

*Narrative
of the
Travels and Adventures
of a
Merchant Voyageur
in the
Savage Territories
of
Northern America*

Leaving Montreal
the 28th Day of May, 1783 to 1820

By Jean Baptiste Perreault

Jean Baptiste Perrault	Marie Le Maître	William Harris	Euzen Koi
B- 2. June, 1732	B- ?	B- ?	B- ?
M- 12. Sept. 1757	M- 12. Sept. 1757	M- ?	M- ?
D- 25. Mar. 1806	D- ?	D- ?	D- ?

Son of

Daughter of

B- 10. Mar. 1761	Jean Baptiste Perrault	Marie Harris	B- ?
M- 23. Aug. 1805			M- 23 Aug. 1805
D- ? 1844			D- ?

Daughter of

B- ?	God Frey Boyer	Esther Perrault	B- May, 1806
M- 5. Feb. 1836			M- 5. Feb. 1836
D- 1887			D- ?

Daughter of

B- 6. Nov. 1831	Charles Perrault	Philemon Boyer	B- 5. Nov. 1831
M- 5. Feb. 1856			M- 5 Feb. 1856
D- 6. Feb. 1916			D- 11 Nov. 1918

Daughter of

B- 24. Feb. 1874	Michel Pinsonneault	Marguerite Perrault	B- 9. Jan. 1867
M- 3 June, 1898			M- 3. June, 1898
D- 1942			D- 12. June 1951

(my grandparents)

Marguerite Perrault

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NARRATIVE OF THE TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES OF A MERCHANT VOYAGEUR IN THE
SAVAGE TERRITORIES OF NORTHERN AMERICA LEAVING MONTRAEUL THE 28th OF MAY,
1783, TO 1820 (by) JEAN BAPTISTE PERRAULT

INTRODUCTION BY JOHN SHARPLESS FOX

The narrative printed below was discovered by the editor among the Schoolcraft Manuscripts in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington during the summer of 1905. At that time he was under engagement by the Society to examine and select from the mass of manuscript accumulated by Schoolcraft such papers as would throw light on the fur-trade, the manner in which it was conducted, and the history of Michigan and the Northwest.

The original manuscript as written by Perrault is contained in two bound volumes, among certain other materials collected by Schoolcraft. It was written at Schoolcraft's request about 1830, during his residence at the Sault. His comment on them is as follows: "These pages are the recollections of a man of seventy, whose life has been passed in woods and amidst hardships. They have been committed to paper with no advantage to preparation, at a remote point on the frontier, and sketches so written and so recommended will be looked upon with an indulgence due to their connection. Many of the facts, and much of the description are of an interesting character, and they relate to a period of our Northwest history in which we are very deficient....They supply the long lapse intervening between the travels of Carver and Henry in 1763...up to the beginning of 1820, when our government began to turn its attention to this neglected portion of our public domain. History will draw many facts from these reminiscences." Since this was written there have appeared a number of narratives, journals, etc., which help to illuminate the dark period complained of by Schoolcraft, but Perrault's story of his life is not unworthy of notice.

The author was of good family. His grandfather, Francois Perrault (or Perrot) came to Canada early in the 18th Century, and in 1715 married Susanne Page' de Carcy. Of his twelve children, Jacques acquired a considerable fortune as a merchant, and his son, Nicholas, was a member of the Legislative Council of Quebec after 1812. Joseph Francois entered the Church and rose to be Grand Vicar under Monsignor Briand; Guillaume

Michel acquired a seignoiry. The father of the author, Jean Baptiste, was born at Quebec in 1730 and received his education there. He married Marie LaMaitre of Three Rivers in 1757, and the same year he was appointed to an official position at the government forge at St. Maurice. Upon the conquest of the country in 1760 he became an inspector at Three Rivers under Halimand, removing to the River Loup in 1770 to engage in trade. There he resided at the time of our narrative opens, 1783, and there he died, March 25, 1806. Perrault says that his father was magistrate there.

Jean Baptiste, fils, tells in his narrative practically all that is known of himself. He had one sister, Reine, who was educated at the convent of the Ursalines at Quebec. She was living with her father at River Loup when he died in 1806, and afterward removed to Quebec where she passed the rest of her life. Jean Baptiste was born at Three Rivers in 1761; he, too, was educated in Quebec, remaining there till 1783, when he entered the fur trade. His first engagement was for one year only, and presumably he intended to return at the end of his engagement, but the "lure of the fur-trade" seized upon him as upon many others, so that it was twenty-two years before he returned to his father's house, to attend the latter in his illness. During this period he had taken an Indian wife, and in 1803 he sent her down from the Lakes with three of his children to "introduce them to the settlements". He had a numerous family. Nine children are mentioned in this narrative. Probably he had more.

Perrault's first trip took him to Cahokia in the Illinois country, and his narrative helps us to gain an insight into the trade rivalry between the American, English, and Spanish traders in this region. He was with LaFramboise in 1786-7 at the treaty of Prairie du Chien, and he gives a striking picture of the Indian ceremonies observed in solemnizing it. He was with Pierre Grignon at Green Bay during 1787-8, and for the next few years engaged in trade as a proprietor, either in partnership or independantly, on the Chippewa River, and the upper Mississippi.

The twelve years following 1793, he was in the employ of the Northwest Company. In the year mentioned he built the fort at the mouth of the St. Louis River, afterward abandoned by the Northwest Company when

compelled to leave American territory, and taken over by the American Fur Company at the conclusion of the War of 1812. For three years he was in the employ of Alexander MacKenzie, then one of the principals of the Northwest Company, and in 1799 was placed in charge of the Company's station at Le Pic, where he was obliged to meet the opposition of Mac Kenzie who about the same time had left the Company and had organized an opposition under the name of the X.Y. Company. In all he spent six years here, leaving to go down to Canada upon receipt of news of his father's last illness.

After this he resumed his old calling. "As for me," he says, "I could not settle down in any one place". His engagement with the Northwest Company was not terminated, and he spent the years 1806-7, and 1807-8 in its employment on the River St. Maurice and the River Lievre. At the latter place, he did not do so well as formerly, owing to his ignorance of the different methods of trading to which the Algonquins were accustomed. This, and the fact that the Company in this year refused to make a new contract with him on as favorable terms as he had secured heretofore, resulted in his leaving its employ and establishing himself at St. Francois, where he resided for two years. During this period he supported himself and family by teaching a small school, but finding himself in debt, he engaged himself to Messrs. Hunt and Donald MacKenzie to go to the Colombia Region by the overland route to co-operate with the other Astor party, which sailed via Cape Horn on the ill-fated Tonquin.

At Mackinac, he tells us, he grew so despondent in reflecting upon the precarious condition in which he was leaving his family, that Hunt and MacKenzie released him and aided him to secure employment with a Mr. Otis Denham who was about to lead an outfit into Lake Superior. This was in 1810. That winter he was assigned by his employer to LePic, where he now encountered bitter and unscrupulous opposition from his former employers. Law was slack in that region: "At that time," says Perrault, "the Northwest was legislature and king; it killed, hanged, stole, violated, etc. The enormity of their crimes led to their fall." Perrault was lured to the fort and seized; his men were corrupted and his goods confiscated; he was turned out in the spring of 1811 with few provisions and no gun

but managed to reach a post belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, to whom he engaged himself for the following year, 1811-12. After a successful winters work, in which he had the satisfaction of worsting the opposition which the Northwest Company sent out against him, he set out in July from Fort Albany for Canada by way of the Moose and Abittibi Rivers, reaching home at St. Francois early in November.

At this time war was existing between the United States and England, and after a short stay with his family, Perrault went to Kingston, where he obtained employment under Mr. Kitson, the engineer. He remained there until spring and he recounts several incidents of interest that transpired during his stay. The occasion of his leaving at this time was the news of the serious illness of his wife. After her recovery he moved out for Kingston, to St. Anns, and then to St. Francois. Here he again resorted to teaching, until the spring of 1815, when he was employed by the Northwest Company as master carpenter, to go up to the Sault to rebuild what had been destroyed by war.

He was at the Sault when Lord Selkirk and his Meurons passed through on their way to Fort William, and when Col. Coltman and Major Fletcher passed by on their mission of restoring peace and order in the region disputed by the Northwest Company for that of the Hudson Bay Company. He was still with the latter when the great coalition between the rival companies occurred in 1821.

The union of the rival companies at this time seriously affected the men engaged in the fur-trade, just as the earlier union of the Northwest Company with its rival, the X.Y. Company, had affected them; wages were reduced, the privileges to clerks were curtailed. Perrault's family was so large that he could not support them under the changed conditions. He resigned and moved to the Sault, where he continued to reside until his death in 1844.

There is much in the narrative which serves to show the way in which the fur-trade was carried on at different periods; how competition resulted in the common stock arrangement; how the great companies gradually occupied the field and either crushed or absorbed their weaker rivals;

and how the monopoly acquired by the great companies affected the class of men whose livelihood was obtained from the fur-trade. Much information is given on the subject of Indian manners and customs and upon the relations between the Indians and whites during the period. Finally, dramatic interest is lent to narrative by the recital of a series of thrilling events. One will look far to discover more of this element than is furnished by the story of the stabbing of Kay; of the murder of the wronged LaBredache at Macinac; of the fatal meeting between the _____ and the _____ on the Chippewa River and its results. In addition to this one gets an account of some interesting incidents at York during the winter of 1813.

The narrative was probably written from diaries kept by Perrault. This is indicated by the amount of detail contained in it. As a rule, Perrault gives exact dates, the amount of merchandise with which he set out each year, the number of packs secured by him, and the prices for all that which he disposed of the furs. Doubtless the diaries were not complete for all the long period of forty years traversed by him, and he was obliged at times to rely on his recollection. As a result he falls into error at times in the matter of chronology, but this does not detract seriously from the value of the narrative as a whole. Accompanying the narrative are eleven maps drawn by Perrault for the various regions in which he traded; Two of them show western Lake Superior and the lake region at the sources of the Mississippi; one shows the Chippewa and St. Crois Rivers; five describe the course of the Albany and its course to James Bay; of the remaining three, two are devoted to the St. Maurice River, and one to the Riviere Lievre. On all of these maps appears a surprising amount of detail respecting the location of falls, rapids, portages, and posts, when one considers the limited facilities for cartography Perrault had at his disposal.

The transcription from the original narrative was faithfully made by Miss Georgie Sanderlin of the Carnegie Institute of Washington; the draft translation is the work of my wife, to whom I am deeply indebted for her further cooperation and valuable suggestions in my work of giving the narrative the form in which it now stands. Inasmuch as it has not

seemed advisable to print the original French, an effort has been made to reproduce it as nearly as possible in English, even at the expense of literary form. No change has been made in the spelling of proper names; rivers, mountains, lakes, and Indians are given as they appear in the original; and the capitalization of the original is preserved in the translation. The punctuation and paragraphing have been supplied, in the absence of same in the original.

A portion of the narrative, covering the first three years, was published in translation by Schoolcraft in the third volume of his History of the Indian Tribes, 1853, but inasmuch as the translation seemed accurate in places, the whole has been done over again. In addition to this, certain portions of the narrative which belong within these years, but which were over-looked by Schoolcraft for reasons explained below, have been restored to their places.

Where editorial notes have been added, the authorities upon which statements rest have been given. The preceding volumes of the Society's publications, and the publications of the historical societies of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois have been most useful. I am especially indebted to the work of the veteran editor of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, whose labors have lightened the work of every student of Northwestern history.

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PERRAULT NARRATIVE

My late father was born at Quebec in seventeen-hundred and thirty-two, of a respectable family of that town. There he pursued his studies. At the age of twenty-five the French Government gave him a position at the forge of St. Maurice.¹ After the capture of the country² he was consigned to Trois Rivieres in the capacity of inspector under General Haldimand.

In seventeen-seventy he engaged in trade at the Rivieres du Loup. I was at that time nine years old, and in seventy-four I was sent to the College de Quebec³, and there I remained until eighty-two. My father, having business with Mr. Kay⁴ at Montreal, sent me to attend to it the 15th of March of eighty-three. There I was seized with a desire to travel on seeing the preparations making by M. Marchesseaux, merchant, voyager, and friend of my deceased father, to whom he had recommended me. I made known to my father my intentions on the subject of traveling, and with his consent I returned in April to Montreal to arrange with this Monsieur to go to Illinois in the capacity of clerk at a salary of a thousand livres of twenty sous, and exempt from all menial labor. I was to leave at the first summons.

The tenth of May in eighty-three I received the orders I had so long desired; for I fancied that I would have many advantages in that profession. M. Marchesseaux ordered me to bring together at Montreal the men⁶ whom he had engaged: from Maskinongé, Lacharité, Quebec, Ste. Germain, Robert Dupuis; of Sorel and Yamaska, Antoine Beauchemain, fr., his brother, Menard, and L. Lavalé. I was to conduct them to St. Francis des Wasannakes (for Abenakis), and to produce and bring along two canoes from the home of Mr. LeMaitre⁸.

The twelfth of May at eleven o'clock in the morning I was ready to set forth. My mother entreated me to have something to eat, but my heart did not permit it. I had a presentiment then of what was to happen to me later, which was not wrong. I left them, shedding tears, which they accompanied with their own. Then I betook myself to Ste. Francois

to produce the canoes. I arrived at Montreal the fifteenth of May, at noon. The sixteenth of the same month I received orders to go to Lachine to lead the outfit, and we remained there until the twenty-seventh because Les Eaux du Nord (Ottawa River) were not passible. We set out the next day, the twentieth of the same month, and encamped at the Lac ses Deux Montagnes (Lake of Two Mountains). Our canoes being overloaded, our Bourgeoise (a term which all the voyageurs in general use) was compelled to obtain a third canoe in order to relieve us. We continued our route in safety and with little delay. The water was still so high as to compel our Bourgeoise to engage two more men, one of whom deserted the next night. We arrived at Macinac the 28th of July (for it was the anniversary of the establishment of the island, which had occurred under Governor St. Claire⁹ who had been relieved the preceeding year by Captain Robisson¹⁰.)

As the merchants of Macinac had not yet rebuild entirely, M. Marchesseaux had a house put up for occupation on his return from the Illinois country. After the buildings were finished we set out, and continued our route toward LaBaye (Green Bay), in order to pass through Prarie du Chien where we remained two days. On the third day we set out with the current. We encamped at the Riviere du Dinde (Turkey River) at the village of the Sakis, our Bourgeoise being compelled to pass that way to collect his credits. The following day towards sunset we resumed our journey, and passed St. Louis that night, fearing confiscation, since the Spaniards did not allow anyone at that time to import goods from Great Britain.¹¹

We arrived at Kaos (Cahokia) which was then under British Government¹² the 11th of August. M. Marchesseaux rented two rooms at the house of M. Saucier¹³, in the village to establish a store of French merchandise¹⁴, and he sold his goods for the (Indian) trade to M. Choteau¹⁵, who outfitted on the Missoura, at an advance of 137½ percent, payable in peltries¹⁶ --beaver at 6 livres, otter at 9 livres, cars at 20 sous, bear at 12 livres, deer at 3 livres, and in proportion for other furs.

The winter of '83 was very severe. There were two feet of snow and the crust was strong enough to bear men and dogs (boys) so that they were able to kill deer with a stroke of the hatchet, a thing which even the old men had never seen. The bridge of ice before St. Louis held an entire month, which gave the Creoles and the Spanish the pleasure of visiting. That year there were a number of gentlemen from Montreal, who had a store in (Cahokia), namely--Messrs. James, Grant, Mayers, Tebeau, Guillon. They did but little business because they had arrived too late, but in revenge they were well amused. For the Creoles are in general indolent, and love the dance more than any other people. That year M. de Cruzat¹⁷ was Commandant at St. Louis.

The snow still¹⁸ lay deep and strong towards the 15th of March, when the Ponteswatamis of Chicago who had been on a war party on the Riverdes Kaskatias re-passed by (Cahokia) on their return. They numbered 20 men. They had taken three scalps, and they brought with them a woman, one of her sons about 17 years of age, and another little one about three years, whom she was carrying. They entered the village in Martial fashion to the sound of fife and drum, and with shouts of death and of glee. This attracted the attention and curiosity of many, myself the first, who had never yet beheld such a scene.

They asked Mr. Trottier, neighbor of Mr. Saucier, with whom we were, if he would receive them. This gentlemen, who was grandly housed, received them, and made them enter into a great furnished hall where a large crowd came to see them in the evening.

I had a desire to go there. When I had entered, I saw many persons of my acquaintance, with whom I exchanged conversation until I saw one of the savages, who was provided with three cords, take the three scalps, and having hung them up separately on the wall, make a sign to the woman and to her children to arise and to come and dance before the scalps of her husband; and to the two children, who were with her, to dance before their father; and their brother and sister.

The scene was pathetic; to behold the lamentations of these three

innocent persons. We were all filled with indignation; for not content with forcing them to dance, they struck them each in turn, dancing with them. After they desisted, Mr. Trottier was so angry that he forced them to leave his house the following day. They found shelter in a shed which stood on the other side of Rigolet, where they awaited the opening of navigation for about three weeks, in the space of which the young man escaped from them; nor were they able to obtain of him either trace or tidings.

Towards the middle of April the packs from the Missouris having arrived, our Bourgeois settled his accounts with Mr. Choteau, and received 74 packs from this Mr., and the retail store at (Cahokia) produced 500 Spanish dollars, and 400 pounds of tobacco. We left (Cahokia) the 4th of May in 1784 for Macinac. My orders were to go by Chicago in charge of a barge and a canoe, and to await the arrival of M. Marchesseaux at Petit Detroit in Lake Michigan, as he desired to go by Prarie du Chien in order to wind up his business with the Sakis. After 14 days of waiting he arrived, and we resumed our journey. We reached Macinac at the beginning of July, when I found myself at liberty.

In 1781 (sic)²⁰ M. Alexander Kay went up from Montreal with two canoes to enter into Fond du Lac Superieur, and to go to Lac de la Sansue (Leech Lake). I joined him in the capacity of clerk for the Riviere au Pins (Pine River). His intention was to go in late in order to avoid making credits. He therefore resolved to send M. Harris, whom he had engaged, ahead quickly to purchase provisions and to meet him at Fond du Lac about the middle of August.

We left Macinac the 29th of August with two canoes well-loaded, having no guide and no one in the party who knew the route. We were compelled to go around Kiweonanning, where at that season the wind blew continuously (this was joined with a downpour of rain). It took us a considerable time to reach LaPointe. We reached there on the first of November, All Saints Day, about noon. Messrs. Lavoillet, Caillarge, and Graverott were wintering there then. Everyone was drunk, as it was a fête. M. Kay was invited; he went; and after the repast came la

Crele²², which lasted a part of the night.

The next morning we set out with a light wind at our backs. It rose until we found it impossible to make a landing. That night we reached the Riviere Brulee without being able to enter, and in consequence were obliged to go on all night at the mercy of the darkness, the sky overcast, and the weather very cold. About two hours before day, being unable to enter the Riviere du Fond du Lac, we were compelled to cast ourselves on the coast, where we were wrecked in the bay at the left of the river. Our canoes were broken up; our goods thrown here and there along the beach, at least ten arpents on either shore. We were all soaked and chilled with cold. It was at that time that I repaired the canoes and collected the scattered pieces of goods. It was impossible to dry anything.

Upon entering the lake the next day and doubling the point of the little lake²³, we saw a wintering-house. It was that of Mr. Dufaut, come from Grand Portage²⁴, clerk for the Northwest Company, and we stopped before his house. As M. Kay had perhaps taken only one drink he now took the second, which made him ill-tempered so that instead of receiving Mr. Dufaut politely, who came down to meet him on the beach, he treated him rudely. But as the Mr. perceived his condition he kept silence, and gave him no information.

The character of Mr. Kay was eccentric, a man proud, impulsive, arrogant, enthusiastic,--taking council from no one;--in short, hare-brained. I had told him some days before that he ought not to conduct himself in that manner; for he was very nearly my age, and I was on familiar terms with him, since two years before he had taken lodgings at my father's house on the Riviere du Loup in order to engage voyageurs for his brother, William. Without any reflection, he ordered us to start out for the Grand Portage²⁶. I took the liberty of telling him that his undertaking was ill-advised, that he had brought only enough provisions to reach this point; that they were exhausted, and that as Mr. Harris had not yet arrived, we could go on no further. M. Dufaut,

fearing that he would stop near him, offered him provisions for several days, but he thanked him, hoping to see Mr. Harris very soon. We started at all hazards to go into the interior with only what we had left, which consisted in all of a sack of flour, a keg of butter, and one of sugar--provisions for himself only. His party was composed of 14 men, his sauvagnesse, himself, and me--making in all 17 persons,--and nothing to eat! To crown our misfortune, we now met Mr. Harris with his three men and a savage named Le Grosse Martyr. He had nothing in his canoe but a part of a keg of salt meat. Then Mr. Kay was much cast down. We encamped at that place, near the Passe a' L'ours, close by the outlet of Grand Portage. Then he demanded that Mr. Harris render him an account of the 20 pieces of merchandise that he had given him to procure provisions. He replied that he had seen very few savages; that most of them had gone to pass the winter on the prairies; and that there was no wild rice because the rainfall had been too abundant; and that he had made credits with a few of the savages in order to obtain their aid for the winter. All this was no consolation to Mr. Kay, who found himself without resources.

