his clothes." They returned the following spring as they had promised. When Courtemanche with 18 men advanced to greet them, they were met by a volley of arrows. Courtemanche replied with a shot from a "main Basse," upsetting the leader's boat, which was manned by 12 persons, four of whom were made prisoners. The Eskimos retreated and were not seen again that year.²⁴

After Courtemanche's death in 1717, François Martel de Brouague, his step-son, was appointed commander of the Labrador shore. He received one quarter of the profits of Phelypeaux Bay post, while the other three-quarters went to Courtemanche's widow and her three daughters. While the Eskimos were not so bold as to attack the post to revenge their previous defeat, they did attempt to surprise ships fishing for cod in the vicinity of Phelypeaux Bay, but the Frenchmen were continuously on their guard and well armed.²⁵

The Eskimos, however, did succeed in capturing two pinnances and burning five others which were unattended.²⁶

In 1715, Sieur la Vallée Constantin established two posts, one one-half league below Rivière des François and the other at Saint-Modet, also called Baye Rouge. Louis Dolbec and Philippe Pareau and two men, in the autumn of 1715, reached Baye Rouge, and their supplies were landed from a vessel owned by Sieur de Rizy. At Baye Rouge, they constructed a "Caban," and after completing their fishery, they erected another one one-half league northeast of Rivière des François, where they wintered.²⁷

According to Louis Dolbec, when Constantin's men returned in 1716, Courtemanche prevented them from occupying their posts, and they apparently sailed back to Quebec.²⁸ In 1717, Dolbec returned, dividing his stay between Baye Rouge and Rivière des François. "Cabans" were also constructed at Lance à Loup and Baye de Forteau. Rivière des François was Constantin's principal establishment. It is probable that Constantin occupied only one settlement in 1718; Dolbec mentions that he resided at Rivière des François, and makes no reference to any other establishment.²⁹

Brouague and Courtemanche annually sent men up the Labrador coast to explore and encourage trade. Considering this practice an infringement upon his territory, Constantin, in the spring of 1718, seized a canoe from Phelypeaux Bay, manned by two Frenchmen and one Indian, which passed his post.³⁰ The previous year he had committed other unspecified acts, and these resulted in complaints by Brouague to the crown. Brouague claimed that as commander of Labrador, he had the privilege of exploring the coast. He, however, received no redress.³¹

In October 1719, Brouague, learning that large numbers of Eskimos had gathered at Isle au Bois, located within two

and one-half leagues of his post, advanced with a party of well-armed men, believing that show of force would encourage them to respect property and establish trade. Impressed by this display, the Eskimos received the French in peace and discussions were conducted for a few days,³² but the Eskimos limited the discussions to the return of the chief who had been captured by Courtemanche in 1717. On 19 October two Eskimos were sighted by the watch at Phelypeaux Bay post, and the men were immediately called to arms. Cognizant that they could not surprise the fort and were too poorly armed to take it by storm, the Eskimos within a few days disappeared from Isle au Bois.³³

However, one of Constantin's posts, being smaller and not as well manned as Phelypeaux Bay, did not fare as well. On the morning of 16 October, a band of Eskimos appeared before it requesting to trade. We are not told which post. The master of the house, who is not identified, sent his brother and two men, all armed, to treat with the Eskimos, who immediately cut off their path back to the post and killed them. The master escaped through the woods. When he returned the following day, he found that the invaders had pillaged and broken all they found, but had not set fire to the post on their departure.³⁴ Brouague later discovered that the Eskimos had also burned all the fishing utensils left by the vessels in the various harbours in the vicinity of Phelypeaux Bay, including La Forteau, Lance à Loup and Saint-Modet.³⁵

Two years later, in the autumn of 1720, the post was re-established by Constantin, and four men wintered there.³⁶ It is not certain whether it was at Baye Rouge or near Rivière des François. The evidence points to Baye Rouge. Mr. de Rouvé, a navigator who spent 13 months in 1715-16 at both Baye Rouge and Rivière des François, testified at an investigation in the late 1730s that two of his brothers had

been murdered at Baye Rouge.³⁷ However, it must be noted that he gave this information in support of Constantin's claim to the island of Grand Saint-Modet. Louis Dolbec claimed during the same inquiry that he was resident in 1722 and 1723 at Rivière des François.³⁸ Constantin, however, in a complaint to the crown in August 1724, mentioned Baye Rouge as being in operation but not Rivière des François.³⁹ Though Dolbec's evidence and Constantin's complaint are not compatible, it may be concluded that Baye Rouge was the establishment attacked. It was restored in 1720, may not have been in operation in 1722-23, but definitely was in 1723-24. Of Rivière des François, the only thing which is certain is that it was not in operation in 1723-24.

In 1724, Constantin's partners, the Sieurs Desferrière and Renaud of St. Malo, withdrew their financial support, and it is probable that Constantin subsequently closed Baye Rouge post and remained inactive in the Labrador trade for eight years.⁴⁰ Joseph la Pommeraye, a navigator who visited the site of Baye Rouge in 1733, saw "trois ou quatre Cabanaux anciens et une manière de fort dont une partie des pieux manquent."⁴¹

On 28 July 1719, a fire, which started in the room of a house occupied by Brouague's mother and sisters, destroyed Phelypeaux Bay post and most of the provisions and ammunition. As a result, Madame Courtemanche and her three daughters returned to France. Brouague built a little house for himself and the 14 men retained in the event that the Eskimos returned to pillage the fishing equipment left in the harbours or make peace.⁴²

The men would not venture out more than a few leagues. When a party of Eskimos was sighted on 17 October 1720 at Isle au Bois, Brouague ordered that a cannon should be fired throughout the night, demonstrating that he could not be taken by surprise.⁴³ The following day, the Eskimos

pillaged the pinnances they found unattended about 12 leagues distant from Phelypeaux Bay.⁴⁴ There were at the time 17 fishing vessels along the coast.

The Eskimos continued their ravages the following year, destroying after the departure of the fishing vessels all the property left in the various harbours.⁴⁵ They did not appear in force before Phelypeaux Bay post. There is no further record of Eskimo activity until the end of September 1728, when they appeared at Isle au Bois, intending to pillage the pinnances left in Phelypeaux Bay. Brouague despatched 12 armed men in a pinnance. They were met by a discharge of arrows and replied with a volley of musket fire, killing a few of their adversaries. However, as the Eskimos numbered between three and four hundred, the Frenchmen could not drive them off, and they retreated to the post, leaving one man dead. The same day, all the equipment left unattended in the harbours adjacent to Phelypeaux Bay was pillaged.⁴⁶

Two families of these Eskimos, who later wintered at Mécantina, were "destroyed" by the French and Indians who usually wintered there. An Eskimo man and a boy were captured and sent to Canada.⁴⁷ The Eskimos continued their ravages in the autumn of 1729.⁴⁸

In the C11A series in the Public Archives of Canada, there are lists of vessels fishing along the coast in the vicinity of Phelypeaux Bay until 1743. The places where the fisheries were conducted were Ile au Bois, Blanc-Sablon, La Fort, Lance à Loup, Isle des Cartilliaux (Carculeau), Isle des Marmettes, and Saint-Modet.⁴⁹

Constantin, in 1732, founded a new post northeast of Rivière des François, near or on the old site. Joseph la Pommeraye, who was hired with Sieur Rotot to man it, saw, on his approach in 1833, "deux Cabannes nouvellement faites par les hyvernants des Srs. Rotot."⁵⁰ It was in operation in

1751, when it was given, on Constantin's death, to Jacques-Michel Bréard, the controller of the Navy in Canada, for a period of nine years.⁵¹ Two years later, the crown granted it to Gilles Hocquart, the retiring intendant, for an unspecified period of time.⁵² It may have been closed by 1762.⁵³

François Foucault and Nicolas-Gaspard Boucault of Quebec, with the encouragement of the governor general, in May 1733 equipped a vessel under the command of Sieur Chéron and sent him to discover a suitable location for seal fishing along the Labrador coast which had not been conceded by the crown. He was given 17 men. On the island of Grand Saint-Modet, three-quarters of a league from Rivière des François, he conducted a seal fishery. He returned to Quebec in August 1734 with only "50 Barriques d'huile et quelque pelleties." Despite the loss of 1,450 livres in the venture, the two Quebec merchants petitioned the crown for the concession of the island.⁵⁴ La Vallée Constantin challenged it, claiming that Grand Saint-Modet was within his concession of 31 March 1716. Nevertheless, on 27 April 1735, it was granted to Foucault and Boucault, who operated a post there in 1735 and 1736.⁵⁵

Constantin pressed his appeal, arguing that his first establishment had been one-half league from Rivière des François and that Grand Saint-Modet was within two leagues of it. The two Quebec merchants countered that his first settlement had been at Baye Rouge, more than two leagues away from Grand Saint-Modet. In 1737, the concession was under review by the government in Quebec, and apparently the post was not operated that year.⁵⁶ In a judgement handed down in September 1738, Charles de la Boische de Beauharnois and Gilles Hocquart ruled that as it appeared that Constantin had resided in 1715-16 at Baye Rouge rather than near Rivière des François, Grand Saint-Modet was not within his

concession, and therefore the 1735 concession to the two Quebec merchants was valid.⁵⁷ Despite this ruling, Constantin succeeded in having the investigation continued,⁵⁸ and presented enough evidence in his favour⁵⁹ to have the decision reversed on 28 September 1740, when he was given possession of Grand Saint-Modet. There is no evidence whether Foucault and Boucault operated the post between 1738 and 1740. It was in operation in 1753, two years after Constantin's death, when it was conceded to the former intendant, Hocquart Gilles.⁶⁰ Upon being granted the post of Great Mecantina in 1754, Hocquart offered to cede and in 1756 did cede Grand Saint-Modet to M. Tachet; Tachet had claimed that Great Mecantina belonged to his seigneurie, the seigneurie of Mingan. Tachet subsequently leased Grand Saint-Modet to M. Volant de Hautebourg (probably Jean-Louis Volant d'Hautebourg) for 900 livres per annum. It remained in Tachet's possession until Governor Palliser of Newfoundland ordered in 1765 that all French Canadians should leave their settlements in Labrador.⁶¹

Great Mecantina was originally granted as part of Mingan seigneurie, but as the owners declined to exploit it, Intendant Hocquart, in 1739, granted it for a term of nine years to a M. Pomereau. It produced 75 seal skins its first year. Three years after the lease was granted, Pomereau died, and his widow maintained the concession until 1751, the last three years without a lease under Hocquart's protection.

On Hocquart's return to France in 1751, the proprietors of Mingan seigneurie forced the widow to withdraw from the post, with the intention of operating it themselves. However, the new intendant, François Bigot, would not permit them to take possession of it without orders from France and for two years it remained unoccupied. In 1753, it was granted to the former intendant, Hocquart, for life, in

recognition of his service to the crown, on the same terms granted to Pomereau. In return, Hocquart ceded the post of Saint-Modet, recently given to him by the king, to the proprietor of Mingan, Tachet. Hocquart retained Mecantina until the English conquest, though he leased it to Tachet for 7,000 or 8,000 livres.⁶²

The crown, in October 1736, granted to Louis Bazil, a merchant of Quebec, Chateau Bay for a period of nine years.⁶³ Unable to raise sufficient capital for a sealing post, Bazil leased the bay to Jean-Louis Fornel, who probably commenced operations the following year. In 1741, Fornel began a trade with the Eskimos in seal oil.⁶⁴

Yet not all the Eskimos along the coast were inclined toward trading. In 1735, Antoine Marsal received Cape Charles for nine years, and founded a post "between the islands and the mainlands"⁶⁵ of Cape Charles before 1741. In the latter year, Marsal's men imprudently fired upon some Eskimos, trying to force their withdrawal from an island on which they were encamped. The Eskimos returned in the spring of 1742, and in reprisal burned and pillaged the French post, killing two of the three residents.⁶⁶ Although Marsal's lease was renewed and his territory was enlarged to compensate for his losses, his financial resources were inadequate to operate the station. Consequently, in 1750 the lease was given to Captain de Baune, but he does not seem to have exploited the concession. On Marsal's return from France in 1754, de Baune's lease was cancelled, and Marsal was given a new lease for nine years. Marsal reopened the post, making considerable expenditures. After his death, it was granted for five years to his creditors, as compensation for his outstanding debts.⁶⁷ In 1763, a four year lease was given by Governor Murray to William Brymer.

Having established himself at Baye des Chateaux and begun a trade with the Eskimos, Fornel, in 1739, applied for a concession in Esquimaux Bay⁶⁸ (Hamilton Inlet). Because the crown would not grant it before he had presented proof of his having explored the bay, Fornel set out in May 1743 from Quebec, and arrived in Esquimaux Bay, which he named Baie Saint-Louis, on 10 July 1743.⁶⁹ He left a man named Pilotte and his son to remain with some King's Posts Indians, who had come with them.⁷⁰ Pilotte erected "on the river, forty leagues in the upper portion of the baie St. Louis," a wintering post. The ensuing year, Fornel again despatched the vessel to Esquimaux Bay. The ship failed to reach its objective, and Pilotte and his son returned by an overland route as far as Mecantina, carrying the martens they had caught but leaving behind their beaver pelts.⁷¹ It cannot be determined whether the post was reoccupied; we do know, however, that Fornel's widow in 1750 supplied by sea a post, manned by four engagés, in Esquimaux Bay. The ship returned with about 400 marten pelts trapped by the men.⁷²

On learning that Fornel had been given permission to explore Esquimaux Bay in 1743, François-Etienne Cugnet, the director of the King's Posts, appealed to the government not to permit Fornel to found a settlement there; Cugnet argued that it would be used to draw the Indians away from the domaine and the establishments in Labrador.⁷³ In 1744, Cugnet and his partner Estèbe applied for the concession of Esquimaux Bay and renewed their application in 1746, claiming that the King's Posts were now showing a deficit and only the additional revenue from Esquimaux Bay could save them from ruin.⁷⁴ Cugnet applied again in 1748 and 1749. Nevertheless, the Widow Fornel and Company received the concession in 1749, and operated it probably until the middle of the 1750s, when the war with England forced the suspension of activities.⁷⁵

In his Labrador Journal, George Cartwright relates that William Phippard, who was returning in 1779 from his wintering post in Esquimaux Bay, related to him that he had seen "the ruins of the three French settlements," but did not indicate their locations.⁷⁶ One, we learn from Cugnet's memorandum, was on North West River, 40 leagues inside Esquimaux Bay, perhaps near the Hudson's Bay Company post of North West River. The locations of the other two are a mystery. White believes one to have been near Rigolet;⁷⁷ there is, however, no evidence supporting this assumption.

In the C11A series there is an unsigned and undated memorandum on the trading posts in New France which was probably written in the early 1750s. The following are its comments on the establishments in Labrador and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.⁷⁸

Le Cap Charles

Poste à l'entrée du Détroit de Belle Isle, Côté du Nord, peut produire de cent cinquante à trois cents barriques d'huile de loup marin et de 4900 à 2900 peaux, quinze hommes suffisent à l'exploitation de ce Lot. La pesche s'y fait en hiver depuis le quinzième Novembre jusqu'au six Janvier.

La baye des Châteaux

Dans le Détroit de Belle Isle, Côté du Nord, donne à peu près le même produit que le précédent, la pesche s'y fait le même temps avec quinze hommes.

L'Modet et la Baye Rouge

Ont produit Six cent barils d'huile et 4800 peaux, peuvent donner annuellement deux à trois cent barriques, il faut pour exploiter ce poste vingt cinq hommes, la pêche s'y fait aussy l'hyver.

L'ance à Loup et la Forteau

Ce Poste exploité avec douze hommes produit deux cent à deux cinquante briques et 2900 peaux, la pêche s'y fait l'hyver comme cy dessus et le printemps du vingt Juin au six Julliet.

La Brador ou la Baye Phelipeau

S'exploite avec cinquante hommes, la pêche s'y fait du vingt Juin au dix Jullet il peut produire quatre à cinq cents bariques et quatre à cinq mille peaux.

Chicata

Peut produire quatre vingts à cent bariques d'huile et six à huit cents peaux, dix hommes en font l'explotation, la pêche s'y fait du quinze Novembre au six Janvier.

La Rivière St Augustin

Exploité avec deux hommes peut produire de cinquante à quatre vingts bariques et quatre à six cents peaux, le temps de la pêche est le même que pour le poste précédent.

Gros Mekatima

Exploité avec vingt cinq hommes peut produire de quatre à six cents bariques et de 3200 à 4800 peaux, la pêche s'y fait comme dessus.

Montagamis

Peut produire quatre vingts à cent bariques et six cent quarante à huit cents peaux, la pêche s'y fait avec dix hommes en Décembre et Janvier. La pêche des postes cy dessus se fait avec des rêts tendus à flots, il se tue peu de loups marins.

The Early English Period

Soon after the fall of Quebec, several British traders, furnished with goods principally from Great Britain, settled in the city and requested General Murray's permission to operate the French stations along the Labrador coast. Murray, believing that the sealing industry would make substantial returns, leased Great Mecatina, after the expiration of the French lease in 1762, to John Gray for seven years. As was the custom during the French period, Grey was required to purchase the houses and fishing utensils remaining at Mecatina. Because of "the long disuse of that branch of Trade, the houses were in great disrepair and the utensils damaged so that the valuation came to no high a sum."⁷⁹

Murray, in April 1763, also granted William Brymer and Daniel Bayne Cape Charles for four years. William Lead, a Scotsman from Quebec, was selected to supervise the operation. The winterers were French Canadians, the only people familiar with winter sealing in Labrador. By the autumn, dwelling huts and storerooms had been erected on Charles River.⁸⁰ Another grant, the post of Forteau, was given for four years to a Canadian, Captain Philibot.⁸¹

By 1765, at least 12 other posts were in operation along the Labrador coast. They were, with their three year average produce and number of men employed: Ramane [Romaine], 10 men, 80 hogsheads, 640 seal skins; Nontagamious, 8 men, 100 hogsheads, of seal oil and 640 seal skins; Memicoute, 8 men, 80 hogsheads, 800 seal skins; Great Mecatina, 18 men, 400 hogsheads, 3200 seal skins; St. Augustine, 10 men, 100 hogsheads, 800 seal skins; Chihatata, 8 men, 100 hogsheads and 800 seal skins; Belles Amours, 8 men, 100 hogsheads, 800 seal skins; Wolf Bay, 10 men, 100 hogsheads and 800 seal skins; St. Modest, 8 men, 100 hogsheads, and 800 seal skins; Chateau Bay (Baye des Chateaux), 8 men, 80 hogsheads and 640

skins. Bradore Bay and Mingan, considered by the British to be within Labrador, were also active.

Joseph Isbister was granted Mingan, and invested a "Considerable Sum" in the Indian trade. This proved to be imprudent, because "every vessel with a little rum" could acquire furs from the Indians. Bradore Bay, employing up to 60 men for the seal fishery during the French period, was in a period of decline, although a large amount of money was still invested in it. The whalers frequenting it in the 1760s often set fire to the brush on the islands in the middle of the bay and turned adrift whale carcasses, preventing the seals from entering the bay. Nontagamious was "an Excellent hunting Post and much frequented by savages or Indians till lately." Great Mecatina was "The most sure Post upon the Coast Granted by General Murray." Chihatata was considered "a very good Post, but never been fitted out thoroughly since the Conquest of Canada." Belles Amours was a "Small Post" usually maintained by the winterers at Bradore Bay. At Wolf Bay and Chateau Bay, there was "Good Hunting" besides the seal fishery.⁸²

After the conquest of Canada, vessels from the English colonies began frequenting the coast of Labrador in increasing numbers. Some came to plunder and murder rather than to trade. In 1763, the crew of a brig named the Decoy, sailing from New York, after trading with a large band of "Indians" along the Labrador coast, suddenly fell upon them, killing "about Eleven" and capturing seven. Fearing the discovery of their deed, they threw the prisoners overboard before they reached home port. The following year, the crew of a vessel from Boston or Marblehead plundered and murdered the inhabitants they encountered along the coast and took five prisoners. The English colonists also set fire to the woods along the coast to discourage fisheries. The natives of Labrador were also preyed upon by the winterers in Newfound-

land, who had a reputation of seeking their "Pleasure and diversion" in hunting and killing Indians.⁸³ The Eskimos retaliated against the innocent British fishermen. In the summer of 1764, 200 of them descended upon the fishermen at Chateau Bay, frightening them away. The Eskimos then went to trade with the French at Quirpon, in northern Newfoundland.⁸⁴

The Peace of 1763 gave Great Britain possession of Labrador. The French retained the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and were granted the right to dry fish on the northern shore of Newfoundland. This placed them in a position to renew their trade with the natives of Labrador. British government concluded that this trade could best be prevented by placing Labrador under the administration of the governor of Newfoundland. In October 1763, a royal proclamation was issued announcing that Labrador, extending from Rivière Saint-Jean, would be placed under the administration of Thomas Graves, the governor of Newfoundland, so that an open and unrestricted fishery could be ensured. This, in effect, extended to Labrador the Newfoundland Act of 1699, designed to encourage fisheries from Great Britain and discourage settlement. The Proclamation of 1763 threatened to undermine the legality of Murray's grants and Brymer and 17 Quebec merchants petitioned Murray to represent to the crown the necessity of retaining permanent settlements to ensure the success of the sealing industry.⁸⁵

Graves was succeeded as governor in 1764 by Captain Hugh Palliser. Palliser did not receive "particular Instructions" on the rules to be applied to Labrador, but he concluded that it had been annexed to Newfoundland because the British

government desired that it should be governed on the same principles as Newfoundland, "that is, to be a British not an American Fishery."⁸⁶ He visited Chateau Bay in August 1764, weighed throughout the winter the information he had obtained, and in April 1765 issued his first regulation. It stipulated that all the property in Labrador was vested in the crown and since the conquest "no part of it has been lawfully given or granted away."⁸⁷ It is not certain whether Palliser, at the time he issued it, intended to invalidate Murray's grants, but within a short time after his arrival in Chateau Bay in August 1765, he became convinced that residents of the colonies had to be totally excluded. A French ship which foundered near Chateau Bay was found to be carrying between 50 and 60 tons of wine.⁸⁸ Palliser concluded that the Quebec merchants along the Labrador coast were conducting a clandestine trade with the French in both America and France "for supplying all Canada with French goods."⁸⁹ For the profit of these scheming merchants, the other subjects of the king were precluded from exploiting the fisheries. The exclusion of the New Englanders and other American colonists would also protect the natives from "rapine and plunder of Lawless Crews from the Plantations mix'd with French."⁹⁰ If the fisheries were opened to all fishermen from Great Britain, Labrador would serve as a nursery to train sailors for the navy, giving Great Britain a ready supply of seamen in times of war.⁹¹

In August, Palliser, sent Lieutenant Waters, with his own ship, the Guernsey, to investigate whether the station at Cape Charles was conducted by a British merchant or was a clandestine French operation. Waters, finding at the post a French Canadian with Lead and a substantial amount of French goods including guns, arrested the two men and brought them before Palliser at Pitts Harbour, in Chateau Bay. Palliser, after questioning them, ruled that Murray's grant could not

be allowed, and ordered them to leave Labrador. Cape Charles was given by Palliser to Captain Nicholas Darby of Bristol, who was in partnership with Michael Miller, also of Bristol.⁹²

On 28 August, Palliser issued a regulation stating that the establishments erected on the Labrador coast remained the property of the individual only so long as he operated "them from year to year successively with Fishing Ships arriving yearly from Britain." The regulation further stipulated that only the first ship arriving in a principal harbour could winter there, and only 12 of her crew. The second ship would have the exclusive right to all the salmon fisheries in that harbour; and only the first three ships could trade with the natives. Whale fishermen from the colonies were permitted in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.⁹³

Palliser planned to construct a blockhouse the following summer at Pitts Harbour in Chateau Bay to protect the fisheries and enforce his regulations. It was not completed before the summer of 1767. Called York Fort, it was garrisoned with 20 seamen and marines from the ships under the command of the governor of Newfoundland. The garrison was relieved annually. Its want of strength and location rendered it incapable of repulsing an attack of a European warship.⁹⁴

The merchants of Quebec protested to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations that Palliser's actions were illegal because the inhabitants of Canada, upon the conquest, had been guaranteed the retention of their property.⁹⁵ Palliser countered that the French had never possessed Labrador and it was not ceded as part of Canada.⁹⁶ Brymer and Bayne petitioned the crown for compensation for the loss of their property, and when the government failed to act, they placed the matter before the courts. Finally, in February 1770, they received £600.⁹⁷ It is not known

whether Grey, who had invested £3,000 in his concession,⁹⁸ Captain Philbot or any of the other merchants were compensated.

Palliser recognized that the fisheries could not be expanded up the coast until the Eskimos were pacified. Peace would also result in a profitable Eskimo trade. Fortunately, the Moravians were at this time seeking to extend their missionary activities to Labrador. The Moravians had established a mission among the Greenland Eskimos as early as 1733. An expedition fitted out in 1752 in London had resided for a short time on the coast of Labrador. It left after the disappearance of the ship's trading party, suspected of being murdered by the Eskimos. Jens Haven, a Danish carpenter, reanimated the Moravian interest in Labrador. Palliser, believing that the Moravians might be able to conciliate the Eskimos and impress upon them the British government's desire for friendly relations, aided Haven in the summer of 1764 to establish contact with a party of Eskimos in northern Newfoundland. Palliser recommended to the Board of Trade that Haven's report should be carefully examined. The need for British contact with the Eskimos was underlined by the appearance of 200 belligerent Eskimos at Chateau Bay in August 1764.

