

A
JOURNAL
FROM
Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay,
TO
THE NORTHERN OCEAN.

UNDERTAKEN
BY ORDER OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY,
FOR THE DISCOVERY
OF COPPER MINES, A NORTH WEST PASSAGE, &c.
In the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, & 1772.

By S A. M U E L H E A R N E.

L O N D O N :

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Mr. CADELL,) in the Strand.

1795.



TO
SAMUEL WEGG, Esq. Governor,
Sir JAMES WINTER LAKE, Deputy Governor,

AND
THE REST OF THE COMMITTEE
OF THE HONOURABLE
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

AS the following Journey was undertaken
at your Request and Expence, I feel it no
less my Duty than my Inclination to address it
to you; hoping that my humble Endeavours
to relate, in a plain and unadorned Style,
the various Circumstances and Remarks which
6 occurred

DEDICATION.

occurred during that Journey, will meet with
your Approbation.

I am, with much Esteem and Gratitude,

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Your most obedient, and
most obliged humble Servant,

SAMUEL HEARNE.

P R E F A C E.

MR. DALRYMPLE, in one of his Pamphlets relating to Hudson's Bay, has been so very particular in his observations on my Journey, as to remark, that I have not explained the construction of the Quadrant which I had the misfortune to break in my second Journey to the North. It was a Hadley's Quadrant, with a bubble attached to it for an horizon, and made by Daniel Scatlif of Wapping. But as no instrument on the same principle could be procured when I was setting out on my last Journey, an old Elton's Quadrant, which had been upwards of thirty years at the Fort, was the only instrument I could then be provided with, in any respect proper for making observations with on the land.

Mr. Dalrymple also observes, that I only inserted in my last Journal to the Company, one observation for the latitude, which may be true; but I had, nevertheless, several others during that Journey, particularly at Snow-bird Lake, Thelwey-aza-yeth, and Clowey, exclusive of that mentioned in the Journal taken at Conge-cathawhachaga. But when I was on that Journey, and for several
years

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years after, I little thought that any remarks made in it would ever have attracted the notice of the Public: if I had, greater pains might and would have been taken to render it more worthy of their attention than it now is. At that time my ideas and ambition extended no farther than to give my employers, such an account of my proceedings as might be satisfactory to them, and answer the purpose which they had in view; little thinking it would ever come under the inspection of so ingenious and indefatigable a geographer as Mr. Dalrymple must be allowed to be. But as the case has turned out otherwise, I have at my leisure hours recopied all my Journals into one book, and in some instances added to the remarks I had before made; not so much for the information of those who are critics in geography, as for the amusement of candid and indulgent readers, who may perhaps feel themselves in some measure gratified, by having the face of a country brought to their view, which has hitherto been entirely unknown to every European except myself. Nor will, I flatter myself, a description of the modes of living, manners, and customs of the natives, (which, though long known, have never been described,) be less acceptable to the curious.

I cannot help observing, that I feel myself rather hurt at Mr. Dalrymple's rejecting my latitude in so peremptory a manner, and in so great a proportion, as he has done; because, before I arrived at Conge-cathawhachaga, the
Sun

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Sun did not set during the whole night: a proof that I was then to the Northward of the Arctic Circle. I may be allowed to add, that when I was at the Copper River, on the eighteenth of July, the Sun's declination was but 21° , and yet it was certainly some height above the horizon at midnight; how much, as I did not *then* remark, I will not *now* take upon me to say; but it proves that the latitude was considerably more than Mr. Dalrymple will admit of. His assertion, that no grass is to be found on the (rocky) coast of Greenland farther North than the latitude of 65° , is no proof there should not be any in a much higher latitude in the interior parts of North America. For, in the first place, I think it is more than probable, that the Copper River empties itself into a sort of inland Sea, or extensive Bay, somewhat like that of Hudson's: and it is well known that no part of the coast of Hudson's Straits, nor those of Labradore, at least for some degrees South of them, any more than the East coast of Hudson's Bay, till we arrive near Whale River, have any trees on them; while the West coast of the Bay in the same latitudes, is well clothed with timber. Where then is the ground for such an assertion? Had Mr. Dalrymple considered this circumstance only, I flatter myself he would not so hastily have objected to woods and grass being seen in similar situations, though in a much higher latitude. Neither can the reasoning which Mr. Dalrymple derives from the error I committed in estimating the distance to Cumberland House, any way affect the question under con-

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sideration;

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sideration; because that distance being chiefly in longitude, I had no means of correcting it by an observation, which was not the case here.

I do not by any means wish to enter into a dispute with, or incur the displeasure of Mr. Dalrymple; but thinking, as I do, that I have not been treated in so liberal a manner as I ought to have been, he will excuse me for endeavouring to convince the Public that his objections are in a great measure without foundation. And having done so, I shall quit the disagreeable subject with declaring, that if any part of the following sheets should afford amusement to Mr. Dalrymple, or any other of my readers, it will be the highest gratification I can receive, and the only recompence I desire to obtain for the hardships and fatigue which I underwent in procuring the information contained in them.

Being well assured that several learned and curious gentlemen are in possession of manuscript copies of, or extracts from, my Journals, as well as copies of the Charts, I have been induced to make this copy as correct as possible, and to publish it; especially as I observe that scarcely any two of the publications that contain extracts from my Journals, agree in the dates when I arrived at, or departed from, particular places. To rectify those disagreements I applied to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, for leave to peruse my original Journals. This was granted with the greatest affability

and politeness; as well as a sight of all my Charts relative to this Journey. With this assistance I have been enabled to rectify some inaccuracies that had, by trusting too much to memory, crept into this copy; and I now offer it to the Public under authentic dates and the best authorities, however widely some publications may differ from it.

I have taken the liberty to expunge some passages which were inserted in the original copy, as being no ways interesting to the Public, and several others have undergone great alterations; so that, in fact, the whole may be said to be new-modelled, by being blended with a variety of Remarks and Notes that were not inserted in the original copy, but which my long residence in the country has enabled me to add.

The account of the principal quadrupeds and birds that frequent those Northern regions in Summer, as well as those which never migrate, though not described in a scientific manner, may not be entirely unacceptable to the most scientific zoologists; and to those who are unacquainted with the technical terms used in zoology, it may perhaps be more useful and entertaining, than if I had described them in the most classical manner. But I must not conclude this Preface, without acknowledging, in the most ample manner, the assistance I have received from the perusal of Mr. Pennant's Arctic Zoology; which has enabled me to give several of the birds their proper names;

names ; for those by which they are known in Hudson's Bay are purely Indian, and of course quite unknown to every European who has not resided in that country.

To conclude, I cannot sufficiently regret the loss of a considerable Vocabulary of the Northern Indian Language, containing sixteen folio pages, which was lent to the late Mr. Hutchins, then Corresponding Secretary to the Company, to copy for Captain Duncan, when he went on discoveries to Hudson's Bay in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety. But Mr. Hutchins dying soon after, the Vocabulary was taken away with the rest of his effects, and cannot now be recovered ; and memory, at this time, will by no means serve to replace it.

C O N T E N T S.

INTRODUCTION.

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C H A P. I.

Transactions from my leaving Prince of Wales's Fort on my first Expedition, till our Arrival there again.

Set off from the Fort; arrive at Po-co-thee-kis-co River.—One of the Northern Indians deserts.—Cross Seal River, and walk on the barren grounds.—Receive wrong information concerning the distance of the woods.—Weather begins to be very cold, provisions all expended, and nothing to be got.—Strike to the Westward, arrive at the woods, and kill three deer.—Set forward in the North West quarter, see the tracks of musk-oxen and deer, but killed none.—Very short of provisions.—Chawchinahaw wants us to return.—Neither he nor his crew contribute to our maintenance.—He influences several of the Indians to desert.—Chawchinahaw and all his crew leave us.—Begin our return to the Factory; kill a few partridges, the first meal we had had for several days.—Villany of one of the home Indians and his wife, who was a Northern Indian woman.—Arrive at Seal River, kill two deer; partridges plenty.—Meet a strange Northern Indian, accompany him to his tent, usage received there; my Indians assist in killing some beaver.—Proceed toward home, and arrive at the Fort.

C H A P. II.

Transactions from our Arrival at the Factory, to my leaving it again, and during the First Part of my Second Journey, till I had the misfortune to break the Quadrant.

Transactions at the Factory.—Proceed on my second journey.—Arrive at Seal River.—Deer plentiful for some time.—Method of angling fish under the ice.—Set our fishing-nets.—Method of setting nets under the ice.—My guide proposes

proposes to stay till the geese should begin to fly; his reasons accepted.—Pitch our tent in the best manner.—Method of pitching a tent in Winter.—Fish plentiful for some time; grow very scarce; in great want of provisions.—Manner of employing my time.—My guide killed two deer.—Move to the place they were lying at; there kill several more deer, and three beavers.—Soon in want of provisions again.—Many Indians join us from the Westward.—We begin to move towards the barren ground.—Arrive at She-than-nee, there suffer great distress for want of provisions.—Indians kill two swans and three geese.—Geese and other birds of passage plentiful.—Leave She-than-nee, and arrive at Beralzone.—One of my companions guns bursts, and shatters his left hand.—Leave Beralzone, and get on the barren ground, clear of all woods.—Throw away our sledges and snow shoes.—Each person takes a load on his back; my part of the luggage.—Exposed to many hardships.—Several days without victuals.—Indians kill three musk-oxen, but for want of fire are obliged to eat the meat raw.—Fine weather returns; make a fire; effects of long fasting; stay a day or two to dry some meat in the Sun.—Proceed to the Northward, and arrive at Cathawhachaga; there find some tents of Indians.—A Northern Leader called Keelshies meets us; send a letter by him to the Governor.—Transactions at Cathawhachaga; leave it and proceed to the Northward.—Meet several Indians.—My guide not willing to proceed; his reasons for it.—Many more Indians join us.—Arrive at Doo-bant Whoie River.—Manner of ferrying over rivers in the Northern Indian canoes.—No rivers in those parts in a useful direction for the natives.—Had nearly lost the quadrant and all the powder.—Some reflections on our situation, and conduct of the Indians.—Find the quadrant, and part of the powder.—Observe for the latitude.—Quadrant broke.—Resolve to return again to the Factory.