I advised him to remain at Fond du Lac and to go up to the savages at the first opening of navigation, when they would be rich in furs.

But as this Mr. would take advice from no one, and wished to follow only his own whims, he determined to enter; and after he had become intoxicated he threatened his men with the pistol if they should refuse. He talked to me very bitterly, but I made no reply beyond saying to him that he sought without a doubt his own death and that of his men.

Mr. Harris, by the addition of his three men, had depleted the stores; however, as he was determined we enter the Grand Portage. Then he decided to take the advance with half of his men, so Mr. Kay and Mr. Harris with seven men set out in advance to engage the savages to hunt. For at that time there was much elk. He left me behind with the baggage, telling me to do my best; that he would send me provisions very soon. The day after he left over six inches of snow fell, leaving us with very few provisions to live on and the day after the snow fell

the savages arrived with a letter from Mr. Kay informing me that he had decided to go to the Riviere au Pins, and that he would send me some hunters. He directed me to try to advance to the Portage de la Prairie²⁷ if possible, and to pass the winter there; to send back three men with the savage, who had killed an elk the evening before, of which he sent me a piece; and to sort out 15 pieces for trade. He would await them at the Portage des Croteaux²⁸. I made ready very quickly and sent them off.

It took us eleven days to go from there to Portage de las Prairie amidst snow and ice, with nothing to eat. We lived on the seed-pods of the wild rose, and the sap of trees. I placed the goods en cache²⁹, with two small canoes of the country (des terres), at the entrance to the Portage de la Prairie, and I made a lodge with an oilcloth near the small Lac de la Puise on the portage. There we lived several days on some small tolibies³⁰, but they were soon exhausted. As the ice thickened we were obliged to have recourse to the roots of the flag, which we boiled. It was necessary to search for it at the head of the little lake, in the mire of a swamp covered with snow. When this resource failed us we were compelled to quit the place. It seemed that all the birds flew before us. Each one took his turn at hunting, but if he saw anything, he missed it.

Near Christmas, being unable to hold out any longer, we resolved to save ourselves, and to go to the Riviere au Pins. Although already very weak, we set out, with leggings made of blankets, and descended the Riviere des Prairie, which flows into Lac des Sables (Sandy Lake). We saw there in a bay the poles of a lodge, where the savages had camped before the snow. I went and investigated and found by chance a frame where the savages had left the edges of moose skin, which they had dried there; and as we were very hungry we did not pamper ourselves by boiling it, but ate it roasted, and set out to cross the Sandy Lake, and to reach the branch of the Mississippi in order to follow down it. I was always in hopes of meeting someone and this kept up our courage effectively. The next day towards noon we reached the Riviere Vaseuse (Muddy River), which at that place is about an arpent wide, very shallow and open. Having no means of crossing without passing through the water, the men

who were with me forded it fully clothed, but I disrobed and swam across in order to keep my clothing dry. On reaching the other side, our men were building a fire to warm and dry themselves when we heard the report of a gun near us. It was La Grosse Martyr, who was hunting deer for Mr. Kay and Mr. Harris. I was not slow in answering him and in a moment he was with us. We were very glad to see him, for we were taking a poor route. He said to me, "Comrade, follow me." The gunshot we had heard was fired at a deer which he had just killed. He cut it up and we divided it. We cooked it a little further on and we slept here. I begged him to take it up to Mr. Kay and he consented. We started early the next day; the savage took the direct route, and about noon we came upon the Lac du Liviere, three leagues distant from the Riviere du Pins³¹. There we met three men who were with M. Pinot³², a trader who was wintering near Mr. Kay. They were seeking dried meat at the lodge of Le Bariqueau. They helped us out with some of their provisions in passing. About sunset we arrived at Mr. Kays house at the Riviere au Pins. He was much pleased to see us, for had despaired of us, having been unable to find a guide to lead his men to where we were stopping. It was toward the beginning of January that we arrived and I told him all that had happened since his departure. He seemed moved. I knew that he was not on good terms with Mr. Harris, and that by his own fault, for he did not have enough experience in this sort of undertaking and he wished to do everything in his own way.

He told me the next day that he would like to have me leave very soon with three men and a savage, who would guide us, to go to stay at the Portage de la Prairie and there await the opening of navigation; and as soon as navigations opened to descent with the goods to Lac des Sables, there to await his arrival. Mr. Harris, having hired a savage named Kittchimoawes, we set out two days later, each loaded with 45 lbs. dried meat (Note also that Mr. Kay told me that after I had reached my destination I was to send back the savage with two men, keeping only one to assist me). He would send a party of savages to pass the spring in our vicinity in order to furnish us with provisions. That nearly failed to happen; for if Mr. Harris had not done his utmost (as Mr. Kay was mortally hated by the savages) to send them we would have starved.

The fourth day we reached the Portage de las Prairie, but what with the food we had eaten on the way or the men ate at my post or took along for their return, more than two-thirds of all, we had consumed. But I did not have much to do in waiting for the savages. I trusted that I would be relieved very soon, and consequently I wrote to M. Kay to keep with him the only men he needed to ascend to the Lac des Sables, and to send me the rest before the deep snows, in order to take up to my house the goods left en cache, with the three canoes, and I sent back my men.

The next day was the 26th of January, and the 27th I went out with my man whose name was Lauzon³³, to cut logs to build a house, 12 feet long by 10 feet wide. It was finished the 9th of February, when we entered it. We had very few provisions by that time, but I expected relief very soon; but it did not come. For the savages were scattered from one side to another and were a long time in getting together, so that we were reduced a second time to starvation. Lauzon became so feeble that he could hardly raise himself. He was a great smoker, and I told him that it was the tobacco that caused his weakness; but that was not the time for advice. I could scarcely keep myself warm.

About the 20th of February early in the morning, I heard the ice break at our door. I looked up, and I saw an otter which had mounted a great rock and was eating fish, for it would almost never catch at that place. I rushed to find my double-barreled gun. I fired and killed it; what joy for us! Lauzon, revived by that adventure, broiled it, and we ate heartily. About an hour later, we heard some branches break. As we had to be constantly on the lookout for savages who were still anthropophagous³⁴, I caught up my gun, and peering through the branches, I saw a savage. It was the one who had been our guide. He had half a fawn-skin of wild rice, the remains of his rations. He belived us dead or in great danger. He brought me the letter from Mr. Kay, which he had taken the advance, the others were behind him with provisions, that they would arrive in a couple of days. I started the Indian back the next day. During the night of the same day, the brother-in-law of Mr. Harris arrived, coming from the neighborhood of the Portage des Croteaux, who had killed a bear near the house. He gave me the tongue and the heart

and asked me and my man to go with him to carry it. I paid him in rum, and we set out early the next morning. The savage left us as soon as he had shown us the meat and we arrived home in the evening quite late and very much fatigued. La Grosse Martyr arrived bringing a moose also. They came with their families, not to camp, but for a drinking bout. That same day the men arrived with their loads well pleased to see plenty of provisions. The savages continued to come in day by day, and we swam in meat. I hired the brother of La Petit Rets to carry advice to Mr. Kay of what had happened at the Portage de la Prairie; and before the snow melted, I put the men to the trains to carry the goods and canoes to the little lake at the end of the portage.

The sugar season arrived, and the savages decided to make their sugar near us, and when Mr. Kay received our news, he resolved to come and join me, for-seeing that no savages would remain below. He left Mr. Harris with four lodges to come up from the Riviere au Pins with them at the first opening of navigation. I learned that the savages were arriving at their sugar camps, and I went to them immediately. They informed me that Mr. Kay was coming, which was confirmed on the third day when he arrived about noon, well pleased to find everything in order at my post. And I was delighted to see him again. He told me all the annoyances which he had suffered at the hands of the savages and told me that he would revenge himself on Cul Blanc who had insulted him, and that he would repay him when he reached the Lac de Sables, as well as Mr. Le Cousin, a famous rogue who had remained below with Mr. Harris.

Time slipped past day by day. We saw the savages constantly, and we had nothing to do. We were happy in that period of quiet. I made a canoe out of a log of a pine tree, which was well suited for that purpose, and large enough for two persons with their tackle. As it appeared that Mr. Kay desired it, I offered it to him, and he accepted it, to descend to Lac des Sables. We left the house about the 25th of April, for the little rivers opened early there. The savages who were with us, accompanied us. The water was very high and we could run the Portage des Pins, which we did. Mr. Kay wished to do as much, but about half way down the rapid, the canoe turned completely over destroying his

baggage, and he himself would have drowned if Le Petit Mort, his friend, had not leaped in to rescue. He was already unconscious. The next day we arrived at Lac des Sables and reached the entrance near La Puisse³⁵. No savages had as yet come there, for that place is a great fishing ground. Le Bras Casse, chief of Lac des Sables was at the lower end of a bay with some of his men making canoes, and we did not see them, but camped at the entrance to the lake on a peninsula formed by the action of the water. When the savages learned that we had arrived they came to pay us a visit. They brought us some beaver meat, with a good deal of small game as a present from the chief who sent word that he would soon as rejoin us as/their canoes were finished.

We remained there from the 27th day of that month till the 2nd of May to trade with the savages, who came in from all sides, while we waited for the arrival of the men from the Riviere au Pins. The same day we heard guns fired below, and about an hour later Megoussie arrived, who had left Mr. Harris below at the lower end of the lake. Mr. Kay said that he would go to meet him. He was a little tired from the night before, because the Indians drank continually from the time of their arrival. Before going, he told me to draw some rum, which I did, and he took a drink of it, and as there was no rum left at the Riviere aux Pins when he left Mr. Harris, he thought a drink would do him good also. He therefore told me to refill one of the flagons of his liquor case to take with him. He gave me orders to give the savages no drinks in his absence, which was difficult because the savages were tipsy. The savages gave me the name of "scribe", which they were accustomed to do to all whom they observed writing. As soon as Mr. Kay was gone I did not want for company; Mr. Kay's savage woman stayed in the tent with me. A great many savages came, among whom were Katawabitis³⁶, and Mang-Ozeit, who said to me, "Scribe, give us some rum". I said to them that I could not, that I was not master. They tormented me a long time. La Patte du Hudard threw me a pair of scarlet metasses, which he had got on credit earlier, and which he had not paid for, for he was poor pay; he demanded some rum for them. I said to him, not them; he talked to Mr. Kay's wife who was as much harrassed as I by them. She begged me to give them a little, so that they would leave the tent.

About an hour after, Le Bariqueau appeared, who said that Mr. Harris and Mr. Pineau were about to arrive. Sure enough, they appeared at Le Puisse; the savages all drunk, uttering cries of joy, and they rushed to the beach to receive the new arrivals, who did not give them any too good a reception. For they themselves were drunk from the flagon which Mr. Kay had carried with him. These gentlemen disembarked, Mr. Harris had put his tent up, and Mr. Kay entered his own and took a drink with me. Mr. Harris was quite drunk. The festival was complete.

Reverting to Cul-Blanc, he had been urging Le Cousin all winter to stab Mr. Kay, telling him that he did not believe that he had the courage to do it. The other, glorying in such a commission, and himself desiring to do it, promised him. Le Cul-Blanc with many others was drinking before the fire, seated on an ant hill, facing the tent. Mr. Kay's bed was crosswise against the pole supporting the tail-piece of the tent, and the keg of rum was behind the bed at the lower end of the tent. Mr. Kay, seeing him coming, seated himself opposite me, who was at that time on his bed. Le Cousin entered laughing, held out his hand and demanded rum; Mr. Kay, who did not like him, said, "No, you have not paid your credits; soon you will not get a hering bone here." He took him by the arm to lead him outside the tent. As he turned to re-enter, the savage who was armed with a knife, which he had hidden under his coat of calamanca, gave him a blow with his knife on the nape of the neck, and took himself off by the fire, which was surrounded by many savages and some of our men. I sprang up immediately at the scream of his wife, who saw the trouble before I did. "You have been stabbed!" I cried to him. "Yes", he replied, "and he will pay me for it!" So saying he thrust his hand into a basket, and drew out a pointed table knife before I could stop him, furiously angry. When the savages saw him with the knife in his hand they asked what was the trouble. He said that Le Cousin had stabbed him and that he was in search of him to kill him, but the savage had taken refuge in his lodge which was near our camp. Mr. Kay went towards the lodge; we rushed after him to prevent a greater mishap; the uproar was very great. At the time almost everyone, savages as well as French, had lost their reason, for there had

been a general carousal. In a moment every man seized his arms, knives, guns, hatchets, war clubs, lances, etc., and I found myself quite confounded, me! who had never before witnessed such a scene. When I saw so many preparations, I judged that we were to have a critical time. Mr. Kay pursued Le Cousin; the latter's mother asked him what had happened. "It is the Englishman who wants to kill me!" But before Mr. Kay reached him,--for everyone hindered his passage,--Le Cousin's mother came through the crowd, armed with a small clasp knife, which had no spring, for she was interceding with Mr. Kay to avenge her son. At that instant that gentleman cried out. "I am slain", he said. He fell down in our midst, stabbed in the right side; the blow made a gash of 3 inches at least. He fell under the blow; we lifted him and carried him to his tent. He weltered in his blood; we placed him on his bed which was soaked in a minute. As soon as Le Petit Mort, his comrade, who was in a drunken sleep at the time learned what had happened, he rushed to Mr. Kay, and entering he saw his friend, pale and trembling; he threw himself beside him, embraced him, weeping, saying to him, "My comrade, you are slain, and I survive to avenge you", and seeing a Calico smock which Mr. Kay had on when he was struck all covered with blood, put it on, took the knife which Mr. Kay had carried when he received the wound, and which had been brought back by his wife, and which was in the tent, and sallied forth immediately in a frenzy. He saw clearly, with his knowledge of conditions and of the their customary policy, that it was not Le Cousin alone who was responsible, but Cul-Blanc; and he was right in this. Coming upon Cul-Blanc, who was still before the fire, smoking, he seized him by the scalp-lock, turned him on his back, saying to him, "Dog, you are dead!", and with his free hand, he plunged the knife into his breast, although the other begged for mercy. All this carnage put a stop to the drinking. The women had poured out the rum which was in their lodges, and many broke camp. The wound which Le Cul-Blanc had received was not mortal, for the knife passed between the skin and the flesh, but the blood disfigured him. His wife took him away and he appeared in camp no more.

The tragedy concluded, Le Petit Mort re-entered the tent. His wife

followed him. He told her to go look for a certain root, which he chewed and placed in a poultice on the wound, after he had sucked it. This caused Mr. Kay much pain, but he had a little ease the rest of the day, and the night following. His comrade spent the night beside his bed. The next day, he removed the poultice, and after sucking the wound, put on another compress. All this weakened Mr. Kay so much that he lost consciousness for the space of a half hour, after which he regained his senses, and was comparatively quiet. Mr. Kay asked for Le Bras Casse, who had not yet learned of the occurrence, for the savages had been taken up with drinking. Le Bras Casse was, however, ready to leave. He had delayed only in order to give some game to the French men. The party came by land, he entered the tent, gave his hand to the sick man, saying to him, "My comrade, the blow has given me much pain. If I had been present, perhaps it would not have happened. All that consoles me is that I had not parted, but was here to do all that is in my power to relieve you." Mr. Kay accepted his offer, as Le Bras Casse had the reputation of being a man skilled in medicine, and he entrusted himself to his care, resolving to take him back to Macinac in order to be nursed on the way by him.

The 3rd of May Le Bras Casse took him in charge, and he gave him some medicine, which did him so much good that he rested a little. He told him, moreover, to eat nothing salted or peppered, to guard against drink, and not to touch a woman. If he would do this, he would cure him, but he would leave him if he saw that he was disobeying. The following day Mr. Kay was a little better. He sent for me and Mr. Harris to come to his tent, in order to give us his orders, and he said to us, "Gentlemen, you see my condition. I do not know whether God will spare my life or not. I am therefore resolving to leave you. I am going at all hazards to set out for Macinac with seven of the men. Le Bras Casse will come along to care for me on the way. Sort out, therefore, the rest of the merchandise, and ascend to the Lac de La Prairies, and get their trade. Mr. Pinot has too small a stock of goods to compete with you. I depend upon the ability of both of you." Mr. Harris went out a moment after, whereupon he addressed me particularly, stretching out his hand to me saying, "My dear friend, if you knew the language of the

Sauteux, Mr. Harris would go with me, but he must accompany you. He is a good trader, but he has, like myself and others, a strong passion for drink, which destroys his judgement. If that comes upon him, rebuke him. I will forewarn him before my departure. Get ready whatever we need to pass the portages and take us to the lake. I will start tomorrow if I find myself as well as today." I left him with his doctor, and I set out. I distributed the provisions and the loads of the two inland canoes, one for Mr. Kay and the other with four men to fetch the packs from the Riviere aux Pins, consisting of 19 packs weighing 80 pounds each, and they took for seats for Mr. Kay's men 4 packs of deer-skins.

The next day Mr. Kay felt a little better, to the great satisfaction of everybody. I made a litter, for two men to use in carrying him over the portages, and he set out that day, the 5th of May, about 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Pineau left the same day, promising to accompany him on the way. Le Bras Casse and his wife started about sunset. They were all to camp at the straights³⁷ of the Lac des Sables, near the entrance to the Riviere de la Puisse, on the isle of the Portage de la Savanne. The 6th, having received no news, we prepared to start out, to ascend the Mississippi to the Lac de la Sang-cus. At that end, we took 3 pieces of cloth, 6 pairs of blankets, of each quality, a keg of powder, 2 sacks of lead and ball, one nest of kettles, the remainder of the net-threads and small cord, and 3 kegs of Jamaica rum, and started out the next day, which was the 7th of that Month.

We were not able to reach the Riviere au Cigne that day, on account of the current, but the next day we reached that place about noon, and there we found savages encamped, namely, Le Soleil (The Sun), La Petit Corn (The Little Horn), Champinois (?), and Le Tireur au Blanc (The White Shooter), from whom we received the bad news that they had wintered at the Riviere au Cigne (Swan River), and at the Lac de la Truite (Trout Lake), a tributary. They had had good hunting and they were rich in furs, as well as in dried meats. The first thing which they demanded was rum.

That evening we made one keg of rum into two (diluted it, a common practice), and we began to trade. They did not waste time in getting drunk; the wife of Mr. Harris, finding herself with friends, took part with them, as well as her husband, who not having a chance to drink on the route took this occasion to indulge himself. Rattie, one of the men, came to tell me that Mr. Harris was drinking with the savages. I remonstrated with him civilly, but what use to reason with a drunken man? What misfortune! Finally I said to him, "Since you are set on drinking with the savages, I am going across to the other side of the river." I was led to do this to put an end to their begging for liquor. I had the boat loaded, and we crossed the Mississippi to have peace. We had sold two kegs of rum, and there was at this time plenty of liquor in their lodges. Late that night toward nightfall, La Petit Corn cried out that Mr. Harris was beating them, to come across and get him. We launched a canoe and four of us went to get him; we were obliged to bind him with the aid of his wife in order to bring him. He became more quiet after a moment, and we put him to bed. As there was not much more liquor left at the lodges, we passed the rest of the night in quiet.

The next day the weather was threatening, but we set out; Mr. Harris dizzy from his carousal with the savages and out of humor. We had gone a good pipe³⁸ when he saw that his dog was not there, and in spite of his wife, he set out to look for him. We remained there to wait for him. He went quite to the lodges of the savages and remained to drink with them, staying that day and all that night. Next day I started out to get him, and I met him on the road with his dog, a little ashamed of his conduct. He made some excuses, but I said that he did not owe them to me, but that he was inuring his own reputation. Having reached camp we started out once more and camped that night near the Riviere aux Chevreuil (Deer River), below Packesgamang. The next day we met Waches with Mitanaskonce, his brother, who gave us an entire bear of the prairies which he had killed a little above the falls, and we camped at the entrance of the prairies, at Pointe aux Chenes (Oak Point). The next day we went on, and we camped between the forks of the Lac du Cedre Rouge (Red Cedar Lake) and the Lac Vaseu (Mud Lake), where we saw Mr. Kamani-touwi, who gave us the dried meat of the moose, which we scaffolded with

the bear of the evening before, in order to provide food for our descent. The savages told us that the pillagers had arrived at the Lac de la Sangues (sic) (Leech Lake), where they were preparing to go to Macinac and that they had made successful hunts, which encouraged us in the hope of getting their trade.