The Moravians, early in 1765, applied to the Board of Trade for a land grant for missions on the Labrador coast. The Board of Trade hesitated before acting, but did sponsor a Moravian exploratory voyage to the coast in the summer of 1765. Haven and three other Moravians set up their base of operations at Pitts Harbour. Three hundred Eskimos were sighted north of Chateau Bay by one of the missionaries and were brought to Pitts Harbour, where they were welcomed by Palliser, who expatiated upon his country's desire for friendly relations and trade. A trade was then conducted by the merchants.⁹⁹

In 1766, the Moravians, with Palliser's support, again requested a land grant. The matter assumed greater importance because of the deteriorating relations with the Eskimos. Two or three hundred whaling boats from the American colonies were on the Labrador coast in August 1766. Many of these Americans were unscrupulous adventurers, trading with the French and plundering and murdering the Eskimos. In reprisal some Eskimos, in November 1767, attacked Captain Darby's station at Cape Charles, killing three men and forcing the others to flee. After the attack, a punitive expedition was dispatched from York Fort. The British force came upon a group of Eskimos involved in the Cape Charles attack, killed 20 of them and captured nine women and children. For a few years afterward, no Englishman ventured more than a few miles beyond York Fort.

The Moravians received a land grant in the spring of 1769. In August of that year, they chose a site for a mission house in Esquimaux Bay, and then returned to Europe. While in the bay, they preached and traded with the Eskimos. Fourteen Moravians returned the following August and erected the mission, called Nain, which was protected by stockades. A second mission was founded in 1776 at Okak, and in 1782, a third at Hopedale. Soon after establishing themselves at Nain, the Moravians succeeded in impressing upon the Eskimos the British government's desire for peace and trade.¹⁰⁰ The British merchants, less fearful of the Eskimos, after 1770 began to extend their operations beyond York Harbour.

Before the Eskimo attack on his station at Chateau Bay, Captain Darby was the most substantial British merchant in Labrador. In 1765, he prosecuted the seal, cod and salmon fisheries with 150 men and the following year he expanded his undertaking to include 180 men and an outfit valued above £8,000. The Eskimos, after killing three of his men in 1767 at Charles River, destroyed his boats, houses and

equipment, a loss in property of almost £4,000. The partnership with Michael Miller was dissolved. Being "totally reduced in his circumstance," he suspended his activities in 1768.

Darby, aided by his friends, in 1769 outfitted a small party, and reaching Forteau Bay before any other merchant, he was permitted to winter and prosecute the seal fishery. Having found in the past that servants from Great Britain had an inadequate knowledge of winter seal fishing techniques, he engaged three Canadians on shares. On 11 August 1770, Lieutenant Samuel Davis, the commander of York Fort, appeared with 12 marines at Forteau Bay and confiscated Darby's seal oil, seal skins and some boats and fishing equipment. Davis gave no reason for his action. When he returned to London, Darby was informed that his seal oil had been "condemned" "for being taken...by subjects of France." Davis shrewdly purchased the oil at £13 a ton, £3 less than the real value, and by declaring that it had been obtained by British subjects, imported it duty free into Great Britain.¹⁰¹

Before 1770, only the partnership of Noble and Pinson, besides Captain Darby, ventured to settle on the Labrador coast from year to year. John Noble was a merchant of Bristol and Andrew Pinson of Dartmouth. Pinson seems to have been engaged before 1763 in the Newfoundland fisheries, conducting his business from Conch. Some time after 1763, he and his partner Noble established a fishery at Temple Bay, three miles into Chateau Bay. The murder of Darby's men deterred them from extending their operations before 1770 beyond Bad Bay, about a mile from York Fort. At first, they sent their fish to be dried in Newfoundland and seem to have had only a few winters to exploit the seal fishery. At the end of the decade, they began to dry their fish in Labrador, cleared a large tract of land in Temple Bay and at a "great

expense" built "certain Stages, Flakes, Houses, and other Fishing Works necessary for carrying on a very extensive Cod Fishery." By 1772, Noble and Pinson employed 150 men. They also extended their seal fishing activities to the Seal Islands, near Cape Charles. The establishment at Temple Bay was supervised by a Mr. Hewet, and his men were predominantly Irish.¹⁰²

There are but few records of other seal-fishing activities in Labrador before 1770. In 1767, two merchants, Brush and Goodfellow, applied for the right of conducting a seal hunt at Great Mecatina. Palliser ruled that Goodfellow had reached the post first, and awarded him the right to occupy any post except St. Augustine;¹⁰³ Brush was permitted to occupy one east of St. Augustine.¹⁰⁴

A company of merchants of the Isle of Jersey in 1767 fitted out a vessel with about 50 men for the coast of Labrador. Their undertaking was not attended with success and in 1769 they were forced to abandon "their posts and Buildings for the cod Fishery;" the posts, however, are not enumerated. In 1773, these merchants formed a partnership with Captain Darby, outfitted two sealing vessels and occupied three sealing posts, Lance au Loup, Lance au Morts, and Carrolls Cove.¹⁰⁵

The seal fishing industry languished in the early 1770s. There were so few British merchants prosecuting it that many of the best sites were occupied by Canadians, with the consent of the governor of Newfoundland, on the understanding that they would relinquish their site to any British fishing ship on request.¹⁰⁶ Palliser's regulations discouraged the investment of money in the industry. The principal fishery was conducted in September, requiring the crew to winter until the following spring, when a second fishery was conducted. It was estimated that a merchant outfitting a sealing ship at Quebec invested in his first year about £2,000

for fishing implements, vessels, boats, provisions and buildings for an average hunt of 2,000 seals, worth about £1,050. A ship fitted out in Great Britain was more expensive. The men working either on shares or wages, would receive about one-third of the produce to offset his losses, the merchant had to return the following year or sell his fishing implements. But he had to be first in the harbour to retain his seal fishery, and this uncertainty discouraged many from returning.¹⁰⁷

Another impediment to the fishery's development was harassment by the American whalers. They came out in the spring during the northern migration of the seals. To discourage seal fisheries, they often fired upon bands of seals entering sealing posts, "on purpose to turn them from the nets of him who has been at a great expence in providing the necessaries for a seal fishery." They also inhibited the growth of the cod fishery, which the British merchants combined with seal fishing, by throwing whale heads and "garbage" upon the cod fishing ground, ruining the latter part of the fishery.¹⁰⁸

The most frequented sealing sites in the early 1770s were Isle Bois, Blanc Sablon, Forteau, L'Ance à Loup, St. Modeste and Red Bay. Forteau had "every convenience, abundance of Cod, a sealing post and an excellent Salmon River." At L'Ance à Loup "8 or 10,000 Quintals of Cod have been manufactured there in a season, and here is an exceeding good sealpost and a river for Salmon." St. Modeste was "charmingly situated for drying fish, is a good post for seal, and has a large River." As for Red Bay, "no place has better convenience for a cod fishery. Here is a Sealpost and a good River very near it."¹⁰⁹

George Cartwright in Labrador

George Cartwright, whose career on the Labrador coast spanned a decade and a half, made his first venture in 1770, after retiring from the British army on half pay. He entered into partnership with Perkins and Coghlan, merchants of Bristol, and Lieutenant Lucas of the Royal Navy. Two schooners were purchased, one of 80 tons and the other of 50. Lucas commanded the larger of the two.¹¹⁰

Cartwright's first settlement was Captain Darby's residence on Charles River, which he renamed Ranger Lodge. He found Darby's "old house in such good condition, that it might easily be made proof against the weather, by chinsing between the studs with moss, and giving it an additional covering. There were also the ruins of a servant's house, a work-shop, and fishing stage."¹¹¹ He also "fix'd a Sealing crew at Seal-island Cape Charles," where he killed 600 seals the first year.¹¹² The new dwelling house which he constructed at Ranger Lodge was

thirty-seven feet by fourteen....the south apartment to be the kitchen, the center a dining-room, and the north to be subdivided longitudinally into two bed-rooms; with a loft for goods over the whole. The mason began a chimney in one of the bed-rooms, with the bricks and lime, which I brought out for that purpose.¹¹³

An oven was built "at a little distance from the house."¹¹⁴ One-half mile up Charles River, Cartwright found "an old Canadian house," and he repaired it for an Eskimo family, which had shown willingness to trade. On 15 December, Cartwright relates: "While I was at breakfast, the house was discovered to be in flames. The penthouse, which was constructed over the funnel of the stove, had taken fire, and

communicated it to the roof. Fortunately, however, seven men were home, by whose assistance it was extinguished."¹¹⁵

The ensuing summer (1771), he began a salmon fishery in Charles River, and a cod fishery in Charles Harbour. A thousand seals were killed at the fishery at Cape Charles. He also commenced a relatively profitable trade with the Eskimos,¹¹⁶ especially in oil.

The schooner which Cartwright employed in his Labrador enterprise after the first year there apparently was only one wrecked in the spring of 1772 off Newfoundland. Using the legal pretext that Cartwright did not have a vessel from England on the coast for 1772, Noble and Pinson forcibly took possession of Charles River and the seal fishery. Thus Cartwright was required to found another salmon fishery in Coleroon River, which emptied at the head of St. Lewis Bay, and a sealing post at White Bear Sound.¹¹⁷

In 1773, while Cartwright was in England, Noble and Pinson dispossessed him of his salmon post on Coleroon River and Cartwright's men were obliged to establish a new fishery in Port Marnham. Cartwright appealed to the crown for redress, and was reinstated in Charles River and Coleroon River by the order of the Board of Trade and Plantations,¹¹⁸ but Seal Island remained in his competitor's possession. Noble and Pinson the same year retained their possessions, except Seal-Island Chateau which was "taken" from them by a Mr. Slade, and they established another sealing post in Lance Cove.¹¹⁹

In September 1772, Ranger Lodge took fire, and as Cartwright had only a boy to aid him, his residence, the servants' house and salmon house were destroyed, a loss he estimated to be £750. The post was immediately rebuilt by Cartwright, who was about to leave for England with some Eskimos.¹²⁰

As a result of petitions by Cartwright and Noble and Pinson, the crown, in 1773, issued a proclamation confirming the merchants in their possessions in Labrador, provided that they each annually fitted out at least one ship from Great Britain for the cod fishery. The final clause in the proclamation instructed the governor to limit the size of the holding "in proportion to the number of vessels and Men employed at the Said Posts."¹²¹ The regulation did much to resuscitate the declining seal fisheries. According to Cartwright, there were three or four seal-fishing posts in 1772; by 1777, they had increased to 15.¹²² There were also 18 salmon fisheries in 1777; salmon fishing was found to be more lucrative than cod fishing. The Quebec Act of 1774 transferred Labrador to the Province of Quebec, and it remained part of Canada for 35 years. There was still occasional violence along the coast, because the government of Quebec was too far removed to enforce the crown's regulation.¹²³

In the Hardwicke papers, there is an undated memorandum listing the sealing posts in operation. The memorandum was probably written in the mid-1770s.¹²⁴

	Hogsheads* per year
Cape Charles	150
Baye de Chateau	100
Great St. Modet	200
La Forteau	150
Ance St. Claire	150
Labradore	400
Chicatata	100
St. Augustine	100
Great Mekatina	400
Nontagamio	100 private property

Oraman	40 private property
Point aux Ance in Newfoundland	<u>80</u>
	1970

*Seal Oil

A similar memorandum in the Dartmouth papers dated 12 December 1774, gives the following list of sealing posts. Those having an X beside them had been established since the previous spring.¹²⁵

NAMES	by WHOM OCCUPIED	IN OR NEAR WHAT HARBOUR OR BAY
Lance Cove	Noble and Pinson	Temple Bay
Antilope		
Tickel	Noble and Pinson	Chateau
Seal Island	Noble and Pinson	Chateau
Bad Bay	Slade	Chateau
Cow-Horse		
Ticle	Slade	X Niger Sound
Little Tickle	Hooper	X Cape Charles
Seel Island	Noble and Pinson	Cape Charles
White Bear	Cartwright and	
Sound	Scotts	Charles Harbour
Enterprise	Cartwright and	
Tickle	Scotts	X Charles Harbour
Fox Harbour	Noble and Pinson	X St. Lewis's Bay
Spear Harbour	Coughlan	X Point Spear

In 1773, Cartwright dissolved his partnership with Perkins and Coughlan, and purchased a brigantine of 140 tons for his Labrador enterprise.¹²⁶ He entered into partnership the ensuing year with Captain Robert Scott and one of his brothers. Another vessel was purchased but was wrecked, and it was replaced with a vessel of 160 tons.¹²⁷

While Cartwright was in England during the winter of 1773-74, Noble and Pinson took possession of his salmon

fishery in Mary Harbour. The surgeon, whom Cartwright had left in charge in Labrador, showed little talent, and the returns from the spring seal fishery were poor.¹²⁸

On his return from England in the summer of 1774, (Cartwright's third voyage), Cartwright moved his residence to "Stage Cove, on the point of land on the north side of White Bear Bay." There he built a house "Seventy feet by twenty-five," containing "a kitchen twenty-four feet square, a dining room twenty-four by sixteen, six bedrooms and a small passage, being only a ground floor; which I preferred, for fear of fire."¹²⁹ Meanwhile, he extended his operations into Sandwich Bay. The men he sent there built their house on East River, but were forced at the end of May, after eating their dogs and part of the furs they had trapped, to evacuate their post, leaving behind the furs they had not consumed.¹³⁰ Cartwright learned about this misfortune on a visit in June, 1775. He retained the establishment, naming it Paradise,¹³¹ and subsequently used it principally for salmon fishing.¹³² A fisherman's house was constructed, a room being partitioned off for salt.¹³³

In addition, Cartwright founded a post in Cartwright Harbour, making it his headquarters while residing in Sandwich Bay.¹³⁴ He passed the winter of 1775-76 there, trapping marten and fox and hunting bear and wolf. Paradise was also occupied that winter, though the men again fared badly, living for a time during the spring only on bread and water; but they did obtain a respectable quantity of furs.¹³⁵ Cartwright returned to Charles Harbour in September 1776, whence he sailed to England. He was again at Cartwright Harbour in June 1777.¹³⁶ During the summer, a cod fishery was conducted at Great Island near Blackguard Bay, and a "stage" was built there.¹³⁷

In 1775, Cartwright removed his cod fishery in Charles Harbour to Great Cariboo Island.¹³⁸ Another salmon fishery

was conducted the ensuing year at White Bear River, in Sandwich Bay. The seal fishery at Cartwright Harbour, having been a disappointment, was removed to Eagle Cove. In 1777, he established another salmon fishery on Eagle River in Sandwich Bay, a cod fishery on Great Island and a seal fishery in Sutton Bay, four leagues north of Sandwich Bay.¹³⁹

Early in the morning of 27 August 1778, Cartwright, residing at Cartwright Harbour, was awakened by armed men from the Minerva, a privateer from Boston commanded by John Grimes¹⁴⁰ and manned principally by Englishmen and Irishmen.¹⁴¹ Grimes took most of Cartwright's possessions stored in Cariboo Castle, and left him only a small quantity of provisions.¹⁴² Previously, Grimes had plundered Cartwright's possessions at Charles Harbour and Ranger Lodge, and had seized vessels in Charles Harbour belonging to both Mr. Slade, who apparently had been established at Seal Island since 1772, and Mr. Seydes.¹⁴³ Cartwright's losses, amounting to upwards of £1,500, left him in financial difficulties from which he never recovered.¹⁴⁴ Noble and Pinson's property in Temple Bay was also plundered.¹⁴⁵

After the raid on Cartwright Harbour, Cartwright sent William Phippard with four hands to winter at Sandwich Bay and Joseph Tero, to winter alone on White Bear River.¹⁴⁶ Tero established his house 35 miles from Cartwright Harbour.¹⁴⁷ Phippard had a relatively small hunt.¹⁴⁸ In 1779, a new salmon house, 90 feet by 20, was built at Paradise.¹⁴⁹

Cartwright returned to England in 1779, and finding that he was facing bankruptcy, resolved upon exploring for minerals in Labrador. He returned to Ranger Lodge, which had been deserted for at least a year. It now consisted of "a dwelling-house and store house in one, sixty feet by twenty five, and two stories high; a house for the servants, thirty feet by seventeen; three salmon-houses, ninety feet

by twenty each; and a smith's shop, sixteen feet by twelve." There was also a garden.¹⁵⁰ Cartwright found no ore, and also learned that his men at Paradise and Cartwright Harbour had had poor hunts.¹⁵¹

Cartwright, in 1780, abandoned his cod fishery on Great Island and started another on Square Island, where he thought he would be more secure against privateers. He abandoned all his seal fisheries and established one in Fishery Ships Harbour.¹⁵² In 1783, he opened another sealing post on Indian Island.¹⁵³

In 1781, a vessel belonging to Cartwright was wrecked, and the following year his schooner was captured by an American privateer on her return from Newfoundland. In 1784, Cartwright, having incurred a debt of £7,000, filed for bankruptcy. Nevertheless, desiring to pay off his creditors, he re-entered the Labrador trade in 1785 on a small scale with a new partner, Robert Collingham, who had been in his service for nine years.¹⁵⁴ He selected as his residence, in August 1785, the post at Isthmus Bay, where he had wintered in 1778 after having been plundered by Grimes. His creditors, meanwhile, had sold his posts and property in Labrador to Noble and Pinson, and their representative, William Dier, wintered at Paradise, and appropriated all the property there belonging to both Cartwright and Collingwood, though Collingwood's was soon restored. The establishment at Isthmus Bay was not a success and the following year Cartwright, now old and incapable of withstanding the rigours of another Labrador winter, retired from the trade.¹⁵⁵ In 1785, Noble and Pinson's headquarters were still at Temple Bay, where the business was conducted by William Pinson, a son of one of the partners.

Cartwright wrote that before 1785 only one English party had wintered in Ivucktoke Bay (Esquimaux Bay). It was there in 1777 and 1778 and consisted of four men. In 1785

and 1786, "a Canadian Crew of five hands" wintered there, and in 1786, two Englishmen "in the utmost distress, having neither provisions or goods but subsisting like Indians." Cartwright says in a petition in 1787 to the crown for a concession in Esquimaux Bay, "An old Canadian, who was furring in it two winters, and called at my house in June last, told me that it ran about ten leagues up from the Entrance, had several shoal rivers Emptying into it....Seals and furs are the only things to be expected there."¹⁵⁶

The French Canadian party alluded to by Cartwright probably was commanded by Pierre Marcoux, who was in partnership with Louis Marchand. They were granted a licence to winter in the bay in 1784, without being required to outfit a ship in a British port.¹⁵⁷ Sir Guy Carlton had received instructions, in 1775, that "The real and actual property and possession of Canadian Subjects" on the coast of Labrador "should be preserved intirely,"¹⁵⁸ and these two merchants probably had purchased the rights from the Widow Fornel and Company.

W.H.A. Davies, a Labrador fur trader, in 1842 stated that the first Englishman did not winter in Esquimaux Bay until 1777, and he "found the remains of the old French establishments in many parts." His son was still residing in the bay in 1842. Davies added that in 1785 Canadians from Quebec wintered there, and in the succeeding years establishments were operated "by merchants and others of Quebec."¹⁵⁹

Cartwright, in 1787, requested a concession in Esquimaux Bay which would permit him to recover some of the money he had lost in the Labrador trade. The crown granted his petition, and he was given a concession of one-half mile in depth "from the high water mark all around the Bay," to be maintained so long as he fitted out at least one vessel per

annum in Great Britain for the cod fishery.¹⁶⁰ There is no evidence that he exploited his concession.

In the mid-1790s, the French admiral, Rickery, passed through the unguarded Strait of Belle Isle with a "flying squadron," and inflicted considerable damages upon the fisheries along the coast. Nobel, Pinson and Son burned their provisions and store at L'Anse-au-Loup, thereby preventing them from being used by the enemy. The company suffered a loss of £20,000, but never received compensation from the British government. Subsequently, throughout the war with France, a warship was maintained in the Strait of Belle Isle until the conclusion of the fishing season. Ice choked the strait during the winter, creating a natural barrier against enemy incursions.¹⁶¹

At Sandwich Bay, in 1818, there were "about eight or nine families of British settlers." According to Lieutenant Chappel, this was the northern limit of British fishing interests on the Labrador coast. It was only north of Sandwich Bay that Eskimos could be found. They annually visited Sandwich Bay trading furs, oil and whale bone in return for ammunition, guns and clothing. A trade was also conducted with the Indians at Sandwich Bay.¹⁶²

English families resided throughout the winter on the eastern side of Forteau Bay, and fishermen from Guernsey occupied the other side between spring and autumn. The latter were the more enterprising. They came out as early as possible in the spring, made their cod fisheries and quickly recrossed the Atlantic, usually reaching the Spanish and Portuguese ports before the Englishmen. They thereby received a high price for their fish and incurred the enmity of their competitors, who called them "cheats and swindlers."¹⁶³

At a small inlet called Bear Cove near the southwest extremity of L'Anse-au-Loup Bay, Pinson (presumably Noble,

Pinson and Son) possessed "extensive" cod and seal fisheries. Pinson, in 1818, was "the chief magistrate, and most considerable person upon the whole coast of Labrador."¹⁶⁴ He had a fishery at Sandwich Bay annually producing 200 tierces of salmon.¹⁶⁵

There was a "small fishing settlement" at Cape Charles called Cape Charles Harbour.¹⁶⁶ At Henley Harbour, near Chateau Bay, there were a few small establishments which conducted cod fisheries in the summer. Most of the residents returned to St. John's, Newfoundland, for the winter.¹⁶⁷

The Europeans in Labrador, in the course of the summer, were engaged in the cod fishery, and during the winter, they were occupied "in catching seals, obtaining furs, making casks, building boats, constructing fish-flakes, and in completing everything requisite for carrying on the summer fisheries."¹⁶⁸ A schooner collected duties in the summer.

Jacob Pozer, a merchant of Quebec, possessed "large and extensive premises with fishing and hunting establishments" in Esquimaux Bay for "Fifty years and upwards," until his death in 1823. Claude Dénéchau of the parish of Berthier acted as "Curator to the vacant succession," and it was subsequently purchased by Flavien Dufresne. In March 1828, it was acquired by Jean Oliver Brunet, a merchant of Quebec, and the following February, he sold it to William Lampson, also a merchant of Quebec. Lampson received the "Fishing situations and locations, houses, stores, hangards Boats Chaloupes nets and other fishing apparatus furniture and hunting materials and articles," and also assumed the Indian debts.¹⁶⁹ Pozer's establishments conducted fisheries and traded for furs with the Indians.

Erland Erlandson, on his overland voyage from Fort Chimo to Esquimaux Bay in April 1834, saw two "stations" in the North West River-Esquimaux Bay region, "the principal, on the coast, the other 90 miles up the river." The former was

owned by Nathaniel Jones of Quebec, and the latter by "a Mr. McKenzie,"¹⁷⁰ very likely George McKenzie, a former employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. Jones apparently had purchased his establishment from Lampson in January 1832, and sold it to David Ramsay Stewart in 1835.¹⁷¹ When Lampson and his partner Bullock transferred their lease for the King's Posts to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1831, Lampson concluded a separate agreement with the company, in which the latter engaged not to compete with him in Esquimaux Bay. After Lampson sold his interests in Esquimaux Bay, Governor Simpson no longer considered himself bound by the agreement.¹⁷²

A memorial, sent by the "planters" (residents of Labrador) of Esquimaux Bay in 1835 to the government of Newfoundland, is signed by the following individuals:¹⁷³

Jas Sutton	Planter 37 years on the coast
Chas William	Planter 7 years on the coast
Francs Quirk	Planter born on the coast
Chas Davis	Planter 10 years on the coast
Patr Sullivan	Planter 40 years on the coast
Jas Morris	Planter born on the coast
Jas Goddonough	Planter 27 years on the coast
Hy [?] Lucey	Planter 10 years on the coast
Patr Connors	Planter 23 years on the coast
Wm Fancy	Planter 35 years on the coast
Jno Kennedy	Planter 40 years on the coast
Josh Wills	Merchant

Another petition of the same year from the "merchants Planters and others" residing and "carrying on and prosecuting the salmon and cod fisheries" there is signed by William Langley and Company, Mark Anstry, Angus Brownson, John Mudge, George Pottle, John Reed, Thomas Broonfield, Josh Broonfield, John Ryan, W.H.T. Davies, George Howens, John Jourdain, Moses Brown, William Dowding, John Parsley and William W. Sutter.¹⁷⁴

The Hudson's Bay Company in Labrador and Ungava

Introduction

In 1811, two Moravian missionaries explored the coastline of Ungava Bay as far as Koksoak and subsequently wrote a pamphlet giving a flattering description of the region. The pamphlet came to Governor George Simpson's attention, and he determined to establish his company's presence in Ungava before the missionaries. An expedition, however, was not sent overland from Moose until 1830. It founded the post of Fort Chimo.

Between 1830 and 1836, Simpson endeavoured to discover an overland route between Fort Chimo and Hudson Bay because of the difficulty and cost of supplying Fort Chimo directly by sea. However, the routes tried were found to be too dangerous for canoes, and in 1836 Simpson's attention turned to Hamilton Inlet, which Nicol Finlayson had reached overland from Fort Chimo in 1834. In the summer of 1836, Simon McGillivray Jr. founded posts on North West River and at Rigolet. John McLean at Fort Chimo made several attempts to discover a suitable supply route to Hamilton Inlet. In the course of his explorations, he founded outposts from Fort Chimo on George River (Fort Siveright), on Lake Petitsikapau (Fort Nascopie) and Fort Trial further up George River. No practical route was discovered and the trade with the Eskimos was disappointingly small. In 1843, all the Ungava posts except Fort Nascopie were abandoned.