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C H A P. III.

Transactions from the Time the Quadrant was broken, till I arrived at the Factory.

Several strange Indians join us from the Northward.—They plunder me of all I had; but did not plunder the Southern Indians.—My guide plundered.—We begin our return to the Factory.—Meet with other Indians, who join our company.—Collect deer-skins for clothing, but could not get them dressed.

dressed.—Suffer much hardship from the want of tents and warm clothing.—Most of the Indians leave us.—Meet with Matonabbee.—Some account of him, and his behaviour to me and the Southern Indians.—We remain in his company some time.—His observations on my two unsuccessful attempts.—We leave him, and proceed to a place to which he directed us, in order to make snow-shoes and sledges.—Join Matonabbee again, and proceed towards the Factory in his company.—Ammunition runs short.—Myself and four Indians set off post for the Factory.—Much bewildered in a snow storm; my dog is frozen to death; we lie in a bush of willows.—Proceed on our journey.—Great difficulty in crossing a jumble of rocks.—Arrive at the Fort. Page 47

C H A P. IV.

Transactions during our Stay at Prince of Wales's Fort, and the former Part of our third Expedition, till our Arrival at Clowey, where we built Canoes, in May 1771.

Preparations for our departure.—Refuse to take any of the home-guard Indians with me.—By so doing, I offend the Governor.—Leave the Fort a third time.—My instructions on this expedition.—Provisions of all kinds very scarce.—Arrive at the woods, where we kill some deer.—Arrive at Island Lake.—Matonabbee taken ill.—Some remarks thereon.—Join the remainder of the Indians' families.—Leave Island Lake.—Description thereof.—Deer plentiful.—Meet a strange Indian.—Alter our course from West North West to West by South.—Cross Cathawhachaga River, Coffed Lake, Snow-Bird Lake, and Pike Lake.—Arrive at a tent of strangers, who are employed in snaring deer in a pound.—Description of a pound.—Method of proceeding.—Remarks thereon.—Proceed on our journey.—Meet with several parties of Indians; by one of whom I sent a letter to the Governor at Prince of Wales's Fort.—Arrive at Thleweyazayeth.—Employment there.—Proceed to the North North West and North.—Arrive at Clowey.—One of the Indian's wives taken in labour.—Remarks thereon.—Customs observed by the Northern Indians on those occasions. - - - 60

C H A P. V.

Transactions at Clowey, and on our Journey, till our Arrival at the Copper-mine River.

Several strange Indians join us.—Indians employed in building canoes; description and use of them.—More Indians join us, to the amount of some hundreds.—Leave Clowey.—Receive intelligence that Keeshies was near us.—Two young men dispatched for my letters and goods.—Arrive at Peshew Lake; cross part of it, and make a large smoke.—One of Matonabee's wives elopes.—Some remarks on the natives.—Keeshies joins us, and delivers my letters, but the goods were all expended.—A Northern Indian wishes to take one of Matonabee's wives from him; matters compromised, but had like to have proved fatal to my progress.—Cross Peshew Lake, when I make proper arrangements for the remainder of my journey.—Many Indians join our party, in order to make war on the Esquimaux at the Copper River.—Preparations made for that purpose while at Clowey.—Proceed on our journey to the North.—Some remarks on the way.—Cross Cogead Lake on the ice.—The sun did not set.—Arrive at Congecathawhachaga.—Find several Copper Indians there.—Remarks and transactions during our stay at Congecathawhachaga.—Proceed on our journey.—Weather very bad.—Arrive at the Stoney Mountains.—Some account of them.—Cross part of Buffalo Lake on the ice.—Saw many musk-oxen.—Description of them.—Went with some Indians to view Grizzle-bear Hill.—Join a strange Northern Indian Leader, called Olye, in company with some Copper Indians.—Their behaviour to me.—Arrive at the Copper-mine River.

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C H A P. VI.

Transactions at the Copper-mine River, and till we joined all the Women to the South of Cogead Lake.

Some Copper Indians join us.—Indians send three spies down the river.—Begin my survey.—Spies return, and give an account of five tents of Esquimaux.—Indians consult the best method to steal on them in the night, and kill

kill them while asleep.—Cross the river.—Proceedings of the Indians as they advance towards the Esquimaux tents.—The Indians begin the massacre while the poor Esquimaux are asleep, and slay them all.—Much affected at the sight of one young woman killed close to my feet.—The behaviour of the Indians on this occasion.—Their brutish treatment of the dead bodies.—Seven more tents seen on the opposite side of the river.—The Indians harass them, till they fly to a shoal in the river for safety.—Behaviour of the Indians after killing those Esquimaux.—Cross the river, and proceed to the tents on that side.—Plunder their tents, and destroy their utensils.—Continue my survey to the river's mouth.—Remarks there.—Set out on my return.—Arrive at one of the Copper-mines.—Remarks on it.—Many attempts made to induce the Copper Indians to carry their own goods to market.—Obstacles to it.—Villany and cruelty of Keelshies to some of those poor Indians.—Leave the Copper-mine, and walk at an amazing rate till we join the women, by the side of Cogead Whoie.—Much foot-foundered.—The appearance very alarming, but soon changes for the better.—Proceed to the Southward, and join the remainder of the women and children.—Many other Indians arrive with them. - - - - Page 145

C H A P. VII.

Remarks from the Time the Women joined us till our Arrival at the Athapuscow Lake.

Several of the Indians sick.—Method used by the conjurers to relieve one man, who recovers.—Matonabee and his crew proceed to the South West.—Most of the other Indians separate, and go their respective ways.—Pass by White Stone Lake.—Many deer killed merely for their skins.—Remarks thereon, and on the deer, respecting seasons and places.—Arrive at Point Lake.—One of the Indian's wives being sick, is left behind, to perish above-ground.—Weather very bad, but deer plenty.—Stay some time at Point Lake to dry meat, &c.—Winter set in.—Superstitious customs observed by my companions, after they had killed the Esquimaux at Copper River.—A violent gale of wind oversets my tent and breaks my quadrant.—Some Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians join us.—Indians propose to go to the Athapuscow Country to kill moose.—Leave Point Lake, and arrive at the wood's edge.—Arrive at Anawd Lake.—Transactions there.—Remarkable instance of a man being cured of the palsy by the conjurers.—Leave Anawd Lake.—Arrive at the great Athapuscow Lake. - - - 189

C H A P. VIII.

Transactions and Remarks from our Arrival on the South Side of the Athapuscow Lake, till our Arrival at Prince of Wales's Fort on Churchill River.

Cross the Athapuscow Lake.—Description of it and its productions, as far as could be discovered in Winter, when the snow was on the ground.—Fish found in the lake.—Description of the buffalo;—of the moose or elk, and the method of dressing their skins.—Find a woman alone that had not seen a human face for more than seven months.—Her account how she came to be in that situation; and her curious method of procuring a livelihood.—Many of my Indians wrestled for her.—Arrive at the great Athapuscow River.—Walk along the side of the River for several days, and then strike off to the Eastward.—Difficulty in getting through the woods in many places.—Meet with some strange Northern Indians on their return from the Fort.—Meet more strangers, whom my companions plundered, and from whom they took one of their young women.—Curious manner of life which those strangers lead, and the reason they gave for roving so far from their usual residence.—Leave the fine level country of the Athapuscows, and arrive at the Stony Hills of the Northern Indian Country.—Meet some strange Northern Indians, one of whom carried a letter for me to Prince of Wales's Fort in March one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, and now gave me an answer to it, dated twentieth of June following.—Indians begin preparing wood-work and birch-rind for canoes.—The equinoctial gale very severe.—Indian method of running the moose deer down by speed of foot.—Arrival at Theeleyaza River.—See some strangers.—The brutality of my companions.—A tremendous gale and snow-drift.—Meet with more strangers;—remarks on it.—Leave all the elderly people and children, and proceed directly to the Fort.—Stop to build canoes, and then advance.—Several of the Indians die through hunger, and many others are obliged to decline the journey for want of ammunition.—A violent storm and inundation, that forced us to the top of a high hill, where we suffered great distress for more than two days.—Kill several deer.—The Indians method of preserving the flesh without the assistance of salt.—See several Indians that were going to Knapp's Bay.—Game of all kinds remarkably plentiful.—Arrive at the Factory

C H A P. IX.

A short Description of the Northern Indians, also a farther Account of their Country, Manufactures, Customs, &c.