Setting out the next day, we left the river. We entered the lake and reached La Quen de Loutre (Otter's Tail Point). As the savage were numerous, and dangerous rogues when in liquor, Mr. Harris said to me, we would do well not to take rum to the savages. We should tell them that our liquor was at the entrance to the river, and that they should put aside whatever they wished to exchange for drink, and they should first do their trading, and afterwards we would go to get the rum. This we did. We brought to the Lodges only a couple of gallons of rum, and left 4 kegs of mixed rum behind. We were well received on reaching the lodges of the savages, but they had been fasting, having been obliged to abandon part of their provisions on the road because of the Sioux who pursued them. When we had informed them of the manner in which we wished to deal with them, they began to trade. First, they gave that which was to pay for the rum, namely at the rate of 30 plus for a keg,--bear, at one plus; otter, the same; 3 martins, 1 plus; grand lynx, 1 plus; 15 rats, 1 plus; buffalo skins, 2 plus; and for the rest in proportion. After the trading, which was not finished till the next day, we found ourselves with 26 packs of furs of the interior, and there were at least 20 other packs which the Indians were taking to Mackinac, and to the Sault. The Indians were still numerous at this time at the Lac dela Sang-sus, in spite of the fact that two years previous, many had perished of the small-pox.

We started the next day after the trading to descend, and reach our cache, for we collected but few provisions. We had not been able to get from the Indians more than two fawn-skins of wild-rice, and that was too little to carry us to the Fond du Lac Superieure. When we reached our cache, we found nothing there. The fat of the bear, the skin and the meat of the moose had been eaten by the Caracajoux and the foxes. We were much perturbed on discovering this, but what could we do? We could

Only hasten on, which we did. We reached the Portage de la Savanne, where Mr. J. Reaume³⁹, and Mr. Piquet joined us the next morning. The first had wintered at the lower end of Lac Rouge (Red Lake) on the north side, at Mr. Grant's fort⁴⁰, at the entrance to the river which bears his name, because he was the first to open the road by the Lac de la Pluie (Rainy Lake) to come here. And the second had wintered at the shore of the Lac de Patchatchanban, at the Portage de la Tortue.⁴¹ It was so called by the savages because in the days of their fathers, it had been their oracle, which they came to consult. For the turtle moved, and always kept its head toward the enemy, which warned them to be on their guard. But some years before I passed there it had ceased to be an oracle. We informed the gentlemen that the pillagers were on the way to Macinac, which determined them to wait for them, after they had made the portage. As for the rest of us, we continued our journey. We arrived at the Grand Portage at Fond du Lac about 10:00 o'clock in the morning; a storm was gathering, and we made camp. A moment later, the heavens were ablaze with lightening, and it thundered frequently, with the greatest violence. There was a little rain, followed by a fall of hail of increasing violence, the largest stones weighing about a pound. They were of all shapes, some round, some pyramidal, some angular, some irregular, causing in me as well as in all who saw the phenomenon at that time, a great fear. The storm lasted nearly a half hour, and in that time there fell nearly 6 inches, which was 2 days in melting. This forced us to remain at the portage, because the men could not keep to the road. Mr. Reaume encountered the same storm at the Portage des Croteaux with a party of Indians. The next day we set out, and on the fourth day the 7th of June, we camped at the entrance to the Riviere du Fond du Lac, which was still blocked with ice. The Indians of Fond du Lac told us that Mr. Kay was a little better, that there was a chance of his recovery, and that he had passed there a long time before, and that they believed him to be by that time at Kiweenang.

From day to day the pillagers arrived, and camped with us. The ice was so firm and the weather so calm that it did not move. We remained at Fond du Lac whole days without being able to leave the river, eating

the few provisions which we had, reduced to some small pike that the Indians gave us, and to the berries of the saccacomis⁴². At last a wind arose during the night of the 14th. It blew strongly for awhile, driving out the ice and making a passage wide enough to let into the Riviere Brulee (Brule River) where we camped. Of our stock, we had 1 pound of colored thread, and five bunches of small cord, which Mr. Bel⁴³ had laced into a net at Fond du Lac, which we had not yet used. We put out the net that evening and the next day we took some siskawettes⁴⁴ and several other kinds of fish. We set out the next day, and we made a good day's journey. We camped at La Petit Peche on this side of La Pointe. We put out our net, but the ice being still in motion, covered it, which compelled us to remain there all that day, and to wait till the next. The ice having been broken up in the night, we lifted it in the morning with a few fish, and much damaged by the ice. We left that place, and made La Pointe where Le Gros Pied and his family helped us out. Here we remained 3 days on account of contrary winds. Although we had a strong crew,--for we had left our small canoes at the Grand Portage, and had resumed our large Macinac boat,--the wind was so strong that we could not make the traverse of the bay from La Pointe.

The next day we made the traverse early in the morning, and reached the Riviere du Montreal, and camped there. In short, from river to river, we came to L'anse. We stayed here 2 days without being able to make the traverse; there Messrs. Reaume and Piquet rejoined us. The third day we crossed in company. The next day they went on ahead, because we were forced to live by fishing. We reached La Pointe au Poisson Blanc (Whitefish Point), entering all the rivers for food. We camped here, and the next day, the weather being calm, we crossed over to Grand Cape and we reached the Sault about 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon. Here we spent the remainder of the day, where our men feasted that day and the day following. We learned that Mr. Kay had passed through the Sault quite ill; and that Le Bras Casse, seeing that he disregarded his advice, and finding himself badly treated, had gone back from the Riviere aux Mineurs, without being paid. It is probable that we had passed him in crossing L'anse or La Baye Huronne. The third day we left the Sault.

A rainstorm struck us at La Pointe de Detour, but the wind was favorable to us, but we made poor progress, and soaked our packs, so that we were obliged to stop the next day at Isle du Gravierois to dry them.

The 26th of July, we arrived at Macinac, past noon. As soon as we arrived, while the men were unloading the canoes, I went to Mr. Kay's house. He was like a skeleton, and could scarcely give me his hand. I was greatly shocked at seeing him. He said to me, "I am done for. I am resolved to get down to Montreal but I dread the journey. Mr. Holt⁴⁵ will settle my affairs. It is to him you must look for your pay. As for Mr. Harris, he will lose his, because he was the cause of my misfortune." As soon as his affairs were settled, he descended in his canoes after Captain Robingson⁴⁶ had had the second operation performed with much pain. He got to the Lac des Deux Montagnes, but suppuration set in his wound, in spite of all the care possible, and he died the 26th of August, 1785.⁴⁷

The outfitters of Montreal who furnished goods to the Macinac trade, having come to that post, formed a company for three years under the name of the General Company of Lake Superior and the South as they decided to send into the interior certain of those whom they had been accustomed to equip. (The outfitters were Messrs. Cote⁴⁸, W. Todd⁴⁹, Champion⁵⁰, Chaboye Laine⁵¹, Marchesseaux, Cadotte⁵², Sayer⁵³, and many others) to go to pass the winter in the interior. Having settled with Mr. Holt for the balance of 24 livres, currency of the Province of Lower Canada, the balance of my wages, I presented myself at the offices of the Company, and I was here engaged in the capacity of clerk to winter with Mr. Laframboise⁵⁴ for the consideration of 50 livres, current value in Lower Canada, to winter at the Riviere des Sauteux (Chippewa River), on the Upper Mississippi, at the entrance to Lac Papin (Lake Pepin). Each person had the title and pay of the clerk, those who were in charge were to receive 100 current value, the subordinate clerks, like myself, at 50. The committee appointed three directors: Mr. E. Paterson⁵⁵, for the Upper Mississippi; Mr. Champion for the lower; and Mr. Sayer, for Lake Superior and its dependencies.

The expedition to Lake Superior was first, to leave, then ours for the Upper Mississippi. About the middle of August we set out in a canoe manned by 4 men, Mr. Laframboise, his wife, and myself. We made camp at Minagoke; from there we went to Sosoonak; from there to Petit Detroit; from Petit Detroit to the Bay de L'Eturgeon; from there to La Baye Verte (Green Bay), where Mr. Laframboise left his wife. Two days later we started out. The orders of the Company were to bring back wild rice with us; we did this, and we came after a short journey to La Prairie du Chien. We left there two days after and we ascended the Mississippi quietly, living well, to the Riviere des Sauteux, where we remained several days, to allow the savages time to make up their minds. Then they took council with each other; eight lodges entered with us into the Riviere des Sauteux, and five others started up the Mississippi to winter at the Riviere des Sacs (Sauk River) below Crouppe D'ours.

Our orders were to build at the fork of the Cedre Rouge (Red Cedar River). Mr. Labatte was to ascend to the falls of the Riviere des Sauteux, which was fifteen leagues by the river. The savages could not cheat us because we gave them a receipt for their credits, which they had to produce when they came, and if they could not show it, they got nothing. Our affairs settled, we left as soon as navigation opened for La Prairie du Chien, there to await the arrival of Mr. Pattersonne and the others who had wintered on the Riviere St. Pierre (St. Peter River)(or Minnesota River): to wit, Mr. Kameron⁵⁷ with the Titons (Tetons), Mr. Renville with the Niekton (Yanktons), Mr. James Aird⁵⁸ and Mr. Roch, with the tribe of La Feuille (Leaf River), as well as Mr. Labatte. When these gentlemen arrived, we set out together, for Macinac. We reached there at the end of June, 1786.

The returns from the first year were not advantageous to all; there were several who found themselves in arrears at a disadvantage relatively; as furs had fallen in England, and being equipped at third hand, they would have preferred not to be taken into the company, but their papers were signed, and they could not release themselves from their contract, as the agreement had expired. They prepared therefore for the next year. As I

had signed for one year only, Mr. Patterson who was going to the Upper Mississippi proposed that I should go with him and he would give me 8 Pounds more than the others, because he wanted to send me to the Riviere au Canon⁵⁹. I said to him that I was sorry, but had promised already Mr. Laframboise. I really had promised him, and I had heard gossip concerning Mr. Patterson as a man peremptory on the march, good and bad whether being alike to him. In short, I had, I know not, what presentiment against him. I made arrangements with Mr. Laframboise at the same salary I had received.

We set out with a party of four canoes, a few more than we had started out with the preceding year. To wit: Mr. Stork, Mr & Mrs. Gravelle, and Mr. Laffamboise. We were heavily loaded, and could not travel with a high wind. We were compelled to camp at La Pointe aux Chenes, 5 leagues from Macinac, and we went on the next day, with the wind at our backs, which increased more and more until we were obliged to enter into the Riviere de Minagokes. We left our canoes at the entrance, in order to continue our way if the wind moderated, but it increased more and more. Then the men whiled away their time at cards, and I was reading the LeMaque, when one of the men named Ste. Germain entered the tent. He told us that a canoe had appeared under sail, coming from Macinac, which could be seen only time to time. For the lake was white as a sheet. Mr. Laframboise arose, and said it could only be Mr. Patterson who would sail in such a wind. Finally he doubled the point of the river, and seeing us on shore, had sail furled, and entered the river. We met him on the beach. "The east wind is very strong" he said, "but as I have only half a load I can take advantage of it." A man named LaPorte, an old voyageur, told him that there was a danger as the canoe was quite loaded, that they had many people also, which was true. He had seven men, his interpreter, his servant, himself, and his slaves⁶⁰, making in all eleven persons, with a great white dog which Mr. Ducharme had given him on his departure. He went several times to the point of the river, in his impatience. He determined to go on, in spite of the remonstrances we made (as well as his men). There were two, namely, LaPorte, and his servant whom he forced to embark, for they wished to remain on land. "I know the trip better than

the rest of you," he said. "I also know the people of the south. They like to sail only in calms, and to trail along the beaches. Take hold of the lanyards, and let us get started; we can reach the islands that we see, and if the wind is too strong, we can camp here." They started in spite of us, and bore off the catch of the wind, and we re-entered our tents. Some of the men remained to watch them for the space of 20 minutes at the most, and as soon as they took his telescope, and saw with the rest of us, some debris of the canoe on the water, moved by the waves, which confirmed our belief that they had perished. It was impossible to go to them, so we waited impatiently till the next day. The wind fell in the night, but the lake was still very rough; nevertheless we set out, the other two canoes remaining behind. We made the turn of the L'anse, and when we were some little distance from the islands we discovered the casks and the bales, and the men that the waves had cast here and there along the beach. We disembarked as soon as we arrived, and our first care was to draw in the bodies which were rolling in the waves. Some on one shore, others on the other: we found them all. Mr. Patterson⁶ was the farthest away, holding his panise by the hand, both half buried in the sand, and his dog crouched beside them on the beach. When we undertook to remove them from the beach, the dog interfered. It was necessary to strike him, in order to approach them. We camped there and Mr. Laframboise decided then to send to Macinac. He told me to take three of our men, two of Mr. Stork's, and two of Mr. Gravelle's to make haste, and to travel all night. We were then a dozen leagues from Macinac. Mr. Laframboise gave me his letter to Captain Robertson, and we embarked. We reached Macinac about 9:00 o'clock in the evening, and delivered the letter. After receiving the reply, we started back, and arrived about 10 in the morning. In our absence, Mr. Laframboise and the other Messrs. who had come to rejoin him, had placed the bodies in safety and collected the little that was left of their effects. We passed the day in sleep, and in the evening a barge with 6 soldiers and under officer arrived: they came to remove the bodies and to take charge of what had been found.

The next day the barge started back for Macinac, and we continued our journey toward La Baye Verte. We reached there the sixth day. Having no business there, we started the next day for the Butte des Morts to await

there the Fols Avoines, who wished to winter on the Upper Mississippi. When they arrived, they said they would be glad to have us winter on the Riviere a la Corneille (Crow River), because they wished to winter on the Riviere a L'au de Vie (Whiskey River), and on the Riviere aux Marais, as that would be more advantageous for them. We started the next day for Lac Appakwes, to get wild rice; we remained there for two days, and on the third day we took our way to Prairie du Chien where there was much sickness, a fever and ague. This decided us to continue our journey the next day, and we made a poor days march, but we resolved to hasten on, because the season was already advanced. We reached the Chute St. Antoine (Falls of St. Anthony), with the Indians whom we sent out for the winter, not knowing that we were to have an opposition. We reached La Riviere a la Corneille, and began to build. Two or three days after that, we learned that Mr. Jaisson⁶² was following us, and that he intended to oppose us, which led us to await his arrival in order to learn his intentions, and he arrived very soon. He and his uncle were the only ones who had not been taken into the company. He said that he was going to build near us; that he had not come to destroy the trade, and that he hoped we would live peaceably with him; this we did. I assure you that I did not sleep for more than fifteen nights in my bed, and it was with difficulty that we bore off the honors. Mr. Jiasson got only 5 packs, and we had taken enough to make 14½. We left with the ice, and we remained several days at the entrance to the Riviere St. Pierre to await the arrival of the savages. They arrived at last and we descended to the Ste. Croix together. There we found Mr. Ainse⁶³, sent out by the government the autumn before to get together the nations, to wit: the Sakis, the Renard, the Fol-Avoines, the Sioux, and the Sauteux of the Fol-Avoines, who had gone out to Ste. Croix and made a great camp. We remained with them all that day, as they were close together. The next day we started, savages and French, for Prairie du Chien, and we camped next day at Prairie a la Crosse, where the savages had some bad words on the subject of the medicines with which they were accustomed to provide themselves when they passed by this place, but Mr. Ainse stopped them. The next day we continued on our way to Prairie du Chien to witness the ceremony of the savages in their treaty of peace.

((I interrupt here the thread of my narrative⁶⁴ to satisfy the reader by giving him some information concerning the manner in which the savages make their treaties of peace. The custom is for the allies to present themselves in columns, one in front of the other. This took place at La Prairie, in the presence of all of us others. The Sioux presented themselves in the same line; the Sautaux, and the Fol-Avoines in another; the Sacs and the Renards in another. These three lines formed three triangles. Then an orator from each of the Confederates, with each one their attendant, placed in his hand the pipe of peace, having chanted a moment and then made a genuflexion, which he repeated three times. The one who held the pipe was the son of La Vieu Francais, called Lapon, a brave man and war-like. He brought to the Sioux the pipe, lighted it, and presented it. Each one took a draw of the pipe; but it happened that one young man, a Sioux, refused to accept the pipe. This arrested the ceremony a moment. Then a chief of their band went to him and said to him, "Why do you do this? Do you not know that peace is sacred? You ought to reflect before refusing. Then the young man accepted it and the ceremony proceeded.

When each band had performed its ceremonial, they all joined hands. Shouts of joy followed, and they retired, each one to their camp - This little treaty may be inserted in the treaty of peace of La Prairie du Chien. One may insert this which follows in the year. I am very glad to give here some information concerning the customary manner in which the savages begin war. The first comer of them with a head-dress sets himself as a war-chief, plants a post, and chants a war-song. Then those who wish to go, come and strike the post⁶⁵, and he who strikes it is a partisan.

When they find themselves numerous enough they make the tour of the camp and set out. Their encampment en route is a fortification in the form of a horseshoe, at the opening of which is made a pit, where the chief lays himself in order to make sacrifice there. Near the pit is placed the Pipe of War, resting on two small forks, the stem pointed in the direction of the enemy. This horseshoe is formed of an interlaced hedge; that is repeated every night. A good war-chief, crouched in his pit, may know if the enemy is far off or near at hand. When he prepares himself for combat, he

takes in his hand a long staff shaped like a Crosier, where are attached as many feathers of the crow as there are individuals. They approach un-awares; the chief plants his staff well forward after which arise the cries of death penetrating the lodges or whatever it is,--where each one strives to distinguish himself. This there is of the marvellous,--that the war-chief foreknows his ruin or his victory.))

The peace being concluded, it was decided, as it was crowded here, that the chiefs of each nation, clothed in full power by their fellow tribesmen, should go to Macinac. Then we set out the next day, the first ones to leave Prairie du Chien, and continued on our way by easy stages, as we were loaded. Mr. Ainse overtook us with his party at the Portage du Wisconsin, where he passed on ahead in order to visit the Paunts, and communicate his orders to them, and then to await them at La Baye. We betook ourselves to La Baye where Mr. Ainse had arrived the evening before. He had to remain several days, and we continued our journey on the way to Macinac.

We reached Macinac the middle of July 1787. We were told that Mr. Ainse was at Pointe St. Ignace with the Indians; that is to say Sioux, Sakis, Renards, Fol-Avoines, Sautaux, of ditto, Puants, Ponteswatimas, and Courtoreils de L'arbre Croche, that they were waiting until the arrival of their brothers, the Sautaux of Lac Superieurs. For they had chosen the same day and the same hour, good or bad weather, to go to the fort. When the day arrived we saw Mr. Cadotte⁶⁶ with his Sautaux of Lake Superior and dependencies coming around the western point of the island of Macinac and at the same time Mr. Ainse with all his following rounded the western point of the island. It was pleasant then to see their maneuvers. When they entered the port and had come a little nearer, they presented a mimic naval combat with musquetry; then they presented the warfare of antiquity with lance and javelins, crossing and mingling the one side with the other. Then they filled the air with their cries of joy as they approached land, at the honor of a cannon shot which spoke from the fort to salute them. They drew up on the beach to the music of drums, flutes, chic heigeven, which, joined to the chant of their voices made a melodius sound. Captain

Robertson and Captain Deese⁶⁷, adjutant of the Indians that year, came to welcome them to the fort. They led them with military honors to the council-house, the troop coming under arms at the sound of the drum.

That same year, while the savages were at Mackinac to conclude the peace, the Sioux of the Riviere St. Pierre, that is to say the men of La Feuille, formed a war party, and ascending the Riviere St. Croix, waged a war against a clan of the Santeux de la Fol-Avoines, unknown to their tribe, which had gone to Mackinac. This mortified them very much on their return.

I went back presently to trade. The death of Mr. Pattersonne had upset the calculations of many clerks who, not having sufficient judgement, had managed their business badly, so that the deficit was so great that many of the traders went into bankruptcy, which caused such confusion in the affairs of the company that it broke it up.

Mr. Grignon⁶⁸, a trader then at La Baye, offered me a salary, and I decided to go with him. The same year, 1787 to 1788, for the sum of 50 pounds, current value, in the capacity of clerk, to keep his accounts, since he had no education.

In 1788, on returning to Mackinac with the little experience that I had had in the trade with the savages, I decided to go into business for myself, on the proposition made to me by Mr. Todd, but as I found myself to begin alone, I formed a partnership with Mr. Richardson⁶⁹, a young man of enterprise and of good character, who was clerk for Mr. Malbreth at Mackinac. Our outfit, the canoe loaded at the beach, amounted to 500 pounds. We set out to winter at the Riviere des Santeux, where I had some acquaintances. We arrived at La Baye Verte, and remained there for four days to await the arrival of the Fol-Avoines, who promised to come to us.