By 1838, the Hudson's Bay Company possessed posts to the north of Hamilton Inlet at Ailik and Kibocock, and one was founded the following year at Tigaraxhook. Their

principal industry was seal fishing. Seal fisheries were conducted by various merchants on the islands which dotted the Labrador coast. To the north of the Straits of Belle Isle, they were prosecuted almost entirely by West of England houses, while to the west of the straits by Canadians or those dealing with Canada. The most important company in the 1830s and 1840s to the north of the Straits was Hunt and Company of Liverpool.

The returns of Hudson's Bay Company's posts in Labrador (Esquimaux Bay district) were unfavourable in both 1838-39 and 1839-40, and Simpson reduced the district's expenses in 1840-41, abandoning Ailik and Tigaraxhook. Further reductions in expenses and manpower were made in 1841-42 and 1842-43. Simpson desired that at least one post should be established in the interior in the summer of 1843, but the master of the district, James Nourse, was hardpressed to adequately man the posts already in operation. It was not until the summer of 1845 that sufficient men were available to settle an outpost from Fort Nascopie at Mainewan Lake. The new establishment was intended to open a trade with the Eskimos and protect Ungava Bay against intruders, but it failed to attract any Eskimos, and was not retained in 1846-47.

In the early 1850s, there were only four posts in Esquimaux Bay district: North West River, Rigolet, Kibocock and Fort Nascopie. Only the two in Hamilton Inlet were exposed to competition, principally from a Mr. Brownson and Captain Norman. Both merchants conducted their trade largely in liquor.

Hunt and Henley, whose principal establishment was in Sandwich Bay, began encroaching upon the Hudson's Bay Company's trade north of Esquimaux Bay in the latter part of the 1850s. To protect his company's trade, Governor Simpson, with the approbation of the Moravians, established a post

"near Hopedale." In 1869, Hunt and Henley sold their establishments at Davis Inlet and Pants Island to the Hudson's Bay Company. However, by this time the Moravians were beginning to take a more active interest in trading, and in 1871 placed a new mission between Fort Lampson and Nachvak, two Hudson's Bay Company posts founded in the latter part of the 1860s.

The Ungava Venture

The Moravians residing on the Labrador coast, having received accounts of Eskimos living to the westward of Cape Chidley, in 1811 determined to found a mission among them. Two missionaries, Kohlmeister and Knoch, explored the coastline of Ungava Bay as far as Koksoak or White River, and subsequently published a pamphlet giving a flattering description of the country, contrasting sharply with the bleak and barren nature of the Labrador coast. This pamphlet came to the attention of Governor Simpson, who decided to establish his company's presence in Ungava before the missionaries.¹ However, an expedition led by Nicol Finlayson did not proceed from Moose until 1830. It travelled overland and founded the post of Fort Chimo.

Finlayson gives the following description of Fort Chimo in his report for 1833.

Chimo is situated in Lat. 58 - 9-N and Long. 68 - 23.30-W on the east side of the river bring the most suitable situation in the river. The Houses consist of a dwelling house, 22 by 14 feet and roofed with grass and moss, and other house of the same dimensions and with the other forming the south side of the square, is a shop and provision shed and weather boarded on the roof; on the opposite side of the square is a mens house 22 feet by 14 and another

house of the same dimensions, a blacksmith's and carpenter's shop and both roofed with clay; the store forms the east side and is 34 by 14 feet, and covered with a tar pauling; the E. side is a clerk's dwelling house 12 by 10 feet and covered with clay; the kitchen of the same dimensions as the last and covered with weather boarding, together with an oven are off the S. E. corner of the square and the whole surrounded with pickets 9 feet above ground with three gates and bars without these is an Esquimeau dwelling house, and a short distance off is a Magazine for Powder etc. and roofed with clay. On the Bank face is a battery of 8 swivels well mounted and a flag staff and altho the former may not be ever of much service, yet it is well understood by both Indians and Esquimeau the purpose for which they are placed there - the appearance is often taken by Savages for the substance my neighbours, the Missionaries, am told have good batteries at each of their posts.²

Erland Erlandson was instructed by Nicol Finlayson, in June 1832, to found an outpost from Fort Chimo "somewhere up the Wausquash River, which empties itself into South River [Kaniapiskau River] a little above Clauston's Falls."³ Erlandson travelled, by his own reckoning, 40 miles above Clouston Fall, encamping on 28 June in a region where wood was plentiful.⁴ The Indian guide refused to take him to Wausquash River, saying that this was the best location for a post.⁵

Only wood could be used in the construction of the buildings, there being no clay in the vicinity.⁶ Erlandson had two men, whom he considered indolent, with him for the

winter.⁷ He wrote in his report for 22 June 1833, The place I chose for an establishment is a point projecting into a elevated upwards of 30 feet above the level of the River; the situation being dry, airy, and healthy, the soil, a fine sand, well adapted, with proper manure, to raising potatoes, and the hardier garden plants, and which in favourable season, would probably come to maturity; convenient and good timber; and central to the fisheries. I erected three houses, each 15 feet long, by 10 feet broad: one a store, another a men's house, and the third one I occupied: they were constructed in the usual manner, without Iron.⁸

By June, only 250 MB in furs and 130 deerskins were in the house, and Erlandson could not hold out better prospects for the future.⁹ Every fur he had received, he believed, would have been brought to Fort Chimo had South River House not been founded. He wrote: "I abandon this post without the slightest reluctance, the whole year has, to me, been a period of disappointment and privation." There was no advantage to be gained from a post in the interior unless traders from Fort Chimo penetrated the height of land and advanced toward "the settlements on, and adjacent to the Gulf."¹⁰

In the spring of 1834, Erlandson departed from Fort Chimo to explore a route to Mingan. On reaching the height of land, his guide declined to go further southward and conducted him to Esquimaux Bay.¹¹

The Hudson's Bay Company in Labrador, 1836-1840

Between 1830 and 1836, Simpson endeavoured to establish an overland route between Fort Chimo and the eastern coast of Hudson Bay because it was difficult and costly to supply

Fort Chimo directly by sea. Nichikun and Kaniapiskau were established in 1834 to serve as stages on the route, but the waterways were found to be too hazardous for canoes. Hence, Simpson in 1836, turned his attention to Esquimaux Bay, thinking that an establishment there would both counter the bay's private traders and could be used as a supply base for Fort Chimo.¹² As has been seen, Erlandson had reached Esquimaux Bay from Fort Chimo in 1834.

At the beginning of June 1836, Simon McGillivray Jr. departed from Quebec aboard the schooner Charlotte¹³ with 14 men, most of them Orkneymen. The schooner stopped at Mingan, where C.T. Cumming was busily engaged in the salmon fishery,¹⁴ and then resumed its course to Esquimaux Bay. McGillivray learned at Mingan that Mr. D.R. Stewart had an establishment called Rigolette (Rigolet), and another "at the Bottom of the Bay, at the entrance of North West river; also a Post at Kibocock, 80 or 90 miles to the Northward of Esquimaux Bay, along the Coast."¹⁵ At Domino, he saw two "fishing establishments on a large scale,"¹⁶ and two days later, on 16 July, he passed "Greedy Harbour a large Establishment."¹⁷ The following day, he cast anchor at Dumpling Island where J.E. Hunt and Company's establishment, the "Largest" along the coast, was located.¹⁸

On 19 July, McGillivray reached the entrance of Esquimaux Bay and found D.R. Stewart's establishment called Rigolet. There was another "petty trader," a Mr. Brownson, who invited McGillivray to his house and offered him any necessary assistance.¹⁹ A Mr. Davis was in charge of Stewart's posts. McGillivray left Mr. Nolin and two men at Rigolet to "make a petty Post," and meanwhile placed the provisions and merchandise in Brownson's store.²⁰ A "small house" was acquired from a planter named Greves, but it was at Tub Harbour, 45 miles from Rigolette. Nolin and his men may have resided there for at least part of the winter.²¹

Stewart's establishment at Kibocock was under the charge of a "Common Engagé" named Godin. The master the previous winter, a Mr. Brown, had committed suicide. Mr. Bird had a post manned by two men, Garland and Pranks, in opposition to Stewart at Kibocock, and during the summer Stewart's people cut a new salmon net belonging to Bird.²²

McGillivray arrived at North West River on 24 July, and encamped a short distance below the house of Mr. Comeau, located near the river's mouth. Nothing is known about Comeau's previous history except that some years before he had been tried and acquitted of the murder of a Hudson's Bay Company employee.²³

George McKenzie, whom Erlandson had encountered at North West River in 1834, is not mentioned in the 1836-37 North West River journal in the Hudson's Bay Company archives. Nor does McGillivray, after he established himself at North West River, make any reference to Stewart's post. It may be concluded from the above facts that McKenzie had left North West River by 1836; that Stewart either had purchased his post or established his own, and that Comeau was in Stewart's employ.

Three days after encamping near Comeau, McKenzie's men began felling timber for a house "20 feet broad by 30 long." Comeau cut a few trees a little above his house to prevent McGillivray from building near him, and also hung up his nets on stakes, forcing McGillivray's men to make a long detour in transporting their timber, which was scarce.²⁴ Work on the house proceeded slowly because of the Orkneymen's lack of experience in constructing buildings and Comeau's harassing tactics. The store was poorly constructed, prompting McGillivray to write, "By the imbecility of my Carpenter, in arranging the roof of the House, there are large openings, which all our ingenuity will never be able to fill up nor will we be able to make it a warm dwelling House."²⁵

At the end of August, the foundation for a store 20 feet by 18 was laid, and subsequently a dwelling house 18 feet by 20 was constructed.²⁶ At the beginning of October, Comeau erected "the Square of a store or a House, crossways," to obstruct McGillivray's view of his house, and also closed off "with Pickets the only passage leading to his House;" Comeau's post could be seen now only from "the water side on the beach."²⁷ McGillivray, in his turn, pitched a tent above Comeau's house to serve as an observation post until a guard house could be completed.²⁸

Comeau was an energetic and short tempered man who not infrequently "talked very wildly."²⁹ In February, some of McGillivray's men, while bringing wood for the guard house, were stopped by four armed men who threatened to shoot them if they passed. McGillivray and seven men hurried to the scene, and in the ensuing altercation one of Comeau's men, Bellemeure, repeatedly struck McGillivray's son with his gun. Bellemeure was then felled by a bullet in the neck, whereupon his companions dispersed. During the struggle, Comeau remained in his house, shouting instructions from a window to his men.³⁰ There was another violent incident in June.³¹

In January, five of Comeau's servants deserted, though at least two of them subsequently returned.³² Meanwhile, Comeau held clandestine meetings with some of McGillivray's men encouraging them to defect,³³ and by April one or two had gone over. In the middle of June, another four Orkneymen deserted, after being refused by McGillivray more than one bottle of rum each. Before leaving McGillivray's house, they abused him with foul language and struck him on the side.³⁴

A new dwelling house, which was a "sound, solid building," was raised in May.³⁵

In 1835-36, Comeau had outposts at Moolagan, Kinimo River, Grand River, and North West River, each having a complement of two men.³⁶ At Kinimish, 12 miles from North West River post, both Comeau and Thomas Bird had establishments³⁷ which were designed to intercept the natives before they reached North West River. The residents also trapped martens.³⁸ Comeau had a post at Rigolet, whose master, Mr. Rocheleau, was discharged in August.³⁹ The posts had been built "these some years back."⁴⁰

McGillivray, at the end of August 1836, purchased Bird's premises and stores at Kinimish from Captain Lock, Bird's agent, for £40. There was "a dwelling House, 2 Stores, 1 large one to Salt Salmon and for cooperage as well all on a small scale."⁴¹ A "Winter House" at Sha bis kasho, half way between Kinimish and Moolagan, was included in the purchase.⁴² Relations between McGillivray's and Comeau's men there seem to have been strained, and Comeau, in October, accused some of McGillivray's men of forcibly entering his outpost.⁴³

In September, McGillivray sent William Pinette and his son to reside up Grand River beyond Comeau's men to watch for any King's Posts' hunters journeying to North West River, and Henry Pinette and Alic McKenzie settled two days' travelling from North West River.⁴⁴ By the end of the autumn Pinette and McKenzie had personally consumed all the rum allotted them. They returned in the spring with only eleven martens, nine "rats" and one wolverine, claiming that martens were scarce because the land in their vicinity had been burned.⁴⁵ McGillivray suspected William Pinette's loyalty, and at the beginning of January wrote that he

intended that Cragie should relieve him at Grand River outpost.⁴⁶

Two of Comeau's men in August, erected a "Small House" up Kinomo River to intercept the Indians passing through the region to North West River, including some who were expected from Musquarro.⁴⁷ The following month, Mr. Nolin was sent

by McGillivray to oppose them. As soon as Nolin had constructed his house, Comeau's men removed "about a half league" above him, but Nolin did not follow them. His location was unknown to many of the natives, and Comeau's people succeeded in obtaining most of the trade.⁴⁸

In October, McGillivray desired that an outpost should be established at Moolagan, 24 miles from North West River. However, Charles McKenzie, the only man of experience and ability remaining at North West River, declined to go because he had injured his hand, and was dispatched instead to Kinimish.⁴⁹ An outpost was founded at Moolagan later in the autumn. It was neglected because McGillivray did not have a competent person to station there. Meanwhile, Comeau's men were "all efficient."⁵⁰

For some years before the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment in Labrador, Mr. Bird possessed an establishment "on a grand scale" at Tub Harbour. In September 1836, his agent, Captain Lock, sold it to a planter named Mudge of Sandwich Bay. Mudge was willing to sell to the Hudson's Bay Company his salmon but not his furs, which he sent to England, receiving the London market price.⁵¹ The company also purchased salmon from at least five planters. There were four other companies in Labrador employing planters, Mr. Cox, 16 planters; Mr. Stewart, five; Mr. Brownson, five, and Mr. Lemon at Indian Harbour, five. Indian Harbour was opposite Tub Harbour, about 30 miles up the coast.⁵² There were three American ships fishing illegally on the Labrador coast in September 1836, despite the fact that the coast was patrolled by a warship, having a judge on board to administer justice.⁵³

It is likely that Comeau competed with the Hudson's Bay Company for no more than another winter, for the company, in 1838, purchased the property of the Quebec merchants in

Esquimaux Bay.⁵⁴ In 1838, McGillivray was replaced as master of Esquimaux Bay district by W.H.A. Davies.⁵⁵

We learn in a letter from Rigolette, written early in 1838, that men were taking passage for Ailik and Kibocock. James Anderson, the master at Rigolet, went to Kibocock. He reported, on his arrival in April, that he "found all going on well and a good deal of work done, wood cut and squared, oars and killocks made in readiness for our spring fishery." The post apparently had been in operation the previous year, for Anderson wrote,

We have this winter had so many to support upon the provisions we had that I find we will run short before the vessel comes here. Last year they had more provisions here and were only 4 men 2 Esquimeaux boys and 3 women. This year we have been 8 men 2 Esquimeaux boys and 1 woman and till Godins' and Gagnons wives died there were three.... with 6 families of Esquimeaux upon our hands all winter.⁵⁶

Anderson then visited the "Dutchmen's first post" on his way to survey Tigaraxhook, where he hoped to conduct a seal fishery in the autumn and to collect an outstanding debt from one of Mr. Henley's planters. He was received by the master of the "Dutchman's post" "with all politeness," and remained there for one hour. He wrote,

They never offered to give shelter for the night although they knew perfectly well I must either sleep with the Indians or remain out of doors. But it can scarcely be wondered at when their poor Indians (who are in a state of starvation) do not get even a little provisions in advance from them - but are allowed to eat all manner of filth which has brought the scurvy amongst them this winter, and several of them have died of it.

They have done nothing this winter at the three first posts but at the fourth and last they did very well.⁵⁷

We are not told the name of the "Dutchman," or the location of his establishments, but it is probable that the word "Dutchman" refers to the Moravians.

Davies writes, in 1838, that the number of men required for the 1838-39 outfit was two for the fisheries and two for the posts in the interior, two more for the "extension of the trade north from Kibocock," and another apprentice clerk. The complement for Esquimaux Bay was two clerks, two apprentice clerks, one skipper, one postmaster and master fisherman, one blacksmith, one cooper and 16 men; for Kibocock two clerks, one postmaster and master fisherman, one cooper and eight men.⁵⁸

At Kibocock, the trade with the Eskimos in 1837-38 had been "triffling," and Davies did not expect that it ever would be fruitful. It was from the seal fisheries, when expanded, that he thought the company would realize its profits. He said that it was "to the north" that he looked for a trade with the Eskimos; Kibocock was "out of the way for the Esqx trade: Ailik is better suited to the trade with those people."⁵⁹ Davies was dissatisfied with the returns of the hunts conducted in the winter by his men, especially those at Kibocock.⁶⁰

The seal fishery at Kibocock, in the autumn of 1838, was more successful than in the previous autumn, nearly 400 seals being caught in the nets and killed in contrast to fewer than 100 in 1837. The small post at Tigaraxhook did "well," considering that it was newly founded.⁶¹ It is likely that a seal fishery was conducted there in the spring of 1838.

Davies, in his district report dated 3 August 1839, said that North West River House was situated 90 miles above

Rigolet on the same side of the bay, "at the embouchure of the discharge of Lake Mishagamon." The principal fur returns from Esquimaux Bay came from the North West River House. There were "hunting posts" in its vicinity, but they are not enumerated. Salmon fisheries were conducted at the post, where returns were small, and at Kenamon River, 12 miles away on the opposite side of the bay, 20 to 30 tierces being caught annually at both fisheries.⁶²

Of Kinamish he said, "At the opposite side of the Bay at the entrance of the river Kenamon is situated the old Post of Kinomish, it was here that Mr. Birds people wintered when he was in opposition, since that has ceased, it has been abandoned."⁶³

Rigolet was situated on the north side of Esquimaux Bay, about 50 miles above its entrance. In 1838 it was the principal post in the bay for salmon fishing. The fisheries attached to it were at Cul de Sac, 10 miles distant; Summer's Cove, three miles above the house; Gourdeau's Point, two miles below the house; Palliser's Point, six miles below the post; Grassy Cove, three miles from the house; Mullin's Cove, ten miles below the house, and Turners Bight, 13 miles below the house. Collingham's Harbour, nine miles below the house, belonged to J.B. Jourdin but was operated by the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶⁴ A fishery was conducted at Rigolet, but only a small amount of salmon was obtained. A small quantity of seal oil was procured at Rigolet from the few Eskimos who resided in its vicinity. No furs, except a few foxes, were received. As the trading season was limited to the summer months, the trade was conducted by one man, who was usually the master fisherman, and he passed the winter in making and repairing the nets. Twelve men were required to conduct the fisheries.⁶⁵ In Esquimaux Bay, most of the furs were acquired from the planters or the men at the posts, the natives being poor hunters.⁶⁶

Kibocock was about 33 miles above the entrance of Kibicock Bay, situated 120 miles above Esquimaux Bay. A seal fishery was conducted in the spring. There were four salmon fisheries: at the post, at the rapid about half a league above the house, at English River, about two miles below the house, and at Salmon River, about five leagues above the house. In 1838, there was but a minor fur trade at Kibocock; the Montagnais Indians would not go there for fear of the Eskimos, while the latter would not venture inland to hunt in Montagnais territory. Occasionally, the Eskimos traded a few foxes. There were only five Eskimo families attached to the post; they, however, rendered valuable assistance in the seal and salmon fisheries. Mr. Anderson, the master of Kibocock, was given two additional men, in the summer of 1838, to enable him to establish "a small outpost"⁶⁷ at Tigaraxhook, about 45 miles to the north. It was a "long low point jutting out, with a deep Bay on each side," much frequented by Eskimos from the Moravian missions, and a good location for a seal fishery. David McLaren and two men were to go there with a small amount of goods as "a mere trail."⁶⁸

Alilik, located at the entrance of Kibocock Bay, was the principal Hudson's Bay Company seal-fishing establishment in Labrador. The seal fishing season was in November. Most of the seal oil and skins was obtained from the fisheries located on the islands in the post's vicinity; the remainder was purchased from the Esquimos.⁶⁹ A few foxes, principally white foxes, were received. A postmaster and two men were stationed there.⁷⁰

Most of the salmon acquired by the merchants on the Labrador coast was purchased from planters. Only Hunt and Company and the Hudson's Bay Company employed their own men for salmon fishing. Purchasing the catch from the planters was more profitable, for a dependable and hardworking servant

could not be gotten along the coast except at a high wage. The Canadian market for salmon was more remunerative than the European.⁷¹

The seal fisheries were conducted on the islands which lined the coast. To the north of the Strait of Belle Isle, they were almost exclusively conducted by West of England houses; to the west of the strait, by Canadians or those dealing with Canada. The most productive seal hunts took place late in the autumn, just before the ice came in, and others were prosecuted in the spring. Few planters could afford to conduct them, and those who did were to the west of the strait, where the principal seal fisheries were located. The current was stronger to the north of the strait, and the merchants were reluctant to employ their frame nets, which cost £200 each.⁷²

The planters on the Labrador coast were poor and invariably deeply in debt, and their possessions were usually limited to a few traps. Once in debt, they were rarely able to clear themselves. Each autumn they were outfitted by the merchants with whom they dealt, and the receipts of their year's toil, the winter's hunt and summer's fishery went to the merchants "by the laws of Newfoundland."

Seven or eight planters were attached to Rigolet, and their debts were so extensive that there was little prospect that they would be repaid. Davies, in order to recover as much of them as possible, gave the planters just enough supplies to subsist upon. Most of the planters lived to the southward of Esquimaux Bay, and there was little prospect of expanding the trade with them.⁷³ Indeed, Davies discouraged them from settling in the bay because he feared that they would secretly trade with the Indians.⁷⁴ The principal part of the fur trade was obtained from the planters, who passed the whole winter hunting martens and foxes. Only a few beavers were procured. The prices paid for furs were

high, making it a relatively unimportant branch of the company's Labrador operations. By 1838, none of the merchants had extended his trade into the interior; Hunt and Company had contemplated doing so, but hitherto had been frustrated for want of a "competent person to carry it on for them."⁷⁵

There were not many establishments on the coast trading directly with England, and those which did were operated principally by houses in Poole, Dartmouth and Liverpool.⁷⁶ The Liverpool company, Hunt and Company, the most important house, had sealing posts at Francis Harbour, Seal Islands, Greedy Harbour, Long Island and at Dumpling Harbour at the entrance of Sandwich Bay, and in 1837-38 erected an establishment at Cape Harrison, about half way between Esquimaux Bay and Kibocock. The company's affairs in Labrador were managed by a Mr. Henley, "a clever active man of business." It was the only company which could successfully compete with the Hudson's Bay Company.⁷⁷

Mr. Bird, of Dartmouth, England, had an "extensive" cod and seal fishery at Forteau Bay, in the Strait of Belle Isle, another at the Seal Islands, and formerly had had a "large establishment" in Esquimaux Bay which had competed with North West River post.⁷⁸ The other West of England houses included Warren and Son of Teignmouth, and Coduer and Jennings of Poole. They carried on a "small trade in cod-fish and seal oil, loading one or two vessels each season."⁷⁹

Mr. de Quidville of Jersey had large establishments at Blanc Sablon, at the western extremity of the Strait of Belle Isle, and at Forteau Bay. To the westward of the straits were located the establishments of Godbout at Blanc Sablon, Jones at Bradore, Le Chevalier at Rivière aux Esquimaux, Hawkins at St. Augustin and Samuel Robertson at La Tabatière. There undoubtedly were others who are not enumerated by Davies. All of those to the west of the straits carried on a "small trade" with Quebec.⁸⁰

The larger establishments on the coast were owned by inhabitants of Newfoundland who sent their fish to that island. They operated the establishments located at the entrance of Esquimaux Bay, the English merchants having entirely abandoned the bay. At Cuff Harbour, near the bay's entrance and 15 leagues below Rigolet, Langley and Cox of St. John's had a station. Davies wrote,

They do a very small business, generally catching in average years about 600 to 700 quintals Codfish they also procure a small quantity of salmon from three or four planters they supply from the immense prices they offer for furs, they generally continue to get a little, not however from the Indians but from the planters, Mr. Cox is a grasping man who is disposed to advance his trade, without much regard as to the manner.

Having or pretending to have some claims to one to two of the fisheries attached to Rigolette, he has generally been in hot water with the persons owing the place.⁸¹

There were two other establishments in the bay, both owned by Mr. Lemon; one was managed by Captain Norman and the other by Mr. Couzens of St. John's. They were situated "at the north point of the Bay at its entrance," about 65 miles from Rigolet. They were small codfishing stations and did not "interfere with the trade of the Bay."

By 1838, the better locations south of Esquimaux Bay were already occupied, but the coastline from Kibocock to the entrance of Hudson Strait was scarcely touched. Besides the Moravians, only Hunt and Company had exploited this region. Davies said in his 1839 report:

Hunt and Company have had some men wintering for the last three of four years to the north of Kibocock and in 1834 one of the Messr. Hunt

wintered there for the purpose of seeing the country - they have not yet extended their establishment there, but as they have last year formed an Establishment at Cape Harrison between Esqx Bay and Kibocock, it indicated that such is their intention.⁸²

The Moravians had four stations on the coast: Hopedale, 50 miles north of Kibocock, where there were 200 Christian Eskimos; Nain where there were 250; Okkak having 350, and Hebron 150. Sixteen missionaries were distributed at these missions.⁸³ They successfully prevented their Eskimos from coming into contact with the Europeans to the south and even with the Eskimos trading with Europeans. Davies remarked that "a more orderly, sober, quiet set of people than those I saw at their station at Hopedale could not I believe be found any where."⁸⁴

The "very high prices" paid by the Eskimos for purchases from the Moravians and the large numbers of Eskimos thought to be residing north of Kibocock turned Davies' attention to northern Labrador. Though he anticipated some opposition from the Moravian missionaries, he intended that Mr. Anderson should "form a small establishment a little to the north of Kibocock, this fall if possible, merely as a trial." However, no station to the northward of Kibocock could be operated on a large scale until the district received a small vessel of about 40 tons.⁸⁵ The only craft available for Kibocock in 1838 was "an open schooner rigged boat or skiff," 25 years old, which carried about 50 tierces.⁸⁶ Governor Simpson, in 1839, favoured the founding of one or two trading posts beyond the Moravian missionaries,⁸⁷ but he decided to wait at least a year.