An account of the persons and tempers of the Northern Indians.—They possess a great deal of art and cunning.—Are very guilty of fraud when in their power, and generally exact more for their furs than any other tribe of Indians.—Always dissatisfied, yet have their good qualities.—The men in general jealous of their wives.—Their marriages.—Girls always betrothed when children, and their reasons for it.—Great care and confinement of young girls from the age of eight or nine years.—Divorces common among those people.—The women are less prolific than in warmer countries.—Remarkable piece of superstition observed by the women at particular periods.—Their art in making it an excuse for a temporary separation from their husbands on any little quarrel.—Reckoned very unclean on those occasions.—The Northern Indians frequently, for the want of firing, are obliged to eat their meat raw.—Some through necessity obliged to boil it in vessels made of the rind of the birch-tree.—A remarkable dish among those people.—The young animals always cut out of their dams eaten, and accounted a great delicacy.—The parts of generation of all animals eat by the men and boys.—Manner of passing their time, and method of killing deer in Summer with bows and arrows.—Their tents, dogs, sledges, &c.—Snow-shoes.—Their partiality to domestic vermin.—Utmost extent of the Northern Indian country.—Face of the country.—Species of fish.—A peculiar kind of moss useful for the support of man.—Northern Indian method of catching fish, either with hooks or nets.—Ceremony observed when two parties of those people meet.—Diversions in common use.—A singular disorder which attacks some of those people.—Their superstition with respect to the death of their friends.—Ceremony observed on those occasions.—Their ideas of the first inhabitants of the world.—No form of religion among them.—Remarks on that circumstance.—The extreme misery to which old age is exposed.—Their opinion of the *Aurora Borealis*, &c.—Some account of Matonabee, and his services to his country, as well as to the Hudson's Bay Company.

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C H A P. X.

An Account of the principal Quadrupeds found in the Northern Parts of Hudson's Bay.—The Buffalo, Moose, Musk-ox, Deer, and Beaver.—A capital Mistake cleared up respecting the We-was-kish.

Animals with Canine Teeth.—The Wolf—Foxes of various colours—Lynx, or Wild Cat—Polar, or White Bear—Black Bear—Brown Bear—Wolverene—Otter—Jackass—Wejack—Skunk—Pine Martin—Ermine, or Stote.

Animals with Cutting Teeth.—The Musk Beaver—Porcupine—Varying Hare—American Hare—Common Squirrel—Ground Squirrel—Mice of various Kinds, and the Castor Beaver.

The Pinnated Quadrupeds with fin-like Feet, found in Hudson's Bay, are but three in number, viz. the Warlus, or Sea-Horse—Seal—and Sea-Unicorn.

The Species of Fish found in the Salt Water of Hudson's Bay are also few in number; being the Black Whale—White Whale—Salmon—and Kepling.

Shell-fish, and empty Shells of several kinds, found on the Sea Coast near Churchill River.

Frogs of various sizes and colours; also a great variety of Grubbs, and other Insects, always found in a frozen state during Winter, but when exposed to the heat of a slow fire, are soon re-animated.

An Account of some of the principal Birds found in the Northern Parts of Hudson's Bay; as well those that only migrate there in Summer, as those that are known to brave the coldest Winters:—Eagles of various kinds—Hawks of various sizes and plumage—White or Snowy Owl—Gray or mottled Owl—Cob-a-dee-cooch—Raven—Cinereous Crow—Wood Pecker—Ruffed Grouse—Pheasant—Wood Partridge—Willow Partridge—Rock Partridge—Pigeon—Red-breasted Thrush—Grosbeak—Snow Bunting—White-crowned Bunting—Lapland Finch, two sorts—Lark—Titmouse—Swallow—Martin—Hopping Crane—Brown Crane—Bitron—Carlow, two sorts—Jack Snipe—Red Godwart—Plover—Black Gullmet—Northern Diver—Black-throated Diver—Red-throated Diver—White Gull—Grey Gull—Black-head—Pelican—Goosander—Swans of two species—Common Grey

Grey Goose—Canada Goose—White or Snow Goose—Blue Goose—Horned Wavy—Laughing Goose—Barren Goose—Brent Goose—Dunter Goose—Bean Goose.

The species of Water-Fowl usually called Duck, that resort to those Parts annually, are in great variety; but those that are most esteemed are, the Mallard Duck—Long-tailed Duck—Wigeon—and Teal.

Of the Vegetable Productions as far North as Churchill River, particularly the most useful; such as the Berry-bearing Bushes, &c. — Gooseberry—Cranberry—Heathberry—Dewater-berry—Black Currans—Juniper-berry—Partridge-berry—Strawberry—Eye-berry—Blue-berry—and a small species of Hips.

Burridge, Coltsfoot—Sorrel—Dandelion.

Wish-a-capucca—Jackashey-puck—Moss of various sorts—Grass of several kinds—and Vetches.

The Trees found so far North near the Sea, consist only of Pines—Juniper—Small Poplar—Bush-willows—and Creeping Birch.

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E R R A T A.

Page 68 line 16, *for no read on.*

79 — ult. *for poleos read poles.*

89 — 22, *dele we.*

111 — 12, *for Athapusco read Athapuscow.*

202 — 1, *for North West read South West.*

INTRODUCTION.

FOR many years it was the opinion of all ranks of people, that the Hudson's Bay Company were averse to making discoveries of every kind; and being content with the profits of their small capital, as it was then called, did not want to increase their trade. What might have been the ideas of former members of the Company respecting the first part of these charges I cannot say, but I am well assured that they, as well as the present members, have always been ready to embrace every plausible plan for extending the trade. As a proof of this assertion, I need only mention the vast sums of money which they have expended at different times in endeavouring to establish fisheries, though without success: and the following Journey, together with the various attempts made by Bean, Christopher, Johnston, and Duncan, to find a North West passage, are recent proofs that the present members are as desirous of making discoveries, as they are of extending their trade.

That air of mystery, and affectation of secrecy, perhaps, which formerly attended some of the Company's proceedings in the Bay, might give rise to those conjectures; and the unfounded assertions and unjust aspersions of Dobbs, Ellis,

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Ellis,

Ellis, Robson, Dragge, and the American Traveller, the only Authors that have written on Hudson's Bay, and who have all, from motives of interest or revenge, taken a particular pleasure in arraigning the conduct of the Company, without having any real knowledge of their proceedings, or any experience in their service, on which to found their charges, must have contributed to confirm the public in that opinion. Most of those Writers, however, advance such notorious absurdities, that none except those who are already prejudiced against the Company can give them credit

Robson, from his six years residence in Hudson's Bay and in the Company's service, might naturally have been supposed to know something of the climate and soil immediately round the Factories at which he resided; but the whole of his book is evidently written with prejudice, and dictated by a spirit of revenge, because his romantic and inconsistent schemes were rejected by the Company. Besides, it is well known that Robson was no more than a tool in the hand of Mr. Dobbs.

The American Traveller, though a more elegant writer, has still less claim to our indulgence, as his assertions are

* Since the above was written, a Mr. Umfreyville has published an account of Hudson's Bay, with the same ill-nature as the former Authors; and for no other reason than that of being disappointed in succeeding to a command in the Bay, though there was no vacancy for him.

a greater

a greater tax on our credulity. His saying that he discovered several large lumps of the finest virgin copper *, is such a palpable falsehood that it needs no refutation. No man, either English or Indian, ever found a bit of copper in that country to the South of the seventy-first degree of latitude, unless it had been accidentally dropped by some of the far Northern Indians in their way to the Company's Factory.

The natives who range over, rather than inhabit, the large track of land which lies to the North of Churchill River, having repeatedly brought samples of copper to the Company's Factory, many of our people conjectured that it was found not far from our settlements; and as the Indians informed them that the mines were not very distant from a large river, it was generally supposed that this river must empty itself into Hudson's Bay; as they could by no means think that any set of people, however wandering their manner of life might be, could ever traverse so large a track of country as to pass the Northern boundary of that Bay, and particularly without the assistance of water-carriage. The following Journal, however, will shew how much those people have been mistaken, and prove also the improbability of putting their favourite scheme of mining into practice.

American Traveller, page 23.

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The accounts of this grand River, which some have turned into a Strait, together with the samples of copper, were brought to the Company's Factory at Churchill River immediately after its first establishment, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen; and it does not appear that any attempts were made to discover either the river or mines till the year one thousand seven hundred and nineteen, when the Company fitted out a ship, called the Albany Frigate, Captain George Barlow*, and a sloop, called

Captain Barlow was Governor at Albany Fort when the French went over land from Canada to besiege it in 1704. The Canadians and their Indian guides lurked in the neighbourhood of Albany for several days before they made the attack, and killed many of the cattle that were grazing in the marshes. A faithful Home-Indian, who was on a hunting excursion, discovering those strangers, and supposing them to be enemies, immediately returned to the Fort, and informed the Governor of the circumstance, who gave little credit to it. However, every measure was taken for the defence of the Fort, and orders were given to the Master of a sloop that lay at some distance, to come to the Fort with all possible expedition on hearing a gun fired.

Accordingly, in the middle of the night, or rather in the morning, the French came before the Fort, marched up to the gate, and demanded entrance. Mr. Barlow, who was then on the watch, told them, that the Governor was asleep, but he would get the keys immediately. The French hearing this, expected no opposition, and flocked up to the gate as close as they could stand. Barlow took the advantage of this opportunity, and instead of opening the gate, only opened two port holes, where two six-pounders stood loaded with grape shot, which were instantly fired. This discharge killed great numbers of the French, and among them the Commander, who was an Irishman.

Such an unexpected reception made the remainder retire with great precipitation; and the Master of the sloop hearing the guns, made the best of his way

called the Discovery, Captain David Vaughan. The sole command of this expedition, however, was given to Mr. James Knight, a man of great experience in the Company's service, who had been many years Governor at the different Factories in the Bay, and who had made the first settlement at Churchill River. Notwithstanding the experience Mr. Knight might have had of the Company's business, and his knowledge of those parts of the Bay where he had resided, it cannot be supposed he was well acquainted with the nature of the business in which he then engaged, having nothing to direct him but the slender and imperfect accounts which he had received from the Indians, who at that time were little known, and less understood.

way up to the Fort; but some of the French who lay concealed under the banks of the river killed him, and all the boat's crew.