I forgot to insert in the manuscript a very remarkable occurrence. The evening before our departure from La Baye, two of Mr. Labatte's men, in crossing the river in a wooden canoe saw a sturgeon leap up suddenly

near them. It fell into the canoe, and one of them slew it to stop its struggles; the man was named Francois Bernier. When they returned and related what had happened, the savages who were there said it was a great misfortune for him that he had taken it; that he certainly would die within a short time; that similar things had happened which were verified to the letter; that it was a bad omen for him. Several Frenchmen who were present said that it was foolish to put faith in what the savages said, for they were full of superstition:--"Let us cook it and eat it". So they made a feast of it, and the next day we set out, Mr. Labatte of the company having arrived. At the Rapide des Prers we stopped for a pipe. The boats drew near each other, savage as well as French. The canoe of Mr. Labatte's brother-in-law was opposite the man who had taken the sturgeon; he was resting on his oar, the Indian musket lying across his canoe behind him, when the butt of the gun touched the large canoe. It went off, and hit Bernier in the left side. Although the force of the shot was great, he remained seated, but in a moment he fell, crying out and dying. We all marveled at such an incident, and were unable to understand it.

Mr. Labatte returned to La Baye, and we continued on our route with our Indians and we camped at Petit Kakaning. To save expense we had engaged only three men, and my partner and I worked in a canoe. This made our progress moderate. It took us quite a while to reach La Prairie du Chien, where, in passing, I caught the fever and ague for the first time. This delayed our arrival at winter quarters, so that we did not reach there till the end of September. Our first care was to send out our Indians. The season of fever having passed, I was better. We began to build the 11th of October. In the evening, the weather being calm, we were sitting outside the door of the tent. Le Vieu Eturgeon was with us. He had brought in a green beaver, that is to say, in the flesh with the skin on. He was to return home the next day, and I was talking with him about the present weather, remarking the beautiful season, and looking at the heavens, when at that moment there appeared on the horizon in the east a terrifying phenomenon in the form of a serpent, which moved, filling the air with a blinding light as it advanced toward the west, where it disappeared into the horizon. We were filled with terror at

the sight for we had time to consider it; it was at least five minutes in crossing the horizon. It was at least 30 rods long. I asked the old Fols-Avoine what he thought it was. He said that it was a bad omen, that some misfortune would befall us, that the master of life was vexed.

We continued our building, and we were comfortably lodged. We saw the Indians often with furs. The land was rich at that time. We were in the midst of the Indians. We could not fail to make a good stroke. When the Sioux tribe of La Feuille learned that we were on the Riviere du Cedre Rouge (who were hunting on the upper part of that branch), they stole their credits and came to trade with us. Things went so well that in the course of November we had eight packs of beaver, which gave us great hopes, until alas; six men of the Lac du Court'orielles, who were hunting beaver at the Lac du Chieteque, learned that we were on the Riviere du Cedre Rouge. They came to trade with us, each with 30 plus, to wit:--Le Coeur D'ours, Le Tabac Pure and his son, Le Petit Bled and his son, and Le Petit Eturgeon. They arrived early, did their trading, on good terms,--cloth at 5, blankets at 4, and the rest in proportion. We made them a present after the trading of a keg of rum of eight gallons, in acknowledgement of their visit, and they planned to leave early in the morning. In the evening after sunset, 28 Sioux arrived, of the band of Le Petit Corbeau their chief, who was with them. I leave you to imagine our dismay,--at a time so inopportune! I would have preferred to be a long way off then. Our Santuex did not appear disturbed. They saw only three or four guns. The others had only bows and arrows which were taken into the store. The Sioux were accustomed at that time to hand their arms to the French⁷⁰ when they came to visit them. I did not know whether that custom was still followed. They were all still at the door when they gave up their arms to one of their warriors, while the Santeix hid their under our beds. They entered then without arms, and were equally surprised at seeing each other, but each extended a greeting courteous enough. Le Petit Corbeau, who understood some words of Santeux, engaging conversation with the La Coeur D'ours about various matters connected with the chase, when La Bacasse (the name of the warrior) took an empty pail, covered it with a piece of skin, and made a drum of it. A moment later, Le Petit Corbeau drew off a necklace of shell which he had about his neck, presented it to the Santuex, and

began to talk after this manner:---"My brothers, we have taken the liberty of approaching your lands for awhile. You know that the deer seeks the thick woods for the winter, and that upon it depends the life of our women and children. We hope, therefore, that you will bear with life for a couple of months on the upper waters of that branch of your river, and we will retire as soon as we have acquired provisions for our spring." With this he concluded his speech. To which Le Coeur D'ours, rising, replied:---"My brothers, we are well pleased to see you here and to be able to say to you in the presence of the French, that you need have no anxiety on our account. Hunt peaceably on our lands here till the month of March, when we beg of you to withdraw, and that your young men come not here and frighten our children at that time. The master of life has given to all the Indians the land on to live in peace, but unhappily, we are all foolish." Then he sat down; he concluded his speech with these last words. La Bacasse took the drum, put it in order, and filled a pipe. The Sioux began to dance Le Calumet, and at last they danced uncovered, after which they presented the drum and the pipe to the Santuex, who did likewise, but with much more grace. As was the manner of the Indians in that kind of dance, they related their exploits, which surpassed those of the Sioux, so that the first of them aroused a jealousy, which betrayed itself in the faces of the others, and they even said some ill-timed words. One of my men, named Des Noyer, who was talking with the Sioux, noticed this. He said to me that it would be well to stop the dance, as the ceremony would end in a quarrel. We did this; De Noyer took the drum, unfastened it, and filled it with water. Everything was over, but there was a sullen silence all night, so that no one slept. When day came the Sioux did their trading, and made ready to depart. We gave them back their arms, and they filed out by the same road they had come by. There was left only Le Petit Corbeau who departed last. The Santuex had breakfast, after which they collected their belongings, and having started, they discharged their guns as a salute. We said adeiu, and they took their own road. Near the house was a rivulet, distant perhaps three arpents, on the other side which had fallen a great pine, making a breastwork. In the shelter of this, six Sioux had hidden to surprise the Santeux; two of whom remained behind, to wit:--the son of Le Petit Bled and Le Petit

Eturgeon, who had broken his necklace in passing the rivulet, and was obliged to stop and fasten it. When he had finished, they continued their journey. The four others had passed the tree. The Sioux did not fire upon them; they waited until the last two had passed before they fired. The son of Le Petit Bled received a ball in his head and Le Petit Eturgeon was wounded by two bullets, which passed through his body. As he was fatally wounded he could go no further. He remained on the ground until his companions, who had heard the shots, put down their packs and came back at full speed to his aid. The Sioux fled the moment they saw the Santuex rush to their brother. The four took him up in his blanket, and carried him to the house. We placed him on a bed in our room, after which they went for their belongings, and brought them into our house, and began drinking. They gave the wounded man drink, who was no sooner drunk than he began speaking evil of us, saying:--"It is you French who are the cause of my death. If you had not sent us away when our enemies were so near, we would all have departed together. You do not trouble yourselves much about the Indians so long as you can get the packs. There is no more of life for me." Also, addressing his companions, "Listen to me! When you have buried me, go tell my wife and children that I am lying here, that they may come to make a fire over me, and demand of the French something to clothe them, and you others tell my parents, not to forget that I am here. I hope that you will act this winter in my place. You know where I left my canoe. You may use it to travel in as soon as navigation opens." He weakened rapidly, as much from the drink as from the suffering from his wounds, so that about nine o'clock in the evening, he was in his death agony. They demanded of me then some vermillion, which I gave them. They painted him from head to foot and painted themselves as well, and said to us, to Mr. Richardson and me:--"This is a fatal blow for you others and for us, and knowing what our tribe will think, when we arrive, not seeing all of us, and knowing that we all came here with the French, we do not know what to think. Be sure that the Indians will come to see you,--and death also, for the others will not understand, but we do not know the intentions of those who will come." About two hours before day, he gave up the ghost. We clothed him after the fashion of their dead, and buried him, with them present. And as soon as the interment was completed, they set out, threatening us.

As soon as the Sioux had struck this evil blow, they withdrew and we saw no more of them. We saw only our creditors, the Fols-Avoines, who brought us some furs from time to time; and they advised us, knowing the ways of the Indians, to fortify ourselves against surprise. We determined to follow their advice, and for this purpose, took our axes into the woods. The day after Christmas, and the weather being cold, our trading house formed the half of our fort, and there were two bastions, by means of which we could defend our entire fort. We had been quiet some time, not without anxiety because of the threats which they had made us. When I made ready to go with Des Noyer to Le Grande Rapide on the Uper Mississippi, to pass the spring, and here await the Fols-Avoines, to whom we had given credit in the autumn at the entrance to the Riviere de la Santeux. For Mr. Glasson, Mr. Labatte, and Mr. LaRose ⁷² were wintering there, that same year. I had crossed the river in front of our house in order to find white wood to attach our traines, when I looked up the river and saw the water covered with people. I did not take time to count them. I rushed into the house to announce the arrival of these Messieurs, and we closed the doors of our fort, where everything we had, including our canoe, was kept. They came to the door, planted their teepees opposite it, and demanded entrance. We replied that there were too many of them. When I saw a letter fly through the air outside the door, I seized it instantly and opened it. I found it signed by Mr. Michael Cadotte ⁷³ who was wintering at Lac du Court'oreil. It contained these words:--"Dear Sirs, having discovered the intentions of my savages in visiting you, from the son of La Merde D'aigle, the worst rogue of all, and yet my great friend, I have entrusted to him my letter, and he has promised to deliver it to you. You will know by this that the men have come in order to destroy you, if you do not yeild to their demands. I advise you then to try to conciliate the bearer of this letter. If he has delivered it to you, do not fear." When I had read it, I called, "Son of La Merde D'aigle! Is he here? Let him come in." As soon as he had entered, the others wanted to come too, but he repulsed them, telling them to wait a little. I let him enter, and talked with him after this manner:"He who has given this letter into your hands is my great frined. You have promised him that all will go well here, --that is to say that you will aid us. I believe you,--you, who as I have heard, have always been relied on by the whites." The contrary was true,

but puffed up by such a compliment, He plumed himself on it. He said to me, "Yes, my friend, fear nothing. I have sufficient influence with the young men to persuade them to behave properly towards the white. I will stand by you, and my father has always recommended that." "Yes, that is true," I replied, "your father is a great man; his name is written in England." He interrupted me at this point. "Have you heard him talked of? Surely? Good! my friend, I am yours; I will do what you tell me; but," he added, "you must let our people come in." This I did at once. They had hardly entered when he addressed them, "My brothers, when we set out from home, we set out like fools without thought. As for me, I have been thinking on the way. I have recalled what my father has always said to me,--always to show deference to the whites. They are the support of the savages; we could not live without them. It is not necessary to have the French on our hands for us to die; we die every day without them. Therefore, my brothers, put out of your hearts whatever evil you have against them." They all with one voice replied, "You speak the truth." He told them then not to inconvenience the French. It was necessary to make a lodge within the stockade. We gave them some oilcloth, and they lodged themselves, but this did not prevent the house from being full continually. Our provisions were scaffolded in the stockade and the savages did not hesitate to eat everything there was, during the five days that they remained with us, constantly making demands. They decided on the fifth day to start out on the following day. We then paid the family of the deceased, to wit:--

10 yards of cloth at 2½ +	25+
5 woolen overcoats at 4	20+
5 woolen overcoats, small	8+
2 blankets, 3 pts.	10+
2 blankets, 2½ pts.	8+
4 blankets, medium	20+
4 ammunition	10+
4 silver ornaments	10+
4 porcelain	10+
4 tobacco--4 rolls at 4	16+
2 kegs of rum	30+
vermillion, knives, axes, needles, mirrors--	
15 deer which they had eaten	30+
	207+

Which at the rate of 10/D'alifax made 416 dollars which we had handed over to these gentlemen, without counting many trifles which they had taken while they were staying with us.

They set out the next morning, and our friend, La Merde D'aigle said to us, "Since we have eaten your provisions, send your men day after tomorrow along our trail. We are going to camp near here, where the older men will drink, and the younger ones will go on a hunt. You may have what they kill. Two days later we sent the three men who came back the day after their departure, loaded with venison and bear-meat, saying that they had found at their camp 14 deer and a whole bear. We were delighted at that, for we could hardly have held out till spring on the provisions we had. As it was, we were by the grace of God, beyond anxiety.

I made ready then for my journey, postponed by that fatal shooting. Mr. Richardson was to remain at the fort with two men in my absence, and to start for Prairie du Chien with the ice. Des Noyer and I started the 14th of February, each with his sledge. Des Noyer carried a keg of 4 gallons of pure rum, and his provisions for the rest, and I myself carried a box of argenterie, porcelain, ribbons, handkerchiefs, and shawls for trade, together with my provisions. We had camped at Le Petit Rocher near our house, when by extraordinary chance a stag pursued by wolves came up, at the moment we were passing there. Unable to retreat, it hurled itself from the top to the bottom, and broke its legs on the ice. I sent Des Noyer with one small load to get his comrades who came to spend the night with us, in order to carry back the rest next day, when we continued our journey. We had about 80 leagues to go. It took us three days to reach La Chute de St. Antoine. We camped at the foot of the fall, on the L'isle aux Herons, where I had killed two cats with my gun. An idea occurred to me to bury in the snow my rum and cask, which were on our minds in case of a visit. This was done in a moment. The band of La Mauvaise Riviere was very near us. The two gunshots which they had heard led them to investigate, and La Vieux, after having made the turn of the island, discovered us, and came to our fire. He gave me his hand, for he knew me well. I gave him a piece of tobacco, and he sat down opposite me, asking if I had some rum. Des Noyer told him no. He then asked if we were going to Le Grande Rapide, at which Des Noyer told him we were going to see the

French. A moment later, he started to return. As soon as he had gone, we went to bed and we were asleep when my dog awakened us. There were four men and a woman who brought a little venison and had come to demand rum for it, saying it was for a sick man. I told them we had none. They had been a long time without, and they were very angry. They left at last. Then we made preparations to leave. It was clear and moonlight, and we passed to the Riviere aux Marais after a short days journey. From there we reached the Riviere a la Corneille where Mr. James Eard⁷⁴ and Mr. Blondeau⁷⁵ were wintering. Five days before, the latter had lost by fire all that he had, in the absence of his men who had gone to Indian lodges. He was at the time with Mr. Eard, who delighted in cards, when the explosion of powder was heard. He had on hand at the time more than half his merchandise, and five packs bound up. We spent the night with Mr. Eard, and continued on our journey the next day. We reached Le Grande Rapide the 5th of March. I went to the house of Mr. Giasson, who received me with pleasure, and gave me his scaffolding for a dwelling till spring time. I engaged the son of old L'aleine to hunt for me. I saw him there by chance. I waited there for my Indians who arrived the first, and who paid me well, so that I started very soon with three good packs and a keg of tallow, as much as my credits as from my trading. I descended to La Riviere St. Pierre in a canoe made from a tree trunk, which I had made while I was waiting above for Mr. Giasson, who had promised me passage to Prairie du Chien. As soon as he arrived we set out, and we reached Prairie du Chien quickly. There I found Mr. Richardson, who had been waiting for me for a long time. We started immediately for Mackinac with 21 packs in all; of which 14 were beaver, 1 keg of beaver kidneys weighing 45 pounds, and 1 keg of fat. We arrived at the beginning of July, 1789. We had hoped to make a little profit, but the Messieurs were accustomed to give themselves free rein in the purchase of skins, and each year they lowered their prices more and more, until one could hardly make both ends meet. They took back all that remained to us, canoe and rigging.

Mr. Marchesseau, who had arrived from Montreal with two boats of goods some days before, had brought with him Mr. Alexis Reaume, who had no knowledge of the Indian trade. He proposed that I should enter into partnership with this gentleman whom he would outfit on better terms than I had

got from Mr. Todd. I saw that I would profit from this. We therefore took our outfit for Lac Superieure, and we entered the Fond du Lac to go to the Lac de la Sansue. Messrs. Sayer, Cadotte, Baptiste, Cazalai, Jos. Reaume, Laviolette, and ourselves, all arranged to occupy different departments of Fond du Lac. We formed a company, into which each one put his goods at the price of invoice, reserving nothing for himself till the division should be made at the same place where we were at that time,--La Butte du Saccocomis, each one receiving so much of the merchandise that should remain, and of the peltries according to a fixed price. In order that there might be no trouble, we drew by lot, Mr. Alexis Reaume and myself representing one individual, in order to determine whom each department should fall,--Mr. Sayer getting the Riviere du Fond du Lac with the SaSakandaga Eininok, Mr. Lavoilette and myself the Lac de la Sansue. Mr. Caselet and Mr. Alexis Reaume the Riviere au Pins, Mr. Baptiste and Mr. Cadotte the Lac Rouge, and Mr. Jos. Reaume the Lac de la Fol on the side of Lac de la Sansue toward the Lac de la Que eu de Loutre.

We left Mr. Sayer there, who returned by the Portage de la Savanne to ascend the Riviere du Fond du Lac, and we arrived at the arm of Lac des Sable which flows into the Mississippi, where we camped with the savages who were going down. The next day we parted from Mr. Caselet; Messrs. Cadotte, Jos. Reaume, Lavoilette, and myself continuing on our way up the river. Mr. Cadotte took the fork of the Lac du Cedre Rouge to go to Lac Rouge, while we went on towards the Lac de la Sansue. Then Mr. Reaume left us to ascend the rivere which leads into Lac de la Fol. As for ourselves, we built at the village de la Puisse, where the Indians had dwelt formerly, but having been visited often by the Sioux, they had taken refuge at La Queu de Loutre, ~~xxxxxxxRiviere~~, and there they are to this day. The returns were ordinary, that is to say, those from the Riviere aux Pins, as well as the Riviere du Fond du Lac; but at the three other posts higher up the Indians had good hunting. They had been quiet the whole winter. Le Grande Corbeau and his family had perished by the fire on the edge of the prairie when they entered for the autumn hunting; they had not been able to save themselves because of a wind which came up suddenly. A party of savages returned in March to make their sugar, and the men came in largest numbers during the sugar making. We started the 28th

of April for Lac des Sables, and waiting there for all to attend, we dissolved our partnership. We received for our share of 26 packs, among which were 17 packs of beaver weighing 90 pounds, and 137 otter of all grades; the rest bear, martens, pole-cats, muscrats, lynxes, and fontreau. We set out for Lake Superior, and we reached Mackinac the 11th of July, 1790, at noon. We had made above all expenses, 125 pounds, current value.

Mr. Marchesseau had come up with a little merchandise, which he had promised to Mr. Larch⁷⁶, his nephew, and he could not outfit Mr. Reaume and myself; and for this reason I made arrangements with Mr. Todd, this time on better terms than before, for Fond du Lac again, with a very good assortment. In passing the Sault, I saw Mr. Belle Harris, whom I engaged to take an outfit up the Riviere a Gauche at Fond du Lac for the consideration of 25 livres, current value. As I found myself short of powder to fit him out, I obtained from Mr. Nolin⁷⁷ half a keg, and a sack of lead and balls. We passed the lake without trouble. Reaching Fond du Lac, I made up Mr. Harris' outfit, consisting of two pieces of cloth, and an assortment of 3 kegs of rum, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg of sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg of tallow, 1 sack of flour, and 1 of corn, 2 nets, $\frac{1}{2}$ case of hardware, some traps and kettles. I told him to husband his liquor, for I feared that he would manage it badly, and so it happened.

We separated: he entered the Riviere a Gauche, and we continued on our route toward the Grande Portage. We visited Lac des Sables to get wild rice. When Mr. Lavoilette joined me and the other Messieurs of the previous year, we formed a company again for the winter, putting in piece for piece, and regulating it by the most poorly equipped, which was myself, because of the outfit I had sent out on the Riviere a Gauche. We each put in 5 pieces of cloth, 7 kegs of rum, 1 keg of powder, 2 sacks of lead and balls, $\frac{1}{2}$ nest of kettles, $\frac{1}{2}$ case of hardware, 4 firelocks, argenterie, and porcelain; and we agreed that if the savages should ask for anything that was not in the common stock, one of those who had something left might sell it on his own account. In order to avoid cheating, we wintered, two of us in each department:--Mr. Lavoilette and myself at L'aile de Corbeau (Crow Wing) with a party of billagers; Messrs. Cadotte and Reaume at Lac

de la Sansue; Mr. Sayer and Caselet at Riviere du Fond du Lac. The savages had good hunting that winter. The tribe from about Lac des Sables were with us below. We met at the Butte du Saccacomis, and dissolved our company. I found myself best off, for I had sold everything, and the other men found themselves with a balance of merchandise unsold. I received for my share 9 packs of beaver weighing 90 pounds, 98 otter, 42 bearskins, and various furs, in all 12 packs; and outside of the company I flattered myself that I would have from Mr. Harris at least 4 packs, as there were only good furs in that neighborhood. I was much surprised to find him at Fond du Lac with 2 packs, one of beaver and the other of mixed furs. He had, as was his habit, drunk all the rum, as a man I had left with him told me. What he had himself consumed during the winter exceeded his wages, but what could I do? I took what remained, and I left him at Fond du Lac with his family. I returned to Mackinac at the beginning of July, 1791, where after settling up with Mr. Todd and paying all expenses, I had left 37 pounds, 9 s. with my gear and some trifles.