The returns for the 1838 outfit showed a sharp loss and the 1839 outfit apparently was worse. In 1839, the salmon fisheries entirely failed, the Indians were in a starving

condition and were unable to hunt, and the value of oil fell on the English market. Davies now saw little prospect that the district would ever be profitable, and thought that in its best years it would do little more than cover its expenses.⁸⁸ During the winter of 1839-40, he visited the coast north of Kibocock and discovered that there were only 30 Eskimo families scattered between Hebron and Cape Chidley, and little oil and few foxes could be obtained from them. An establishment in this region, he concluded, would not be able to cover its expenses, and even if the trade were more extensive, the coast was barren of wood, and the posts could be founded and kept up only at great expense. Two small stations between Kibocock and Hebron, each having two or three men, would be feasible; however, as they would impinge upon the Moravians' interests, he expected that they would probably object to them.⁸⁹

No posts were founded along the coast, and indeed the company, in 1840, began a period of retrenchment. Ailik and Tigaraxhook apparently were not operated in 1840-41, and Davies cut expenses to reduce the Labrador deficit. Simpson wrote in March 1840 that if no improvement took place in the immediate future, "it may become a subject for consideration whether the district should not be abandoned."⁹⁰ While he still favoured the establishment of one or two posts on the coast between the Moravian missions and Ungava Bay, he withheld making a decision until the summer of 1842, when the schooner Marten again would sail to Ungava Bay.⁹¹ He also advised that the dealings with the planters, being unprofitable, should be discontinued.⁹²

In 1840, competition was experienced from a planter named Gowen in Esquimaux Bay, and Davies recommended that the company should purchase his establishment and equipment. Simpson, however, was against the practice of buying up the opposition, believing that as soon as one troublesome indi-

vidual was bought off, another would take his place, hoping to be disposed of in the same manner. Therefore, he instructed Davies to permit Gowen's opposition "to die a natural death."⁹³ Hunt and Company was established at Sandwich Bay, and forwarded letters to Esquimaux Bay for the Hudson's Bay Company.⁹⁴

The Abandonment of Ungava

John McLean, Finlayson's successor at Fort Chimo, was instructed by Simpson in 1837 to extend a series of outposts into the interior and open an overland communication with Esquimaux Bay, enabling the company to supply Ungava from Esquimaux Bay.⁹⁵ McLean commenced an overland journey from Fort Chimo on 2 January 1838, with two men and two Indian guides.⁹⁶ He reached Michigama Lake (Lake Michikamau) on 3 February,⁹⁷ and then turned down North West River. About noon on 13 February, he passed "a hut," which his guide told him had been the residence of a trader two years before. Late in the evening, he reached another hut on North West River, where he found two of McGillivray's people who were stationed there "for the purpose of trapping martens."⁹⁸ This house seems to have been about 25 to 30 miles from North West River House, called Fort Smith in 1838.⁹⁹ Soon after McLean reached Fort Smith, all the Naskapi Indians, about "seventy or eighty souls," residing in the region arrived with their winter hunts.¹⁰⁰ McLean returned to Fort Chimo on 20 April.¹⁰¹

Two outposts from Fort Chimo were founded soon after McLean's return. On 18 June, Erland Erlandson set off in three small canoes, and after a difficult journey he reached Lake Petitsikapau and established Fort Nascopie on the north bay of the lake.¹⁰² He then sent some of his men back to Fort Chimo, and they were engaged by McLean during the summer

in exploring the coast to the westward of Fort Chimo. Their report about the region was unfavourable.¹⁰³

McLean, in September, learned that a river fell into Ungava Bay about 80 miles to the eastward of Fort Chimo. The northern part of the river was immediately surveyed by men from Fort Chimo.¹⁰⁴ Although the river had not been charted to its source, McLean was optimistic that it would become Fort Chimo's "Channel of Communication with the interior." Hitherto the company had received but a small share of the trade of the interior; most of it had been collected by the Moravian settlements. A post on George River gave promise of increasing the company's share, and Mr. Kennedy and four men were quickly outfitted and dispatched to settle at a suitable location on the river. McLean intended that Kennedy should reside there until spring, when he would be replaced by Donald Henderson.¹⁰⁵

By the end of October, buildings had been erected. This outpost was known as Fort George River and also Fort Siveright.¹⁰⁶ McLean said that it was located

in a still more cheerless spot than Fort Chimo, being surrounded by rugged hills, whose sides are covered with the débris of rock, which appears to have been detached from the hills by the process of decay. The post stands at the foot of one of those frightful hills, while another rises immediately in front; the intervening valleys, or cavities, present nothing to enliven the scene, save a few stunted pines, and here and there a patch of snow.¹⁰⁷

At first it was patronized by the few Eskimos who inhabited the region, but within a year they had deserted it for the Moravian settlements, receiving there better prices.¹⁰⁸

In the course of the summer of 1839, McLean, with ten men, set off up George River in a newly constructed boat and

a small canoe, hoping to discover a less hazardous water route to Esquimaux Bay. His progress was impeded by a narrowing of the river, and leaving eight of his men at the narrowing of the river to erect a temporary outpost, he set off with the other two in the small canoe for Fort Nascopie, where he hoped to obtain a larger canoe and additional provisions.¹⁰⁹

McLean reached Fort Nascopie on 16 August, and after receiving a sturdy canoe from Erlandson, continued his journey. Fifteen days beyond Fort Nascopie, McLean's progress was arrested by Churchill Falls, and he returned to the temporary outpost.¹¹⁰ He found his men living "in the midst of abundance," the country being rich in reindeer and the lake well stocked with fish.¹¹¹ Erlandson and two men were left to tend the outpost,¹¹² and McLean returned to Fort Chimo. The new outpost was named Fort Trial.

The ensuing year, Simpson informed McLean that there should be no further communication overland with Esquimaux Bay. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1841 McLean did find an overland water route to Esquimaux Bay by the Hamilton (or Grand) River,¹¹³ and the following summer again voyaged overland to Esquimaux Bay.¹¹⁴

McLean, throughout his period of residence at Fort Chimo, had stressed in his communications the hopelessness of the Ungava enterprise. There were no beavers, martens were scarce¹¹⁵ and the Eskimos were disinclined to give up their sealskin dress for European manufactured articles. The Eskimo trade was insignificant, and supplying Ungava by sea was costly.¹¹⁶ Simpson in 1843 decided that it was more economical to supply the natives of the interior from Esquimaux Bay.¹¹⁷ All the Ungava posts except Fort Nascopie were abandoned. Fort Nascopie was placed in Esquimaux Bay district.

The Hudson's Bay Company in Labrador, 1840-1870

Chief Trader William Nourse was appointed master of Esquimaux Bay district in the summer of 1841. On Simpson's instructions, he discharged eight men and one officer, Jean-Baptiste Jourdain,¹¹⁸ whose place at Rigolet was taken by Bernard Verral.¹¹⁹ In the summer of 1842, another reduction, including two clerks, was made in the district's manpower. Of the officers who were in charge of posts under Davies, only James Anderson at Kibocock remained in 1842-43. The two clerks discharged had large families and their departure considerably reduced the consumption of provisions.¹²⁰ The discharged labourers had been stationed at the posts to the northward of Esquimaux Bay. Four clerks and 18 men were assigned to the district in 1842-43.¹²¹

In 1841-42 there was an outpost from North West River at Sandy Banks, located near the "Rapid of the Grand River," where the men were engaged in trapping martens as well as trading with the Montagnais. An outpost from Sandy Banks was maintained at Gull Island.¹²² However, George McKenzie, Sandy Banks' master, finding that Louis Bacon, the man stationed there, could not "hunt it to advantage," recalled him at the end of February. Bacon had caught only seven martens.¹²³

Turnips were grown in the garden at Sandy Banks, and 36 barrels of them were harvested in the summer of 1841.¹²⁴ In 1841, the establishment consisted of a store and dwelling house. the former collapsed during the winter and was most likely restored in the spring. The dwelling house was re-roofed, partly with boards and partly with bark in 1842.¹²⁵ It was two days' march from North West River House.¹²⁶

As a further measure of economy, Nourse, in the summer of 1842, contemplated the abandonment of Sandy Banks.¹²⁷ It was retained, however, in 1842-43 under a new master, Donald Henderson, whose conduct merited Nourse's approba-

tion.¹²⁸ The posts constituting the district in 1842-43 were North West River, Sandy Banks, Rigolet and Kibocock.¹²⁹

No credit was given to the planters by Nourse and by the end of his first year in the district, most of those who had had extensive debts had cleared them. Those who had not, had only small sums outstanding.¹³⁰ Nourse made other adjustments to reduce the district's expenditures.¹³¹

Until 1842-43, the Hudson's Bay Company paid lower prices than its competitors for top quality furs, and the majority of the most valuable furs, such as silver foxes, caught by the planters was purchased by merchants along the coast, while the furs of inferior quality were brought to the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. Nourse, in the summer of 1842, raised his price for prime quality furs, hoping to get a "better share" of them.¹³²

In 1842, the company did not have any opposition in Esquimaux Bay. Immediately after the departure of the company's vessel in the middle of September, the men were dispatched to their winter quarters, in parties of two each, up the various rivers, and passed the winter in trapping martens and other animals. Throughout the winter they visited their traps, keeping them free from snow. They lived in "small huts, warmed by a stove," and hunted for part of their provisions.¹³³ At the beginning of June, they returned to Esquimaux Bay, and the salmon fisheries were then begun, followed by the cod fisheries which lasted until the end of the summer.¹³⁴

The other residents of the bay were planters or freemen, Eskimos and Montagnais Indians. The planters were formerly employees of the various companies which had operated establishments in the bay until 1837. At the expiration of their contracts, they remained, hunting and fishing and bartering their produce with the trading establishments for supplies. By 1842, many of the planters were the children of former

planters and Eskimo women.¹³⁵

Before the beginning of the 19th century, Esquimaux Bay had been the principal residence of the Labrador Eskimos, as there were large numbers of seals to be found there. The seal population greatly declined during the ensuing 40 years, inducing most of the Eskimos to leave, and in 1842, there were only 34; there had been "upwards" of 300 at the beginning of the 19th century.¹³⁶ There were only 32 Montagnais frequenting the bay in 1840.¹³⁷

The trade of Esquimaux Bay, once relatively lucrative, was in 1842 "extremely limited." It was confined to a small bartering trade in cloth, blankets, guns, ammunition and provisions with the Eskimos and planters, who in return gave seal oil, salmon, codfish and few furs. This trade was carried on principally at Rigolet. The trade with the Montagnais was conducted at North West River. The furs purchased from them were "very small" in proportion to the numbers of Indians, and were expensive.¹³⁸

The salmon fisheries were located principally in the vicinity of Rigolet. Only an average of 120 tierces was caught in the 1840s, as compared with more than 400 not too many years before.¹³⁹ Almost all the seal oil sent to England from the bay was purchased from the Eskimos, there being too few seals to merit seal fisheries.¹⁴⁰

In 1841-42, the crew of the Company's schooner wintered at Kibocock, and Nourse took advantage of this increase in manpower to re-establish the sealing post at Tigaraxhook.¹⁴¹ It was again abandoned the following year, and apparently never reoccupied by the company. John Reid, a planter or free trader, resided there in 1843-44, and in March 1844 indicated to Anderson at Kibocock that he would remain for another year and requested permission to occupy one of the company's buildings.¹⁴²

Mr. Brownson, a resident of Esquimaux Bay when the Hudson's Bay Company established itself there, in the 1830s and early 1840s refrained from competing with the company. In the spring of 1844, he sent a man to prevent some Eskimos from going to pay their debts at North West River and then himself tried to direct them to his post. On learning about this, George Anderson at Rigolet proceeded to the Eskimos' encampment and made them discharge their debts immediately.¹⁴³

In the winter of 1842-43, the Hudson's Bay Company transferred without warning about 20 Rupert River district Indian families to Fort Nascopie, intending that they should hunt in the Ungava region. Nourse was instructed by Simpson "not only to maintain the posts already occupied but to form others as early as possible." Nourse believed that the transfer of the Indians made imperative the re-establishment of Fort Trial or the founding of a post at one of the lakes between Fort Nascopie and Fort Chimo.¹⁴⁴ An additional post would disperse the natives over the interior, as there would be an establishment "at each extremity of the best hunting grounds." In addition, the Rupert River Indians had a different tariff, and two tariffs at one establishment could lead to misunderstandings.¹⁴⁵

George Alder, formerly with McLean at Fort Chimo, was considered the man most fit for the charge of the new post.¹⁴⁶ However, after the abandonment of Fort Chimo in the summer of 1843, there were only 14 men in the district and six of them indicated that they would not renew their contracts. Nourse felt that a new post would place too heavy a burden on his district. He wrote that it was "quite impossible" for him to adequately man the posts already in existence, and only by reducing the complement assigned to Esquimaux Bay could he furnish four men for Fort Nascopie, one of whom would remain inland for the summer.¹⁴⁷ The

Indians could not be employed in the fisheries in the bay because their families would be too expensive to maintain.¹⁴⁸ Nourse, however, did intend to operate all the fishing stations along the coast in the summer of 1844.¹⁴⁹ No outposts were established in Ungava in the summer of 1843.

The Rupert River Indians were disappointed with the barren nature of Ungava, three-fourths of it being unwooded, and found that the few narrow strips of wooded country were in the possession of the Naskapi, who had long hunted in Ungava, but had traded at the Ungava posts (Fort Nascopee and Fort Chimo) only since 1837. Before this date, they had gone to Sept Iles and the other establishments in the King's Posts. In 1843, they numbered 64 married men, 74 married women, 73 young men and boys and 65 girls. They had appropriated to themselves all the territory from Fort Chimo to the hunting grounds of Esquimaux Bay, Sept Iles and the Kaniapiskau Indians.¹⁵⁰ Of the 2,400 martens received by the Esquimaux Bay district posts in 1842-43, only 62 came from the Rupert River Indians; the latter hunted only in regions which were rich in deer but scarce in fur-bearing animals.¹⁵¹ During the summer of 1844, they indicated their intention to return to their former hunting grounds.

The withdrawal of the Rupert River Indians, Nourse wrote to Kennedy at Fort Nascopee, made unnecessary another post for the Indian trade, Fort Nascopee being centrally located and adequate to serve the needs of the Naskapi.¹⁵² However, an establishment at Mainewan Lake could attract the trade of the Eskimos residing in Ungava Bay, and could protect that trade against any interlopers. Captain Norman had indicated that he might settle Ungava Bay, and Nourse believed that he could be best countered from Mainewan Lake. It would be difficult in the autumn to dispatch even a small outfit to Ungava from Fort Nascopee, because of the lowness of the creeks between Mainewan Lake and Fort Nascopee. But

the navigation between Mainewan Lake and Ungava Bay was favourable in all seasons, and a party could be sent without delay at any time from Mainewan Lake, which would be supplied from Fort Nascopeie each summer, when the water was at its highest.¹⁵³ Nourse selected Henry Connolly to found the post in the summer of 1845. He was to reside there that summer with two men and would be reinforced in the autumn. Simpson gave the project high priority.¹⁵⁴

Nourse also intended to remove the outpost at Sandy Banks to Winegabow Lake as an "intermediate post" between Esquimaux Bay and the height of land.¹⁵⁵ It was to be given a trial period of one year; if the country's resources did not prove adequate to sustain the residents, a more eligible site would be sought the following summer.¹⁵⁶ Donald Henderson was entrusted with the outfit.

The following arrangements were made by Nourse in July 1844 for 1844-45: North West River, Nourse, one blacksmith, one boat builder and two sawyers; Winegabow Lake, Donald Henderson and two men; Fort Nascopeie, W. Kennedy and three men; Mainewan Lake, H. Connolly and two men; a "new post," G. Alder and two men; Rigolet, George Anderson and two men; Kibocock, B. Verral or James Anderson and three men, and Gull Island, one man.¹⁵⁷ The three men assigned to Kibocock were insufficient for the seal fisheries, but another man could not be spared.¹⁵⁸

Kennedy, his men and those selected to settle at Winegabow Lake, on their journey to Fort Nascopeie employed boats for the first time on a "lately discovered and but partially known" river. The rapidity of the river's current severely taxed the strength of the inexperienced crew, and all the men suffered from severe colds. Having lost much time in reaching his post, Kennedy lightened his load by leaving the Winegabow outfit on the way. It was brought down to Sandy Banks, which was kept up for another winter.¹⁵⁹

On 27 June 1845, Connolly left Fort Nascopie, and after a tedious journey arrived at Mainewan Lake, also called Otayhenag Lake, on 14 July. In April 1846, the post consisted of "three small buildings," and Connolly intended to build "another store a little larger than the present one and a house for the men as the one they live in is too small for so many persons (8) to live in."¹⁶⁰ Three of these men had been sent by Donald Henderson, Kennedy's successor at Fort Nascopie to pass the winter with Connolly.¹⁶¹

The inland outfits were conveyed in the summer of 1845 by two boats, each holding 50 pieces and manned by five men.¹⁶² Henderson carried the Mainewan Lake outfit to Fort Nascopie, and then forwarded it with two men to Connolly.

Fort Nascopie and Mainewan Lake were "independent of each other as to management,"¹⁶³ but the two masters were to assist each other when required.¹⁶⁴ Mainewan Lake was intended only to attract the Eskimos, supply "stragglers" from other regions, and protect Ungava Bay against intruders. Before retiring as master of Fort Nascopie, Kennedy, contrary to his instructions, had encouraged some of his hunters to deliver any leather they possessed to the new post. Some were also employed during the summer in hunting deer for Mainewan Lake,¹⁶⁵ and were permitted by Kennedy to trade there as much meat as they desired for tobacco and ammunition. Having tobacco and ammunition, they would not hunt martens during the winter. Instead, they assembled at Mainewan Lake, passing their time in hunting deer.¹⁶⁶ Connolly denied that he had not discouraged them from wintering in his vicinity, and asserted that those who did had wintered there the previous year.¹⁶⁷ Relations between Henderson and Connolly were strained in 1845-46, but they soon ameliorated. Simpson wrote in 1848 to Nourse that "It is satisfactory to learn that, the conduct of postmaster

Connolly has improved, inducing a desire on your part to retain him which may be done."¹⁶⁸

Connolly, in February 1846, journeyed with two men from Mainewan Lake to Ungava Bay in search of Eskimos. None could be found about old Fort Chimo.¹⁶⁹ Few if any Eskimos ever traded at Connolly's establishment.

The receipts from Fort Nascopeie and Mainewan Lake in 1845-46 were less than those in the previous winter from Fort Nascopeie alone. To prevent the Naskapi from again passing the winter hunting deer in areas poor in fur-bearing animals, Nourse took measures to render them more dependent upon obtaining "occasional supplies" from Fort Nascopeie.¹⁷⁰ It is likely that Mainewan Lake was not retained in 1846-47, for it is not mentioned after 1845-46. Nourse wrote, in August 1847, that there were two inland posts, Fort Nascopeie and Michikamau.¹⁷¹

After the abortive venture in the summer of 1844, no further attempt was made to settle at Winegabow Lake, and instead George Alder was sent with three men, William Linklater, James Brass and John Gibson, to Michikamau Lake. He accompanied Henderson inland in the summer of 1845, picking up his outfit at Sandy Banks. The hunters attached to the new post had already been furnished with their winter supplies at North West River, and Alder's outfit was intended to be used only to buy any furs the natives possessed in excess of their debts. No men were to reside there for the summer.¹⁷²

Alder arrived at "Meshikamau Lake" (Michikamau) on 11 September, selected a site on the "Big" lake (there was an upper and a lower lake), and the following day began erecting a building, which seems to have served as both a store and dwelling house for the winter.¹⁷³ Construction was later commenced on a dwelling house.¹⁷⁴ Wood was difficult to obtain, most of the trees in the lake's vicinity being "most

miserably small."¹⁷⁵ The fishing, conducted at the post, was relatively successful.¹⁷⁶

The hunters attached to the post could not maintain themselves on the scanty food resources of the region. Only eight families remained throughout the winter, and a few of these brought their hunts to North West River.¹⁷⁷ Before departing in June, Alder deposited his untraded goods in the store, which he covered with moss and logs, making breaking into it more difficult. He decided not to hide the goods in the ground for fear that they would be found.¹⁷⁸

Alder returned to Michikamau Lake the following two Septembers, travelling inland with Henderson as he had done in 1845. Trade in 1846-47 was improved, but not as many fish were caught.¹⁷⁹ Throughout the winter, Alder's men tended marten traps.¹⁸⁰

In October 1847, Alder was drowned while pursuing a deer across the ice on Lake Michikamau. He was replaced in December by apprentice clerk Joseph McPherson.¹⁸¹ Nourse wrote, in July 1848, that he was "very well pleased" with McPherson.¹⁸² A new building was constructed in 1848-49.¹⁸³

The following appointments were made for 1845-46: North West River, William Nourse; Kibocock, George Anderson, clerk; Rigolet, B. Verral, clerk; Fort Nascopie, D. Henderson, postmaster; Mainewan Lake, H. Connolly apprentice postmaster; Winegabow or Michikamau Lake, G. Alder; and the schooner, John Spence.¹⁸⁴ George Anderson had been at Rigolet the previous winter, but Simpson, believing that he was wanting in tact and unfit to conduct Rigolet's affairs, had transferred him. Anderson had embroiled the company in a dispute with Mr. Hunt's people at Sandwich Bay by confiscating some of their property. Simpson restored it, and apologized for Anderson's "indiscretion."¹⁸⁵ Of Verral, Nourse writes in 1845: "I have reappointed Mr. Verral to Rigolet as he has

always given so much satisfaction in that charge which is one requiring much activity and economy."¹⁸⁶

Nourse's policy, in 1846-47, of making the hunters of the interior more dependent on their posts for supplies resulted in great hardships. There were too many concentrated near Fort Nascope for that establishment to maintain, and because of the scarcity of country provisions, 20 died of starvation. Others survived only after being reduced to "the most horrid extremities." Those attached to Michickamau Lake also suffered, but not to the same degree. The inland posts had a better trade than in the previous winter, though not as much as Nourse had anticipated.¹⁸⁷

Nine or ten of the men assigned to Fort Nascope and Michikamau Lake in 1847-48 were required principally to transport the outfits from North West River. Both Kennedy and Henderson had recommended that four experienced boatmen, with a number of Indians to aid them, could deliver, without difficulty, the supplies inland. However, the natives were reluctant to come down to North West River in the late summer for this service, and in August 1847 Nourse was still unable to implement his plan.¹⁸⁸ Meanwhile, the coastal establishments tended to be undermanned.

George Anderson's conduct in 1847-48 again gave Nourse cause for complaint, but Anderson retired in 1848, sparing himself "a formal investigation." Both Henderson and Alder had related to Nourse their determination to resign from the service because they were not "appreciated and rewarded." Simpson, considering both "exceedingly useful, performing all duties, from the management of their posts down to the working of the craft," and offered each an additional £10 per annum. He also instructed Nourse that the Fort Nascope and Michickamau outfits should be reduced.¹⁸⁹

William Cameron was in charge of Kibocock in 1847-48.¹⁹⁰ There was a salmon fishery at Kinnomish in 1846,¹⁹¹ and

there is a reference to this fishery again in 1849.¹⁹² As early as 1849, furs from Esquimaux Bay district were shipped to England aboard the vessels of Hunt and Company at Sandwich Bay.¹⁹³

Henderson was relieved as master of Fort Nascopie in July 1848 at his own request, as he considered himself incapable of withstanding the rigours of another inland voyage, having previously hurt himself while steering a boat. Henry Connolly, who by now had had three years experience inland, was appointed to succeed him.¹⁹⁴ Less than two months later, Nourse gave over the charge of his district to Chief Trader Richard Hardisty. Nourse was unable to continue as master of the district because one of his arms, which he had injured in 1847, required medical care.¹⁹⁵

For the 1849-50 outfit, Richard Hardisty, James Grant, ten men and the crew of the schooner Willie were at North West River; Donald A. Smith and four men at Rigolet; William Cameron and four men at Kibocock; Henry Connolly and four men at Fort Nascopie, and Joseph McPherson and two men at Michickimau.¹⁹⁶ Of Donald Smith, Hardisty wrote: "I am quite confident that a more active, indefatigable and interested person for the Company could not be found." The returns of trout and oil at Kibocock had fallen off in 1848-49, but Hardisty ascribed this to natural causes rather than to any mismanagement on the part of William Cameron. Hardisty describes the latter as being "active, zealous, and indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the interest of the Company."¹⁹⁷

Hardisty, in 1849, recommended that Michickamau should be abandoned. There were only five Indians attached to it, and one of them had traded the previous two years at North West River. The distance to North West River not being great, Hardisty recommended that the other four should go there. Even if they went to Sept Iles or Musquarro, the loss would not be as great as was now in-

curred by maintaining the post. The value of the furs for 1847-48 (1847 outfit) was only £184.17.10 and for 1848-49 (1848 outfit) £125.15.0. The wages for a clerk and two men amounted to £92.4.5 in the former outfit and £102.15.7 in the latter. Added to the wages was the expense of transporting the supplies and merchandise.