The French retired from this place with reluctance; for some of them were heard shooting in the neighbourhood of the Fort ten days after they were repulsed; and one man in particular walked up and down the platform leading from the gate of the Fort to the Launch for a whole day. Mr. Fullarton, who was then Governor at Albany, spoke to him in French, and offered him kind quarters if he chose to accept them; but to those proposals he made no reply, and only shook his head. Mr. Fullarton then told him, that unless he would resign himself up as a prisoner, he would most assuredly shoot him; on which the man advanced nearer the Fort, and Mr. Fullarton shot him out of his chamber-window. Perhaps the hardships this poor man expected to encounter in his return to Canada, made him prefer death; but his refusing to receive quarter from so humane and generous an enemy as the English, is astonishing.

Those

Those disadvantages, added to his advanced age, he being then near eighty, by no means discouraged this bold adventurer; who was so prepossessed of his success, and of the great advantage that would arise from his discoveries, that he procured, and took with him, some large iron-bound chests, to hold gold dust and other valuables, which he fondly flattered himself were to be found in those parts.

The first paragraph of the Company's Orders to Mr. Knight on this occasion appears to be as follows:

" To Captain JAMES KNIGHT.

" S I R,

4th June, 1719.

" From the experience we have had of your abilities
 " in the management of our affairs, we have, upon your
 " application to us, fitted out the Albany frigate, Captain
 " George Barlow, and the Discovery, Captain David
 " Vaughan Commander, upon a discovery to the North-
 " ward; and to that end have given you power and au-
 " thority to act and do all things relating to the said
 " voyage, the navigation of the said ship and sloop only
 " excepted; and have given orders and instructions to our
 " said Commanders for that purpose.

" You are, with the first opportunity of wind and
 " weather, to depart from Gravesend on your intended
 " voyage,

“ voyage, and by God’s permission, to find out the Straits
“ of Anian, in order to discover gold and other valuable
“ commodities to the Northward, &c. &c.”

Mr. Knight soon left Gravesend, and proceeded on his voyage; but the ship not returning to England that year, as was expected, it was judged that she had wintered in Hudson’s Bay; and having on board a good stock of provisions, a house in frame, together with all necessary mechanics, and a great assortment of trading goods, little or no thoughts were entertained of their not being in safety: but as neither ship nor sloop returned to England in the following year, (one thousand seven hundred and twenty,) the Company were much alarmed for their welfare; and, by their ship which went to Churchill in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, they sent orders for a sloop called the Whale-Bone, John Scroggs Master, to go in search of them; but the ship not arriving in Churchill till late in the year, those orders could not be put in execution till the Summer following (one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two)

The North West coast of Hudson’s Bay being little known in those days, and Mr. Scroggs finding himself greatly embarrassed with shoals and rocks, returned to Prince of Wales’s Fort without making any certain discovery respecting the above ship or sloop; for all the marks he saw among the Esquimaux at Whale Cove scarcely

amounted to the spoils which might have been made from a trifling accident, and consequently could not be considered as signs of a total shipwreck.

The strong opinion which then prevailed in Europe respecting the probability of a North West passage by the way of Hudson's Bay, made many conjecture that Messrs. Knight and Barlow had found that passage, and had gone through it into the South Sea, by the way of California. Many years elapsed without any other convincing proof occurring to the contrary, except that Middleton, Ellis, Bean, Christopher, and Johnston, had not been able to find any such passage. And notwithstanding a sloop was annually sent to the Northward on discovery, and to trade with the Esquimaux, it was the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, before we had positive proofs that poor Mr. Knight and Captain Barlow had been lost in Hudson's Bay.

The Company were now carrying on a black whale fishery, and Marble Island was made the place of rendezvous, not only on account of the commodiousness of the harbour, but because it had been observed that the whales were more plentiful about that island than on any other part of the coast. This being the case, the boats, when on the look-out for fish, had frequent occasion to row close to the island, by which means they discovered a new harbour near the East end of it, at the head
of

of which they found guns, anchors, cables, bricks, a smith's anvil, and many other articles, which the hand of time had not defaced, and which being of no use to the natives, or too heavy to be removed by them, had not been taken from the place in which they were originally laid. The remains of the house, though pulled to pieces by the Esquimaux for the wood and iron, are yet very plain to be seen, as also the hulls, or more properly speaking, the bottoms of the ship and sloop, which lie sunk in about five fathoms water, toward the head of the harbour. The figure-head of the ship, and also the guns, &c. were sent home to the Company, and are certain proofs that Messrs. Knight and Barlow had been lost on that inhospitable island, where neither stick nor stump was to be seen, and which lies near sixteen miles from the main land. Indeed the main is little better, being a jumble of barren hills and rocks, destitute of every kind of herbage except moss and grass; and at that part, the woods are several hundreds of miles from the sea-side.

In the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, while we were prosecuting the fishery, we saw several Esquimaux at this new harbour; and perceiving that one or two of them were greatly advanced in years, our curiosity was excited to ask them some questions concerning the above ship and sloop, which we were the better enabled to do by the assistance of an Esquimaux, who was then in the Company's service as a linguist, and annually sailed in one of their vessels in that character. The
account

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account which we received from them was full, clear, and unreserved, and the sum of it was to the following purport :

When the vessels arrived at this place (Marble ~~Land~~) it was very late in the Fall, and in getting them into the harbour, the largest received much damage; but on being fairly in, the English began to build the house, their number at that time seeming to be about fifty. As soon as the ice permitted, in the following Summer, (one thousand seven hundred and twenty,) the Esquimaux paid them another visit, by which time the number of the English was greatly reduced, and those that were living seemed very unhealthy. According to the account given by the Esquimaux they were then very busily employed, but about what they could not easily describe, probably in lengthening the long-boat; for at a little distance from the house there is now lying a great quantity of oak chips, which have been most assuredly made by carpenters.

Sickness and famine occasioned such havoc among the English, that by the setting in of the second Winter their number was reduced to twenty. That Winter (one thousand seven hundred and twenty) some of the Esquimaux took up their abode on the opposite side of the harbour to that on which the English had built their houses *, and frequently

* I have seen the remains of those houses several times; they are on the West side of the harbour, and in all probability will be discernible for many years to come.

frequently supplied them with such provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted of whale's blubber and seal's flesh and train oil. When the Spring advanced, the Esquimaux went to the continent, and on their visiting Marble Island again, in the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, they only found five of the English alive, and those were in such distress for provisions that they eagerly eat the seal's flesh and whale's blubber quite raw, as they purchased it from the natives. This disordered them so much, that three of them died in a few days, and the other two, though very weak, made a shift to bury them. Those two survived many days after the rest, and frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock, and earnestly looked to the South and East, as if in expectation of some vessels coming to their relief. After continuing there a considerable time together, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together, and wept bitterly. At length one of the two died, and the other's strength was so far exhausted, that he fell down and died also, in attempting to dig a grave for his companion. The

It is rather surprising, that neither Middleton, Ellis, Christopher, Johnston, nor Garbet, who have all of them been at Marble Island, and some of them often, ever discovered this harbour; particularly the last-mentioned gentleman, who actually sailed quite round the island in a very fine pleasant day in the Summer of 1766. But this discovery was reserved for a Mr. Joseph Stephens! a man of the least merit I ever knew, though he then had the command of a vessel called the Success, employed in the whale-fishery; and in the year 1769, had the command of the Charlotte given to him, a fine brig of one hundred tons; when I was his mate.

sculls and other large bones of those two men are now lying above-ground close to the house. The longest liver was, according to the Esquimaux account, always employed in working of iron into implements for them; probably he was the armourer, or smith.

Some Northern Indians who came to trade at Prince of Wales's Fort in the Spring of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, brought farther accounts of the grand river, as it was called, and also several pieces of copper, as samples of the produce of the mine near it; which determined Mr. Norton, who was then Governor at Churchill, to represent it to the Company as an affair worthy of their attention; and as he went that year to England, he had an opportunity of laying all the information he had received before the Board, with his opinion thereon, and the plan which he thought most likely to succeed in the discovery of those mines. In consequence of Mr. Norton's representations, the Committee resolved to send an intelligent person by land to observe the longitude and latitude of the river's mouth, to make a chart of the country he might walk through, with such remarks as occurred to him during the Journey; when I was pitched on as a proper person to conduct the expedition. By the ship that went to Churchill in the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, the Company sent out some astronomical instruments, very portable, and fit for such observations as they required me

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to make, and at the same time requested me to undertake the Journey, promising to allow me at my return, a gratuity proportionable to the trouble and fatigue I might undergo in the expedition

I did

* The conditions offered me on this occasion cannot be better expressed than in the Company's own words, which I have transcribed from their private letter to me, dated 25th May 1769.

" From the good opinion we entertain of you, and Mr. Norton's recommendation, we have agreed to raise your wages to £ *per annum* for two years, and have placed you in our Council at Prince of Wales's Fort; and we should have been ready to advance you to the command of the Charlotte, according to your request, if a matter of more immediate consequence had not intervened.

" Mr. Norton has proposed an inland Journey, far to the North of Churchill, to promote an extension of our trade, as well as for the discovery of a North West Passage, Copper Mines, &c.; and as an undertaking of this nature requires the attention of a person capable of taking an observation for determining the longitude and latitude, and also distances, and the course of rivers and their depths, we have fixed upon you (especially as it is represented to us to be your own inclination) to conduct this Journey, with proper assistants.

" We therefore hope you will second our expectations in readily performing this service, and upon your return we shall willingly make you any acknowledgment suitable to your trouble therein.

" We highly approve of your going in the Speedwell, to assist on the whale-fishery last year, and heartily wish you health and success in the present expedition.

We remain your loving Friends,

" BIBBY LAKE, Dep. Gov.