I re-equipped with Mr. Todd, with 7 pieces of cloth and an assorted stock, to return to Fond du Lac. I believe that this was the first year that the late Mr. Johnson⁷⁸ wintered at La Pointe. Mr. Alexis Reaume, that same year year I had wintered at L'aile du Corbeau, had wintered at Lac du Poisson Blanc on the Riviere au Pins. He arrived at the Sault also. He had traveled with a pillager from the Lac de la Sangsue, son-in-law of Petit Male. Sometime before the French had named him Le Nex Coupe, because he had received it in a drinking bout. The latter remained at the Sault when I passed there, on my way to Mackinac. I saw him there.

On arriving at the Sault, I had my canoe taken up, and I slept at the end of the portage. I set out the next day and slept at the Riviere Tacquimenon. The fourth day I reached Les Grandes Isles (sic). I camped there. The next day I met opposite La Riviere au Poisson Qui Rit (Laughing Fish River), Defund Dufault, who was returning from his winter quarters at Lac du Flambeau. I addressed him. He asked me how furs were selling at Mackinac. I told him that they were low. I gave him a drink. After he had taken it, he said to me, "I find that the season is well advanced, so that it will be too late to enter Lac de Flambeau." "Very well," I said to him, "do you wish to trade with me? How many packs have you?" "I have

thirty-five," he replied. "I have 1 pack of otter, 5 packs of beaver, 2 packs of marten, 3 of bear, 1 of polecat, lynx and rats. The remainder is deer. And you! What is your canoe-load?" "I have here 7 bales assorted, 12 kegs of liquor, 2 kegs of powder, 5 sacks of lead and balls, 1 case of hatchets and scalping knives, 6 guns for the trade, 1 bale tinned iron kettles, 2 sacks of flour, 4 sacks of corn, 1 keg of tallow, and one of sugar." He took a little while to consider, and said to me, "Come ashore. It is done." Before going to land, I said, "I will take provisions to carry me to Mackinac". "Yes," he replied. We went ashore in the river, and I had my tent put up. While I was unloading the canoe, he put up his shelter. He said to me, "It is unnecessary to open the goods; let me see the condition of your bales, that will be enough." I did so and he was satisfied. Similarly, I took the packs, under cord. We slept there.

Early the next morning I started out, and made camp at Le Petit Riviere a La Carpe, beyond Les Grandes Sables. From there the wind took us and we reached the Sault under sail. The next day, the same wind carried us to Detour. In the evening the wind fell, and we reached the Pointe St. Vital...The next day under the same weather conditions, the wind being northeast, we set out under sail. We reached L'isle Aux Autarde, where I again met Le Nez Coupe, who had left the Sault four days before. I delivered myself of the commission which Mr. Sayer had given me to try to dissuade him from going to Mackinac, but ^{he} would not listen. He was too near, and he had a beaver robe for Captain Robertson, so I set sail again, and reached Mackinac at noon,---the fourteenth day from my departure. Mr. Todd was surprised to see me, but well pleased when I informed him of what had happened to me. He immediately took my skins at a better price than that of spring. I had profited by my trading to the extent of 135 livres which encouraged me to start back very soon. Consequently, I re-stocked with four pieces of cloth, and started back the third day for Sault Ste. Marie. Le Nez Coupe had arrived two days before at Mackinac, and had taken lodgings with Mr. Alexis Reaume. He lodged him for his packs. I reached the Sault the fourth day, and was very much surprised to see here La Bredeche, son of Le Sucre, who was on his way, and whom fear had forced to steal a canoe to cross to Pointe St. Ignace; and from there he went to the Sault by land, and in a confused way told of the murder---which induced me to wait for

particulars. This arrived the same day at evening by Mr. Dejadon who was only two days. He told me that the day after my departure, the merchants of Mackinac gave a banquet, and that the same day, the savage who was with Mr. A. Reaume had gone out to walk, and that the men had given him several drinks of wine, so that he became tipsy. Returning, he found Mr. Reaume embracing his wife, sitting on the bed. The savage, who was heated by liquor, and surprised by such an outrage, immediately drew his knife and stabbed Mr. Reaume in the abdomen before he could arise. The latter, on the instant, cried out, "Murder!" and immediately lost consciousness. The savage tried to save himself, but encountering a man named Hamelin⁸⁰, he gave him a blow with his knife, in order to make his escape. An old Negro named Bonga⁸¹, who was carrying a bundle of wet linen to dry, got in his way. He struck him from behind with the knife in the fillets, which made him fall on his nose; and he went on furious, trying to force his way through the crowd at the gate, but they all stoned him, and he could not escape. In a moment the gentlemen from the banquet came up armed with clubs. They would have wreaked vengeance themselves if Captain Robertson had not arrived with a squad from the garrison and found the savage disabled from the blows he had received. Mr. Blekly⁸² advanced to strike him, and the Captain drew his sword, and pointed it at his throat, ordering him to draw back, as well as all who were there. He took the savage who was hardly conscious to charge, to conduct him to prison, when a man named Carpentier, breaking the ranks, crushed his head with a blow from the axe, which he used for chopping wood, and managed to kill him. So ended the tragedy, in the presence of his wife and La Bredeche.

The same day, Mr. Sayer stopped me with an invitation to take teas with him, which I accepted. It was the first year of his residence at the Sault. He told me that he had sent two outfits into the interior to Rond du Lac; that Mr. Cadotte and Mr. Joseph Reaume, cousin of the man who was wounded, had set out equipped by Mr. Alexander Henry, a merchant of Montreal, to enter also, and to take the savages from the Lac de la Sansue to the prairies. I abandoned my plans of going there; but I determined to go on my way undisturbed, and all the more because I had only three men, and to proceed as far as the season would permit. That is why I spent the next

day at the Sault. Mr. Dejadon set out the same day, and took the advance. La Bredeche waited for the wife of the dead man, La Nex Coupe. I ascended the Sault the same day, and the next I made a short days journey to Grand Marais where the widow joined me, and where she related her misfortune, begging me to accompany her on the way as she was heavily burdened. That was ture. She had a great deal of baggage, as much of what the government had given her as by trading. I promised her, and consequently burdened myself with her lame boy and a couple of her sacks. We continued our route toward Fond du Lac, in which we wntered the interior. As the season was advanced, I wanted to winter at Lac des Sables. When I reached there, I found Mr. Meniclie de Morachon, who had already built there, outfitted with Mr. Nolin. This led me to go on. I took the Mississippi, and continued to ascend. We reached Pakesgamang, where I saw Le Grande, one of my friends, who had come back to visit this place of his traps. In the morning he told me the news, and said that three traders had built at La Pointe aux Chene; that they were in the fort, because they were afraid of the savages, on account of the news from Mackinac. He said that there were several lodges with many de fol; that the French would not give them any of the rum which they had put en cache. He advised me to remain there and to form no connection with them. I took from the bottom of the canoe a moccason of pure rum. I placed it in his hands, telling him to take that to our comrads, that they might have a drink while waiting for me; that we were about to do some cooking. He left, and threw me a beautiful otter, which he had in his canoe.

After we had breakfast, we set out, and reached La Pointe aux Chenes. On arriving, the savages came to meet us a little above the French fort, advising us to disembark there. This we did. Being a little intoxicated they threw themselves on the canoe and unloaded it while two men put up my tent. They asked me the price of rum. I told them that it was 20 fawn skins per keg. I gave them each a roll of tobacco, and they went to their lodges. A moment after they brought out 60 fawnskins of wild rice which they placed in three rows, demanding three kegs of rum. I delivered it on the spot, and they told me to build in that place; that they would be on my side. They then went to drinking. The liquor lasted three days,

and we accomplished nothing during that time. When they had run out I gave them each a little credit. They left very soon, saying that they would come to see me at the first ice. They did not fail me. My neighbors then reproached themselves, because they had put their liquor en cache. They had had from some old woman, the value of ten fawnskins of wild rice. This would not last them long, and they had not made any credit with the Indians. They had small hopes of trade on account of their refusal. We began to build and went into our house the 15th of November. Some time before Christmas, Kawesmettigoucheimon and Parrachkauke came in the house. The latter was father of the widow of the man who was killed at Mackinac. She and he thanked me. He said to me that he would go and see them. He left a moment after to pay them a visit and came back with a bottle of rum and a piece of tobacco, and said to us, his comrade and myself, "I frightened the French! They gave to me at once what I have here," showing us that what he held in his hand. The two paid their credits and renewed them again. Some time after, another arrived. It went on this way for half the winter when I bound up seven packs, five of beaver and two of mixed furs. L'isle du Bec de Scie came to camp near us, that is to say, about two miles distant from the fort, and brought several things. He slept there. The next morning I visited the traps where I took a pretty good fox. Before reaching it I saw a track of a moose which crossed the road. It was fresh from the night before. I returned to the house, and I sent ^{for} L'isle du Bec de Scie. He came immediately, and to him I told about it. He took my musket and set out at once. He had not been gone twenty minutes when I heard a gun shot. He came back a moment after with the tongue of an animal. I sent him to find the men. He gave me the entire animal and I paid him with a 2½ pt. blanket. This kept us well supplied and the rest of the winter until the savages came in March. They brought us some dried meat. I was obliged to lend three fawnskins to my neighbors; for they would have starved without it. They were reduced to eating moss from pines.

The spring having come, there sprang up a south wind which lasted two dyas. It was so warm that the snow which was on the house melted, and that the thatch on the earth which covered the house to make a drain in case of rain became so dried out that the sparks from the chimney fell

on the dry straw, and burned it, without damaging the house. This forced us to leave as soon as the savages arrived. They gave us three good packs. We started toward the end of April to descend, leaving our neighbors at their fort. We camped at the Portage of Lac de la Truiet, where I fired a couple of shots with my musket. About two hours later, a small band of savages, men and women, arrived with some furs and sugar which I traded with them to good advantage. I made there more than a pack. As I set out the next day, one of the associates of the Pointe aux Chenes arrived, but too late. The trading was done. I continued my journey to Lac du Sables and he followed me. We arrived at the same time. No savages had come as yet. I continued on my way to Fond du Lac, and quickly reached the entrance to the river. There we camped. Mr. Bousquet⁸⁴ and Mr. Marchard⁸⁵ were wintering there, and so the savages had no fur on hand. I set out for La Pointe and reached there the third day. I disembarked at Mr. John Johnson's who was wintering there at that time. I saw some of the Fols-Avoines who had come to Lac Superieure to buy rum. As Mr. Johnson told me, he had no more, that he had sold it all, because he had let it go at too low a price. He had followed the advice of Mr. Michael Cadotte who had said to him along the road that he could do business in giving a keg of mixed rum for six plus. He said to me, therefore, "If you have any liquor left, you may sell it to these men; I have no objection to that, especially since you outfitted with Mr. Todd." I told the savages, therefore, to go search out their furs. They went to their lodges, and returned with three great packs of bear-skin. They asked my price for rum. I told them it was twenty plus. "Oh, that is too dear! The Englishmen have given it to us for six plus all the winter." "If you find the price too high, leave it. I will go to the savages along the lake." They consulted among themselves and one said to me, "Let us taste?" I gave them, each one, a good drink, which made their mouths water. They demanded 2 kegs which I caused to be unloaded, and I began to do business. I took twenty bearskins for one, and I selected ten beavers and ten otters for the other. They asked me if I had any goods. "For goods, trade with your trader. I am not allowed to do that. He has plenty of goods." I slept at La Pointe, and we tied up our furs, making more than one pack, and put the excess apart, so that I came to Sault Ste. Marie with more than 12 packs,--six of beaver, and the other six mixed. I had to pay three men, to each of whom I had

promised 700 (sic) Livres of twenty sols, a total of 900 Livres. There was remaining a little merchandise and a keg of rum which I left in passing at the Sault. I reached Mackinac at the beginning of June, 1792. After I had settled my affairs with Mr. Todd, who paid the wages to my men, there remained 1100 Livres as a profit.

In 1792, on my return from La Pointe Aux Chenes, as I have said before, I remained several days at Mackinac. As I had some money, I determined to return in the winter. I increased my invoice by one piece of cloth more, together with an assortment stock, and I resolved to enter La Tonagan (Ontonagan). To that end I sold my large canoe, and bought two medium canoes. I hired six good men whom I knew well. I gave them good wages, for no one was obliged to enter here, because of the length of the portage. I took eight sacks of corn $1\frac{1}{2}$ minot each, and leaving Mackinac in the middle of July, we arrived at Ontonagan the third of August, and on the fourth we reached the portage. The water was so low because of the lack of rain, that we could not ascend the river. It was necessary to make a carry from one end of the river to the other, and to put our canoes en cache. I had in the two canoes 40 pieces of merchandise and provisions, which we unloaded at the portage, that is to say, at the fork of the Riviere au Cuivre Rouge, where the ford begins. On the fifth, we began to carry, and it took us 22 days to reach Pakkwesyawen, where I put en cache five kegs of rum, 1 of powder and two of lead and balls, in order to make better time. We found there old Le Nez Casse whom I had notified of the change from La Pointe Au Chenes and we went from there to the Lac du Vieu Desert in 11 days. This made 33 days that we had taken on the portage. On arriving I set two men to lacing thread to make us a couple of nets. The others began the building. I sent the Le Nez Casse to give notice if he saw any of the Lac du Flambeau Savages, that there was a trader at the Lac Du Vieu Desert, and sent his son on the same errand in the neighborhood of L'anse in the effort to see them during the time I would remain at my winter quarters. At the end of about a month, some time before All Saint's Day, we saw coming from the end of the Lake on the side of La Riviere du Wisconsin several canoes of Indians. It was Le Castor Jaune and his family whom old Le Nez Casse had found in his territory and whom he sent to me with several plus that they had. As for himself, he did not come. He remained

to hunt beaver about the lake. Le Jaune Castor finished his trading and started back the same day. I gave him some tobacco for the savages whom he would see in their territory with a keg of 2 gallons of rum. Some days after, the band of Chonkespa arrived with some plus and a little meat, which I paid for with merchandise, and I gave him the same commission as the others, with some tobacco and rum. They set out, promising me to return, with the first ice after their autumn hunt.

Our nets were soon made. There was no canoe there then, but we made a canoe of a log in three days and we used it. We took a great many fish. Those who were building, finished the house in twenty days and I had each one cut 10 cords of maple, for we were in a sugar bush. I foresaw that it would be necessary for us to go to the lodges of the savages in the course of the winter, and so it happened. We were comfortably located on the edge of a large lake where La Belle Isle of Le Vieu Desert gave us a very pleasant prospect, and a good opportunity for winter fishing when the ice was strong.

The savages came from all sides and at Christmas time I had 6 packs tied up; five of beaver, and one of mixed skins. Le Castor Jaune asked for a man to spend the winter with him and look after my credits, and I sent one with him, and one with Chonkespa as well as on the shore of L'anse. During February Chonkespa came to the house with La Febvre⁸⁷, the man who had gone to stay with him. The latter was loaded with the dried meat of a large moose, and the savage with a pack of furs, containing thirty plus of all kinds which he placed on account to his credit. Knowing him to be a good hunter, I gave him credit for 80 plus. He asked for two men to send me one half a moose in fresh meat. I gave him one half a keg of rum in payment for what I had received and for what my men would bring. He left well satisfied, and said he would come toward sugar time.

A little while after this, some other savages arrived with Le Castor Jaune, to wit:--Le Pin, his son, Le Petit Caribou, Le Vieu Nez Casse with two of his sons who each paid a little on account and traded it out again. They left the next day with a keg of rum, for I always made it a rule not to hand out the liquor in my house to get the savages drunk, for it is a

waste of rum. They ask for as much more of it to carry away. I tied up the skins I had last received, and I found myself with two packs of plus, one of beaver, and the other of mixed skins.

As sugar time approached, and I had not disposed of my kettles, I decided to make some sugar. I ordered the men to chop and split wood, each two cords and to prepare a place to boil the sap. We had built it a sugar bush, so that it was not necessary to build a lodge. We could boil the sugar at the house. We made 450 wooden bowls, not having any bark thereabouts. We saw no savages before sugar time. My men returned after a long trip, loaded with meat, and we were well-provisioned. About the 15th of March, we began the sugar-making. You will notice that the season was earlier in that locality than here. Toward the middle of the sugaring, the savages arrived for the last time, when I was poorly paid. They remained in arrears of their credits for more than 300 plus; I got from them the value of 200 plus of all sorts of peltries, and $\frac{1}{2}$ pack of beaver in all. They urged me to return, saying that they would pay me on return. I told them that it was unprofitable; that the portage was too long. They left late the next day.

We finished our sugar making about the 20th of April, when the snow had disappeared, and I found myself with 7 kegs of sugar. Le Vieu Nez Casse passed the spring near us, and I hired him to make for me three moose-skin canoes of 2 skins each, which made each canoe 17 feet long and 3 feet wide. We descended the river, making 17 short carries,--It is one of the worst rivers,--and we reached our canoes at the fork without accident.

A little while before reaching there having stopped and let ourselves drift, we heard a roar as of thunder, from the Les Montagnes de Porcpic (Porcupine Mountains) which agitated the water where we were then, so that it came into the boats nearly swamping us. Mr. Michael Cadotte who arrived the same day at La Tonkagan, heard the same roar, and felt the same shock⁸⁸. We camped at the fork and gummed our canoes. During the same day, the son of Le Pin, who was our guide down the river, speared a sturgeon at a little rapid on which we feasted that night. We set out the next day for the entrance where we found Mr. Michael Cadotte, who confirmed us in what we had noticed. I imagined then that it was an earthquake excited by some

cave-ins. The shock made itself felt when we arrived at about nine leagues from Lake Superior.

We sojourned awhile at the entrance, and the next day set out for the Sault, loaded with 12 good packs, six of beaver weighing 90 pounds and the other 6 of mixed furs. I had in the latter 800 martens on which I had counted much. I counted also on my sugar which I had intended to sell at Mackinac, but I left it at the Sault with Mr. Sayer, agent for the Northwest Company there, to whom I engaged myself to winter at Fond du Lac with ten men in order to build there a fort which would be a depot for the Fond du Lac Region, for the sum of 80 pounds (Livres) current value of the province. I was to pass by Grande Portage⁸⁹ to receive orders from Mr. Gregory, Director there for that year. When I reached Mackinac, beaver was at six Livres, otter at 18, bearskins the same, martens 30 sols, rats 10 sols, weasles 20 sols, skunks six Livres---all at the lowest price. I had to pay my men 1800 tt. The next day I settled my affairs with Mr. Todd. The 12th of July, I had nearly 800 Louis to my credit on his books, and when we had balanced us, all accounts drawn there was coming to me on entering what was left of the goods, 2174 tt. which I left with Mr. Sayer, returning from Mackinac to the Sault the 24th of July, 1793.

The third of August the boat for Grande Portage, Captain Benet⁹⁰ commanding, left. We embarked, the ten men and myself, and we arrived the 10th, when Mr. Gregory sent me on the next day, starting me out with a canoe loaded with 50 pieces for Fond du Lac with my ten men, advising me to make haste. We started as soon as I received my orders, not waiting for Mr. Sayer, who was to come by canoe with his family. We arrived at Fond du Lac the sixth day, which was the 16th of August. The next day the men prepared for work and the 18th I gave them rough estimates of dimensions on the timbers and put them in the woods-yard to build 2 houses, of 40 feet each and a shed of 60 feet. I superintended the work myself, dividing my forces. I set two men to sawing, six to squaring, two I kept with me. The 12th of September, Mr. Sayer arrived, and took up his quarters in his house, half of which was finished. It was not long before he was enjoying the other half, which was finished the 24th of September. After this, we began the second house to shelter ourselves and went into it toward All

Saint's Day. In the course of the autumn, winter, and spring we built the warehouse and stockade⁹¹. All was ready on the arrival of Mr. M'kenzie⁹², who came to Fond du Lac in La Loutre, commanded by Captain Maxwell, and bringing the merchandise for the outfits sent out from Fond du Lac.