After the closing of the 1849 outfit, Michikamau was abandoned and all the property there was conveyed to Fort Nascopie. Connolly and McPherson, with five men and ten Indians, arrived at North West River on 4 July with the receipts of the two posts. Connolly returned to Fort Nascopie on 27 July with three men and ten Indians with the outfit for 1850. In 1848-49, 54 Indians attached to Fort Nascopie starved to death.¹⁹⁸

The sufferings experienced by the Nascapi attached to Fort Nascopie came to the attention of the British parliamentary committee appointed in 1857 "to consider the State of those British Possessions in North America which are under the Administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which they possess a Licence to Trade." In the course of the committee's cross-examination of Governor Simpson, one of its members, John Arthur Roebuck, produced three letters written by William Kennedy. Unfortunately, Roebuck did not give the dates of the letters, making it impossible to determine whether the events occurred in 1846-47, 1848-49 or another winter. The first read in part:

Starvation has, I learn, committed great havoc among your old friends the Nascopies, numbers of whom met their death from want last winter; whole camps of them were found dead, without one survivor to tell the tale of the sufferings; others sustained life in a way the most revolting, by using as food the dead bodies of their companions;

some even bled their own children to death, and sustained life with their bodies!

An excerpt from a second read: "At Fort Nascopie the Indians were dying in dozens by starvation; and, among others, your old friend, Paytabais." The third read in part: "A great number of Indians starved to death last winter; and _____ says it was _____'s fault in not giving them enough of ammunition." Simpson, who had been trying to impress upon the committee the paternal care accorded the Indians by the company and the baneful effects which would result from the revoking of its fur-trading monopoly, was embarrassed, and hastened to deny that in his 37 years as governor such an experience had ever occurred.¹⁹⁹

There is no reference to a trade in liquor on the Labrador coast until 1850, when we learn in a letter written by Hardisty that 200 gallons of rum were consigned to Esquimaux Bay district in 1849-50. Hardisty claimed that this amount was insufficient because

Captain Norman who has an establishment about fifty miles from here imports annually a great quantity of both wine and spirits. There is also Mr. Brownson who is established only nine miles from here and who is outfitted from Sandwich, he had this year I understand been furnished with considerably more than a Rushion [?] of rum although there are no more than about twelve families of Esquimaux who deal with him. I am not however afraid that his great quantity of spirits will injure us in the way of trade, but I am given to understand that he hopes it will have that effect.²⁰⁰

Brownson's liquor was furnished by Hunt and Henley at Sandwich Bay. Hardisty discussed with Brownson a mutual reduction in its distribution, but he was unreceptive because

he believed that he would lose his trade to the American vessels along the coast. Numerous American vessels frequented Labrador immediately after the coast was clear of ice, and some of them remained until late autumn. The traders on board not only dispensed spirits but offered many other articles at a lower price than any Labrador trader could.²⁰¹ Hardisty did not consult Norman, expecting that he would make the same objection. The Hudson's Bay Company conducted its liquor trade principally at North West River, where the Indians, Smith remarked, were the "greatest Drunkards" he had ever encountered.²⁰²

Hardisty considered Donald Smith his most dedicated and enterprising officer in Labrador, and he wrote to Simpson:

He is an officer who is not sparing of his labor where the Company's interest is concerned, it is quite a common practice with him when he hears of a planter who is indebted to the Company having any furs to set off immediately to his house - no matter what the distance may be, or what kind of weather, and in this way he invariably secures whatever furs the planter may have on account of his debt to the Company. He is also deserving of much praise for the economy in which he manages the business of his post.

Although William Cameron was an able officer, he was "too good-natured, and consequently too easy;" Hardisty feared that this could "lead him to be imposed on both by his men, and also by those who deal at the post."²⁰³

The following arrangements were made for 1850-51 winter in Esquimaux Bay district: Hardisty, James Grant and 11 men, including the crew of the Willie, at North West River; Donald A. Smith with Mr. McPherson and three men at Rigolet; William Cameron and four men at Kibocock, and Henry Connolly and four men at Fort Nascopie. Of the 11 men at North West

River, eight were dispatched to hunting posts, the farthest of which was about 100 miles distant from North West River House. It was necessary to occupy strategic locations along the paths taken by the interior hunters on their voyages to North West River to prevent their being used by petty traders.

The location of only one of these outposts is mentioned. Two men were sent to winter at Grand Lake, about 50 miles from North West River where, Hardisty had discovered, two freemen had conducted a trade the previous year. McPherson in September was at Grand Lake superintending the construction of "a House;" Hardisty intended to send him to Rigolet after its completion.²⁰⁴ Hardisty seems to have passed the summer at Rigolet supervising the fisheries, and he wintered at North West River.

The returns from Esquimaux Bay in 1850-51 were valued at £2,000, an increase of almost £600 from the preceding year. Simpson estimated the profit to be £1,000. He expected some opposition the following year from Newfoundland companies.²⁰⁵

Chief Trader Richard Hardisty was in charge of the district until 1850-51, when he took leave of absence. His replacement was Donald A. Smith.²⁰⁶ William Cameron was drowned while ice-fishing in December 1850, and was succeeded at Kibocock by James Grant. The latter was instructed by Hardisty not to make extensive advances to the planters because they were already heavily in debt to the company.²⁰⁷ Grant was replaced by Joseph Edward McPherson in the summer of 1851.²⁰⁸

The returns from Fort Nascopie, in 1850-51, were considerably higher than in the previous winter, the increase in martens alone being in excess of 800.²⁰⁹ At North West River, the trade declined as some of the Indians had gone to visit the priest at Musquarro in the summer and had

not returned for the winter.²¹⁰ At Rigolet and Kibocock, there were a few more foxes than in the previous year.²¹¹ One of the company's vessels serving Labrador, the Marten, was wrecked in 1850. Consequently, the furs and oil from the Esquimaux Bay district posts were conveyed, in the summer of 1851, to Sandwich Bay whence they were shipped to England aboard one of Hunt and Henley's vessels.²¹² The salmon and oil seem to have been sent to Quebec.²¹³

When Donald A. Smith was assigned to Rigolet in 1848, it had only one Eskimo family and two planters attached to it. Most of the planters and Esquimos in its vicinity traded with Mr. Brownson. By 1852, Smith had succeeded in attracting many of them away. There were several disputes between Smith and Brownson, one concerning a fishery. Brownson, in 1852, proposed that he would terminate his competition if the company granted him an annual stipend of £50, and engaged not to trade with a specific number of Eskimos and planters whom he supplied. Smith declined the proposal.²¹⁴ Subsequently, both agreed not to occupy the disputed fishing station. Brownson, however, shortly afterward demanded that he should be granted £50 for renouncing his claim to it. He received no immediate satisfaction²¹⁵ and there is no information after 1852 on this matter.

The salmon fisheries in Esquimaux Bay were unproductive in 1855-56, though not as unproductive as in the previous year.²¹⁶ Most of the men employed were Orkneymen. When their contracts expired, Simpson was inclined to replace the men with "Europeans," preferably Orkneymen, instead of Canadians. Simpson requested, in 1856, that one cooper, one blacksmith and eight labourers be sent from England to Labrador for the 1856-57 season, all to be engaged for five years. The blacksmith and two labourers were required for Esquimaux Bay.²¹⁷

In 1856-57, the returns from Esquimaux Bay district declined £930, with the value of the furs declining 1,500.²¹⁸ Several of the families attached to Fort Nascopeie visited the missionary priests at Sept Iles and Mingan and remained there, injuring Fort Nascopeie's trade. In order to encourage their return, Simpson promised Reverend Père Armand, who desired to visit Fort Nascopeie, North West River and Rigolet in the summer, that he would be given free passage between Quebec and Rigolet and the company's officers would be instructed to facilitate his movements inland.²¹⁹

Until 1857-58, Esquimaux Bay district formed part of Montreal Department, and part of its merchandise was imported from Canada. Simpson resolved to discontinue this practice; direct shipment from England, he calculated, would permit the company to dispense with one of the schooners, saving £400 annually.²²⁰ All indents of trade were subsequently forwarded to London. Much of the merchandise and provisions destined for Esquimaux Bay district was shipped aboard vessels in the service of Hunt and Henley, the company's chief competitor, whose principal establishment in 1857 was at Eagle River.²²¹

The disposal of the salmon caught in the district was left to Smith's discretion. He could either sell them on the spot or convey them to Montreal, but he was discouraged from sending salmon to England.²²²

The officers assigned to Esquimaux Bay district in 1857-58, almost without exception, were men of poor quality and bad habits who appeared indifferent to the company's interests. Connolly's arrogance was driving the natives away from Fort Nascopeie, and his wife's conduct was even more intolerable. Simpson threatened to remove him if he did not "turn over a new leaf entirely."²²³

In the latter part of the 1850s, Hunt and Henley began encroaching on the company's trade north of Esquimaux Bay,

and it became evident to Simpson that he must extend his posts to the northward along the coast. He was anxious for an accommodation with the Moravians, in which the latter would consent to relinquish their trading operations, and he assigned the conduct of the negotiations to Smith.²²⁴

Smith was given a hospitable reception when he visited one of the Moravian missions in 1858-59.²²⁵

In 1858-59, competition increased from "rival traders," principally from those in the service of Hunt and Henley.²²⁶ One of Hunt and Henley's agents "near Nain" conducted, with great success, a trade in rum, apparently with fatal consequences for a few of the natives. A Hudson's Bay Company post was established "near Hopedale" by the summer of 1859 to protect the trade "from future attempts of Messre Hunt and Henley's people." The Moravians did not manifest any jealousy; indeed, having been on friendly terms with Smith, they encouraged the action, as they well realized the baneful effects of the liquor trade which Hunt and Henley seemed intent on pursuing. The Hudson's Bay Company had never conducted an extensive liquor trade in Labrador, and Simpson was anxious that the Moravians should join him in persuading Hunt and Henley to immediately terminate theirs.²²⁷

Peter McGill was master of Kibocock in 1861, when he was succeeded by John Norton, with James McMillan serving as his assistant. After outfitting the planters and arranging the affairs of Kibocock for the winter, he proceeded to Ailik, leaving McMillan to tend Kibocock during his absence. At Ailik, he supervised the autumn seal fishery and traded with the planters and others. It is not certain whether any of the company's servants resided there during the winter; there may have been, for a spring seal fishery was also conducted. The seal fisheries were conducted by the company's employees, though Eskimos were employed when there was a shortage of men.²²⁸ In the latter part of April or begin-

ning of May, visits were made to the coast to the north to see whether the Eskimos had been there during the winter.²²⁹ In 1860-61, two "Traders" bartered some furs at Kibocock.

The returns from Ailik included oil, salmon, trout, fur and dressed seal skins, "adopted both for boot legs & boot bottoms."²³⁰ The salmon caught in Labrador was sold in 1861 to Nathan Norman, and the furs and oil were shipped to England, as in former years, aboard Hunt and Henley's vessels.²³¹ Hunt and Henley, in 1861, had an establishment "below Hopedale."²³²

Smith was still in charge of Esquimaux Bay district in 1864,²³³ but by 1869 Henry Connolly had replaced him. Nachvak was founded in 1868 by Matthew Fortescue.²³⁴ He was replaced in August 1869 by E. Goldstone, who had been in Labrador for two years.²³⁵ Fort Lampson was in existence by the autumn of 1867. Henry Bright was master at Kibocock in 1869.²³⁶

In the summer of 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company purchased Hunt and Henley's establishments at Davis Inlet and Pants Island. Edward Adams, the supervisor of Davis Inlet for Hunt and Henley, was retained, and John Ford was placed in charge of Pants Island. The cooper at Fort Lampson, where Keith McKenzie was master, was transferred to Davis Inlet, the latter place being more convenient for a cooper than Fort Lampson.²³⁷

The Hudson's Bay Company steamer Labrador called at Kibocock, Davis Inlet, Fort Lampson and Nachvak in the summer of 1869²³⁸ on its annual voyage to the northern Labrador post.²³⁹ The captain was instructed to stop first at Kibocock and then proceed to Davis Inlet, Fort Lampson and Nachvak. On his return, he was to call at either Ailik or Kibocock to pick up the returns from the two posts and those from Davis Inlet.²⁴⁰

Trout, cod, salmon and seal fisheries were conducted at Ailik. The trout and cod fisheries failed in the summer of 1869.²⁴¹ There do not seem to have been any winterers there in 1868-69. At Pants Island and "about" Davis Inlet, there were "unusually good" seal fisheries in the autumn of 1869.²⁴² Furs, oil and salmon were shipped from Davis Inlet aboard the schooner Fox early in the autumn of 1870.²⁴³

The Moravians, in the latter part of the 1860s, began to take a more active interest in trade. At Hopedale, they were "carrying on great trade in oil, Trout & Codfish and underselling everyone." Connolly says that while they were endeavouring to convince the British public that they were interested only in converting the poor heathens in Labrador, they were really determined to "make most in trade & live in luxury." They were opposed to paying duties on the produce of their trade.²⁴⁴

In the summer or early autumn of 1871, the Moravians founded a settlement between Fort Lampson and Nachvak, and intended to set up another one between Nachvak and Cape Chidley.²⁴⁵ Connolly writes that they appeared "determined on carrying every thing before them by selling very cheap. It is high time they should be checked & I expect the next thing will be to settle at Georges River - some traders [?] have found their way as far as Lampson from where they have taken great qty of Trout & Codfish."²⁴⁶ Some Naskapi traded with the Moravians at Zoar in 1869-70.²⁴⁷

Connolly, in March 1872, was determined that George River post (McLean's post) should be re-established in the summer, believing that it would prevent the Ungava Eskimos from going to the Moravians in Labrador. He had previously suggested this to Mr. Smith, the company's representative in Montreal, but apparently had not received a reply.²⁴⁸ It was not in operation by August 1872, for Connolly wrote to

Smith that about 20 Eskimo families residing in Ungava had requested an establishment on George River.²⁴⁹

The trade in furs in 1869-70 in Esquimaux Bay district was "very poor," the district producing only 700 martens. Foxes were scarce at Fort Lampson, Davis Inlet and Nachvak, and at Kibocock, "little" was "done in furs & seals."²⁵⁰ At Davis Inlet, in addition to the few furs, there was oil, salmon and at least 800 pairs of "Esqx Boots."²⁵¹ At Pants Island, the seal hunt was relatively successful.

McKinlay and Bright retired at the end of the 1869-70 season. Connolly said about McKinlay, "he is a man that we can depend upon in the preserving of salmon, thoroughly understanding his business."²⁵²

The schooner Lady Lake was damaged by ice near Ailik in the summer of 1870, and the captain, finding her unfit to proceed further north, sailed back to Rigolet.²⁵³ Adams at Davis Inlet subsequently received some provisions from Ailik;²⁵⁴ however, McKenzie at Fort Lampson was obliged to buy his supplies during the winter from the Moravians.²⁵⁵

Foxes were again scarce in 1870-71 at Fort Lampson and Nachvak, where Mr. Goldstone was master. At Davis Inlet there were a few foxes, but the seal hunt at Pants Island was not as successful as in the previous year.²⁵⁶ Connolly wrote, "At Gull Island Mr. A. Cameron has seen none of the Winowkupa Inds only a few of the Mingan Inds who appear to have done very poorly & complain greatly of hunger. There were some [____] families of Mingan Inds arrd here [North West River] by open water when they could get nothing they went back again."²⁵⁷ This indicates that Gull Island may have been operated as a wintering post. Connolly resided during the winter at North West River.²⁵⁸

The steamship Labrador, in the autumn of 1871, picked up the returns from Mingan, St. Augustine, and part of those at Rigolet, and then proceeded northward to Kibocock and

Davis Inlet. After taking on board the salmon, oil and furs at Kibocock and Davis Inlet, she sailed to England.²⁵⁹ In 1870-71, the fur trade in Esquimaux Bay district was again "very low."²⁶⁰

John A. Olsen, in 1871-72, replaced Goldstone, who left Labrador.²⁶¹ McKenzie remained at Fort Lampson for 1871-72,²⁶² and James Scott was at Kibocock.

Fort Nascopie was relatively successful until the re-establishment of Fort Chimo in 1866. Subsequently, many of its Indians went northward to Fort Chimo and others southward to Mingan and eastward to North West River. The cost of transporting supplies to Fort Nascopie made it necessary to pay a lower price for furs there than at the other establishments. Fort Nascopie was abandoned about 1873, leaving only two posts in the interior, Nichikun and Mistassini.²⁶³

In Extracts from the Reports on the District of Ungava published in 1913, A.P. Low described the remains of Fort Nascopie he saw during his 1895 survey.

The ruins of Fort Nascaupie stand in a small clearing, close to the shore of the lake, and only a short distance above high-water mark. The houses were built of small, squared logs, with board roofs. When visited, the dwelling-house was in a fair state of repair, with the window sashes and some of the glass still in place. The doors and movables insides had been broken up and used for firewood by Indians; the roof was nearly unbroken, and leaked only in a few places. This building is about twelve by eighteen feet, and has a low room under the attic roof above. Adjoining the main building on each side are two smaller buildings, evidently used for a kitchen and store; the roofs of both have fallen in. Traces about twenty yards

to the east of these ruins, probably represent the remains of some outbuilding. About fifty yards behind, the powder-house covered with earth was seen, with broken roof and partly filled up with earth. Adjoining this is a small burying place with a large wooden cross in its center, but without any marks on the graves, which are probably those of Indians. In the attic a fragment of "The Albion," of March 7, 1846, was found. Close to the house were several patches of rhubarb eighteen inches high, while a number of introduced plants still flourish in the old door-yard. [264]

Low writes about Fort Chimo:

Fort Chimo, the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment, is situated facing a small cove on a low terrace on the south shore, about two miles below the islands. The terrace is about 200 yards wide, and is backed by low rounded hills of gneiss. Small black spruce trees grow only in protected hollows about the post, and the general aspect is very uninviting, with barren, rocky hills bounding the horizon on every side. The post consists of about a dozen buildings including a dwelling house for the officer in charge, four or five for the servants, and trading shop, office, two provision stores, oil shed salt shed, carpenter, cooper and blacksmith shops and a dwelling house for the Indians. These buildings are all, or nearly all, made of imported lumber. There are a number of small boats attached to the post, along with a small sloop and a steam launch, used in connection with the salmon fishery. At present a vessel of

about twenty tons is being built there, from wood obtained about Ungava Bay; most of it coming from some distance up the Whale River, which is the next large stream flowing into the bay to the eastward. Firewood for the post is cut during the winter in the vicinity of the first rapid, and is rafted down the river in the summer. The post is supplied by the company's steamer "Eric," which arrives at Fort Chimo about the first week in September, and remains there, loading and unloading, for about two weeks. This is the only communication with the outside world, and when the ship leaves, all touch with civilization is lost until the following year.²⁶⁵

The fur trade was conducted with both Indians and Eskimos. There were salmon fisheries operated in August at a "number of places" along the river, below the post, and at the mouths of the Whale and George rivers. The annual catch averaged 100 tierces. White porpoises were hunted on the Leaf and George rivers.²⁶⁶

Endnotes

Section I. The Moose River-Ottawa River Region

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The Districts of Lake Huron, Kinoogumisee and
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Section II. The Nipigon Region, including the Territory between Lake Nipigon and Lake Winnipeg and Northward to Hudson Bay

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- 85 Ibid.
- 86 J. Long, Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, (London: Robson, 1791), p. 50.
- 87 Ibid., p. 51.
- 88 Ibid., p. 54.
- 89 Ibid., p. 57.
- 90 Ibid., p. 8.
- 91 Ibid., pp. 61-62.
- 92 Ibid., pp. 62-63.
- 93 Ibid., p. 65.
- 94 Ibid., p. 69.
- 95 Ibid., pp. 64-71.
- 96 Ibid., p. 75.
- 97 Ibid., pp. 85-86.
- 98 Ibid., pp. 81-82.
- 99 Umfreville, op. cit., p. 37.

- 100 Long, op. cit., pp. 93-94, 108. R. Douglas, the editor of Umfreville's Nipigon to Winnipeg, believes Lake Schabeechewan to be the modern Tide Lake. A 1924 province of Ontario map places Tide Lake between Ball Lake and Maynard Lake. On subsequent maps Tide Lake does not appear; instead, it forms part of Ball Lake. Schabeechewan Lake took its name from the falls at the lake's entrance. vide Umfreville, op. cit., p. 11.
- 101 Long, op. cit., p. 109.
- 102 Ibid., pp. 109-35.
- 103 HBCA, B.64/a/1, 1792-93, p. 5.
- 104 Long, op. cit., pp. 115-116.
- 105 Ibid., p. 116.
- 106 HBCA, B.16/e/1, 1815, p. 8.
- 107 Rich, op. cit., p. 228.
- 108 Ibid., p. 289.
- 109 Ibid., p. 290.
- 110 Ibid., p. 409.
- 111 Ibid., p. 414.
- 112 HBCA, B.198/a/1, 1759-60, pp. 2-4.
- 113 HBCA, B.198/a/3, 1761-62, p. 40.
- 114 HBCA, B.198/a/1, op. cit., p. 4.
- 115 HBCA, B.198/a/2, 1760-61, p. 43.
- 116 HBCA, B.198/a/3, op. cit., p. 41.
- 117 Ibid., p. 40.
- 118 HBCA, B.198/a/3, 1762-63, p. 13.
- 119 HBCA, A.11/57, 4 September 1767, n.p.
- 120 HBCA, B.198/a/3, op. cit., p. 41.
- 121 Ibid., p. 22.
- 122 Graham, op. cit., pp. 252-53.
- 123 HBCA, B.198/a/5, 1763-64, p. 9.
- 124 HBCA, B.198/a/9, 1766-67, p. 25.
- 125 HBCA, B.198/a/10, 1767-68, p. 1.
- 126 HBCA, B.198/a/11, 1768-69, p. 39.

- 127 Ibid., p. 35.
- 128 HBCA, B.198/a/15, 1771-72, p. 36.
- 129 HBCA, B.198/a/18, 1773-74, p. 29.
- 130 HBCA, B.198/a/17, 1772-73, p. 16.
- 131 Ibid., p. 25.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Graham, op. cit., p. 267.
- 134 HBCA, B.198/a/18, 1773-74, p. 32.
- 135 HBCA, B.198/a/21, 1776-77, p. 29.
- 136 HBCA, B.198/a/23, 1778-79, p. 45.
- 137 HBCA, B.198/a/24, 1779-80, pp. 43-44.
- 138 HBCA, B.198/a/26, 1780-81, p. 33.
- 139 HBCA, B.3/b/7, Martin to Powell, 12 September 1769, pp. 2-3.
- 140 HBCA, B.3/b/6, J.R. to _____, 6 July 1769, pp. 16-7.
- 141 HBCA, B.3/b/8, Martin to Powell, 23 July 1776, p. 25.
- 142 HBCA, B.3/b/9, Martin to Norton, 29 June 1772, p. 36.
- 143 HBCA, B.3/b/12, Hutchins to Martin, 11 May 1775, p. 29.
- 144 HBCA, B.3/b/12, Hutchins to Martin, 19 August 1775, p. 45.
- 145 HBCA, B.3/b/14, Favell to Hutchins, 25 May 1777, p. 22.
- 146 HBCA, B.3/b/12, Hutchins to Kitchin, 9 June 1777, p. 25.
- 147 HBCA, B.3/b/12, Hutchins to Jarvis, 28 March 1775, p. 18.
- 148 Ibid.; HBCA, A.6/12, London Committee to Albany, ___ May 1774, p. 4.
- 149 HBCA, B.3/b/13, Hutchins to Falconer, 18 September 1775, p. 11.
- 150 Ibid.; HBCA, B.3/b/13, Hutchins to Favell, 8 February 1776, pp. 25-26.
- 151 HBCA, B.3/b/13, Hutchins to Kitchin, 11 July 1776, p. 54.
- 152 HBCA, B.3/b/14, Instructions to Favell, 5 February 1777, p. 9.

- 153 HBCA, B.3/b/14, Instructions to Favell, 26 May 1777, p. 20.
- 154 HBCA, B.3/b/14, Kipling to Hutchins, 28 June 1777, p.
- 155 HBCA, B.3/b/14, Hutchins to Jarvis, 19 August 1777, p. 37.
- 156 HBCA, B.3/b/14, Kipling to Hutchins, 31 July 1777, p. 36.
- 157 HBCA, B.3/b/15, Kipling to Hutchins, 14 September 1777, p. 3.
- 158 HBCA, B.3/b/15, Favell to Hutchins, 15 December 1777, p. 10.
- 159 HBCA, B.3/b/15, Kipling to Hutchins, 15 August 1778, p. 42.
- 160 HBCA, B.78/a/2, 1777, p. 6.
- 161 HBCA, B.78/a/4, 1778-79, p. 13.
- 162 Ibid., p. 22.
- 163 HBCA, B.78/a/5, 1779-80, p. 23.
- 164 HBCA, B.3/b/16, Kipling to Hutchins, 10 October 1778, pp. 4-5.
- 165 HBCA, B.3/b/16, Hutchins to Kipling, 29 January 1779, p. 9; HBCA, B.3/b/16, Kipling to Hutchins, 8 March 1779, p. 14.
- 166 HBCA, B.3/b/17, Hutchins to Hearne, 28 December 1779, p. 17.
- 167 HBCA, B.3/b/14, Hutchins to Favell, 5 February 1777, p. 9.
- 168 HBCA, B.3/a/73, 1778-79, p. 1.
- 169 Ibid., p. 2.
- 170 Ibid., p. 4.
- 171 Ibid.
- 172 Ibid., p. 5.
- 173 Ibid.
- 174 Ibid., p. 6.
- 175 Computed from the figures given by Sutherland for each day of travelling. It was on his third day. Ibid., p. 7.
- 176 Ibid., p. 11.