" JOHN ANTHONY MERLE.

" ROBERT MERRY.

" SAMUEL WEGG.

" JAMES WINTER LAKE.

" HERMAN BERENS.

" JOSEPH SPURREL.

" JAMES FITZ GERALD."

The

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I did not hesitate to comply with the request of the Company, and in the November following, when some Northern Indians came to trade, Mr. Norton, who was then returned to the command of Prince of Wales's Fort, engaged such of them for my guides as he thought were most likely to answer the purpose; but none of them had been at this grand river. I was fitted out with every thing thought necessary, and with ammunition to serve two years. I was to be accompanied by two of the Company's servants, two of the Home-guard* (Southern) Indians,

The Company had no sooner perused my Journals and Charts, than they ordered a handsome sum to be placed to the credit of my account; and in the two first paragraphs of their letter to me, dated 12th May 1773, they express themselves in the following words:

" Mr. SAMUEL HEARNE,

" S I R,

" Your letter of the 28th August last gave us the agreeable pleasure to hear of your safe return to our Factory. Your Journal, and the two charts you sent, sufficiently convinces us of your very judicious remarks.

" We have maturely considered your great assiduity in the various accidents which occurred in your several Journeys. We hereby return you our grateful thanks; and to manifest our obligation we have consented to allow you a gratuity of £ for those services."

As a farther proof of the Company's being perfectly satisfied with my conduct while on that Journey, the Committee unanimously appointed me Chief of Prince of Wales's Fort in the Summer of 1775; and Mr. Bibye Lake, who was then Governor, and several others of the Committee, honoured me with a regular correspondence as long as they lived.

* By the Home-guard Indians we are to understand certain of the natives who are immediately employed under the protection of the Company's servants, reside on the plantation, and are employed in hunting for the Factory.

and

and a sufficient number of Northern Indians to carry and haul my baggage, provide for me, &c. But for the better stating this arrangement, it will not be improper to insert my Instructions, which, with some occasional remarks thereon, will throw much light on the following Journal, and be the best method of proving how far those orders have been complied with, as well as shew my reasons for neglecting some parts as unnecessary, and the impossibility of putting other parts of them in execution.

“ ORDERS and INSTRUCTIONS for Mr.
 “ SAMUEL HEARNE, going on an Expedition by
 “ Land towards the Latitude 70° North, in
 “ order to gain a Knowledge of the Northern
 “ Indians Country, &c. on Behalf of the Ho-
 “ nourable Hudson’s Bay Company, in the Year
 “ 1769.

“ Mr. SAMUEL HEARNE,

“ SIR,

“ WHEREAS the Honourable Hudson’s Bay Company
 “ have been informed by the report from Indians, that
 “ there is a great probability of considerable advan-
 “ tages to be expected from a better knowledge of their
 “ country by us, than what hitherto has been obtained;
 “ and as it is the Company’s earnest desire to embrace
 “ every circumstance that may tend to the benefit of the
 “ said Company, or the Nation at large, they have re-
 “ quested you to conduct this Expedition; and as you
 “ have

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“ have readily consented to undertake the present Journey,
 “ you are hereby desired to proceed as soon as possible,
 “ with William Isbester sailor, and Thomas Merriman
 “ landsman, as companions, they both being willing to
 “ accompany you; also two of the Home-guard Southern
 “ Indians, who are to attend and assist you during the
 “ Journey; and Captain Chawchinahaw, his Lieutenant
 “ Nabyah, and six or eight of the best Northern Indians
 “ we can procure, with a small part of their families, are
 “ to conduct you, provide for you, and assist you and
 “ your companions in every thing that lays in their power,
 “ having particular orders so to do.

“ 2dly, Whereas you and your companions are well
 “ fitted-out with every thing we think necessary, as also
 “ a sample of light trading goods; these you are to dis-
 “ pose of by way of presents (and not by way of trade)
 “ to such far-off Indians as you may meet with, and to
 “ smoke your Calimut * of Peace with their leaders, in
 “ order to establish a friendship with them. You are also
 “ to persuade them as much as possible from going to war
 “ with each other, to encourage them to exert themselves
 “ in procuring furs and other articles for trade, and to
 “ assure them of good payment for them at the Com-
 “ pany's Factory.

“ It is sincerely recommended to you and your compa-
 “ nions to treat the natives with civility, so as not to give

* The Calimut is a long ornamented stem of a pipe, much in use among all the tribes of Indians who know the use of tobacco. It is particularly used in all cases of ceremony, either in making war or peace; at all public entertainments, orations, &c.

“ them any room for complaint or disgust, as they have
 “ strict orders not to give you the least offence, but are to
 “ aid and assist you in any matter you may request of them
 “ for the benefit of the undertaking.

• “ If any Indians you may meet, that are coming to the
 “ Fort, should be willing to trust you with either food or
 “ clothing, make your agreement for those commodities,
 “ and by them send me a letter, specifying the quantity
 “ of each article, and they shall be paid according to
 “ your agreement. And, according to the Company’s or-
 “ ders, you are to correspond with me, or the Chief at
 “ Prince of Wales’s Fort for the time being, at all oppor-
 “ tunities: And as you have mathematical instruments
 “ with you, you are to send me, or the Chief for the
 “ time being, an account of what latitude and longitude
 “ you may be in at such and such periods, together with
 “ the heads of your proceedings; which accounts are to be
 “ remitted to the Company by the return of their ships*.

“ 3dly, The Indians who are now appointed your
 “ guides, are to conduct you to the borders of the Atha-
 “ puscow † Indians country, where Captain Matonabbee

* No convenient opportunity offered during my last Journey, except one, on the 22d March 1772: and as nothing material had happened during that part of my Journey, I thought there was not any necessity for sending an extract of my Journal; I therefore only sent a Letter to the Governor, informing him of my situation with respect to latitude and longitude, and some account of the usage which I received from the natives, &c.

† By mistake in my former Journal and Draft called Arathapescow.

“ is to meet you * in the Spring of one thousand seven
 “ hundred and seventy, in order to conduct you to a river
 “ represented by the Indians to abound with copper ore,
 “ animals of the furr kind, &c. and which is said to be
 “ so far to the Northward, that in the middle of the
 “ Summer the Sun does not set, and is supposed by the
 “ Indians to empty itself into some ocean. This river,
 “ which is called by the Northern Indians Neetha-fan-
 “ fan-dazey, or the Far Off Metal River, you are, if
 “ possible, to trace to the mouth, and there determine
 “ the latitude and longitude as near as you can; but
 “ more particularly so if you find it navigable, and that
 “ a settlement can be made there with any degree of
 “ safety, or benefit to the Company.

“ Be careful to observe what mines are near the river,
 “ what water there is at the river's mouth, how far the
 “ woods are from the sea-side, the course of the river,
 “ the nature of the soil, and the productions of it; and
 “ make any other remarks that you may think will be
 “ either necessary or satisfactory. And if the said river
 “ be likely to be of any utility, take possession of it on
 “ behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, by cutting your

* This was barely probable, as Matonabbee at that time had not any in-
 formation of this Journey being set on foot, much less had he received orders
 to join me at the place and time here appointed; and had we accidentally met,
 he would by no means have undertaken the Journey without first going to the
 Factory, and there making his agreement with the Governor; for no Indian is
 fond of performing any particular service for the English, without first knowing
 what is to be his reward. At the same time, had I taken that route by our-
 self, it would have carried me some hundreds of miles out of my route. See
 my Track on the Map in the Winter 1770, and the Spring 1771.

“ name on some of the rocks, as also the date of the
 “ year, month, &c.

“ When you attempt to trace this or any other river,
 “ be careful that the Indians are furnished with a sufficient
 “ number of canoes for trying the depth of water, the
 “ strength of the current, &c. If by any unforeseen
 “ accident or disaster you should not be able to reach the
 “ before-mentioned river, it is earnestly recommended to
 “ you, if possible, to know the event of Wager Strait †;
 “ for it is represented by the last discoverers to terminate
 “ in small rivers and lakes. See how far the woods are
 “ from the navigable parts of it; and whether a settle-
 “ ment could with any propriety be made there. If this
 “ should prove unworthy of notice, you are to take the
 “ same method with Baker’s Lake, which is the head of

* I was not provided with instruments for cutting on stone; but for form-
 sake, I cut my name, date of the year, &c. on a piece of board that had
 been one of the Indian’s targets, and placed it in a heap of stones on a small
 eminence near the entrance of the river, on the South side.

† There is certainly no harm in making out all Instructions in the fullest
 manner, yet it must be allowed that those two parts might have been omitted
 with great propriety; for as neither Middleton, Ellis, nor Christopher were
 able to penetrate far enough up those inlets to discover any kind of herbage
 except moss and grass, much less woods; it was not likely those parts were so
 materially altered for the better since their times, as to make it worth my
 while to attempt a farther discovery of them; and especially as I had an op-
 portunity, during my second Journey, of proving that the woods do not reach
 the sea-coast by some hundreds of miles in the parallel of Chesterfield’s Inlet.
 And as the edge of the woods to the Northward always tends to the Westward,
 the distance must be greatly increased in the latitude of Wager Strait. Those
 parts have long since been visited by the Company’s servants, and are within
 the known limits of their Charter; consequently require no other form of

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“ Bowden’s or Chesterfield’s Inlet* ; as also with any
 “ other rivers you may meet with ; and if likely to be of
 “ any utility, you are to take possession of them, as be-
 “ fore mentioned, on the behalf of the Honourable Hud-
 “ son’s Bay Company. The draft of Bowden’s Inlet and
 “ Wager Strait I send with you, that you may have a better
 “ idea of those places, in case of your visiting them.