Mr. Sayer, as soon as navigation opened, left for Fort William, where the agents of the company had been summoned on business, and on his return he divided the outfits for the different departments. I was assigned to the Lac Au Cedre Rouge with orders to build a fort there. I left Fond du Lac the 25th of July, 1794, and we camped at the mouth of Grande Portage. We made haste, and we reached the entrance of the Riviere Du Cedre Rouge the 15th of August. I had eight men; my equipment comprised 13 pieces of cloth and twenty kegs of spirits. I built the fort. Meanwhile the savages were arriving with their wild rice. I traded with the pillagers of Lac de la Sansue for 100 fawnskins and 18 sacks of corn, 600 pieces of white fish which I took at La Pente. I had no opposition there that year; Mr. Cadotte (J.B.) entered the same year into a partnership with the company. He passed my fort in September and wintered at Lac Rouge (Red Lake). I let him have 25 fawnskins of wild rice. For Mr. Sayer, Vincent Roy⁹⁴ wintered on the La Riviere Voluese (Thief River), Bousquet on Lac Des Sables, Mr. Le Brun on the Riviere du Fond du Lac. We passed a good winter, taking many packs,--211 otter, and nearly 1500 tt. of beaver. I waited for Mr. Cadotte at my winter quarters. We journeyed together to Grande Portage, where he lost a boat load of furs, although he recovered seven out of the ten packs which he had in the canoe; but the rest, as well as the canoe, went over the falls. We saved the men, also the woman of the party. I left Mr. Cadotte at the Portage while we continued on our way to Fond du Lac, reaching the fort the 14th of June in 1795, in the evening. I remained at the fort at Fond du Lac for the space of a month.

I had engaged myself the preceding year to Mr. Alexander MacKenzie for three years. The time having come to return, I gathered up my outfit which was on the same scale. I left Fond du Lac about the 20th of July and reached Lac Des Sables, where I lodged with Bousquet who had passed the summer there. Here I acquired two canoes which I had ordered from

Pierre Le Panis, the name I gave to Kawemitticouche-imon in our dealings at the Pointe Aux Chenes. He told me that the savages were awaiting me at Pakegamang, with much dried meat. I started the next day, continuing on my way to that place where I did in fact find the savages encamped. Here I camped, myself, and traded rum for their meat, and diverse articles for their skins. They betook themselves to drinking. The next day I left them drunk, and went on my way to the fort, looking for the return of the savages with wild rice.

I had orders to amass all the provisions I could in case of opposition, and this precaution was not thrown away. Toward All Saint's Day, Messrs. Alex Henry⁹⁵ arrived in company with Le Grande Michel Cadotte, Le Petit Michel Cadotte and Mr. L'etang, who came out in opposition against the Northwest Company. Fortunately, my credits were made. They had no savages here, and they had brought few provisions to Pakesgamang. They formed an association among themselves. As they thought I had plenty of provisions, Mr. L'etang came one day to see me, and asked to borrow some provisions. I told him that my orders forbade it, but if he wished to make an agreement with me not to send out to the lodges of the savages in trade⁹⁶ that I would get for him some wild rice, at the rate of one plus the fawnskin, and to avoid all uneasiness as much on their part as mine, we included in our compromise that the first to break the agreement would be bound to pay the other 100 otters in good condition. He accepted my proposal, and I let him have 30 fawnskins of wild rice. Everything went according to contract, until New Year's Day when I was informed by old La Merde au Cul that the other messieurs had left in the night with four men, all well loaded, for Lac de la Torte (Turtle Lake). As soon as I learned that, I dispatched one of my men after them, with orders to say to those gentlemen to try to get plenty of otters. As soon as he overtook them, he returned, getting back the evening of the samw day, and reported that he had overtaken them at the Lac du Brulot. I did not woory on the subject because Mr. L'etang had left with Mr. Sayer at Fond du Lac 2 good packs. These messrs. gave up their enterprise when they saw my man, and got back the next morning. Toward the middle of the winter, Le Maringoin, commissioned by the savages, reached the fort, coming to find me. He stated that they had fortified themselves, having been badly frightened by a rumor of Sioux, and being too heavily burdened to reach their lands, they asked me to come

with four men. I left at once with one keg of spirits. We bivouacked three nights to get there. Take note that I reserved the right to collect my credits. After I left, having learned from Le Maringoin that I carried only some rum, Mr. Michael Cadotte set out next morning with three men loaded, and followed me. We reached the lodges of the savages the fourth day. On arriving there, I collected my credits. They had made a good hunt. There were nine lodges, and I gave them the keg of rum which we had brought. They closed their stockades and fell to drinking. I had gone into the lodge of Pierrot⁹⁷, because he spoke French. About two hours later a quarrel arose, resulting in three broken noses and a torn ear. And as for myself, I received a blow from a knife by accident, when trying to separate them. Mr. Cadotte arrived the next day. The savages were all drunk. He did not enter the fort that day. While there, I gathered all the furs I could find, and tied them up, three good packs of various furs. We left after the drinking, which lasted two days and two nights. When Mr. Cadotte entered the fort, he found only some meat, with which he loaded his men. I left one of my men with Pierrot to bring the packs to the fort. When the savages should come there to camp.

Some time after this incident, the family of La Couette (Screech-Owl) arrived with a chief from the Lac de La Pluie (Rainy Lake), whom Mr. Chaw had informed that I was wintering there at Lac du Cedre Rouga. He had left him behind with his family. I sent out at once five men, before Mr. Cadotte heard of it, to the chief to help him come to see me, and I had the flag hoisted in his honor. He arrived toward evening. I gave him as good a reception as possible. He had 80 beavers in two packs, 25 pieces of dried moose meat, and some moose skins dressed and cured. I gave him the garb of a chief and a keg of rum in acknowledgement of his visit. Finally the season was over; and the savages from Lac de la Sangsue came to settle their accounts, and we prepared to depart. We made up our packs to the number of 23, among which were 1100 tt. of beaver, 162 otter, the rest of mixed skins. Our competitors had left with 13 packs of all kinds. I took an inventory of what was left at the fort. At least a third of my goods remained, and I left two men to guard the fort until my return. I went to Fond du Lac at the beginning of July, 1796.

The same year Mr. L'etang entered the interior alone to winter at the Riviere Voluese in opposition. Mr. Cadotte was again at Lac Rouge; Mr. Roy in opposition to Mr. L'etang; Mr. Brun in Riviere du Fond du Lac, Bousquet at his post on Lac Des Sables; and myself at Lac du Cedre Rouge, where I went to obtain provisions and make credits with the savages from Lac de La Sangsues (Leech Lake), and with those from Patchatsaban. As I was alone at my post, I took little merchandise to replenish what I had left at the fort. I took only four men, and the two I had left at the fort made six in all. I came upon Mr. Marchard, to whom Mr. L'etang had left a small stock for Lac de Traver in opposition against the Northwest, but the season being advanced, he decided to winter at Patchatsaban. He had several savages with him. I disembarked at his post. I gave several bottles of whiskey to my customers to encourage them to pay attention to their credits. I learned several days after that Mr. Marchard had been robbed of a keg of rum when the savages left him. I sent two men to that small band, who remained with them until spring, and they left by the Riviere a La Torte near the fort, and Mr. Marchard did not see them during the winter. As spring came on, I had news of Mr. Cadotte, who hoped to do well on the return of the savages, but he was very much disappointed, for Mr. L'etang was ahead of him, and had the good fortune to see the Indians first, and got more than half of their hunt. Mr. Cadotte collected only six packs that year at Lac Rouge; Mr. L'etang made up fourteen at his wintering place in opposition to Mr. Roy, who had too little liquor. This gave the former the advantage, for at that time it was only rum which induced the savages to hunt.

The spring-time having come, I collected sugar at Lac de La Sangsue (sic) as usual, with two kegs of rum. The price at that time was twenty tubs per keg. I returned with 40 tubs of sugar large and small. Returning and tying my packs, I set out, leaving behind one man who had taken a wife there that winter. I descended to Lac Des Sables with five men in two canoes loaded with nineteen packs of furs and eight kegs of sugar. I slept that night at Bousquet's, and the next day reached the Portage de La Savanne where St. Louis, one of my men, was poisoned. We buried him at the Portage. Here Mr. Cadotte came up with me and we reached the fort about the middle of July in the year 1797.

Mr. L'etang went back at the beginning of August with a man named Carriere, whom he had for clerk, and Mr. Dejadon, whom he had also engaged for that purpose. Their plan was to enter Fond du Lac Superieure, to leave Carriere at the Riviere Voluese, and to send Mr. Dejadon to Riviere Au Pembina, but he decided later to winter at the edge of the Bois Verts, on the Riviere Rouge above the fork of the Rivier Voluese. The same year Mr. Cadotte wintered at Lac de La Fol near Lac de La Queu de Loutre, and I at my fort where I made eighteen packs and six kegs of sugar. As soon as navigation opened, I left, as Mr. Sayer had written me in the spring to return early. I did so, and arrived the middle of June, 1798. Mr. L'etang leaving the remainder of his goods in the interior in charge of Carriere also set out early and returned to Mackinac to restock. Mr. Sayer kept me at Fond du Lac until Mr. L'etang repassed and then sent Mr. Cadotte after him with a good outfit of twelve pieces of cloth and twanty kegs of rum to follow Mr. L'etang wherever he went; Roy had orders to go to Riviere Au Pembina; and I, to Lac du Cedre Rouge. I set out the next day and overtaking them at Grande Portage, I continued my journey with them to Petit Ouesnipig, where I left Mr. Cadotte, who wished to take the band of Le Sucre with him, which he did. He repassed two days after my arrival at Lac du Cedre Rouge. I now set myself to the work of building up my trade and my own interests. I collected my provisions in making my credits, --80 fawnskins of wild rice, and had five packs of furs tied up by the 15th of October, when Mr. Sayer arrived (unexpectedly with two canoes loaded with 30 pieces and manned by three men each. His family was with him. He had been ordered by the company to go to the assistance of Mr. Cadotte who was subject to allowing himself to be overcome by drink. Having fallen ill himself on the way, Mr. Sayer found himself unable to continue his journey in a season so far advanced. He asked me, therefore, to take his place, and he would remain at mine; he would take good stock of my store-house, and I could take stock of his goods. The returns from the post would be mine, and those from the Riviere a L'eau Claire would be his. I did not wish to disoblige him, so I posted him concerning everything at my post, and two days later I left for the Riviere a L'eau Claire. He gave me a letter to deliver to Mr. Cadotte on my arrival there. It took considerable time to reach there on account of the numerous portages, among which was that of Lac Rouge, which had 25 poses, and it was

dangerous besides, on account of the hostiles. It was absolutely necessary to traverse the war trails which lay between the country of the Sautaux from that of the Sioux. We were in constant dread, till we reached the Riviere a L'eau Claire, where I found these Mr^s. Mr. L'etang had nearly finished his building, having only his stockade to arrange; Mr. Cadotte had done nothing, although he had seven men. There were some pieces of wood on the site, but none were hewed. His baggage was in disorder,--four bales were ripped open, and five kegs of rum out of the 20 he had on leaving the Sault, were empty. I gave him the letter from Mr. Sayer. He opened it, and I saw his colour change on the instant. He handed me the letter, saying, "Beaupere, (a term which we used among ourselves) you are the master of everything here; I have nothing to do henceforth but to drink and to eat all winter." I replied that I hoped he would exert all his efforts to re-establish himself in the course of the winter; that I meant to try to put him above Mr. L'etang; that I relied more on him than on myself. I had six to driving our stockade. This we accomplished in 20 days, all the work being finished by the 12th of December. There were no savages near the fort. They had left to go to the prairies near La Grande Fourche. For a long time we had only the little wild rice that I had brought from Lac du Credre Rouge. I sent out Nautais, Richard, Cole, and Saucie, four of my own men, along the shore of La Grande Fourche in a canoe as they were good hunters, to try to kill some beef, for there were no cows left there at that season. There was nothing but cold weather which drove them from the open, and forced them to gain the great forests. They were gone three days on that trip, and killed two huge old buffalos, which lasted until the first savages came to the fort.

Toward the 26th of December, Le Petit Male arrived from the Lac Qui Cante at the head of the Riviere a L'eau Claire, and told me that there were seven lodges there. I did not give him a chance to visit Mr. L'etang but I set out with him in the night, accompanied by six men. We took two days to reach the lodges. I had brought along a keg of pure rum, divided into two parts to mix, and when we drew near the lodges, I mixed them and put one keg en cache before arriving. That one was for selling purposes, and as we entered the camp with the other, cries of joy resounded everywhere I collected 100. Thirty plus from Mr. Cadotte's credits, and I sold my

rum for 20 beaver, the ordinary price, with nearly 20 plus for the argenterie. We left the lodges the third day. The savages were preparing to set out very soon. My men were heavily laden. We took four days to go back, and we slept the evening before our arrival on a little island, without fire, shivering at dawn in the bitter weather. It was impossible for us to cross the prairie to reach the great forest near our fort. The outfit which Mr. Sayer had given me was left over to deceive Mr. L'etang--or he would have had the better of me. This brought things about so that I had the best of it. I had made 15 packs, Mr. Cadotte nine, and Mr. L'etang seven. As he had a good deal of merchandise left, he decided to go by the north, and to go to Grande Portage. Mr. Cadotte set out before me from the winter quarters to await me at Lac Rouge. I rejoined him quickly at Lac Rouge, and we betook ourselves to the fort at Lac du Cedre Rouge the 6th of May to Mr. Sayer, whom I found with 14 packs. We started for Fond du Lac at the end of June, where I received orders to go to Grande Portage, and Mr. Cadotte also. I reached there with 29 good packs, and Mr. Cadotte with nine in all, the 14th of July, 1799.

The same year Mr. Cadotte was sent north. He was there three years, when having misbehaved through drink, he lost his place, at the same time that Mr. Sayer at Fond du Lac withdrew from the company. A little while after this, and they descended into Canada. As for me, on my return to Grande Portage, these gentlemen sent me to Le Pic to relieve Mr. St. Germain, in the capacity of clerk in charge of the two departments, to wit,--La Riviere Noir and La Riviere Blanche. I remained there two years without opposition but the third year, which was 1802 (sic),⁹⁹ Le Chevalier MacKenzie, having the preceding year left the Northwest Company, started a general opposition to that company.¹⁰⁰ He sent out to Le Pic two expeditions where there was plenty of beaver. The place is very mountainous, dotted with little lakes, but his clerks had not yet enough experience for the place. They collected only 15 packs, from that river, and the Northwest got 45. In 1802 Mr. Le Chevalier still continued at Le Pic, but he did not succeed. His expeditions were unsuccessful and he abandoned it in 1803.¹⁰ The last two years that I remained at that post I made 91 packs, nearly all of beaver.

In 1805 I decided to descend into Canada.¹⁰² I notified the gentlemen at Fort William, as I had reserved that right in my last engagement, that I was about to descend to Montreal. I now received a letter from my father conveying news that he had had a stroke of paralysis. This would detain me there still longer, so they sent the doctor Monroe¹⁰³ to take my place, who arrived at Le Pic the 14th of July, 1805, and I left for Montreal the 11th of August. After having settled my affairs, I drew from the office Lb.125 Livres current value of Lower Canada, and I went to Riviere du Loup. As I had sent my wife down two years before with three of my children to introduce them into the settlements,¹⁰⁴ I was delighted to see them. I also saw my father again on his death-bed, struck down with paralysis. Half of his body was paralyzed. However, he still performed his duties as magistrate to which office he had been restored. I rented a furnished house in order to pass the winter here with the rest of my family. During January my father's paralysis affected the rest of his body, and he was entirely paralyzed, until the 25th of March, when the Lord took him. We performed over him the last rites. I settled his affairs. My sister (Reine Perrault), after my fathers death, left to pass the rest of her life at Quebec. As for me, I could not settle down in any place. My engagement with the Northwest Company was not yet completed.

I spent the remainder of the winter at the village of the Riviere du Loup. When the 3rd of May, 1806, Mr. Alexander Freger¹⁰⁶, Director of the posts at St. Maurice visited me, and told me that my department was the Riviere De St. Maurice; that he was going to Throis Rivières to arrange everything, that I was to come with him the 8th of the same month, in order to set out very soon. I settled with Mr. de St. Martin of whom I had rented, and I started to rejoin Mr. Fragier at Trois Rivières: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXX~~ We set out the 10th day of May with three canoes and 12 men in the party. It took us 12 days to reach the Riviere Aux Rats,¹⁰⁷ arriving there the 20th of that month, although it was only 40 leagues distant from Trois Rivières; but there were seven portages, and many very dangerous rapids. Mr. Fraiger was to winter farther up on the Riviere a Wemontaching he had remained behind, and arrived the next day, and said to me, "The house here is bad; you have time to build here in the autumn;" and he said also to the Indians, pointing me out, "Here is your trader." The next day He

changed his plans. He said he had reconsidered what he had told me the night before; that we wished me to ascend the river in his place. As it was too early to set out because of the force of the current, he caused a garden to be made at the trading house on the Riviere Aux Rats before I left, and I was engaged in making up the packs which were there, when just as I was listing them, there occurred an eclipse of the sun. It came on about 10 o'clock in the morning, and the day lost more than half of its light. I remained at the Riviere Aux Rats until the beginning of July when I started for Wemontaching with two canoes of four men each. We encamped at the Portage de La Tugue, being forced to camp there at the further end because of the rain. The next day we camped on top of the high hills which extend along the river from there to the Riviere Au Vermillion. The next day we ascended to the rapids where the towline attached to one of my canoes parted. In it was my wife. We were very much alarmed, but it turned out without incident. We reached the first portage which is long and camped at the other end. The next day, we ascended the rest of the rapids, and we made the second portage du Vermillion which leaves the river on the left. We slept there in order to enter the next day into Le Petit Riviere Koukouchache, which crosses a rocky plateau, where there are 11 portages, to empty into Le Grande Koukouchache. The portage is of two poses at the end of which is there a lake of medium size, where white fish are caught all seasons. It empties into the St. Maurice and we camped at that point. The next day we reached the Portage Des Deux Coeurs and camped there. From there we passed into the Portage Des Yroquois, and camped there. Then we made the seven portages of Wemontaching, encamping at the last; and leaving there, we were soon at our winter quarters. Here I allowed the men to rest for two days. I had as my assistant Mr. Will M'Kay, a man of ability, but too much was given to drinking to have any business entrusted to him. Him I sent to the shore of Kikendache to find the Indians, and I began to build a house of thirty feet for ourselves, and a shed of twenty feet. Mr. M'Kay returned several days after, accompanied by several tetes de Boules, who had some beavers. Afterwards came the band of Kijigois, to whom I gave out credits.

We finished building about the 15th of October, and some days later Mr. Blak arrived with 15 pieces. He had been sent by Mr. Fraiger to reinforce me in the neighborhood of Lac Negagaming; for the Algonquins of

the Lac Du Deux Montagnes were going to hunt there, having gone up by the Riviere De L'Assumption. I at once made ready to send Mr. Blak to Negagaming with three piéces of cloth and five kegs of liquor to go to camp at the Portage De La Platre where he lost part of his boat load the same day in a rapid which was on his route. He lost one keg of hardware, all the powder and lead, two kegs of rum, his corn and his flour, and broke his boat. It took two days to repair it so that he could come to me for another outfit. I had retained only my proportion of the rations as well as of the luxuries, which are given out each year to the clerks. It was therefore necessary to deprive myself in order to restock Mr. Blak. I gave him two kegs of rum, a half a keg of powder, a bag of lead, a halfsack of flour, two sacks of corn, some copper kettles, and another boat. He had his wife with him, who was Canadian, and not being accustomed to the journeys, suffered a miscarriage, which overtook her on the road. She reached a state of convalescence by winter so that Mr. Blak resolved to take her to Montreal,--an extravagant undertaking, truly!! He set out from his post with the first ice, leaving his post in the charge of one of his men, and arrived with two others who brought his wife on one sled, and he dragged another on which were their provisions. I was much surprised at seeing them, but I had nothing to say to him. I left that to Mr. Fraiger who was angry with him to say the least, upon his arrival at the Riviere Aux Rats. He then went to Trois Rivières with orders to make haste. He took her to Sorel where they lived. From there he set out to return to his post, and re-passed my place on his return in the beginning of February. When spring came, I waited for him to take my packs to Mr. Fraiger at the Riviere Aux Rats. My orders were to pass the summer in the interior. He arrived at Wemontaching at the beginning of May with seven good packs; and Mr. M'Kay and I had made up 22 at Wemontaching, and very good packs they were. We remained there till the middle of June to wait for the canoes which were to fetch the merchandise. When that arrived, Mr. Morrison¹⁰⁸ was in charge with orders to take my place. I left with the packs, my family, and Mr. Blak, who was dismissed on reaching Montreal. We arrived about the 20th of August in the year of 1807.