- 177 Ibid., p. 12.
- 178 Ibid., p. 20.
- 179 Ibid., pp. 20-21
- 180 Ibid., p. 15, 21.
- 181 Ibid., pp. 37-38.
- 182 Ibid., p. 38.
- 183 Ibid.
- 184 vide ibid., p. 39, for the letter of warning.
- 185 Ibid., p. 40.
- 186 Ibid., p. 41.
- 187 Ibid., p. 42.
- 188 HBCA, B.3/a/76, 1778-79, p. 3.
- 189 Ibid., p. 4.
- 190 Ibid., pp. 3-4; "Mr. Coats enumerated no less than 18 Canadian Houses, around us in these parts, and some of them only two days Journey above Gloucester, in coming down in small canoes without Luggage." Ibid., p. 6.
- 191 Ibid., p. 4.
- 192 Ibid., p. 5.
- 193 HBCA, B.3/b/16, Hutchins to Kitchin, 5 August 1779, p. 31.
- 194 HBCA, B.3/b/16, Hutchins to Favell, 22 July 1779, p. 28.
- 195 HBCA, B.3/a/76, op. cit., p. 4.
- 196 HBCA, B.211/a/1, 1779-80, p. 6.
- 197 Ibid., p. 10.
- 198 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 199 Ibid., p. 14.
- 200 Ibid., p. 15.
- 201 Grand Portage
- 202 Ibid., p. 16. Ezekial Solomon, a Jew, was born in Berlin, Prussia. He came to Montreal apparently soon after the city's capture by the British, and was a trader at Michilimackinac when Pontiac's massacre occurred in June 1763. He was captured and later ransomed by the

- Ottawa Indians in Montreal. A.C. Osborne, "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishine in 1828," Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Vol. 3, 1901, pp. 126-27; Henry, op. cit., p. 103.
- 203 HBCA, B.211/a/1, op. cit., p. 27.
- 204 Ibid., p. 34.
- 205 Ibid., p. 16.
- 206 Ibid., p. 15.
- 207 Ibid., p. 18.
- 208 Ibid.
- 209 Ibid., p. 23.
- 210 Ibid., pp. 24-25.
- 211 Ibid., p. 34.
- 212 Ibid., p. 35.
- 213 Ibid., p. 36.
- 214 Ibid., p. 37.
- 215 Ibid., p. 38.
- 216 Ibid.
- 217 Ibid., p. 42.
- 218 Ibid.
- 219 Ibid., p. 43.
- 220 Ibid.
- 221 Ibid., p. 44.
- 222 Ibid., p. 46.
- 223 HBCA, B.3/b/17, Hutchins to Turnor, 16 February 1780, p. 21.
- 224 HBCA, B.3/a/1776, 1779-80, p. 4.
- 225 HBCA, B.3/b/17, Kipling to Hutchins, 12 June 1780, pp. 40-41.
- 226 HBCA, B.3/b/17, Kipling to Hutchins, 1 August 1780, p. 47.
- 227 HBCA, B.3/b/17, Kipling to Hutchins, 12 June 1780, p. 41; HBCA, B.3/17, Hutchins to Cocking, 3 July 1780, p. 43.

- 228 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Hutchins to Martin, 12 January 1781, p. 11.
- 229 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Kipling to Hutchins, 30 March 1781, p. 23.
- 230 Ibid.
- 231 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Hutchins to Kipling, 5 March 1781, p. 19; HBCA, A.16/13, London Committee to Albany, 29 May 1782, p. 37.
- 232 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Hutchins to Maugenest, 17 May 1781, pp. 26-27.
- 233 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Hutchins to Atkinson, 10 June 1781, pp. 31-32.
- 234 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Maugenest to Hutchins, 25 June 1781, p. 38.
- 235 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Maugenest to Hutchins, 21 July 1781, p. 41.
- 236 HBCA, B.3/b/18, Maugenest to Hutchins, 22 July 1781, p. 42.
- 237 HBCA, B.3/b/19, Maugenest to Hutchins, 22 September 1781, pp. 5-6; B.3/b/19, Maugenest to Hutchins, 19 October 1781, p. 1.
- 238 HBCA, A.6/13, London Committee to Albany, 21 May 1783, p. 71.
- 239 HBCA, B.3/b/19, Hutchins to Kipling, 26 March 1782, p. 25.
- 240 HBCA, B.3/b/19, Hutchins to Maugenest, 26 March 1782, p. 27.
- 241 HBCA, B.3/b/19, Maugenest to Hutchins, 20 February 1782, p. 24.
- 242 HBCA, B.3/b/19, Maugenest to Hutchins, 5 May 1782, pp. 34-35.
- 243 HBCA, B.3/b/19, Hutchins to Maugenest, 23 May 1782, p. 37.

- 244 HBCA, B.3/b/19, Hutchins to Jarvis, 15 July 1782, p. 45.
- 245 HBCA, A.6/13, London Committee to Moose, 21 May 1783,
p. 70.
- 246 HBCA, A.6/13, London Committee to Albany, 19 May 1784,
p. 95; A.6/13, London Committee to Albany, 24 May 1786,
p. 150.
- 247 HBCA, B.78/a/6, 1780-81, p. 17, 22.
- 248 HBCA, B.78/a/7, 1781-82, p. 6.
- 249 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
- 25 HBCA, B.78/a/8, 1782-83, p. 25.
- 251 HBCA, B.86/a/35, 1781-82, p. 1.
- 252 Ibid., pp. 2-4.
- 253 Ibid., p. 5.
- 254 Ibid., p. 11.
- 255 HBCA, B.86/a/36, 1782-83, p. 8.
- 256 HBCA, B.86/a/38, 1784-85, p. 53.
- 257 HBCA, B.198/a/29, 1783-84, p. 3.
- 258 Ibid.
- 259 Ibid., p. 21.
- 260 Ibid., pp. 27-28.
- 261 Ibid., p. 27.
- 262 HBCA, B.78/a/9, 1783-84, p. 12.
- 263 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 264 Ibid., p. 24.
- 265 HBCA, B.78/a/11, 1784, p. 6.
- 266 Ibid.
- 267 Ibid., p. 7.
- 268 Ibid.
- 269 Ibid.
- 270 Ibid., p. 8.
- 271 Ibid., p. 10.
- 272 Ibid., p. 11.
- 273 Ibid., p. 12.

274 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

275 HBCA, B.78/a/12, 1784-85, p. 18.

276 Ibid., p. 20.

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- 1 HBCA, A.6/14, London Committee to Albany, 21 May 1788, p. 28; A.6/14, London Committee to Albany, 19 May 1790, p. 95; A.6/15, London Committee to Albany, 25 May 1792, p. 15; A.6/15, London Committee to Albany, 30 May 1793, p. 53; A.6/15, London Committee to Albany, 29 May 1794, p. 98; A.6/14, London Committee to Albany, 19 May 1790, p. 95.
- 2 HBCA, A.6/16, London Committee to Albany, 31 May 1798, p. 49; A.6/16, London Committee to Moose, 1 June 1796, p. 28.
- 3 HBCA, A.6/16, London Committee to Albany, 31 May 1798, p. 49; A.6/16, London Committee to Albany, 31 May 1799, p. 69; A.6/16, London Committee to Albany, 20 May 1801, p. 114.
- 4 HBCA, A.6/17, London Committee to Albany, 30 May 1804, p. 15.
- 5 HBCA, A.6/16, London Committee to Albany, 25 May 1803, p. 156.
- 6 HBCA, A.6/13, London Committee to Albany, 29 May 1782, p. 29; HBCA, B.3/b/21, Jarvis to McNab, 26 June _____, p. 40.
- 7 HBCA, B.3/b/22, Jarvis to McNab, 13 January 1785, p. 12.
- 8 HBCA, B.3/b/22, Kipling to Jarvis, 13 February 1785, p. 15.
- 9 HBCA, B.3/b/22, Instructions for John Kipling, 15 March 1785, p. 24.

- 10 HBCA, B.3/b/22, Jarvis to Kipling, n.d., pp. 47-48.
- 11 HBCA, B.3/b/22, Jarvis to Thomas, 14 August 1785, p. 51.
- 12 HBCA, B.3/b/22, Best to Jarvis, 25 August 1785, p. 52.
- 13 HBCA, B.131/a/1, 1785-86, p. 1, 2.
- 14 HBCA, B.78/a/13, 1785-86, p. 3, 16, 21.
- 15 Ibid., p. 12.
- 16 Ibid., p. 23.
- 17 Ibid., p. 25.
- 18 Ibid., p. 22.
- 19 Ibid., p. 24.
- 20 HBCA, B.3/b/23, Kipling to Jarvis, 24 February 1786, pp. 13-14.
- 21 HBCA, B.3/b/23, Jarvis to Best, 23 March ____, p. 17.
- 22 HBCA, B.3/b/23, Instructions for John Best, n.d., pp. 30-31.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 HBCA, B.3/b/23, Kipling to Jarvis, 1 July ____, p. 43.
- 25 HBCA, B.3/b/23, Best to Jarvis, 11 August ____, pp. 51-52.
- 26 HBCA, B.155/a/1, 1786-87, p. 5.
- 27 HBCA, B.3/b/24, Jarvis to Thomas, 12 December 1786, p. 11.
- 28 HBCA, B.155/a/1, 1786-87, pp. 2-6.
- 29 Ibid., p. 10.
- 30 Ibid., p. 21.
- 31 Sutherland first went through Mishiggomy Lake (Lake St. Joseph) on 19 June. He put up "at a very narrow place in the Lake" called Keewiskatapan or the meadow; "from opposite to Pascocoggan to this place" the lake was thirty miles long and in some places four wide.
HBCA, B.78/a/14, 1786, p. 4.
- 32 HBCA, B.78/a/15, 1786, p. 3.
- 33 Ibid., p. 7.
- 34 HBCA, B.198/a/33, 1785-86, p. 32.

- 35 HBCA, B.78/a/16, 1786-87, p. 6.
- 36 Ibid., p. 13.
- 37 Ibid., p. 23.
- 38 Ibid., p. 25.
- 39 Ibid., p. 30.
- 40 HBCA, B.155/a/2, 1787-88, p. 16.
- 41 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
- 42 Ibid., p. 20.
- 43 HBCA, B.78/a/17, 1787-88, p. 5.
- 44 Ibid., p. 6.
- 45 Ibid., p. 14.
- 46 HBCA, B.3/b/26, Goodwin to Jarvis, 16 September 1788, p. 11.
- 47 HBCA, B.78/a/17, 1787-88, p. 27.
- 48 HBCA, B.3/b/25, Jarvis to Goodwin, ___ March 1788, p. 24.
- 49 HBCA, B.3/b/25, Instructions to John Best, 16 June 1788, pp. 41-42.
- 50 HBCA, B.3/b/25, pp. 53-54.
- 51 HBCA, B.3/b/25, Jarvis to Goodwin, 27 June 1788, pp. 58-59.
- 52 HBCA, B.3/b/25, Jarvis to Best, 27 June 1788, p. 61.
- 53 HBCA, B.3/b/26, Best to Jarvis, 17 August 1788, p. 1.
- 54 HBCA, B.3/b/26, Goodwin to Jarvis, 26 August 1788, p. 2.
- 55 HBCA, B.30/a/1, 1788-89, p. 3, 8-9.
- 56 HBCA, B.155/a/3, 1788-89, p. 8.
- 57 HBCA, A.6/15, London Committee to Albany, 30 May 1793, p. 53.
- 58 HBCA, B.78/a/18, 1788-89, p. 7. Goodwin writes from Osnaburgh in February, 1789 that he will send Richard Perkins to Cat Lake to explore Severn River. Ibid1, p. 18.
- 59 HBCA, B.155/a/4, 1789-90, p. 5.
- 60 Ibid., p. 26.
- 61 HBCA, B.3/b/26, Goodwin to Jarvis, 16 September 1788, op. cit., p. 11.

- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 HBCA, B.30/a/2, 1789-90, p. 2.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., p. 9.
- 67 HBCA, B.30/a/3, 1790-91, pp. 10-11.
- 68 HBCA, B.3/b/27, McNab to Atkinson, 11 December 1789, p. 14.
- 69 HBCA, B.3/b/27, Sutherland to McNab, 9 September 1789, p. 10.
- 70 HBCA, B.3/b/27, McNab to Best, 11 December 1789, p. 21.
- 71 HBCA, B.3/b/27, McNab to Donald, 11 December 1789, p. 16.
- 72 HBCA, B.3/b/27, McNab to Goodwin, 11 December 1789, p. 19.
- 73 HBCA, B.3/b/28, Cameron to _____, 11 September 1790, p. 10, dated Sturgeon Lake.
- 74 HBCA, B.3/b/27, McNab to Goodwin, _____ May 1790, p. 41.
- 75 HBCA, B.3/b/27, Goodwin to _____, 11 June 1790, p. 57.
- 76 HBCA, B.3/b/27, McNab to Goodwin, 26 June 1790, p. 60.
- 77 HBCA, B.3/b/27, Hodgson to McNab, 16 July 1790, p. 70.
- 78 HBCA, B.3/b/27, Best to _____, 28 July 1790, p. 73.
- 79 HBCA, B.3/b/28, Sutherland to Thomas, 4 October 1790, pp. 6-7.
- 80 HBCA, B.177/a/1, 1790-91, p. 4.
- 81 Ibid., pp. 5-7.
- 82 Ibid., p. 11.
- 83 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 84 Ibid., pp. 13-15.
- 85 Ibid., p. 25.
- 86 Ibid., p. 32.
- 87 HBCA, B.3/b/28, Best to _____, 17 September 1790, p. 7.
- 88 HBCA, B.155/a/5, 1790-91, p. 7.

- 89 Ibid., p. 23; HBCA, A.6/15, London Committee to Albany, 25 May 1792, p. 15.
- 90 HBCA, B.3/b/28, Jarvis to Thomas, 18 October 1790, p. 10.
- 91 HBCA, B.3/b/28, Jarvis to Sutherland, 26 January 1791, p. 17.
- 92 HBCA, B.155/a/5, 1790-91, p. 4.
- 93 Ibid., p. 7.
- 94 HBCA, B.177/a/2, 1791-92, p. 13.
- 95 Ibid., p. 15.
- 96 HBCA, B.3/a/93b, 1792, p. 1.
- 97 Ibid., p. 7.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Ibid., p. 8.
- 101 Ibid., p. 10.
- 102 HBCA, B.3/b/29, McNab to Thomas, 27 August 1792, p. 58.
- 103 HBCA, B.64/a/1, op. cit., pp. 1-5.
- 104 Ibid., p. 6.
- 105 Ibid., pp. 8-10.
- 106 Ibid., p. 20.
- 107 Ibid., pp. 24-25.
- 108 HBCA, B.155/a/5, 1790-91, p. 4.
- 109 HBCA, B.177/a/3, 1792-93, pp. 2-3.
- 110 Ibid., p. 8.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 A new house covered with grass was constructed. HBCA, B.30/a/4, 1792-93, pp. 2-3.
- 113 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- 114 Ibid., p. 15.
- 115 Ibid., p. 16.
- 116 HBCA, B.3/b/30, Hodgson to Nelson, 14 July 1793, p. 52.
- 117 HBCA, B.3/b/31, McNab to Stayner and Ballenden, 31 May 1794, p. 24.
- 118 HBCA, B.3/b/30, McNab to Thomas, 25 August 1793, p. 57.

- 119 Ibid.
- 120 HBCA, B.3/b/32, Hodgson to Sutherland, 3 July 1795, p. 33.
- 121 HBCA, B.3/b/33, McNab to Hodgson, 25 August 1796,
p. 37.
- 122 HBCA, B.166/a/1, 1793-94, p. 1.
- 123 Ibid., p. 2.
- 124 Ibid., p. 3.
- 125 Ibid., p. 4.
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 Ibid., p. 22.
- 128 Ibid., p. 17.
- 129 Ibid., p. 19.
- 130 Ibid., p. 12.
- 131 Ibid., p. 5.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Ibid., p. 9.
- 134 Ibid., p. 6.
- 135 Ibid., p. 8.
- 136 Ibid., p. 10.
- 137 Ibid., p. 15.
- 138 Ibid., p. 17.
- 139 Ibid., p. 8.
- 140 Ibid., p. 10.
- 141 Ibid., p. 17.
- 142 Vide *ibid.*, p. 12.
- 143 Ibid., p. 13.
- 144 Ibid., p. 16.
- 145 Ibid., p. 15.
- 146 Ibid., p. 19.
- 147 Ibid., p. 23.
- 148 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
- 149 Ibid., p. 21.
- 150 Ibid., p. 22.
- 151 Ibid., p. 24.

- 152 HBCA, B.166/a/2, 1794, p. 2b.
- 153 Ibid., p. 4.
- 154 HBCA, B.166/a/1, op. cit., p. 24.
- 155 HBCA, B.166/a/2, op. cit., p. 2a.
- 156 Ibid., p. 3.
- 157 Ibid., p. 9.
- 158 HBCA, B.166/a/3, 1794-95, p. 1.
- 159 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 160 Ibid., p. 10.
- 161 Ibid., p. 12.
- 162 Ibid., p. 20.
- 163 HBCA, B.105/a/1, 1793-94, p. 5.
- 164 Ibid., p. 6.
- 165 Ibid.
- 166 Ibid., p. 17.
- 167 Ibid., p. 7.
- 168 Ibid., p. 11.
- 169 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
- 170 Ibid., p. 14.
- 171 Ibid., p. 18.
- 172 Ibid., p. 19.
- 173 Ibid., p. 2.
- 174 HBCA, B.105/a/2, 1794-95, p. 1.
- 175 Ibid., p. 2.
- 176 Ibid.
- 177 Ibid., p. 3.
- 178 Ibid., p. 6.
- 179 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 180 Ibid., p. 8.
- 181 Ibid.
- 182 Ibid.
- 183 Ibid., p. 13.
- 184 Ibid., p. 14.
- 185 Ibid.

- 186 Ibid., p. 22.
- 187 Ibid., p. 26.
- 188 Ibid., p. 17.
- 189 Ibid., p. 19.
- 190 Ibid., p. 16.
- 191 HBCA, B.105/a/3, 1795-96, p. 1.
- 192 Ibid., p. 4.
- 193 Ibid.
- 194 Ibid., p. 3.
- 195 Ibid., p. 4.
- 196 Ibid., p. 6.
- 197 Ibid.
- 198 Ibid., p. 26.
- 199 Ibid., p. 10.
- 200 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
- 201 Ibid., p. 8.
- 202 Ibid., p. 9.
- 203 Ibid.
- 204 Ibid., p. 12.
- 205 Ibid., p. 27.
- 206 Ibid., p. 32.
- 207 Ibid., p. 30.
- 208 Ibid., p. 39.
- 209 Ibid., p. 32.
- 210 Ibid., p. 35.
- 211 HBCA, B.105/a/4, 1796-97, p. 2.
- 212 Ibid., p. 5.
- 213 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
- 214 Ibid., p. 6.
- 215 Ibid.
- 216 Ibid., p. 7.
- 217 Ibid., p. 8.
- 218 Ibid., p. 11.
- 219 Ibid., p. 26.

- 220 Ibid.
- 221 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
- 222 Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
- 223 HBCA, B.198/a/46, 1794-95, p. 45.
- 224 HBCA, B.30/a/5, 1793-94, p. 21.
- 225 HBCA, B.30/a/5, 1793-94, p. 1.
- 226 Ibid., pp. 7-9.
- 227 Ibid., p. 21.
- 228 Ibid., p. 20.
- 229 HBCA, B.177/a/4, 1793-94, pp. 2-3.
- 230 Ibid., pp. 11-13.
- 231 HBCA, B.254/a/1, 1794-95, p. 2.
- 232 Ibid., pp. 2-6.
- 233 Ibid., pp. 8-13.
- 234 Ibid., p. 13.
- 235 Ibid., p. 30; HBCA, B.155/a/8, 1792-93, p. 5.
- 236 HBCA, B.155/a/9a, 1793-94, pp. 5-6.
- 237 Ibid., p. 21.
- 238 HBCA, B.155/a/10, 1794-95, p. 6.
- 239 Ibid., p. 16.
- 240 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
- 241 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- 242 Ibid., p. 33.
- 243 HBCA, B.155/a/11, 1795-96, p. 25.
- 244 HBCA, B.155/a/10, 1794-95, pp. 23-35.
- 245 HBCA, B.30/a/6, 1794-95, p. 12.
- 246 Ibid.
- 247 HBCA, B.71/a/1, 1795-96, p. 5.
- 248 Also known to the English as Lake Sanderson.
- 249 HBCA, B.71/a/1, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- 250 Ibid., p. 6.
- 251 Ibid., p. 13.
- 252 HBCA, B.236/a/1, 1796-97, p. 1.
- 253 HBCA, B.3/b/32, Sutherland to , 17 August 1795, p. 42.

- 254 HBCA, B.3/b/33, McKay to _____, 13 June 1796, p. 26.
- 255 HBCA, B.3/b/33, "General Intentions for Inland Business" in McNab to McKay, 20 May 1796, p. 18.
- 256 HBCA, B.3/b/33, McKay to _____, 13 June 1796, op. cit., p. 26.
- 257 HBCA, B.3/b/33, Hodgson to McNab, 21 June 1796, p. 27.
- 258 HBCA, B.3/b/33, McKay to _____, 13 June 1796, op. cit., p. 26.
- 259 HBCA, B.3/b/34, McKay to McNab, 14 October 1796, pp. 12-13.
- 260 HBCA, B.3/b/34, McNab to Best, 6 December 1796, p. 19.
- 261 HBCA, B.3/b/34, McKay to _____, 21 December 1796, p. 30.
- 262 HBCA, A.6/16, London Committee to Albany, 31 May 1797, p. 36.
- 263 HBCA, B.33/a/4, 1796-97, passim.
- 264 HBCA, B.22/a/6, 1798-99, passim.
- 265 HBCA, B.22/a/9, 1801-02, passim.
- 266 HBCA, B.22/a/10, 1802-03, passim.
- 267 HBCA, B.33/a/10-18a, passim.
- 268 HBCA, B.3/b/48a, Thomas to Hillier, 28 June 1812, p. 38; HBCA, B.3/b/48b, Vincent to Thomas, 7 June 1812, p. 34.
- 269 HBCA, B.155/a/12, 1796-97, p. 14.
- 270 HBCA, B.71/a/1, 1796-97, p. 3. In his history of the fur trade, Cameron says that he personally came into the northern region in 1796, "when the English were again carrying all before them." Cameron op. cit., p. 244.
- 271 HBCA, B.71/a/1, 1796-97, p. 1.
- 272 Ibid., p. 8.
- 273 Ibid., p. 12.
- 274 Ibid., p. 14.
- 275 HBCA, B.236/a/1, op. cit., p. 1.
- 276 Ibid., p. 2.

- 277 Ibid.
- 278 Ibid., p. 5.
- 279 Ibid., p. 2.
- 280 Ibid., p. 5.
- 281 Ibid.
- 282 Ibid., p. 12.
- 283 Ibid., p. 14.
- 284 Ibid., p. 16.
- 285 Ibid., p. 19.
- 286 Ibid., p. 20.
- 287 Ibid.
- 288 Ibid., p 10.
- 289 Ibid.
- 290 Ibid., p. 13
- 291 HBCA, B.164/a/2, 1796-97, pp. 1-4.
- 292 Ibid., p. 10.
- 293 Ibid., p. 14. HBCA, B.155/a/11, 1795-96.
- 294 Ibid., p. 17.
- 295 Ibid.
- 296 HBCA, B.155/a/13, 1797-98, p. 6.
- 297 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 298 Ibid., p. 16.
- 299 Ibid., pp. 27-28.
- 300 Ibid., p. 25.
- 301 Ibid., p. 6.
- 302 Ibid., p. 26.
- 303 Ibid., p. 7.
- 304 Ibid., p. 24.
- 305 Ibid., p. 28.
- 306 Ibid., p. 26.
- 307 HBCA, B.71/a/3, 1797-98, p. 6.
- 308 Ibid., p. 3.
- 309 Ibid., p. 18.
- 310 HBCA, B.64/a/3, 1797-98, pp. 1-2.

- 311 HBCA, B.64/a/4, 1798-99, p. 2.
- 312 Ibid., p. 14.
- 313 Ibid., p. 10.
- 314 vide HBCA, B.3/b/34, McNab to Thomas, 23 August 1797,
p. 59.
- 315 Ibid.
- 316 HBCA, B.155/a/14, 1798-99, p. 14.
- 317 Ibid., p. 3.
- 318 Ibid., p. 7.
- 319 Ibid., p. 21.
- 320 Ibid., p. 4.
- 321 Ibid., p. 21.
- 322 Ibid.
- 323 Ibid., p. 21.
- 324 Ibid., p. 14.
- 325 HBCA, B.71/a/3, op. cit., p. 24.
- 326 HBCA, B.193/a/1, 1798-99, p. 4.
- 327 Ibid., p. 14.
- 328 Ibid., p. 15.
- 329 HBCA, B.155/a/14, , op. cit., p. 21.
- 330 HBCA, B.54/a/1, 1798-99, p. 21.
- 331 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
- 332 Ibid., p. 5.
- 333 Ibid., p. 20.
- 334 Ibid., p. 21.
- 335 HBCA, B.155/a/15, 1799-1800, p. 7.
- 336 Ibid., p. 20. "These 3 posts forms an half moon round
Osnaburgh." Ibid.
- 337 HBCA, B.3/b/37, McKay to , 20 October 1799,
pp. 6-7.
- 338 HBCA, B.3/b/37, Best to , 27 October 1799, p. 7.
- 339 HBCA, B.155/a/15, 1799-1800, p. 8.
- 340 Ibid., p. 28.