“ 4thly, Another material point which is recommended
 “ to you, is to find out, if you can, either by your own
 “ travels, or by information from the Indians, whether
 “ there is a passage through this continent †. It will be

* See the preceding Note.

† The Continent of America is much wider than many people imagine, particularly Robson, who thought that the Pacific Ocean was but a few days journey from the West coast of Hudson’s Bay. This, however, is so far from being the case, that when I was at my greatest Western distance, upward of five hundred miles from Prince of Wales’s Fort, the natives, my guides, well knew that many tribes of Indians lay to the West of us, and they knew no end to the land in that direction ; nor have I met with any Indians, either Northern or Southern, that ever had seen the sea to the Westward. It is, indeed, well known to the intelligent and well-informed part of the Company’s servants, that an extensive and numerous tribe of Indians, called E-arch-e-thinews, whose country lies far West of any of the Company’s or Canadian settlements, must have traffic with the Spaniards on the West side of the Continent, because some of the Indians who formerly traded to York Fort, when at war with those people, frequently found saddles, bridles, muskets, and many other articles, in their possession, which were undoubtedly of Spanish manufactory.

I have seen several Indians who have been so far West as to cross the top of that immense chain of mountains which run from North to South of the continent of America. Beyond those mountains all rivers run to the Westward. I must here observe, that all the Indians I ever heard relate their excursions in that country, had invariably got so far to the South, that they did not experience any Winter, nor the least appearance of either frost or snow, though sometimes they have been absent eighteen months, or two years.

“ very useful to clear up this point, if possible, in order to
 “ prevent farther doubts from arising hereafter respecting
 “ a passage out of Hudson’s Bay * into the Western Ocean,
 “ as hath lately been represented by the American Tra-
 “ veller. The particulars of those remarks you are to
 “ insert in your Journal, to be remitted home to the
 “ Company.

“ If you should want any supplies of ammunition, or
 “ other necessaries, dispatch some trusty Indians to the
 “ Fort with a letter, specifying the quantity of each
 “ article, and appoint a place for the said Indians to meet
 “ you again.

“ When on your return, if at a proper time of the
 “ year, and you should be near any of the harbours that
 “ are frequented by the brigantine Charlotte, or the sloop
 “ Churchill, during their voyage to the Northward, and
 “ you should chuse to return in one of them, you are de-
 “ fired to make frequent smokes as you approach those
 “ harbours, and they will endeavour to receive you by
 “ making smokes in answer to yours; and as one thou-
 “ sand seven hundred and seventy-one will probably be the
 “ year in which you will return, the Masters of those vessels
 “ at that period shall have particular orders on that head.

* As to a passage through the continent of America by the way of Hudson’s Bay, it has so long been exploded, notwithstanding what Mr. Ellis has urged in its favour, and the place it has found in the visionary Map of the American Traveller, that any comment on it would be quite unnecessary. My latitude only will be a sufficient proof that no such passage is in existence.

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“ It will be pleasing to hear by the first opportunity, in
 “ what latitude and longitude you meet the Leader Ma-
 “ tonabbee, and how far he thinks it is to the Copper-
 “ mine River, as also the probable time it may take be-
 “ fore you can return. But in case any thing should pre-
 “ vent the said Leader from joining you, according to
 “ expectation, you are then to procure the best Indians
 “ you can for your guides, and either add to, or diminish,
 “ your number, as you may from time to time think most
 “ necessary for the good of the expedition.

“ So I conclude, wishing you and your companions
 “ a continuance of health, together with a prosperous
 “ Journey, and a happy return in safety. Amen.

“ MOSES NORTON, Governor.

“ Dated at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill
 “ River, Hudson's Bay, North America,
 “ November 6th, 1769.”

Ifbester and Merriman, mentioned in my Instructions, actually accompanied me during my first short attempt; but the Indians knowing them to be but common men, used them so indifferently, particularly in scarce times, that I was under some apprehensions of their being starved to death, and I thought myself exceedingly happy when I got them safe back to the Factory. This extraordinary behaviour of the Indians made me determine not to take any Europeans with me on my two last expeditions.

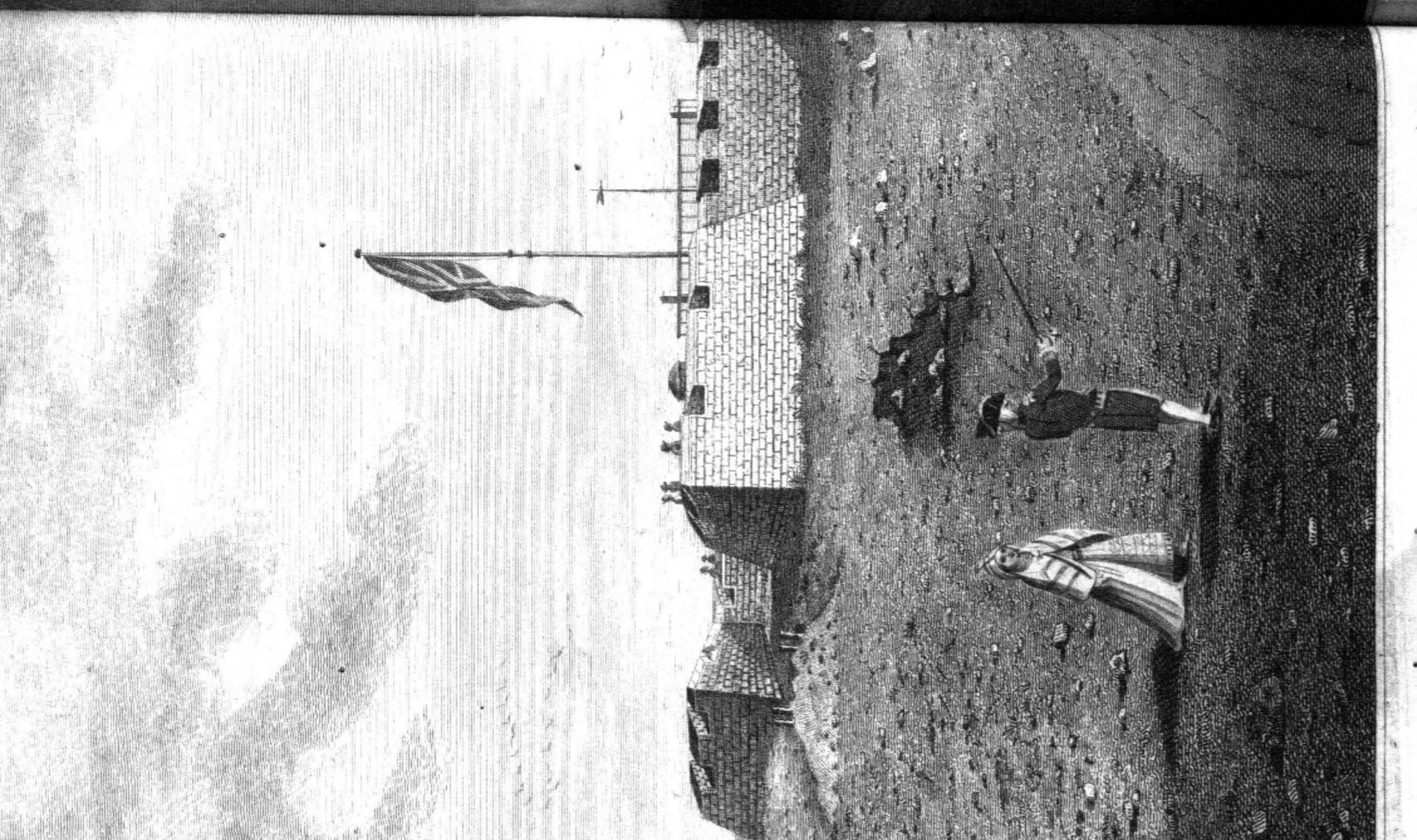
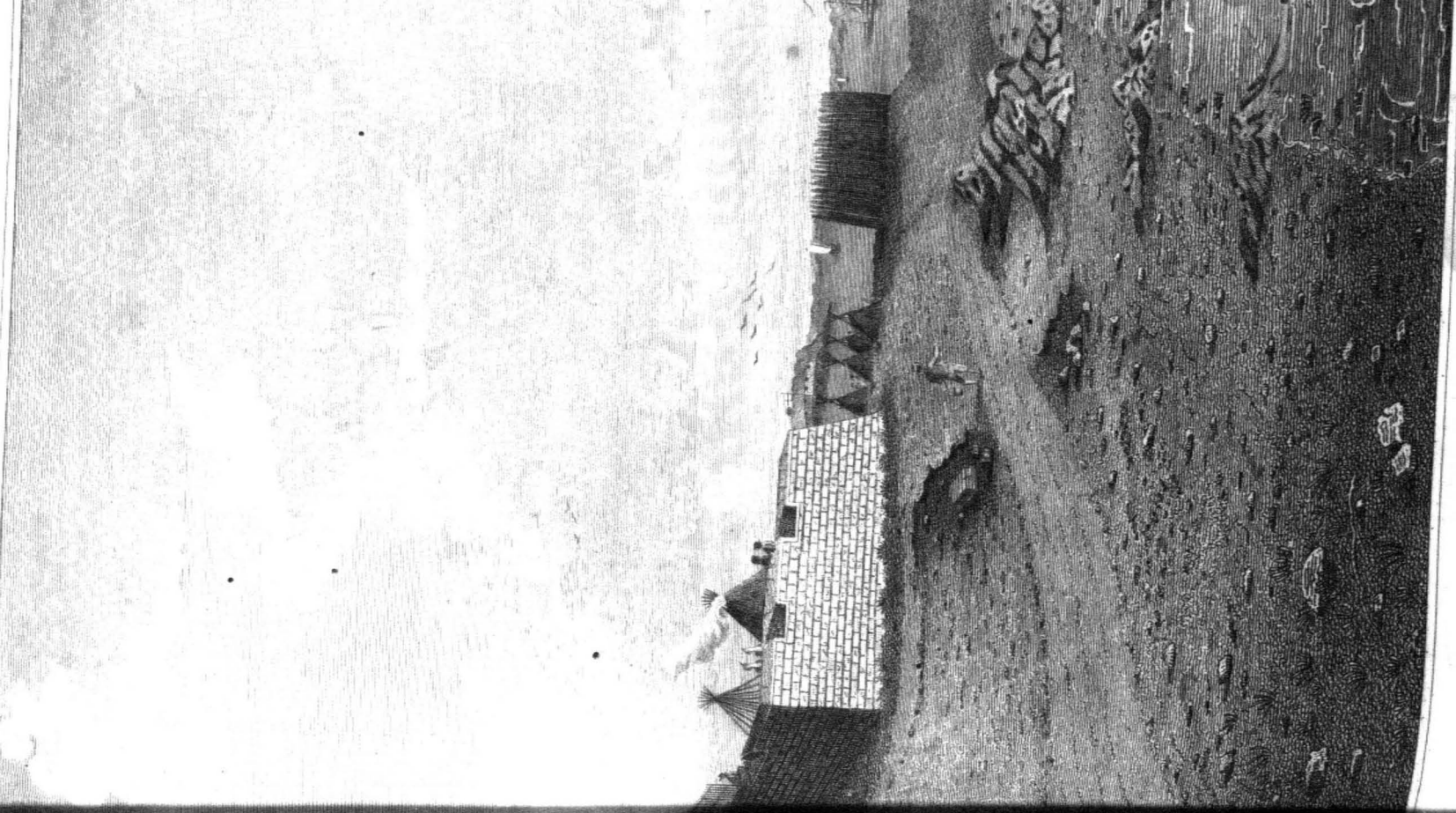
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With regard to that part of my Instructions which directs me to observe the nature of the soil, the productions thereof, &c. it must be observed, that during the whole time of my absence from the Fort, I was invariably confined to stony hills and barren plains all the Summer, and before we approached the woods in the Fall of the year, the ground was always covered with snow to a considerable depth; so that I never had an opportunity of seeing any of the small plants and shrubs to the Westward. But from appearances, and the slow and dwarfy growth of the woods, &c. (except in the Athapuscow country,) there is undoubtedly a greater scarcity of vegetable productions than at the Company's most Northern Settlement; and to the Eastward of the woods, on the barren grounds, whether hills or vallies, there is a total want of herbage, except moss, on which the deer feed; a few dwarf willows creep among the moss; some wish-a-capucca and a little grass may be seen here and there, but the latter is scarcely sufficient to serve the geese and other birds of passage during their short stay in those parts, though they are always in a state of migration, except when they are breeding and in a moulting state.