After having remained some time at the Riviere Du Loup, I went to the St. Francois Des Abenakis Riviere which falls into Le Lac St. Pierre, with

my family, whom I left to board with Mr. Charles Crevier for the year. Returning to Montreal I set out for the Riviere Du Lievre en route for Lac Rond, with three canoes well laden and manned by eleven Yroquois, and one Canadian. We were late in leaving La Chine, it being the 17th of October in the afternoon when Mr. M'Guilvray turned over the outfit to me, and we encamped that night on the Isles D'Orvalle. From there to the Pointe A Cavagnal, we entered the long rapid, and camped above the mill of Mr. Hamilton, at La Pointe a L'Original. From there we entered the Riviere Du Lievre and slept at the portage Du Bois Dure; from there to the Riviere Des Peres; then to the Rapide Du Gros Gallet. From there we went to the Grande Chute, and having made the portage, we camped the next day at the Rapide Des Cedres. From the Rapide Des Cedres we reached the farther shore of the Lac Des Sables which was three leagues across, in order to reach the Portage Brule. At this point, we left the Riviere Du Lievre to the right in order to take La Riviere Du Lac Rond which flows into the great Lac de Nesch-Kang, making the portage Des Buttes in order to descend into Lac Rond, which leads to the Portage De La Roche Qui Remue. Here I was to winter in the place of Mr. Constant, who resigned that year and went down into Canada.

I reached there at the beginning of November, after encountering a snow fall three days before at the Portage Des Buttes. When I arrived at the fort, there were two lodges of Algonquins of the Lac Des Deux Montagnes. The sun's heat there is sufficient for all sorts of seeds. The lake was full of fish, there being sturgeon, trout, white carapet, carpe, and pike. The country was rich at that time in animals, such as beaver, deer, bear, etc. The savages had gathered one hundred and odd measures of potatoes. My orders were not to give credit to the savages of the Lac Des Deux Montagnes, as they were accustomed to get credit at Montreal. They did not trade their furs like the Sauteurs; they sold them on the basis of money, as it were, following the price at Monreal. I had with me three hundred dollars to buy beaver and other furs at the rate of 12 tt per Livre.

I did not collect many furs nor sell much merchandise; the post that year produced only 14 packs. It ordinarily produced 24 or 25, but unfortunately Mr. Lecuirer came in the winter with 2 sledge loads of goods

and provisions together with three men, and spent the spring at Lac Des Sables, about 10 leagues from us. This lost us eight packs, for I had only two men, and I could not leave the house, and I had been directed to send back in the autumn the Iroquois who had brought me out. I wrote to Montreal in February, reporting what had happened, and received for reply that the season was too far advanced to do anything, that I ought to have warned them in the autumn, and that they would have taken their precautions. I was not familiar with the trade at this post, and for that reason had relied on Mr. Ogilvie, agent at Montreal to give me his orders in writing.

As my engagement was fulfilled that year there, I notified Mr. Ogilvie to send some one to take my place as I wished to leave. They sent Mr. Fisher who arrived in July, and I left some days after for Montreal, arriving there the third of August, 1808, where I met my wife, who, impatient for my return, had come up to that city. I went immediately to render my accounts, and Mr. Ogilvie asked me if (I) wished to re-enter their service. I replied that I would do so only on condition that I should have the same salary and the same prerequisites. "The company", he replied, "does not give to the clerks there the same salary or the same prerequisites."¹⁰⁹ You will have L75 current value and your usual outfit, but as for the shelter and board of your family, we do not grant that to our clerks here." I answered that my wages would be too small to pay board and room for my wife and children, that I would request him to balance my account. This he did, remarking that "You will probably be sorry for this." When everything was settled, he counted out to me L112, 10 s.

I left two days after for St. Francois, where I resided for two years. Not having the means to establish myself here, though I kept a small school, and seeing myself considerably in debt, I resolved to go up to Montreal to make application to Mr. Alexander M'Kay¹¹⁰ who was getting ready to engage some clerks and some men for his Colombine expedition. Here, I found my place. I contracted for five years at the rate of L80 per year to set out at the first requisition in a master canoe, with Mrs. Hunts¹¹¹ and Donald MacKenzie,¹¹² to pass by Mackinac, to go from there to the Illinois to enter

the Missouri and penetrate by La Montagne De Roche to La Riviere Colombe. I returned home to tell my wife, who was very much grieved, and I had received an earnest L25 Livres, which I gave to my wife, and I arranged with a friend to provide for the small needs she would have in my absence. I received the 14th of June a letter from Mr. M'Kay to come immediately, and I set out the next day, the 15th of June, 1811,¹¹³ my son Xavier being born that evening. I left my wife in her bed.

I reached Montreal the next day and reported to Mr. M'Kay, who took me to Mr. Sunday's tavern, telling me that we would start very soon. We remained at Montreal till the first of July, when after a nights rest at La Chine, we embarked the next day, the 2nd of the month for Mackinac. We reached Mackinac, and I had been there ten days, thinking and imagining all sorts of things constantly about my family. This kept me in such a state of anxiety that I could no longer render account of myself. The gentlemen perceiving it, said to me at noon, when dining, "Perrault, you seem to me sorrowful. You are doubtless worrying about your family. Necessity has compelled you to separate from them, but at your discretion we will give you your release." I accepted it, and thanked them.

I was waiting for an opportunity to return, when some days later, Mr. Hunts called me into his room, and said to me, "If you wish to work this winter, you can do so all the same. I have given a favorable report of your character to one Mr. Otis Denum, who plans to take an outfit to Lac Superieure. You are well experienced in the Indian trade and you are the very man he needs. He will come here to see you about this near noon." He came about two o'clock, and Mr^s. MacKenzie and Hunts presented me to him, saying to him that I was the man of whom they had spoken. After a little while he said that he would be pleased if I would come to see him the next day. I visited him the next day. He proposed to me that I join him on the terms that I should share with him in the profits and I accepted.

We set out at the beginning of August¹¹⁴ with a pretty good outfit, consisting of twelve pieces of cloth, 18 kegs of 8 gallons each of whiskey. Upon going to Fort St. Joseph in order to pay the custom duties, we found that the Commandant was absent on a visit to the Sault. We therefore

continued on our way and met him at the foot of the little rapids on the landing. Mr. Denham there paid him the required duties and obtained his trade permit in order to avoid trouble. We reached the Sault in good time and passed the night there. The next day, we went up the Sault with our barge, and the same day, we camped at La Pointe Aux Pins (Point of Pines), where the men amused themselves. The next day we entered the lake where Mr. Otis said to me, "When we come to La Pointe Du Poisson Blanc (White-fish Point), I will decide whether I will go to the north of the lake or to the south." We crossed La Baye De Takwaminan, and we camped at La Riviere Aux Brochets where Le Grand Coquin had his lodge. He had made a canoe of the north¹¹⁵ to sell at the Sault. Mr. Otis said to me, "I will decide here tomorrow which side to take." We spent the next day in the river, when he decided to go to the north shore of Lac Superieure, having bought the canoe of Le Grand Coquin, and decided to cross due north from La Pointe Du Poisson Blanc, a traverse of six leagues at least. Early the next day we started to cross, and landed toward noon on the north shore. We had taken considerable time, because we were weak in men. Mr. Otis commanded the barge with four men; and I, the canoe with two men. We advanced a couple leagues and made camp near La Pointe Aux Erables, on account of a storm which arose suddenly. In the course of it a bolt struck a small pine from which the splinters were thrown on our tent. We had a narrow escape from death. The next morning we encountered Mr. Lith, agent for the Northwest Company, who was going down to Montreal, but we did not detain him, nor he us, and we camped that night on the farther side of the La Baye de Chenier. While held back by rain the next day, three men in a canoe passed us, doubtless bearing the orders of Mr. Lith to Michipicattom. Two days later we reached Michipicattom, where a canoe with two men left the river, and accompanied us till evening when it continued on its way.

We reached La Riviere de La Tete, where Mr. Otis decided to remain. He gave me an outfit of four pieces of cloth, and of six kegs of rum with a stock of flour, corn and tallow. I told him that it was too small an outfit to enter the river of Le Pic, especially, in opposition. "You have only two men with you, and we are six,"--he counted his Indian woman also. I was justified in saying that I had too little, for of the ten sacks of corn

which he had there, he gave me only two. Of four sacks of flour, he gave me only one, and everything else in proportion. However, he had with him the relations of his wife to care for, and this required considerable of his attention. He gave me a man named Doges, an Irishman born in Canada, whom he had forced to renounce drinking on leaving Mackinac. He had brought him along on account of his ability in handling the savages, and he gave me besides a man named Beadoin, a man without fault. Both were good fishermen.

We left Le Tete a La Loutre and camped at Les Grand Ecrits where we found two men from the Northwest Company fishing. As soon as we disembarked they drew in their nets and started for Le Pic. The next day we reached the entrance to the river of Le Pic quite early, and we made camp there. Soon after Mr. De Rocheblave¹¹⁶, who then had charge of the post, came to the door of my tent, and said to me in an imperious voice, "How now, Mr. Perrault! I consider you very hardy indeed to undertake to outfit this river in opposition to us with contraband goods. I do not know what there is to prevent me from seizing them, and sending you and your men back." I replied, "That would not be so easy as you think, for sooner than submit to that, I would lose my life." "Have you a permit from St. Joseph?" "No," I answered, "but Mr. Denhum has provided himself with one for himself and for me." "I will find out about that in a little while," he said; and turning away, he left. It is necessary to remark that at that time the Northwest was legislator and king; it killed, hanged, stole, and violated. The enormity of their crimes led to their fall.

I set out next day to ascend the Rivière Du Pic, and as I passed before the fort, I saw a canoe put off. Two men and a woman embarked, and passed us. It was to go ahead and tell the savages whom they saw on their way, that the Great Knives¹¹⁷ were coming to make war on their lands,--to flee afar. We camped at the dam, where I split my canoe. From there we went on to Le Rocher Blanc¹¹⁸, which is of marble, opposite which there is a beautiful lake, where one makes a portage from the river in order to enter it. I was curious to go there. I found a lodge at the beginning of the portage. It was Achonda, one of my old customers at Le Pic, very much surprised to see me. He had told me what the French¹¹⁹ had said to him.

He had killed a caribou that day and he gave me half of it. He and his wife accompanied me on to the river, and I paid them with liquor. The next day we continued our journey, and camped near the Riviere a L'eturgeon. In the course of that day, Mr. William Morrison, the assistant of Mr. De Rocheblave passed me with five men, and said to me ironically, "You need to take some good in order to collect packs, but as for myself, I go to get them without an outfit."

He waited for me at the portage of the first falls where I arrived in the evening, in order to watch us, and while we unloaded, I saw him with paper and pencil in hand taking a statement of what I had. The next day he left us, going on ahead, and we continued our journey behind him. We camped at Les Petites Cotes, at the farther end of the portage; from there we went on to Le Grand Cote De Sable on the portage; from there to L'islette (sic); from L'islette to Lac Du Lievre¹²¹; from there to the Portage Plee; from Portage Plee to that of Le Gros Gallet; from that of Le Gros Gallet to Le Portage Bouche; from Portage Bouche to that of les Embarras; and from that place to the entrance to the Pays Plat where they obtain lime to whitewash houses. We camped there, and we were held back by the snow all the next day, the weather being cold. The evening of the next day we entered Lac de Wabichkiwaga, and found at the little falls two men of the Northwest, camping. They had put out a net, and were waiting for us there. As soon as we arrived, they left to bear news of our arrival. We slept at the portage, and going on we camped near the old fort formerly occupied by Mr. Bouvier¹²². Mr. Morrison had sent on ahead of us, without doubt to spy on our movements. Four men were there inflamed with drinking, who insulted us, but I told them I had no quarrel with any of them. They went away quite late. The fort of the Northwest had been built by me on an island. I did not go near it, but passed over to the right of the island, and landed on the right shore opposite the Bay of Wabissipinikan where the fishing was good at all seasons, winter as well as summer, for all sorts of fish. Here I resolved to pass the winter.

We made camp there and set to work to clear a place for our house. We were preparing to put out our nets, when Mr. Morrison arrived with a canoe, loaded with men, and bearing his tent and baggage. After putting

up his tent, he sent back five of the nine men who had brought him. I put out a net toward sundown, and soon after Mr. Morrison put out two nets, one on either side of mine, which boded ill for us. In spite of this, however, I took the next day four pieces of fine fish, and we began to build. I had only two men, I making a third and our work did not progress very rapidly; Mr. Morrison brought in seven men, and he built in a little while a small house 15 feet square. That night we put out our nets again. Mr. Morrison was more successful this time than the evening before, for he hemmed me in on two sides and he put a net crosswise of the opening. The next day we took nothing at all. What handicapped me was that I had no small canoe, and had to use my large canoe, which gave us a great deal of trouble.

Mr. Morrison had his men encamped at all the rivers where the savage passed on their way to the fort, and if we wished to go anywhere they accompanied us armed. One day however, I managed to escape them to go into the bay of the old fort, where I found a savage, who was named La Grosse Martre. I signalled to him and he came toward me,--he was the second man I had seen. He had not yet reached land when Mr. Morrison appeared with one of his men, both armed. He, aiming his gun at the savage, cried, "Get out of here right off, or I will kill you." The Indian was frightened, and he turned his boat away toward the open water, to the grief of his wife. I never dared set out without being armed, and I was constantly on my guard against them. Seeing myself without resources in the way of fishing, I waited, meanwhile living on our wild rice until the ice formed, in order to find some savages, but in vain. When the snow came, I put out some traps for the lynxes, and some snares for the hares. They followed me armed^{and}/with dogs, which spoiled my runways. I was at last reduced to fasting. I had only a measure of wild rice toward Christmas.

I received a decoy letter,--coming from Mr. De Rocheblave--according to Mr. Morrison,--which demanded that I go to Le Pic, and said he would buy what goods I had if I would make him a fair price and that I was to be employed by the company if I wished. I resolved to go, seeing that I could do nothing in the way of trade with the savages, and to try to save part of all that I had. I left on the 13th of February, with Le Vieu Pepin, and

we reached Le Pic late the seventh day, where I was well enough received, but it was very different the next day when he went into the room of Grosselin, his cook, took my gun, and told me that I was a prisoner of his fort. I replied that if I had dreamed of such treachery on his part I would not have come to Le Pic. I had left my men at the house commanding them to take good care of what was there, to wit:--four bales of goods, four kegs of liquor, one of powder, two sacks of lead and balls, two muskets with half stocks, a half case of hardware, etc. In addition, I had put en cache at the portage of the first falls onekeg of rum for the spring when I should arrive at Lac Superieure. This made five kegs which I had. As to my men,--or to speak more accurately,--as to Beaudoin, who alone remained faithful, he found himself without provisions toward the middle of March, but a long time before that Dodges had gone over to the Northwest. The former came to find me at Le Pic, and to tell me of Dodges conduct. After I left, he had carried off our stock constantly to the Northwest,--goods, liquor, trinkets, saying that Mr. Otis (Denhum) had made him as much master as me and even more. When Beaudoin arrived, Mr. De Rocheblave had me come to his room, as well as Beaudoin, and said to us, "I am not under obligations to board you for nothing. I am going to charge each of you for your board a dollar a day from the 20th of February to the 20th of May, and as Mr. Otis (DENhum) would not perhaps agree to that, I am going to take my security. I am going to help myself with my own hands; I am going to send and take your goods out of Dodges hands. Besides, he is apparently more master than you, for he says that you can do nothing without his consent, and that you came here to give information concerning the post. I know what your goods amount to; and I intend that all that there is left shall be put into the hands of Dodges.

He sent out the next day two men with a letter to Mr. Morrison, announcing his intentions, and they seized everything there was, and put it in their fort. Mr. Morrison, under the direction of Mr. De Rocheblave, took the 270 dollars worth of goods, estimating them at the manufacturer's price, remarking, "Mr. Otis is outfitted by the government, It is his brother¹²³ who has procured this for him; it costs him nothing." There remained only some unsalable goods which he turned over to Dodges. When Mr. Morrison sent back the men with a report of his doings, Mr. De Rocheblave said to me, "I have my pay, and the rest of your property is in the

hands of Dodges. I will detain you no longer. If you wish to return to your fort, it is all the same." I replied that I would return to my house, if he would give me some provisions to take me back. He gave me twelve pints of corn and a little tallow, but he would not give me my musket. I left the same day, the 26th of March, and got back to my wintering place with much trouble, in 16 days, when all the streams were open. I went to the Northwest to find Dodges, who said to me in the presence of many that Mr. Otis had given full authority to him; if I would not do as he wished than I could go where I pleased; that he did not want any dealings with me. "In that case, give me back my little chest." "It had nothing in it," he replied. He let me look where I entered the lodge of the guard, who took me in.

Not knowing where to go, I left to pass by the Mousse (Moose) to go into Canada, waiting at Wabissipinikan with the guard until the lakes were open. He assisted me with an old canoe, which I refitted, gave me the end of a new, and I set out. By good fortune, I saw some savages very soon who were going to the English of La Baye D'Hudson. I travelled with them, and they assisted me with provisions. We arrived at length the 10th of May, 1812¹²⁴, at the house of Mr. Davis, on Lac Des Epinettes where he had wintered, and where by chance I encountered two Canadians, one named Gagne¹²⁵, and the other named Vermette, both of my acquaintance; the latter spoke English, and said to Mr. Davis that I was the man of whom he had spoken, at the same time mentioning my name. At once the Monsieur took me by the hand, made me enter the house, saying to me, "Make yourself welcome. After I had given him a short account of what had happened to me, he said to me, "I am going down to Albany factory. I will take you with me, and you shall have a place." We remained some days longer before setting out. And I rendered him some service, in giving out such information concerning the character of the savages at Le Pic, as I was able.

We left some days later for Albany, and reached there at the beginning of July. Mr. Davis presented me to Governor Vincent, who received me kindly. I offered my services to him, and he accepted them. Mr. Davis offered me 40 Louis Sterling of England to return with him in the capacity of interpreting clerk for the Indian trade, with a clerk's outfit, by order of the Governor. I engaged myself for a year, the 10th of July.

We started the 15th of the same to go to Grand Lac Des Epinettes, near Lac Kinongamang, and we reached our wintering place the 12th of August. We began to build a large house, which was covered, and I was working on the doors, when casting my glance toward the lake, I saw coming a canoe under said, loaded with men. Mr. M'Bean¹²⁶ and Mr. Morrison with eight men began disembarking on the shore near our door. They had their canoes unloaded, their tents put up, and soon after they came to pay a visit to Mr. Davis, who received them very politely. They returned after having invited us to take tea with them at six o'clock in the evening. After tea Mr. M'Bean brought a flask of Scrub¹²⁷ De Sabave (?) with four cups. We each took a Dram and Mr. Davis withdrew very soon, but the Messieurs urged me to stay awhile after Mr. Davis withdrew. Then they said to me, "Do you not know why we have come here?" I replied, "I do not know that the matter of our voyage concerns your interests" (sic). "Mr. De Rocheblave," they replied, "has authorized us to say that if you wish to return to the service of the Northwest Company, that you will have your old privileges, that is to say:--L100 court actuel, your ordinary outfit, and your family will be lodged, warmed and fed, which will be more profitable to you than to remain in the service of the Hudson Bay." I instantly surmised treachery from them, and replied in these terms, "All this past winter I have been as a dog, gnawing the bones. In gnawing them, I have held my peace. Now, however, the time has come when I will try to bite those who have bitten me, and"--addressing Mr. M'Bean--"Know, Monsieur, that there is nothing to dread so much as an abused soldier. I would rather make shift to supply my simple needs alone than to take what the Northwest has to offer me." Mr. M'Bean replied, "If you had not gone against the Northwest, that would not have happened; but since you are so minded, Mr. Davis may expect the strongest opposition that he has ever had, for it is I, myself, who am coming." "Oh, well, Monsieur, it might as well be you as another. Excuse me," I said, "it is getting late. I wish you a good evening." I returned to the house and related all to Mr. Davis who was well pleased and said to me, "Take courage, and if things go well, I promise you Ten Louis more than your wages." I thanked him in advance of his kind offer.

The next day the Messieurs departed, and met on their way two men who had gone to raise a net for sturgeons. Seeing two sturgeons in their canoe, they asked for one in the name of Mr. Davis. The men gave it to them, without knowing whether it was true or not. It turned out to be false.

We built at a strait, between the entrance to Grand Lac Des Epinettes and Lac du Coude, where we made good cheer, as well with sturgeon as with all sorts of fish. The savages to whom I had promised to return came to us. I gave them credit, telling them not to come to the fort during the winter, but to put their furs en cache, because of bad foxes; that is to say, Coureurs de Derouinne¹²⁸. I made a chart of the place where I would see them at the first navigation, promising them on the part of Mr. Davis that they would be clothed if they would pay their credits, and I did the same with all those I saw during October. We built for ourselves quite a large house, for it is the custom of the Messieurs to build commodiously. Toward the end of October the savages came no more to the fort. We had sent them all away without letting them know of the threats that Mr. M'Bean had made; and we were quite easy on that subject, when on All Saint's Day Mr. M'Bean arrived with two canoes, a large one and a small one, and began to disembark where he had disembarked when he came the first time.