- 341 HBCA, B.192/a/2, 1799-1800, p. 2. In April, Sanderson added "a small House 20 ft. long and 14 broad" to his post. Ibid., p. 14.
- 342 Ibid., p. 18.
- 343 Ibid., p. 4.
- 344 HBCA, B.192/a/3, 1800-01, p. 2.
- 345 HBCA, B.3/b/37, Hodgson to Thomas, n.d., p. 25.
- 346 HBCA, B.198/a/51, July 1798, p. 6.
- 347 Ibid.
- 348 Ibid., pp. 7-8. This place was four days journey from where the Kishamatowa River flowed into Severn River. Ibid., p. 4.
- 349 HBCA, B.177/a/5, 1799-1800, p. 3.
- 350 Ibid.
- 351 Ibid., p. 15.
- 352 Ibid., p. 3.
- 353 Ibid., p. 19.
- 354 HBCA, B.192/a/3, op. cit., p. 15.
- 355 Thomas may not have been under Sanderson's command, as he broke off from the party going to Sandy Lake. Ibid., p. 2.
- 356 Ibid., pp. 7-9, 4.
- 357 HBCA, B.198/a/29, 1783-84, pp. 36-37.
- 358 HBCA, B.198/a/31, 1784-85, p. 51.
- 359 HBCA, B.198/a/37, 1787-88, pp. 45-46.
- 360 HBCA, B.198/a/40, 1790-91, p. 36.
- 361 HBCA, B.198/a/45, 1793-94, p. 20.
- 362 Ibid., p. 53.
- 363 HBCA, B.198/a/48, 1796-97, pp. 31-32.
- 364 Ibid., p. 9.
- 365 HBCA, B.86/a/38, op. cit., p. 48.
- 366 HBCA, B.86/a/41, 1787-88, p. 48.
- 367 HBCA, A.6/14, London Committee to Albany, 19 May 1790, p. 95; HBCA, B.86/a/47, June 1792, p. 9.

- 368 HBCA, B.3/b/24, Hodgson to Jarvis, 15 January 1787, p. 37.
- 369 HBCA, B.3/b/24, Instructions for John Hodgson by Jarvis, 28 September 1786, p. 7.
- 370 HBCA, B.3/b/25, Kipling to Jarvis, October 1787, pp. 8-9.
- 371 HBCA, B.3/b/25, Kipling to Jarvis, 18 March 1788, pp. 31-32.
- 372 HBCA, B.86/a/41, 1787-88, p. 53.
- 373 Ibid., p. 42.
- 374 HBCA, B.86/a/44, 1789-90, p. 40.
- 375 Ibid., p. 50; HBCA, B.86/a/45, 1790-91, p. 42.
- 376 HBCA, B.86/a/47, op. cit., p. 9.
- 377 HBCA, B.86/a/44, op. cit., p. 52.
- 378 HBCA, B.3/b/28, Jarvis to Hodgson, 15 May , p. 30.
- 379 HBCA, B.3/b/28, Jarvis to , 24 July 1791, p. 44.
- 380 HBCA, B.3/b/29, McNab to Thomas, 27 August 1792, p. 58;
HBCA, B.3/b/30, McNab to Thomas, 26 February 1793, p. 18.
- 381 HBCA, B.3/b/30, McNab to Thomas, 26 February 1793, op. cit., p. 18.
- 382 HBCA, B.149/a/1, 1792-93, pp. 6-7.
- 383 Ibid., p. 20.
- 384 Ibid., p. 6.
- 385 HBCA, B.149/a/2, 1793-94, passim.
- 386 HBCA, B.149/a/3, 1794-95, passim.
- 387 HBCA, B.149/a/4, 1795-96, p. 17.
- 388 HBCA, B.149/a/5, 1796-97, pp. 5-6.
- 389 Ibid., p. 9.
- 390 Ibid., p. 10.
- 391 Ibid., p. 20.
- 392 Ibid., p. 19.
- 393 HBCA, B.149/a/6, 1797-98, pp. 13-14.
- 394 Ibid., p. 2.
- 395 HBCA, B.149/a/7, 1798-99, p. 2.
- 396 Ibid., p. 5.

- 397 Ibid., p. 20.
- 398 Ibid.
- 399 Ibid.
- 400 HBCA, B.149/a/8, 1799-1800, p. 2.
- 401 Ibid., p. 13.
- 402 Ibid., p. 15.
- 403 HBCA, B.149/a/9, 1802-03, p. 2.
- 404 Ibid., p. 4.
- 405 Ibid., p. 5.
- 406 Ibid., pp. 5-8.
- 407 The locality is not identified, nor are we told whether they represented the North West Company or the Hudson's Bay Company. Ibid., p. 3.
- 408 D.W. Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America Between the 47th and 58th Degrees of North Latitude, Extending From Montreal Nearly to the Pacific, A Distance of About 5,000 Miles, (Toronto: The Courier Press, 1911), pp. 126-27; W.S. Wallace, Documents Relating to the North West Company, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), p. 289. Minutes for 1814.
- 409 HBCA, B.3/b/34, Hodgson to Spence, 27 July 1797, p. 50.
- 410 HBCA, B.3/b/35, Spence to _____, 26 June 1798, p. 25.
- 411 HBCA, B.3/b/38, Hodgson to Birsay, _____ March 1801, p. 16.
- 412 HBCA, B.86/a/56, 1800-01, p. 4.
- 413 HBCA, B.86/a/52, 1796-97, p. 23.
- 414 HBCA, B.123/a/1, 1794-95, p. 2.
- 415 Ibid., p. 4.
- 416 Ibid., p. 6.
- 417 HBCA, B.123/a/3, 1796-97, p. 39.
- 418 HBCA, A.6/15, London Committee to Albany, 30 May 1793, p. 51; A.6/15, London Committee to Albany, 29 May 1794, p. 100.
- 419 HBCA, B.123/a/5, 1798-99, p. 39.

- 420 HBCA, B.123/a/3, op. cit., p. 1, 39.
- 421 HBCA, B.123/a/5, op. cit., p. 33.
- 422 Ibid.
- 423 HBCA, B.123/a/8, 1803-04, p. 7.
- 424 Ibid., p. 33.
- 425 HBCA, B.123/a/6, 1799-1800, p. 13.
- 426 Ibid., p. 28.
- 427 Ibid., p. 35.
- 428 HBCA, B.123/a/11, 1806-07, p. 8.
- 429 HBCA, B.155/a/15, 1799-1800, p. 8.
- 430 HBCA, B.3/b/38, Best to _____, 6 December 1800, p. 19.
- 431 HBCA, B.155/a/16, 1800-01, p. 27.
- 432 Ibid., p. 15.
- 433 HBCA, B.155/a/17, 1802-03, p. 14.
- 434 HBCA, B.155/a/18, 1803-04, p. 2.
- 435 HBCA, B.3/a/105, 1802-03, p. 8.
- 436 Ibid., p. 15.
- 437 Ibid., p. 12.
- 438 HBCA, B.155/a/19, 1804-05, p. 4.
- 439 Ibid., p. 12.
- 440 There are no journals for these years.
- 441 HBCA, B.155/a/20, 1805-06, p. 15.
- 442 HBCA, B.177/a/6, 1802-03, pp. 2-5.
- 443 Ibid., p. 6
- 444 Ibid., p. 16.
- 445 Ibid., p. 6.
- 446 Ibid., p. 11.
- 447 Ibid., p. 5.
- 448 HBCA, B.18/a/1, 1802-03, p. 16.
- 449 HBCA, B.177/a/7, 1803-04, pp. 5-6.
- 450 "From Experience I find the post that Mr. Cobb was at last year, is not worth wintering a little trade being to be got at it." HBCA, B.107/a/1, 1803-04, Letter by John Hodgson at Martin Fall, 10 July 1803, p. 2.

- 451 Ibid., p. 11.
- 452 Ibid., p. 6.
- 453 Ibid., pp. 5-14.
- 454 HBCA, B.18/a/1, op. cit., p. 2.
- 455 Ibid., p. 7.
- 456 In his journal for 1804-05, Sanderson says: "all the Indians went off to the Fall being only 5 or 6 miles distance from the House." Hence, the house was 5 or 6 miles from the Fall. HBCA, B.18/a/3, 1804-05, p. 2.
- 457 HBCA, B.18/a/1, op. cit., pp. 6-9.
- 458 Ibid., p. 2, 11.
- 459 Ibid., p. 11.
- 460 HBCA, B.18/a/2, 1803-04, p. 5.
- 461 Ibid., p. 2.
- 462 Ibid., p. 3.
- 463 HBCA, B.18/a/3, 1804-05, p. 2.
- 464 HBCA, B.3/b/39, Hodgson to Bolland, 21 September 1803, p. 7.
- 465 HBCA, B.3/b/39, Hodgson to Thomas, 1 August 1803, p. 40. The post on Lake Superior was probably at the Pic River.
- 466 HBCA, B.3/b/40, Hodgson to Thomas, 31 July 1804, p. 43.
- 467 HBCA, B.18/a/3, 1804-05, p. 2.
- 468 Ibid., p. 3.
- 469 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 470 Ibid., p. 5.
- 471 Ibid., p. 9.
- 472 Ibid., p. 13.
- 473 Ibid.
- 474 Ibid., p. 2.
- 475 Ibid., p. 5.
- 476 Ibid., p. 8.
- 477 Ibid.
- 478 Ibid., p. 13.

- 479 Ibid., p. 6.
- 480 Ibid., p. 11.
- 481 HBCA, B.16/e/2, 1818-19, pp. 4-5.
- 482 HBCA, B.107/a/1, 1803-04, p. 2.
- 483 Ibid., pp. 2-4.
- 484 Ibid., p. 12.
- 485 Ibid., p. 11.
- 486 Ibid., pp. 13-16.
- 487 Ibid., pp. 16-18.
- 488 Ibid., p. 18.
- 489 HBCA, B.177/a/8, 1804-05, p. 2.
- 490 Ibid., p. 3.
- 491 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
- 492 D. Cameron, "Extracts from the Journal of D. Cameron, Esq. North-West Company While in the Nipigon Department 1804-05," Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 295.
- 493 HBCA, B.177/a/8, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
- 494 Ibid., p. 7.
- 495 Cameron, op. cit., p. 297.
- 496 Ibid., p. 7.
- 497 Ibid., p. 11.
- 498 Ibid., pp. 15-18.
- 499 Ibid., pp. 18-19.
- 500 Ibid., p. 19.
- 501 Cameron, op. cit., p. 288.
- 502 Ibid.
- 503 HBCA, B.3/b/41, Hodgson to Thomas, 14 August 1805, p. 26.

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- 1 Wallace, op. cit., p. 221. Arrangement of Departments for 1806.

- 2 Ibid., p. 247, 261, 269. Arrangement of Departments for 1807, 1809 and 1811.
- 3 HBCA, A.6/17, London Committee to Albany, 31 May 1806, p. 66; A.6/17, London Committee to Albany, 20 May 1808, p. 125; A.6/17, London Committee to Moose, 31 May 1809, p. 159.
- 4 Wallace, op. cit., p. 271, 274. Arrangements of Departments for 1812 and 1813.
- 5 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Albany, 31 May 1810, p. 6, 9; HBCA, B.3/b/48a, 1811-12, p. 35.
- 6 HBCA, B.3/b/48a, Thomas to Auld, 28 March 1812, p. 29; HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Albany, ___ May 1813, p. 117.
- 7 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Albany, 9 April 1814, p. 168.
- 8 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Auld and Thomas, 31 May 1811, pp. 28-29; A.6/18, London Committee to Cooke, 31 May 1811, p. 37, 39.
- 9 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Thomas, 9 April 1814, p. 169; E.E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870, Vol. 2, (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), p. 314.
- 10 HBCA, A.6/19, London Committee to Vincent, 3 February 1819, p. 76.
- 11 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Thomas, 9 April 1814, p. 176.
- 12 Extracts from the Journal of Duncan Cameron, op. cit., pp. 296-97.
- 13 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, pp. 10, 098-10, 100.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 HBCA, B.224/a/1, 1805-06, p. 10.
- 16 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- 17 Ibid., p. 6.

- 18 The Hudson's Bay Company post at Red Lake was pillaged twice during the year. It seems that Leger is referring to the second incident. vide PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., p. 10,100.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 10,100-01.
- 20 Ibid., p. 10,103; HBCA, B.244/a/1, op. cit., p. 8.
- 21 HBCA, B.244/a/1, op. cit., p. 8.
- 22 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., pp. 10,103-04.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 10,106-07.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 10,104-05.
- 25 HBCA, B.244/a/1, op. cit., p. 9.
- 26 Ibid., p. 10.
- 27 HBCA, B.57/a/1, 1805-06, pp. 1-2.
- 28 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 31, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., p. 9,282.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 9,282-83.
- 30 Ibid., p. 9,283.
- 31 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., p. 10, 106. Angus McDonell had wintered the previous year at Lake Seul and seems to have done the same this winter. Ibid.
- 32 Ibid., pp. 10,106-08.
- 33 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 30, Selkirk Papers, pp. 9,989-90.
- 34 Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 10,108.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 10,108-09.
- 36 Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 9,990.
- 37 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., pp. 10,109-10.
- 38 Ibid., p. 10,110. As there is no journal for Big Fall for this winter, we must rely on the accounts of Selkirk who seems to have had a post journal in his possession, and of Leger. Both were written well after the events.

- 39 HBCA, B.3/b/43, Hodgson to McNab, 22 July 1807, p. 21.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 21-22; HBCA, B.3/b/43, Hodgson to Auld, 22 July 1807, p. 23.
- 41 HBCA, B.64/a/5, 1807-08, p. 1.
- 42 Ibid., p. 2.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid., p. 3.
- 45 Ibid., p. 7, 3.
- 46 Harmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-41.
- 47 HBCA, B.193/a/1, 1807-08, p. 2.
- 48 Ibid., p. 5.
- 49 Ibid., p. 10.
- 50 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- 51 Ibid., p. 11.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 14-17.
- 53 Ibid., p. 4.
- 54 Ibid., p. 14.
- 55 In his journal for 1808-09, William Thomas does not mention any outpost from Sandy Narrows. HBCA, B.193/a/2, 1808-09, *passim*.
- 56 HBCA, B.193/a/3, 1809-10, *passim*.
- 57 Ibid., p. 1.
- 58 HBCA, B.3/b/44, Hodgson to _____, 7 September 1808, pp. 26-27.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Haldane supplied McDonald from Lake Seul and was his superior. HBCA, B.64/a/6, 1808-09, pp. 1-3.
"Mr. McDonald" was probably one of the McDonell brothers.
- 61 Ibid., p. 5.
- 62 Ibid., p. 7.
- 63 HBCA, B.198/a/55, 1796-1810, p. 46.
- 64 Ibid., p. 10, 111.

- 65 Tate says Landrie "started out of the bush and laid hold of an otter skin, which proved to be all the fur kind that was in the Canoe." The Indian then asked that his canoe be brought to the Hudson's Bay Company house, which was done. HBCA, B.57/a/3, 1809-12, pp. 4-5.
- 66 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., pp. 10,111-12.
- 67 HBCA, B.57/a/3, 1809-10, pp. 2-3.
- 68 Ibid., p. 3.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 HBCA, B.57/a/3, op. cit., p. 7. McLellan was master at Lac la Pluie post as early as 1806-07. Vide PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 31, Selkirk Papers, p. 9,351.
- 71 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., p. 10,113.
- 72 HBCA, B.57/a/2, op. cit., p. 4.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid., pp. 5-7.
- 76 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., p. 10,113.
- 77 HBCA, B.57/a/2, op. cit., p. 8. When Mowat was handed over to Haldane in September, Tate volunteered to act as a witness if someone else went with him, "as one witness was of very little use against so many." Hence, Corrigan sent Robert Liske to pass the winter with Tate and Mowat at Lac la Pluie, and agreed that in the spring Liske would return to Eagle Lake, and he would serve in his stead. HBCA, B.57/a/3, op. cit., p. 8.
- 78 HBCA, B.57/a/2, op. cit., p. 8.
- 79 HBCA, B.57/a/3, op. cit., pp. 9-19.
- 80 Ibid., p. 19.
- 81 Ibid., p. 37.
- 82 Ibid., p. 38.

- 83 Ibid.
- 84 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 35, Selkirk Papers, op. cit., pp. 10,114-15.
- 85 Ibid., pp. 10,115-16.
- 86 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Vincent, 25 May 1814, p. 219.
- 87 Charles McKenzie refers to Roderic MacKenzie as his "benefactor." After two years in the Missouri country, he was placed under Haldane's tutelage. Haldane encouraged him to write his observations on the Missouri Indians. PAC, MG19, C.1, No. 33, Masson Papers, C. MacKenzie to R. MacKenzie, 1 May 1810, pp. 1-2.
- 88 HBCA, B.123/a/9, 1804-05, p. 9, 16.
- 89 HBCA, B.123/a/12, 1807-08, p. 20.
- 90 HBCA, B.123/a/9, 1804-05, p. 9.
- 91 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 92 Ibid., pp. 14-15.
- 93 Ibid., p. 16.
- 94 Ibid., pp. 17-18.
- 95 Ibid., p. 22.
- 96 HBCA, B.123/a/15, 1810-11, p. 1.
- 97 HBCA, B.123/e/2, 1818-19, p. 8.
- 98 HBCA, B.123/e/4, 1819-20, p. 10.
- 99 HBCA, B.123/a/13, op. cit., p. 26.
- 100 HBCA, B.123/a/14, 1809-10, p. 6.
- 101 HBCA, B.123/a/15, 1810-11, p. 3.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid., p. 4.
- 105 HBCA, B.123/a/16, 1811-12, p. 2.
- 106 Ibid., p. 3.
- 107 Ibid., p. 10.
- 108 Ibid., p. 16.
- 109 Ibid.

- 110 HBCA, B.220/a/1, 1807-08, p. 9.
- 111 HBCA, A.6/17, London Committee to Severn, 31 May 1806, p. 85; A.6/17, London Committee to Severn, 31 May 1807, p. 109.
- 112 HBCA, B.220/a/1, op. cit., p. 9.
- 113 Ibid., pp. 9-11
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- 115 Ibid., p. 49, 52, 44.
- 116 HBCA, A.6/17, London Committee to Albany, 20 May 1808, pp. 122-23; A.6/17, London Committee to Severn, 25 May 1808, p. 141.
- 117 HBCA, B.220/a/2, 1809-10, p. 15, 27.
- 118 Ibid., p. 24, 13.
- 119 HBCA, A.6/17, London Committee to Severn, 31 May 1809, p. 176.
- 120 HBCA, B.198/a/55, 1796-1810, pp. 64-65.
- 121 Thomas Swain writes in a letter of August 29, 1809 to Thomas. Thomas at Severn that he arrived at David Saunders' old house where "I intend to pass the winter...."ibid. In a letter of the same date to James Swain he says he intends to build a house. HBCA, B.220/a/2, op. cit., p. 26.
- 122 HBCA, B.220/a/2, op. cit., p. 26.
- 123 HBCA, B.198/e/1, 1815, p. 9.
- 124 Ibid., p. 1.
- 125 HBCA, B.220/a/3, 1814-15, p. 2, 4-5.
- 126 Ibid., p. 6, 11, 3.
- 127 HBCA, B.3/b/46, Hodgson to Corrigan, 16 May 1810, p. 18.
- 128 HBCA, B.3/b/46, Hodgson to Thomas, 26 July 1810, p. 34.
- 129 HBCA, B.155/a/22, 1810, p. 2.
- 130 Ibid., p. 5.
- 131 Ibid., p. 8.
- 132 Ibid., p. 4.

- 133 Ibid., p. 17.
- 134 HBCA, B.155/a/23, 1810-11, p. 10.
- 135 Ibid., p. 9.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 HBCA, B.155/a/24, 1811-12, p. 4.
- 138 Ibid., p. 14.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 vide HBCA, B.155/a/25, 1812-13, p. 5.
- 141 HBCA, B.155/a/25, 1812-13, p. 6.
- 142 HBCA, B.155/a/24, 1811-12, p. 7.
- 143 HBCA, B.155/a/24, op. cit., p. 14.
- 144 HBCA, B.155/a/25, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
- 145 HBCA, B.155/e/1, 1813-14, p. 4.
- 146 James Slater was again at Sandy Lake, but he had been sent from Albany. He, however, was subordinate to the master at Osnaburgh. HBCA, B.155/a/27, 1814-15, p. 15.
- 147 HBCA, B.155/e/2, 1814-15, p. 4.
- 148 HBCA, B.155/a/24, op. cit., p. 14.
- 149 HBCA, B.3/b/48a, Thomas to Hillier, 28 June 1812, p. 38;
HBCA, B.3/b/48b, Vincent to Thomas, 7 June 1812, p. 34.
- 150 HBCA, B.3/b/49a, Thomas to Auld, 15 May 1813, p. 23;
HBCA, B.3/b/48a, Thomas to Hillier, 28 June 1812, p. 38;
HBCA, B.3/b/48b, Vincent to Thomas, 7 June 1812, p. 34.
- 151 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Auld and Thomas, 31 May 1811, p. 28.
- 152 HBCA, B.155/a/25, op. cit., p. 10.
- 153 An outpost under Slater is mentioned by Thomas in his Osnaburgh journal for 1813-14, but no locality is given. HBCA, B.155/a/26, 1813-14, p. 9.
- 154 HBCA, B.155/a/27, 1814-15, p. 15.
- 155 HBCA, B.155/e/1, 1813-14, p. 2; HBCA, B.155/e/2, 1814-15, p. 2.
- 156 HBCA, B.155/a/25, op. cit., p. 7.
- 157 Ibid., p. 11.

- 158 HBCA, B.3/b/49a, Thomas to Auld, 15 May 1813, op. cit., p. 23.
- 159 PAC, MG19, C.1, No. 33, Masson Collection, C. MacKenzie to R. MacKenzie, 11 June 1814, p. 1.
- 160 Ibid. A post had been maintained by the Canadians at Lake Minnitaki more or less regularly since at least 1796-97. John Best mentions a post there in his Osnaburgh journal for 1796-97. HBCA, B.155/a/12, 1796-97, p. 14.
- 161 Harris had served under Mr. McPherson in the South River District the previous winter. HBCA, B.155/e/3, 1815-16, p. 5.
- 162 Ibid.
- 163 HBCA, A.6/18, London Committee to Thomas, 9 April 1814, p. 176.
- 164 HBCA, B.3/b/50a, Thomas Notes, 18 June 1814, p. 16.
- 165 Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 325.
- 166 HBCA, B.155/e/3, 1815-16, p. 1.
- 167 Ibid., p. 2.
- 168 Ibid., p. 5.
- 169 HBCA, B.155/a/28, 1815-16, p. 11.
- 170 Ibid., p. 21.
- 171 Ibid., p. 25.
- 172 HBCA, B.155/e/3, op. cit., p. 3.
- 173 HBCA, B.177/a/9, 1816-17, p. 4.
- 174 HBCA, B.177/a/9, op. cit., p. 17.
- 175 Ibid., p. 22.
- 176 This was prompted by the troubles at Selkirk's Red River settlements. *ibid.*, p. 4.
- 177 Ibid., p. 23.
- 178 HBCA, B.177/e/1, op. cit., p. 2.
- 179 HBCA, B.19/e/1, op. cit., p. 3.

- 180 HBCA, B.10/a/1, 1814, pp. 2-3. Thomas wrote on October 28: "after passing two strong ripples and rowing about 6 miles arrived at the house." HBCA, B.10/a/2, 1814-15, p. 5.
- 181 HBCA, B.10/a/1, op. cit., p. 3.
- 182 Ibid.
- 183 Ibid., p. 4.
- 184 HBCA, B.10/a/2, 1814-15, p. 5.
- 185 Ibid., p. 6.
- 186 Ibid., p. 12.
- 187 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 188 Ibid., p. 13.
- 189 Ibid., pp. 14-16.
- 190 Ibid., p. 21.
- 191 Ibid., p. 22.
- 192 HBCA, B.10/e/2, 1815, p. 1.
- 193 Ibid., p. 2.
- 194 Ibid.
- 195 Ibid.
- 196 Ibid.
- 197 HBCA, B.198/a/57, 1814-15, p. 20.
- 198 HBCA, B.177/a/10, 1817-18, pp. 4-17.
- 199 Ibid., pp. 4-6.
- 200 Ibid., p. 7.
- 201 Slater decided to stay at Wipenaban Lake because the Red Lake Indians were there for the rice gathering season, and therefore could take their debts at Wipenaban Lake. HBCA, B.64/a/7, 1818-19, p. 5.
- 202 Ibid. Six Canadians got eight packs there. HBCA, B.64/e/1, 1819, p. 5.
- 203 HBCA, B.64/e/2, 1820, p. 2.
- 204 HBCA, B.64/a/8, 1819-20, p. 4.
- 205 Ibid., p. 10.
- 206 HBCA, B.64/e/2, 1820, p. 3; HBCA, B.64/a/8, op. cit., p. 17.