In consequence of my complying with the Company's request, and undertaking this Journey, it is natural to suppose that every necessary arrangement was made for the easier keeping of my reckoning, &c. under the many inconveniencies I must be unavoidably obliged to labour in such an expedition. I drew a Map on a large skin of parchment, that contained twelve degrees of latitude
North.

North, and thirty degrees of longitude West, of Churchill Factory, and sketched all the West coast of the Bay on it, but left the interior parts blank, to be filled up during my Journey. I also prepared detached pieces on a much larger scale for every degree of latitude and longitude contained in the large Map. On those detached pieces I pricked off my daily courses and distance, and entered all lakes and rivers, &c. that I met with; endeavouring, by a strict enquiry of the natives, to find out the communication of one river with another, as also their connections with the many lakes with which that country abounds: and when opportunity offered, having corrected them by observations, I entered them in the general Map. These and several other necessary preparations, for the easier, readier, and more correctly keeping my Journal and Chart, were also adopted; but as to myself, little was required to be done, as the nature of travelling long journies in those countries will never admit of carrying even the most common article of clothing; so that the traveller is obliged to depend on the country he passes through, for that article, as well as for provisions. Ammunition, useful iron-work, some tobacco, a few knives, and other indispensable articles, make a sufficient load for any one to carry that is going a journey likely to last twenty months, or two years. As that was the case, I only took the shirt and clothes I then had on, one spare coat, a pair of drawers, and as much cloth as would make me two or three pair of Indian stockings, which, together with a blanket for bedding, composed the whole of my stock of clothing.

A JOUR-



A
J O U R N E Y
TO THE
N O R T H E R N O C E A N.

C H A P. I.

Transactions from my leaving Prince of Wales's Fort on my first expedition, till our arrival there again.

Set off from the Fort.—Arrive at Po-co-ree-kif-co River.—One of the Northern Indians desert.—Cross Seal River, and walk on the barren grounds.—Receive wrong information concerning the distance of the woods.—Weather begins to be very cold, provisions all expended, and nothing to be got.—Strike to the Westward, arrive at the woods, and kill three deer.—Set forward in the North West quarter, see the tracks of musk-oxen and deer, but killed none.—Very short of provisions.—Chawchinahaw wants us to return.—Neither he nor his crew contribute to our maintenance.—He influences several of the Indians to desert.—Chawchinahaw and all his crew leave us.—Begin our return to the factory; kill a few partridges, the first meal we had had for several days.—Villany of one of the home Indians and his wife, who was a Northern Indian woman.—Arrive at Seal River, kill two deer; partridges plenty.—Meet a strange Northern Indian, accompany him to his tent, usage received there; my Indians assist in killing some beaver.—Proceed toward home, and arrive at the Fort.

HAVING made every necessary arrangement for my departure on the sixth of November, I took leave of the Governor, and my other friends, at Prince of Wales's Fort, and began my journey, under the salute of seven cannon.

1769.
November
6th.

1769.
November.

8th.

The weather at that time being very mild, made it but indifferent hauling*, and all my crew being heavy laden, occasioned us to make but short days journeys; however, on the eighth, we crossed the North branch of Po-co-ree-kif-co River, and that night put up in a small tuft of woods, which is between it and Seal River. In the night, one of the Northern Indians deserted; and as all the rest of my crew were heavy laden, I was under the necessity of hauling the sledge he had left, which however was not very heavy, as it scarcely exceeded sixty pounds.

9th.

The weather still continued very fine and pleasant: we directed our course to the West North West, and early in the day crossed Seal River. In the course of this day's journey we met several Northern Indians, who were going to the factory with furs and venison; and as we had not killed any deer from our leaving the Fort, I got several joints of venison from those strangers, and gave them a note on the Governor for payment, which seemed perfectly agreeable to all parties.

When on the North West side of Seal River, I asked Captain Chawchinahaw the distance, and probable time it would take, before we could reach the main woods; which he assured me would not exceed four or five days journey. This put both me and my companions in good

The colder the weather is, the easier the sledges slide over the snow.

spirits,

spirits, and we continued our course between the West
 by North and North West, in daily expectation of arriving
 at those woods, which we were told would furnish us
 with every thing the country affords. These accounts
 were so far from being true, that after we had walked
 double the time here mentioned, no signs of woods were
 to be seen in the direction we were then steering; but
 we had frequently seen the looming of woods to the
 South West.

1769.
 November.

The cold being now very intense, our small stock of
 English provisions all expended, and not the least thing
 to be got on the bleak hills we had for some time been
 walking on, it became necessary to strike more to the
 Westward, which we accordingly did, and the next
 evening arrived at some small patches of low scrubby
 woods, where we saw the tracks of several deer, and
 killed a few partridges. The road we had traversed
 for many days before, was in general so rough and
 stony, that our sledges were daily breaking; and to add
 to the inconveniency, the land was so barren, as not to
 afford us materials for repairing them: but the few
 woods we now fell in with, amply supplied us with neces-
 saries for those repairs; and as we were then enabled each
 night to pitch proper tents, our lodging was much more
 comfortable than it had been for many nights before,
 while we were on the barren grounds, where, in gene-
 ral, we thought ourselves well off if we could scrape
 together as many shrubs as would make a fire; but it

19th.

1769.
November.

was scarcely ever in our power to make any other defence against the weather, than by digging a hole in the snow down to the moss, wrapping ourselves up in our clothing, and lying down in it, with our sledges set up edgewise to windward.

21st.

On the twenty-first, we did not move; so the Indian men went a hunting, and the women cut holes in the ice and caught a few fish in a small lake, by the side of which we had pitched our tents. At night the men returned with some venison, having killed three deer, which was without doubt very acceptable; but our number being great, and the Indians having such enormous stomachs, very little was left but fragments after the two or three first good meals. Having devoured the three deer, and given some necessary repairs to our sledges and snow shoes, which only took one day, we again proceeded on toward the North West by West and West North West, through low scrubby pines, intermixed with some dwarf larch, which is commonly called juniper in Hudson's Bay. In our road we frequently saw the tracks of deer, and many musk-oxen, as they are called there; but none of my companions were so fortunate as to kill any of them: so that a few partridges were all we could get to live on, and those were so scarce, that we seldom could kill as many as would amount to half a bird a day for each man; which, considering we had nothing else for the twenty-four hours, was in reality next to nothing.

By

By this time I found that Captain Chawchinahaw had not the prosperity of the undertaking at heart; he often painted the difficulties in the worst colours, took every method to dishearten me and my European companions, and several times hinted his desire of our returning back to the factory: but finding I was determined to proceed, he took such methods as he thought would be most likely to answer his end; one of which was, that of not administering toward our support: so that we were a considerable time without any other subsistence, but what our two home-guard (Southern) Indians procured, and the little that I and the two European men could kill; which was very disproportionate to our wants, as we had to provide for several women and children who were with us.

1769.
November.
26th.

Chawchinahaw finding that this kind of treatment was not likely to complete his design, and that we were not to be starved into compliance, at length influenced several of the best Northern Indians to desert in the night, who took with them several bags of my ammunition, some pieces of iron work, such as hatchets, ice chissels, files, &c. as well as several other useful articles.

29th.

When I became acquainted with this piece of villany, I asked Chawchinahaw the reason of such behaviour. To which he answered, that he knew nothing of the affair: but as that was the case, it would not be prudent,

30th.

1769.
November.

prudent, he said, for us to proceed any farther; adding, that he and all the rest of his countrymen were going to strike off another way, in order to join the remainder of their wives and families: and after giving us a short account which way to steer our course for the nearest part of Seal River, which he said would be our best way homeward, he and his crew delivered me most of the things which they had in charge, packed up their awls, and set out toward the South West, making the woods ring with their laughter, and left us to consider of our unhappy situation, near two hundred miles from Prince of Wales's Fort, all heavily laden, and our strength and spirits greatly reduced by hunger and fatigue.

Our situation at that time, though very alarming, would not permit us to spend much time in reflection; so we loaded our sledges to the best advantage, (but were obliged to throw away some bags of shot and ball,) and immediately set out on our return. In the course of the day's walk we were fortunate enough to kill several partridges, for which we were all very thankful, as it was the first meal we had had for several days: indeed, for the five preceding days we had not killed as much as amounted to half a partridge for each man; and some days had not a single mouthful. While we were in this distress, the Northern Indians were by no means in want; for as they always walked foremost, they had

had ten times the chance to kill partridges, rabbits, or any other thing which was to be met with, than we had. Beside this advantage, they had great stocks of flour, oatmeal, and other English provisions, which they had embezzled out of my stock during the early part of the journey; and as one of my home Indians, called Mackachy, and his wife, who is a Northern Indian woman, always resorted to the Northern Indians tents, where they got amply supplied with provisions when neither I nor my men had a single mouthful, I have great reason to suspect they had a principal hand in the embezzlement: indeed, both the man and his wife were capable of committing any crime, however diabolical.

1769.
November.

This day we had fine pleasant weather for the season of the year: we set out early in the morning, and arrived the same day at Seal River, along which we continued our course for several days. In our way we killed plenty of partridges, and saw many deer; but the weather was so remarkably serene that the Indians only killed two of the latter. By this time game was become so plentiful, that all apprehensions of starving were laid aside; and though we were heavily laden, and travelled pretty good days journeys, yet as our spirits were good, our strength gradually returned.

December
1st.

In our course down Seal River we met a stranger, a Northern Indian, on a hunting excursion; and though he

5th.

A J O U R N E Y T O T H E

1769.
December
5th.

he had not met with any success that day, yet he kindly invited us to his tent, saying he had plenty of venison at my service; and told the Southern Indians, that as there were two or three beaver houses near his tent, he should be glad of their assistance in taking them, for there was only one man and three women at the tent.

Though we were at that time far from being in want of provisions, yet we accepted his offer, and set off with our new guide for his tent, which, by a comparative distance, he told us, was not above five miles from the place where we met him, but we found it to be nearer fifteen; so that it was the middle of the night before we arrived at it. When we drew near the tent, the usual signal for the approach of strangers was given, by firing a gun or two, which was immediately answered by the man at the tent. On our arrival at the door, the good man of the house came out, shook me by the hand, and welcomed us to his tent; but as it was too small to contain us all, he ordered his women to assist us in pitching our tent; and in the mean time invited me and as many of my crew as his little habitation could contain, and regaled us with the best in the house. The pipe went round pretty briskly, and the conversation naturally turned on the treatment we had received from Chawchinahaw and his gang; which was always answered by our host with, "Ah! if ~~I had been there~~, it should not have been so!" when, notwithstanding his hospitality on the present occasion, he would

would most assuredly have acted the same part as the others had done, if he had been of the party.

1769.
December.

Having refreshed ourselves with a plentiful supper, we took leave of our host for a while, and retired to our tent; but not without being made thoroughly sensible that many things would be expected from me, before I finally left them.

Early in the morning, my Indians assisted us in taking the beaver houses already mentioned; but the houses being small, and some of the beavers escaping, they only killed six, all of which were cooked the same night, and voraciously devoured under the denomination of a feast. I also received from the Indians several joints of venison, to the amount of at least two deer; but notwithstanding I was to pay for the whole, I found that Mackachy and his wife got all the prime parts of the meat; and on my mentioning it to them, there was so much clanship among them, that they preferred making a present of it to Mackachy, to selling it to me at double the price for which venison sells in those parts: a sufficient proof of the singular advantage which a native of this country has over an Englishman, when at such a distance from the Company's Factories as to depend entirely on them for subsistence.

Think.

1769.
December
7th.

Thinking I had made my stay here long enough, I gave orders to prepare for our departure; and as I had purchased plenty of meat for present use while we were at this tent, so I likewise procured such a supply to carry with us, as was likely to last us to the Fort.

8th. Early in the morning we took a final leave of our host, and proceeded on our journey homewards. One of the strangers accompanied us, for which at first I could not see his motive; but soon after our arrival at the Factory, I found that the purport of his visit was to be paid for the meat, said to be given *gratis* to Mackachy while we were at his tent. The weather continued very fine, but extremely cold; and during this part of my journey nothing material happened, till we arrived safe at Prince of Wales's Fort on the eleventh of December, to my own great mortification, and to the no small surprise of the Governor, who had placed great confidence in the abilities and conduct of Chawchinahaw.

C H A P. II.

Transactions from our arrival at the Factory, to my leaving it again, and during the first part of my second journey, till I had the misfortune to break the quadrant.

Transactions at the Factory.—Proceed on my second journey.—Arrive at Seal River.—Deer plentiful for some time.—Method of angling fish under the ice.—Set our fishing nets.—Method of setting nets under the ice.—My guide proposes to stay till the geese began to fly; his reasons accepted.—Pitch our tent in the best manner.—Method of pitching a tent in winter.—Fish plentiful for some time; grow very scarce; in great want of provisions.—Manner of employing my time.—My guide killed two deer.—Move to the place they were lying at; there kill several more deer, and three beavers.—Soon in want of provisions again.—Many Indians join us from the Westward.—We begin to move towards the barren ground.—Arrive at She-than-nee, and there suffer great distress for want of provisions.—Indians kill two swans and three geese.—Geese and other birds of passage plentiful.—Leave She-than-nee, and arrive at Beralzone.—One of my companions guns bursts, and shatters his left hand.—Leave Beralzone, and get on the barren ground, clear of all woods.—Throw away our sledges and snow shoes.—Each person takes a load on his back; my part of the luggage.—Exposed to many hardships.—Several days without victuals.—Indians kill three musk oxen, but for want of fire are obliged to eat the meat raw.—Fine weather returns; make a fire; effects of long fasting; stay a day or two to dry some meat in the sun.—Proceed to the Northward, and arrive at Cathawbachaga; there find some tents of Indians.—A Northern leader called Keelchies meets us; send a letter by him to the Governor.—Transactions at Cathawbachaga; leave it, and proceed to the Northward.—Meet several Indians.—My guide not willing to proceed; his

*reasons for it.—Many more Indians join us.—Arrive at Doobaunt
Whoie River.—Manner of ferrying over rivers in the Northern Indian
canoes.—No rivers in those parts in a useful direction for the natives.—
Had nearly lost the quadrant and all the powder.—Some reflections on
our situation, and the conduct of the Indians.—Find the quadrant, and
part of the powder.—Observe for the latitude.—Quadrant broke.—
Resolve to return again to the Factory.*

1770.
February.

DURING my absence from Prince of Wales's Fort on my former journey, several Northern Indians arrived in great distress at the Factory, and were employed in shooting partridges for the use of our people at the Fort. One of those Indians called Con-ne-e-quese said, he had been very near to the famous river I was engaged to go in quest of. Accordingly Mr. Norton engaged him and two other Northern Indians to accompany me on this second attempt; but to avoid all incumbrances as much as possible, it was thought advisable not to take any women*, that the Indians might have fewer to provide for. I would not permit any European to go with me, but two of the home-guard (Southern) Indian men were to accompany me as before. Indeed the Indians, both Northern and Southern, paid so little attention to Ibester and Merriman on my former journey, particularly in times of scarcity, that I was determined not to take them with me in future; though the former was very desirous to accompany me again, and was well calculated to encounter the hardships of

* This was a proposal of the Governor's, though he well knew we could not do without their assistance, both for hauling our baggage, as well as dressing skins for clothing, pitching our tent, getting firing, &c.

such

such an undertaking. Merriman was quite sick of such excursions, and so far from offering his service a second time, seemed to be very thankful that he was once more arrived in safety among his friends; for before he got to the Factory he had contracted a most violent cold.

1770.
February.

Having come to the above resolutions, and finally determined on the number of Indians that were to accompany us, we were again fitted out with a large supply of ammunition, and as many other useful articles as we could conveniently take with us, together with a small sample of light trading goods, for presents to the Indians, as before.

My instructions on this occasion amounted to no more than an order to proceed as fast as possible; and for my conduct during the journey, I was referred to my former instructions of November 6th, 1769.

Every thing being in readiness for our departure, on the twenty-third of February I began my second journey, accompanied by three Northern Indians and two of the home-guard (Southern) Indians. I took particular care, however, that Mackachy, though an excellent hunter, should not be of our party; as he had proved himself, during my former journey, to be a sly artful villain.

23d.

The snow at this time was so deep on the top of the ramparts, that few of the cannon were to be seen,
otherwise