- 207 Ibid., p. 20.
- 208 Ibid., p. 3.
- 209 HBCA, B.64/e/2, op. cit., p. 5. Under Duncan McDonald.
No location is specified. *ibid.*
- 210 Ibid., p. 3.
- 211 HBCA, B.64/e/1, op. cit., p. 5.
- 212 In the summer of 1820, William Harris and three men
resided at the post. HBCA, B.64/e/2, op. cit., p. 2.
- 213 HBCA, B.64/e/1, op. cit., p. 5.
- 214 HBCA, B.64/a/9, 1820-21, p. 1.
- 215 Ibid., p. 3.
- 216 Ibid., p. 11.
- 217 Ibid., p.16.
- 218 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- 219 Ibid., p. 2.
- 220 Ibid., p. 13.
- 221 Ibid., p. 15.
- 222 Ibid., p. 16.
- 223 Ibid., p. 6
- 224 Ibid., p. 9.
- 225 Ibid., p. 16.
- 226 HBCA, B.64/a/10, 1823-24, *passim*.
- 227 HBCA, B.16/e/1, 1815, p. 6.
- 228 Ibid., p. 8.
- 229 On the map is written "Don'd Sutherland 1816-19."
HBCA, B.16/e/2, 1818-19, p. 4.
- 230 HBCA, B.16/a/1, 1817-18, p. 30.
- 231 HBCA, B.16/a/2, 1818-19, p. 3.
- 232 Ibid., p. 5.
- 233 Ibid., p. 6.
- 234 Ibid., p. 23.
- 235 Ibid., p. 29.
- 236 HBCA, B.16/a/3, 1819-20, p. 3; HBCA, B.16/e/3, 1 June
1820, p. 2.

- 237 HBCA, B.16/a/3, op. cit., p. 5, 27.
- 238 Ibid., p. 14.
- 239 Ibid., p. 28.
- 240 Ibid., p. 39.
- 241 Ibid., p. 23.
- 242 Ibid., p. 8.
- 243 Ibid., p. 23.
- 244 Ibid., pp. 33-334.
- 245 Ibid., p. 8, 39.
- 246 Ibid., p. 8.
- 247 Ibid., p. 40.
- 248 HBCA, B.155/a/29, 1816-17, p. 6.
- 249 HBCA, B.155/e/5, 1816-17, p. 3.
- 250 Ibid., p. 5.
- 251 HBCA, B.155/e/8, 1819-20, p. 7.
- 252 HBCA, B.155/a/20, 1817-18, p. 8.
- 253 HBCA, B.155/e/8, op. cit., p. 5.
- 254 Ibid.
- 255 Ibid., p. 7. "small bundles" of furs.
- 256 HBCA, B.155/a/30, op. cit., pp. 19-20.
- 257 HBCA, B.155/a/31, 1818-19, p. 11.
- 258 Ibid., p. 19.
- 259 HBCA, B.155/e/8, op. cit., p. 4.
- 260 HBCA, B.155/a/32, 1819-20, p. 23.
- 261 HBCA, B.155/e/9, 1820-21, p. 11.
- 262 HBCA, B.155/a/33, 1820-21, p. 6.
- 263 Ibid., p. 15.
- 264 Ibid., p. 20.
- 265 Ibid., p. 6.
- 266 Ibid., p. 15.
- 267 Ibid., p. 16.
- 268 HBCA, B.155/e/9, op. cit., p. 11.
- 269 Ibid., p. 5.
- 270 Ibid.

- 271 Slater remarks: "I left the above place last fall on account of the water being so high and no fish to be got no grass for the cattle...." HBCA, B.155/a/34, 1822-23, p. 6.
- 272 Ibid., p. 2.
- 273 Ibid., p. 6.
- 274 Ibid., p. 30.
- 275 HBCA, B.198/e/2, 1819, p. 3.
- 276 HBCA, B.198/a/58b, 1819, pp. 7-8.
- 277 Ibid., pp. 9-12.
- 278 HBCA, B.198/a/59, 1819-20, p. 8.
- 279 Badger River and Winisk River were used interchangeably, but the house was on Lake Wapicapa.
- 280 HBCA, B.198/a/59, op. cit., p. 27.
- 281 Ibid., p. 18.
- 282 Ibid., p. 27.
- 283 HBCA, B.198/a/60, 1820-21, p. 7.
- 284 Ibid.
- 285 Ibid., p. 10.
- 286 Ibid., p. 19.
- 287 HBCA, B.123/e/2, op. cit., n.p.
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- 290 Ibid., p. 5.
- 291 HBCA, B.123/a/19, 1820-21, p. 9.
- 292 HBCA, B.123/e/5, 1820-21, pp. 1-7.
- 293 HBCA, B.123/a/18, op. cit., p. 7.
- 294 Henry, op. cit., pp. 231-32.
- 295 J.B. Perrault, "Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a merchant Voyageur in the Savage Territories of Northern America. Leaving Montreal the 28th of May 1783 (to 1820)," Historical Collections and Researches Made By The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, (Lansing: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1909-10),

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Selkirk refers to Pic River as "Pike River."
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for 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810.
- 301 PAC, MG19, E1 (1), Vol. 34, Selkirk Papers, op. cit.,
pp. 10,146-49; Perrault, op. cit., pp. 586-90.
- 302 Wallace, op. cit., pp. 269-70. Arrangements for 1811,
1812.
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- 304 HBCA, B.3/b/47, Davis to _____, 5 September 1810, p. 2.
- 305 HBCA, B.164/a/1, 1810-11, pp. 2-3.
- 306 Ibid., p. 4.
- 307 Ibid., p. 5.
- 308 Ibid., p. 6.
- 309 Ibid., p. 9.
- 310 Perrault, op. cit., pp. 591-92.
- 311 Ibid., p. 592.
- 312 HBCA, B.164/a/2, 1811-12, p. 2.
- 313 Ibid., p. 3.
- 314 Ibid., p. 4.
- 315 Ibid.
- 316 Perrault, op. cit., pp. 592-93.
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- 319 Ibid., p. 594.
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- 322 Ibid.
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- 324 Ibid., p. 7.
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- 351 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
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- 353 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 354 Ibid., p. 22.
- 355 Ibid., p. 31.
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- 357 Ibid., p. 2.
- 358 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
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- 360 McKay was the man who deserted at the end of January.
- 361 Ibid., p. 29.
- 362 Ibid., p. 13, 21.
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- 366 Ibid., p. 26.
- 367 Ibid.
- 368 Ibid., p. 25.
- 369 Ibid., p. 34.
- 370 Ibid., p. 22.
- 371 Ibid., p. 46.
- 372 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
- 373 Ibid., p. 44.
- 374 HBCA, B.117/a/3, 1817-18, p. 25.
- 375 Ibid. The Canadians were supplied from the Pic. *ibid.*
- 376 Ibid., p. 26.
- 377 Ibid., pp. 45-45b.
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- 406 HBCA, B.117/a/7, 1828-29, p. 1.
- 407 HBCA, B.231/a/4, 1818-19, passim.
- 408 HBCA, B.231/a/5, 1819-20, passim.
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- 9 Ibid., p. 15.
- 10 HBCA, B.231/e/1, 1824, p. 5.
- 11 HBCA, B.231/e/3, 1825, p. 3.
- 12 HBCA, B.231/3/1, 1824, p. 4.
- 13 HBCA, B.231/e/3, 1825, p. 3.
- 14 N. Garry, "Diary of Nicholas Garry," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, (1900), Vol. 6, p. 115.
- 15 G. Simpson, Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842, (London: H. Colburn, 1847), Vol. 1, p. 33.
- 16 HBCA, B.162/a/1, 1827-28, passim.
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- 21 HBCA, B.231/e/3, 1825, p. 2.
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- 23 HBCA, B.231/e/3, 1825, pp. 2-3.
- 24 HBCA, B.231/e/1, 1824, p. 4.
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Section III. The King's Posts, Saint-Maurice, Mingan and Eastern Hudson Bay

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- 60 HBCA, B.182/a/1, 1750-51, pp. 4-10.
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- 62 Ibid., p. 36.
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- Potts noted: "I have got Three Flankers down two of w^{ch} is Rebuilt att Whale River, together wth a Shed of 60 foot (the Distance from one Flanker to ye other,) half of w^{ch} is erected and finished and ye Remainder of the Building shall be prosecuted as soon as possible, finding ye Old Timber great part of it not fitt for Rebuilding ye Factory in ye same form it was in, have found it necessary to Build it in the form of Moose Fort ye Square house Excepted w^{ch} is to be plac^d, in y^e middle of y^e yard or Square Three Sides of w^{ch} will be pallasadoes, to save Expence of Iron work till we find how y^e trade will turn out or till further Orders to y^e Contrary from Your hon^{rs}."
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- 133 HBCA, B.59/a/78, 1800-1801, p. 11.
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- 93 Ibid., p. 206.
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- 96 Ibid., p. 192. Bouchette in his table of distances lists Pointe Bleue 8 miles from the mouth of "Assuapmoussoin" and 22 1/2 from Metabichewan post *ibid*, p. 322. Assuapmouchwan River post was 30 1/2 miles from "Metabetshuan" post *ibid*.
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- 246 Ibid.
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- 248 HBCA, D.4/72, Circular by Simpson, 1 December 1851, p. 132; HBCA, D.4/72, Simpson to Barclay, 4 August 1851, pp. 42-43.
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- a Post Journals, 1794-1853 (Reels 1 M1-1M 2)
- d Account Book, 1828 (Reel 1M406)
- e Reports on Districts, 1822-1827 (Reel 1M775)
- z Miscellaneous Items, 1864-1883 (Reel 1M871)

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 - a Post Journals, 1705-1868 (Reels 1M2-1M13)
 - b Correspondence Books, 1742-1887 (Reels 1M167-1M174)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1831-1870 (Reels 1M266-1M268)
 - d Account Books, 1692-1879 (Reels 1M406-1M425)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1822-1837 (Reel 1M775)
 - f Lists of Servants, 1803-1862 (Reel 1M784)
 - k Minutes of Council, 1783 (Reel 1M813)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1694-1871 (Reels 1M871-1M872)
10. Lake Attawapiskat
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 - b Correspondence Book, 1814-1815 (Reel 1M174)
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 - e Reports on Districts, 1815 (Reel 1M776)
 - f Lists of Servants, 1814-1815 (Reel 1M784)
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 - d Account Book, 1868-1869 (Reel 1M431)
16. Berens River
 - a Post Journals, 1817-1866 (Reel 1M16)
 - d Account Books, 1820-1892 (Reel 1M432)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1815-1892 (Reel 1M776)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1859 (Reel 1M873)
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 - c Correspondence Inward, 1855-1870 (Reels 1M269-1M270)
 - d Account Books, 1849-1878 (Reels 1M432-1M433)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1844-1870 (Reel 1M873)
18. Big Fall
 - a Post Journals, 1802-1805 (Reel 1M16)
19. Big Lake
 - a Post Journals, 1818-1821 (Reel 1M16)
 - e Report on District, 1818-1819 (Reel 1M776)
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- d Account Books, 1810-1832 (Reels 1M433-1M434)
- e Reports on Districts, 1819-1829 (Reel 1M776)
- z Miscellaneous Items, 1810-1824 (Reel 1M873)
- 23. Brunswick House
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- 25. Buckingham (Quebec)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1857-1870 (Reel 1M270)
- 26. Capoonicagogie
 - a Post Journals, 1822-1824, (Reel 1M18)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1822-24 (Reel 1M776)
- 29. Cartwright
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1860-1870 (Reel 1M874)
- 30. Cat Lake
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- 31. Cawassieamica
 - d Account Books, 1846-1849 (Reel 1M435)
- 33. Chats
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1828-1837 (Reel 1M270)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1816-1817 (Reel 1M874)
- 36. Chicoutimi
 - b Correspondence Book, 1849-1850 (Reel 1M175)
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 - e Reports on Districts, 1819-1820 (Reel 1M777)
- 65. Esquimalt
 - d Account Book, 1868 (Reel 1M479)
- 70. Flying Post
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 - e Reports on Districts, 1823-1829 (Reel 1M778)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1851 (Reel 1M876)
- 71. Fly Lake
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- 75. Frederick House
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- b Correspondence Books, 1837-1849 (Reel 1M182)
- c Correspondence Inward, 1848-1870 (Reel 1M270)
- d Account Books, 1810-1874 (Reels 1M480-1M481)
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- 77. Fort George (Big River)
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- 78. Gloucester House
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 - d Account Books, 1812-1816 (Reel 1M482)
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- 79. Godbout
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1847-1856 (Reel 1M270)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1851-1859 (Reel 1M876)
- 82. Grand Lac
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 - c Correspondence Inward, 1825 (Reel 1M270)
 - d Account Books, 1831-1890 (Reels 1M483-1M489)
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 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1852-1864 (Reel 1M876)
- 86. Henley House
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 - b Correspondence Book, 1775-1784 (Reels 1M182-1M183)
 - d Account Books, 1810-1816 (Reel 1M490)
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 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1868 (Reel 1M877)
- 90. Ile Jérémie
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1845-1858 (Reel 1M271)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1844-1859 (Reel 1M877)
- 93. Island Lake
 - a Post Journals, 1818-1845 (Reel 1M65)
 - d Account Books, 1821-1869 (Reel 1M500)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1820-1825 (Reel 1M778)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1821-1871 (Reels 1M877-1M878)

- 95. Kaipokok
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 - c Correspondence Inward, 1838 (Reel 1M271)
 - d Account Books, 1846-1867 (Reel 1M500)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1848 (Reel 1M878)
- 96. Kakobonga
 - d Account Books, 1851-1873 (Reels 1M500-1M501)
- 98. Kaniapiskau
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- 99. Kenogamissi
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 - d Account Books, 1812-1815 (Reel 1M501)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1813-1820 (Reel 1M778)
 - f Lists of Servants, 1814-1815 (Reel 1M784)
- 100. Kikendatch
 - a Account Books, 1856-1872 (Reel 1M501)
- 102. Lac des Allumettes
 - b Correspondence Book, 1857 (Reel 1M183)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1848-1857 (Reel 1M271)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1852-1874 (Reel 1M878)
- 105. Lac la Pluie
 - a Post Journals, 1793-1820 (Reels 1M67-1M68)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1823-1847 (Reel 1M271)
 - d Account Books, 1818-1870 (Reels 1M501-1M505)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1816-1835 (Reels 1M778-1M779)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1817-1866 (Reel 1M878)
- 107. Lac Seul
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 - b Correspondence Book, 1847 (Reel 1M183)
 - d Account Books, 1846-1868 (Reel 1M505)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1823-1845 (Reel 1M779)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1826-1869 (Reels 1M878-1M879)
- 109. La Cloche
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- b Correspondence Books, 1827-1837 (Reel 1M183)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1829-1863 (Reel 1M271)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1827-1835 (Reel 1M779)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1825-1854 (Reel 1M879)
110. Lake of Two Mountains
- c Correspondence Inward, 1821-1860 (Reels 1M271-1M272)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1820-1842 (Reel 1M879)
111. Lake St. John
- a Post Journals, 1846-1867 (Reel 1M70)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1857 (Reel 1M272)
 - d Account Books, 1844-1876 (Reels 1M506-1M509)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1852-1869 (Reel 1M879)
112. Fort Lampson
- d Account Books, 1867-1868 (Reel 1M509)
117. Long Lake
- a Post Journals, 1815-1862 (Reels 1M72-1M73)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1816-1833 (Reel 1M779)
123. Martin Fall
- a Post Journals, 1794-1871 (Reels 1M74-1M78)
 - b Correspondence Books, 1818-1821 (Reel 1M184)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1849 (Reel 1M272)
 - d Account Books, 1810-1863 (Reel 1M520)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1818-1839 (Reel 1M779)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1847-1872 (Reels 1M879-1M880)
124. Matawagamingue (Mattagami)
- a Post Journals, 1816-1848 (Reel 1M78)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1826-1850 (Reel 1M272)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1824-1831 (Reel 1M779)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1863 (Reel 1M880)
126. Mesackamy Lake
- a Post Journal, 1777-1778 (Reel 1M79)
127. Mesaugamee Lake
- a Post Journal, 1845-1849 (Reel 1M79)

- 128. Michikamau House
 - a Post Journal, 1845-1849 (Reel 1M79)
- 129. Michipicoten
 - a Post Journals, 1797-1841 (Reels 1M79-1M80)
 - b Correspondence Books, 1827-1836 (Reel 1M184)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1832-1858 (Reel 1M272)
 - d Account Books, 1821-1877 (Reels 1M520-1M525)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1817-1836 (Reels 1M779-1M780)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1828-1862 (Reel 1M880)
- 130. Migiskan
 - a Post Journals, 1829-1867 (Reels 1M80-1M81)
 - e Report on District, 1835-1836 (Reel 1M780)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1863-1864 (Reel 1M880)
- 131. Miminiska Lake
 - a Post Journal, 1785-1786 (Reel 1M81)
- 132. Mingan (St. Lawrence River)
 - a Post Journals, 1834-1860 (Reels 1M81-1M82)
 - b Correspondence Books, 1850-1857 (Reels 1M184-1M185)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1828-1868 (Reel 1M272)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1837-1865 (Reel 1M880)
- 133. Mistassini
 - a Post Journals, 1814-1864 (Reels 1M82-1M84)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1836 (Reel 1M272)
 - d Account Books, 1864-1868 (Reel 1M525)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1816-1840 (Reel 1M780)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1863-1864 (Reel 1M880)
- 134. Montreal
 - b Correspondence Books, 1835-1877 (Reels 1M185-1M211)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1822-1870 (Reels 1M272-1M375)
 - d Account Books, 1814-1864 (Reels 1M525-1M528)
 - f List of Servants, 1833-1882 (Reel 1M784)
 - g Abstracts of Servant's Accounts, 1821-1871 (Reels 1M788-1M791)
 - h District Fur Returns, 1845-1865 (Reel 1M812)

- z Miscellaneous Items, 1815-1870 (Reels 1M881-1M883)
- 135. Moose
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 - c Correspondence Inward, 1746-1874 (Reels 1M375-1M376)
 - d Account Books, 1730-1883 (Reels 1M528-1M539)
 - f List of Servants, 1803-1815 (Reel 1M784)
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 - h District Fur Returns, 1825-1871 (Reel 1M812)
 - k Minutes of Council, 1822-1875 (Reel 1M813)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1810-1925 (Reels 1M884-1M886)
- 136. Muskwaro
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1838 (Reel 1M377)
- 137. Nabisipi
 - a Post Journal, 1868-1869 (Reel 1M96)
- 138. Nachvak
 - a Post Journal, 1868-1869 (Reel 1M96)
- 139. Fort Nascopie
 - a Post Journals, 1842-1863 (Reels 1M96-1M97)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1847 (Reel 1M377)
 - d Account Books, 1867-1869 (Reels 1M539-1M540)
- 140. Natashkwan
 - a Post Journal, 1845-1847 (Reel 1M97)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1860-1876 (Reel 1M886)
- 142. Nemiskau
 - a Post Journals, 1794-1809 (Reel 1M97)
 - d Account Book, 1804-1805 (Reel 1M540)
- 143. Neoskveskau
 - a Post Journals, 1793-1820 (Reels 1M97-1M98)
 - d Account Books, 1809-1815 (Reel 1M540)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1814-1818 (Reel 1M780)
 - f List of Servants, 1814-1815 (Reel 1M785)

145. New Brunswick House (No. 1)
- a Post Journals, 1788-1842 (Reels 1M98-1M101)
 - b Correspondence Books, 1816-1819 (Reel 1M216)
 - d Account Books, 1810-1816 (Reel 1M540)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1813-1829 (Reels 1M780-1M781)
 - f List of Servants, 1814-1815 (Reel 1M785)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1864 (Reel 1M886)
147. Nichikun
- a Post Journals, 1834-1871 (Reels 1M101-1M102)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1868 (Reel 1M377)
 - e Report on District, 1834-1835 (Reel 1M781)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1863-1864 (Reel 1M886)
149. Nipigon House (Lake Nipigon)
- a Post Journals, 1792-1876 (Reels 1M102-1M103)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1827 (Reel 1M377)
 - d Account Books, 1824-1870 (Reels 1M540-1M541)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1828-1829 (Reel 1M781)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1870 (Reel 1M886)
150. Nipissing Lake
- z Miscellaneous Items, 1831-1835 (Reel 1M886)
153. North West River
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 - b Correspondence Books, 1838-1851 (Reel 1M217)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1838-1859 (Reel 1M377)
 - d Account Book, 1836-1837 (Reel 1M541)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1838 (Reel 1M781)
 - g Abstracts of Servants' Accounts, 1859-1872
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 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1836-1870 (Reel 1M886)
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 - b Correspondence Books, 1839-1889 (Reels 1M217-1M218)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1821-1869 (Reel 1M377)
 - d Account Books, 1812-1872 (Reels 1M541-1M566)

- e Reports on Districts, 1815-1836 (Reel 1M781)
 - f List of Servants, 1821-1859 (Reel 1M785)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1817-1871 (Reels 1M886-1M888)
155. Osnaburgh House
- a Post Journals, 1786-1871 (Reels 1M111-1M115)
 - b Correspondence Book, 1816-1817 (Reel 1M218)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1848-1870 (Reel 1M378)
 - d Account Books, 1810-1870 (Reel 1M566)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1813-1830 (Reel 1M781)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1825-1871 (Reels 1M889-1M899)
162. Pic
- a Post Journals, 1827-1841 (Reels 1M117-1M118)
 - d Account Book, 1858-1871 (Reels 1M574-1M575)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1828-1834 (Reel 1M781)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1841 (Reel 1M891)
163. Pike Lake (Rupert River)
- a Post Journals, 1826-1860 (Reels 1M118-1M119)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1835 (Reel 1M378)
164. Pine Lake
- a Post Journals, 1810-1812 (Reel 1M119)
166. Portage de l'Ile
- a Post Journals, 1793-1795 (Reel 1M119)
170. Quebec
- c Correspondence Inward, 1833-1864 (Reel 1M379)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1822-1870 (Reel 1M891)
177. Red Lake
- a Post Journals, 1790-1818 (Reel 1M119)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1816-1817 (Reel 1M781)
182. Fort Richmond
- a Post Journals, 1750-1759 (Reels 1M121-1M122)
 - b Correspondence Book, 1754 (Reel 1M219)
 - d Account Books, 1751-1759 (Reels 1M578-1M579)
183. Rigolet
- a Post Journals, 1838-1872 (Reels 1M122-1M123)

- b Correspondence Books, 1861-1872 (Reel 1M219)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1841-1858 (Reel 1M380)
 - d Account Boks, 1836-1870 (Reel 1M579)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1836-1872 (Reel 1M892)
186. Rupert House
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 - b Correspondence Inward, 1820-1870 (Reel 1M380)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1820-1870 (Reel 1M380)
 - d Account Books, 1810-1865 (Reels 1M579-1M580)
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 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1818-1870 (Reel 1M892)
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193. Sandy Narrows
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 - b Correspondence Books, 1824-1853 (Reels 1M224-1M225)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1824-1861 (Reel 1M381)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1825-1835 (Reel 1M782)
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 - c Correspondence Inward, 1808-1825 (Reel 1M381)
 - d Account Books, 1762-1874 (Reels 1M582-1M594)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1815-1827 (Reel 1M782)
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205. South Branch House
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206. South River House (Kaniapiskau River)
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211. Sturgeon Lake (Albany River)
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215. Temiskamay
a Post Journals, 1825-1861 (Reels 1M145-1M146)
c Correspondence Inward, 1844-1850 (Reel 1M384)
e Reports on Districts, 1827-1831 (Reel 1M782)
z Miscellaneous Items, 1823-1827 (Reel 1M894)
216. Three Rivers
b Correspondence Book, 1830-1857 (Reel 1M228)
c Correspondence Inward, 1837-1860 (Reel 1M384)
z Miscellaneous Items, 1831-1845 (Reel 1M894)
217. Thunder Lake
a Post Journal, 1806-1807 (Reel 1M146)
218. Timiskaming
a Post Journal, 1840-1841 (Reel 1M146)
d Account Books, 1838-1863, 1866 (Reels 1M612-1M613)
e Report on District, 1822-1823 (Reel 1M783)
z Miscellaneous Items, 1822-1864 (Reel 1M894)
219. Fort Trial (George River)
a Post Journal, 1841-1842 (Reel 1M146)
220. Trout Lake (Severn)
a Post Journals, 1807-1862 (Reels 1M146-1M148)
d Account Books, 1809-1875 (Reels 1M613-1M615)
z Miscellaneous Items, 1846-1871 (Reels 1M894-1M895)

221. Trout Lake (Timiskaming)
- d Account Books, 1839-1851 (Reel 1M615)
 - e Report on District, 1823 (Reel 1M783)
227. Waswanipi
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 - b Correspondence Books, 1828-1836 (Reel 1M251)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1838 (Reel 1M388)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1820-1836 (Reel 1M783)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1863-1864 (Reel 1M898)
229. Wepiskow Lake
- a Post Journal, 1793-1795 (Reel 1M151)
230. Weymontachingue
- a Post Journals, 1826-1868 (Reels 1M151-1M152)
 - b Correspondence Book, 1829 (Reel 1M251)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1827-1838 (Reel 1M388)
 - d Account Books, 1821-1880 (Reels 1M629-1M633)
 - e Report on District, 1831 (Reel 1M783)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1824-1850 (Reel 1M898)
231. Fort William (Lake Superior)
- a Post Journals, 1817-1851 (Reels 1M152-1M153)
 - b Correspondence Book, 1819 (Reel 1M251)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1819-1865 (Reel 1M388)
 - d Account Books, 1817-1822 (Reel 1M633)
 - e Reports on Districts, 1824-1834 (Reel 1M783)
 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1817-1858 (Reel 1M898)
234. Winisk River
- a Post Journal, 1833-1834 (Reel 1M153)
 - b Correspondence Book, 1834 (Reel 1M251)
 - c Correspondence Inward, 1833 (Reel 1M388)
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236. Lake Winnipeg
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237. Winokapau
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 - b Correspondence Book, 1850-1856 (Reel 1M225)
 - d Account Books, 1859-1876 (Reel 1M582)
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- 372. Great Whale River
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 - e Reports on Districts, 1815-1816 (Reel 1M778)
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 - z Miscellaneous Items, 1863-1864 (Reel 1M879)
- 374. Fort Trial (Labrador Coast)
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D.4/1-81, Governor George Simpson Correspondence Books Outward (General), 1824-1854.

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