While his men unloaded his canoes, he came up the shore and marked out a place for them to build on, the other side of the building our men had put up for their firewood. It was distant from us about three arpents, and here he lodged. For fishing he had brought with him seven men, two of whom he had sent back to Kiningamang. They found an old canoe which the savages had discarded, which they used to set their nets, while waiting until Mr. Morrison who was to winter at Kinong-amang could send them one.

All that winter we watched each other cautiously, though Mr. Davis proffered several invitations, to which Mr. M'Bean responded. The month of March arrived and no one had any packs. Mr. Morrison had told some of his savages that Mr. M'Bean was at Lac Des Epinettes, and that they should come to him if they needed anything. They came therefore in the course of March but when they saw two houses, they each put half of what they had encache and entered Mr. M'Bean's house with the other half. This made him very proud that the savages had given him the preference, and he gave them drink immediately. But while they were still a little drunk, four sons of Michackwet, who out of their 120 plus had put aside for us 60, told us to send after what they had left behind by two men, whom they would tell where to find it. This we did as soon as night came. I asked them where they

were located; they told me and invited me to come and see them in ten days. This I did, setting out from our house under cover of night with two men, the 26th of March, the weather being harsh and cold.

I waited till day at the Portage of Sturgeon Falls at the base of Lac Des Epinettes on the River Albany, and we made camp that day at the entrance of the River Manitouanamingon. I had with me two kegs of a gallon each of spirits of Jamaica for the savages. Soon two men arrived, heavily laden and well tired out. They were Chretien and Girard, whom Mr. Morrison had sent to the same savages to whom we were going. They were surprised to see us; and we, equally,

"Come camp here with us, even if you are in opposition," said I; "I am no longer a prisoner,--I do as I please. You are tired; take a drink to refresh yourselves." I gave them a good drink^{and}/before they went to bed I made them a second, which put them so sound that they knew nothing of our departure the next morning. I went to the savages, and we got their beaver to the number of fifty, with some small furs besides. I left the rum at the two lodges, and we started back by another and shorter route which the savages showed me. Returning, we reached the house the third day from our departure, without Mr. M'Bean having noticed our absence.

As I went often on scouting trips, I set out one day from the shore of the Petit Lac des Epinettes with the intention of passing the night away from our house, when, by good fortune, I encountered Wachaskonce, which means Le Petit Rat Musque, who was hunting caribou. I was much pleased to see him and he invited me to come to them, telling me that there were two lodges there, La Grosse Martre's and his at the Lac de La Pierre a Fusil; and that Le Petit Chef was at Lac de La Riviere Platte, which flows into that of Pierre a Fusil. I spent the night with him in his lodge, and he, as well as La Grosse Martre, promised to go with me to the fort with their plus. I asked him to take me to the lodge of Le Petit Chef; he assented, and early next morning we started to go there. We arrived before noon, and after having settled matters with Le Petit Chef and his two boys, each of whom had a pack of 40, we came to camp at Lac de La Pierre de Fusil. The next day the savages set out, I, accompanying them,--all of us, loaded, for I carried part of the small furs in a bearskin. We arrived by night, in order

that our opponents might have no knowledge of it! Mr. Davis was agreeably surprised, for he was anxious about me, as I had promised him to return the next day. We treated the savages handsomely so that they would not visit Mr. M'Bean's, and made them leave the next night, all three satisfied and promising to return secretly to do their trading.

The Lac de Epinettes is situated about the 50th degree of north latitude. The winter there is very severe. Not more than two feet of ground is thawed out in August, after which it is a rock of ice, which holds the same for Albany. There the forest trees do not reach their full growth except along the rivers, and in the depths of the country there are Red Tamaracks and White, clothed with moss resembling hair, which falls to the ground. It is a land of caribou, of white partridges, of marten, and of hares. However, there, as in other regions of the temperate zones, even in these places, the air becomes mild and one sees beautiful days which announce the spring. In the course of March the ground is softened, the little rivers are open early. The wild fowl gets to brooding quickly. It comes from west-northwest; from the shores of California in such large numbers that it is impossible to sleep, and it remains here everywhere to the close of the season at the end of September, when the lakes freeze.

In the autumn I had taken a small canoe to a certain lake, always full of fowl, where I often went to hunt on the shore, and here the savages told me that I would find them. I now waited for favorable weather to go, and prepared myself beforehand. Everything being ready, Mr. Davis finished my accounts (?), gave me two men and we set out at night, the lakes still in good shape, and we got the canoe which I had put en cache. We camped there and spent several days, living meanwhile on game. It was about the beginning of April that we left the fort; towards the 7th of the same, we started dragging our canoes over the ice to La Riviere du Boullion de Brochet where the savages had told me I would find them, at the lower end of the lake of the same name, where they were accustomed to make their canoes. We reached there on the second day; the lake is a large one and full of islands. We remained at the mouth of the river at the entrance to the lake 12 days, unable to leave. We lived on fish and wild fowl. Day and night there were so many bustards and ducks that we could scarcely sleep. The 13th day there came a great wind from the southwest which broke up the ice, so as to camp

on a beautiful point, where we had fine sport, killing many bustards on the wing. We reached the camp of the savages, who were awaiting us, the 15th of the same month, who on seeing unload some kegs of rum, gave us immediately what furs they had. I clothed six of them,--all noted hunters. We left them to go back the next day, while they were still drunk, telling us that they would come draw on their accounts as soon as they had finished making their canoes, for which the wood was ready. We went down La Riviere du Lac du Bouillion de Brochet and came to camp at the mouth to wait for the savages, where I took an inventory of what I had received. It amounted to 450 plus of beaver, and a good pack of mixed furs. We waited for the savages, without seeing anyone, until the 22nd of May. We were beginning to grow tired, especially of doing nothing, when the savages arrived. The lake was still unbroken, but not very solid. However, two days later we started and descended into the Riviere de La Savanne, which empties into the Lac des Epinettes. We remained there where a bay is formed about two lengths from the meridional point of our fort. We remained here five days, where, during this time, I cleared the lodges of all the furs they had. The 28th of the same month we found a passage, with considerable difficulty, and arrived home. The savages did not arrive until the next day.

I had fired several shots from the musket at the ducks on approaching the fort, and Mr. Davis, uneasy about us, and Mr. M'Bean, anxious about the savages, both came down to the point of the bay where Mr. M'Bean assailed Mr. Davis, saying to him, "You are fortunate in having Mr. Perrault to earn your wages for you. As for yourself, you are too insignificant to collect any packs." Mr. Davis replied, "Do you think so?" "Yes, I do think so, and you are going to find it out." So saying, he rushed on him, seized him by the hair, threw him to the ground and beat him to his heart's content. A moment later we rounded the point; Mr. Davis came to meet us at the landing. I asked him what news there was. "As you see," he replied, "there is nothing except that a wasp has stung me." The men unloaded the canoe. Immediately Mr; M'Bean sent two men to the lodges of the savages. They came back that evening without success.

The next day the savages arrived. They received their presents after having traded what was left of their credits, and camped on the other shore

of the bay. The evening of the 29th of the same month, after sunset, we saw on the other shore of the bay three men, standing along the beach, where Mr. M'Bean could not see them. I embarked immediately with Anderson, and went to see them. There were two savages and Jos. Le Groux, whom Mr. M'Bean had taken prisoner the January before, while he was going to Henley with some letters. Mr. M'Bean, having learned of it, had gone before day with three of his men to the end of Lac du Coude, taking with him a bottle of rum in his cloak and watched for him there on the road. The man came up to them, just as Mr. M'Bean was holding the bottle in his hand. He called to him, "You have just come at the right time, lad! You shall drink with us. Sit down there." Le Groux leaned his gun against a cedar which happened to be there, and when he was seated, Mr. M'Bean seized his gun, and said to him, "You are my prisoner. Follow these men and go to Mr. Morrison with them; and I order you to deliver to me your letters or I will blow your brains out." He was compelled to obey in order to save his life. He then remained at Kimongamang until the middle of May, always guarded by Mr. Morrison, who saw him armed and said to him, "Where are you going now?" "I am going home, and I advise you not to try to stop me." With this, he left and descended on foot La Riviere de Kinongamang to Manitou-anamingon, where he remained with the savages who had promised to return once more to see us. The savages had each one a pack of 30 beaver, which I took into the canoe and we crossed to our home. Mr. M'Bean was much surprised on seeing Le Groux arriver, not knowing how he had escaped. On the 30th of the same month, Mr. Davis sent me to making up the packs, each weighing 90 pounds; and the next day we put 14 under the press, of which 12 were of beaver,--to the chagrin of Mr. M'Bean, who as soon as the lake was open left with a pack and a half,--counting the moose skins, dress and green, which he had with him for sale, and use in his house. He left us the 10th of June¹²⁹ 1812, and on the 12th we set out for Albany. We stopped awhile at the fort of the Riviere du Sud, passing from there to the Riviere de La Puisse; from the Riviere de La Puisse to Fort Albany. We reached there about the 20th of June.

The fort is situated on an island at the entrance of the river, being at least 150 feet on each side. The houses and sheds, all of two stories, are built in the form of an enclosure, which is further protected by a stockade of Red Tamarack, 18 feet above the ground. On each stake is an

iron point well sharpened. The roof is flat, and is double, by reason of a sheath of beaten lead; and there are twelve pieces of cannon on this roof, three pieces on each side. The Company's building is at the center of the stockade. Only certain well esteemed savages may enter the stockade; the others are excluded and stay on an island about half a mile distant from the stockade on the opposite shore, within range of three cannon.

I settled my business with Mr. Davis, and he kept his promise in regard to the ten Louis I was to have as a bonus, which were included in the letter of credit which Governor Vincent gave me, payable in England the first of the January following, with interest; this letter amounted to 46 pounds sterling. I had so far made up my mind to go down to Canada, that I had provided myself with a canoe, and I was only waiting until Gagne, who was desirous of going down with me, returned from his expedition, when Mr. Hontson, formerly Governor, who had resigned two years before, asked me whether I would guide him to Canada, and told me that he had tried twice to go there, but that he had not succeeded through lack of a guide. This gentleman was very rich; he was carrying with him the sum of 8,000 pounds sterling and he wished to settle in Montreal with his family, consisting of 12 children; and he inquired how much I would ask. I said to him that he ought to give me 50 Louis, for such an undertaking. His plan was to take three canoes for himself and his family, and I had mine, making the fourth. He wanted me to shoot his canoes through all the rapids, which would take considerable time.

The next day he engaged me, and we made ready to set out. The honorable company of Hudson Bay gave me provisions for 60 days, of tea, coffee, and sugar; and we left Albany the 10th of July to go to Mousse (Moose), and from there to Abbittivie in order to reach Temiskanung. It took us fifteen days to reach the Mousse. On account of the flow and the ebb of the sea we were compelled to provide ourselves with fresh water wherever we found small streams. I never saw such an abundance of wild fowl of all sorts as in La Bay de James. We camped at La Pointe de Coq, where 14 years before a schooner was wrecked, while on its way laden with goods for Fort Albany. The entire hull of the vessel with the bowsprit was still there. In order to enter the river Mousse, it was necessary to round a point of three

leagues length, at the extreme end of which was a light house, which was kept lighted from the beginning of August to the 15th of the same to facilitate the arrival of ships which came from England; but the smaller boats avoid the point by making a portage of about half a mile, which leads into the river near the fort, which, like that at Albany, is situated on an elevated island. We reached the fort the 25th of the same month in the afternoon, and we camped near the fort. I had a letter of recommendation from Governor Vincent to Governor Thomas at Mousse, which I presented to him on my arrival. This gentleman received me pleasantly; and offered to accomodate me in the fort as long as we should remain at Mousse. I thanked him, saying that we would stay but a couple of days, during which time Mr. Hontson and I were admitted to meals. There happened to be at the fort a man named Mr. Bowes, who spoke French well. He sought my company very frequently, and was very congenial, for none of the other gentlemen understood a word of French. While we were there I made a sketch from a large map of Northern America to guide me to Temiskaming by the River Abbitibi.

We left the fort which was on the same plan as that of Albany, the morning of the 28th, and camped at the fork of the river, six leagues from the entrance; from there, the next day we camped at L'Isle de La Plompoutin and from there to the Portage des Yroquois, so-called because they had passed over it with their canoes, in 1798, when coming from Montreal to bring goods to Mousse for the Northwest Company, who wished to determine whether the charter of La Bay was exclusive. It appeared to be so, for the goods were confiscated on their arrival. However, the year following, the gentlemen of the Northwest had sent out from England a vessel laden for La Bay and commanded by a captain of the Messrs. of the honorable company, whom they had bribed to enter La Bay D'Hudson, and there establish some posts.¹³ They came to La Riviere de L'est, where the ship was frozen in on all sides, and here they passed the winter, and in the spring returned to England. It was Mr. M'Gillivrai who told me of this at Le Pic, saying, "If we could have carried out our project, we would have saved the heavy charges of transportation of the Grande Riviere route."

From the Portage des Yroquois, we came to that of La Montagne which

has two poses. We camped there, where Mr. Hontson lost by theft 42 pounds of meat through a savage of his acquaintance, who accompanied him to help him carry his baggage across the portages. We continued our journey, ascending the river from rapids to rapids and from portage to portage, to the Riviere a Frederic, on the upper part of which there is a large lake where the honorable Company of the Bay has a post named Frederic. We camped there at the entrance to the river; from there we went to the Lac Abbittibie after having made five portages, which made in all the river 42 portages from Mousse. The next day we entered the lake, the wind being favorable; we were making good progress that day under sail, when toward afternoon, thinking that we were in a strait, we saw that we were in a bay. We camped here, and the next day we started to get our bearings. Coasting to the left, we rounded a point, where seeing by chance a small empty keg on the beach. I disembarked. It was an encampment of voyageurs. The place former a strait; we entered there; and I discovered two canoes of savages who were hidden in the rushes. I went toward them. As they took us for Yroiquois, whom they feared, they attempted to escape; but when John Hontson called them, they stopped, and Mr. Hontson made arrangements with them to guide us to the fort of the Mr. M'g Dougal at the lower end of Lac D'Abbittibie. We traveled the remainder of the day, and the next day we reached the fort of the Northwest, toward the end of August. This was not to be wondered at, for we started late, and on the way we had stopped to get breakfast, and to eat it, and again at noon, to get dinner, and we made camp between four and five in the afternoon. Growing weary of such progress, I said one day to Mr. Hontson, "But, Monsieur, we will hardly reach our destination this autumn! We travel too slowly." He replied, "Mr. Perrault, as I am willing to pay you well, so I wish to travel in our own way." "Very well," I said to him, "I will say no more."

Mr. Hontson had received a letter the past winter, in which Mr. M'g Dougal had told him that if he needed anything to carry him through his journey, he would do all in his power to assist him; but we did not see him, as he had left to descend to Montreal. However, he had given orders to Mr. Frazer that in case Mr. Hontson passes by Abbittibie in his absence, he was to give him whatever he asked for. He took one sack of flour, one of corn, some bacon, some tallow, three gallons of spirits. We remained

one day at the fort, where there was a savage from Temiskaming, a young man who had come on an expedition with the men of the Northwest, and who was drunk when they left; and he had not been able to return for lack of an opportunity. He asked me for passage. I did not ask for anything better.

The next day we started for Temiskaning; we camped at Lac des Mille Isles; from Lac des Mille Isles, we came from portage to portage to Lac de La Hauteur des Terres, where we met Mr. Ferguson who was going to winter for the Northwest Company at Lac de La Roche qui Frappe. The season became advanced; the weather very rainy. We made little progress, and our supply of provisions diminished. Note that the 20th of September we were only halfway to Temiskaning. The next day we reached the arm of the great lake which forms a branch of the River des Ontawas. This took us in several days journeying to Lac Temiskaming, where Mr. Hontson saw the maple for the first time in his life. The lake is twelve leagues in length; it extends from north to south, and it lies between two great mountains. Going from its source to the fort of Mr. M'Kaye, the lake is wooded with hard wood; the soil is fertile for all grains, but from the fort to the mouth of the lake there are only rocks covered with pines--the greater part of which is of no value.

We remained four days with Mr. M'Kaye, of whom Mr. Hontson obtained a canoe of the north, in order to have only one boat, and he restocked his larder, for we had no more. The fifth day, the 12th of October, we left for Montreal. We passed by the fort Coulonge the 19th. The 20th we reached the Grande Calumet; from there, to the portage de Derjie, where we camped. The 23rd we reached the falls of Les Chats where we camped on arriving at the portage. The weather was very cold and there was a heavy frost that night.

The next day, which was the 24th, we reached the establishment of the Northwest Company, which belonged then to one of the Messrs. M'Kenzies. We camped there, and were there two days, when Mr. Hontson came to an agreement with Mr. M'Kenzie to buy that establishment, for 1,000pounds sterling, carrying with it the crop on the ground, with all the livestock,

and so on. We had learned from Mr. M'Kaye in passing at Temiskaming that war had been declared between England and America, and this it was which induced Mr. Hontson to settle at Les Chats in order to exempt his children. I asked Mr. Hontson the day after his purchase what his intentions were in regard to me. He said his intention was to pay me and to obtain for me a small canoe to go to Montreal. This he did in the course of the day, giving me a bill of exchange on Mr. Brooks, England, payable the first of January with interest, and directing Messrs. M'Tavish, M'Gillivrai and Co. to pay the sum of 50 pounds sterling.

I set out from Les Chats alone the 27th of October, and I slept at the Portage des Chenes. The 28th it rained, but I took shelter with Mr. Wright at Portage des Chaudieres and lodged there. This was Sunday. The day following, the 29th, I left, the weather being cold, and the wind from the west, with snow. I went to the house of Mr. Lecuier at Tahipaille (?), where I slept; from there to the Long Rapid at the mill of Mr. Hamilton, the 30th of the same. The 31st, I shot the long rapid, and I slept at the lower end of the gorge at Mr. Kameron's. The first of November, having the wind at my back, I reached the house of Mr. Pilon at Ste. Anne's; the 2nd of the same, I reached Montreal about 6 o'clock at night. I was forced to shoot the Sault St. Louis, north of the river, because by boat was too small.

On arriving, I went directly to the tavern of Mr. Sondag. The 3rd of November, I visited the Office of the Northwest to draw my money. Mr. M'Gillivrai accepted the order of Mr. Hontson, but as for the letter of exchange of the Hudson's Bay Company, he said that he had no dealings with the gentlemen of the Bay,--that I should try to procure it elsewhere,--that he would discount 21 percent on Mr. Hontson's for security as we were in a time of war. In fact, they were then preparing their Compagnie des Voyageurs, in which Mr. M'Gillivrai, who was Colonel, offered me the place of sargeant major. I asked him how much pay they would give me a month; he said, "About three Louis." I replied, "The King will give me more!" I took my money and left.

Immediately after I had gone out I met at the door of the Northwest Company's Office, Mr. Dugnay and Mr. LeMaitre. They had come from St.

Francois des Abenakis to collect their pay for two large canoes which they had brought to Montreal for them. They were much surprised to see me, for it was reported that I was dead; that I had been killed on the Missouri by the Indians. This was a mistake so far as I was concerned; but it had actually happened to a man of the same name as mine whom I had seen at Mackinac the year I had been with Mr. Otis. "Is it really you, my cousin?" said Mr. LeMaitre to me. "Yes," I said, extending my hand to him, "God be thanked!" I asked him whether he was staying a long time in the town. "Only till we are paid," he replied, "and I hope to have the pleasure of restoring you to your family. They were all well four days ago." This pleased me much. I learned that they were staying with Mr. Laforce near Mr. Sunday's; and I went to find them. We had a feast together before leaving, and embarked at four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, to cover the 22 leagues of the way. We traveled all that night, which was very cold; and we reached St. Francois at nine o'clock in the morning, at the hour of prayer, where I was happy to find my dear family in good Health

Some time later I returned to Montreal on business, and while I was there I determined to go up to L'isle Perrault in order to leave my wife and children there, and to go to Kingston to offer my services to the gentlemen of the government. Returning to St. Francois, I took two men, hired a large canoe and ascended to Ste. Anne's; and from there I crossed to L'isle Perrault at the close of navigation.

I left my wife and children at the home of Mr. Parisien, and I set out for Kingston the 27th of December. It took us eight days to get there, for I was not alone. I had fortunately obtained a pass from Captain Prejen (?) of L'isle Perrault, but my two fellow voyageurs had none, and were halted many times. Upon reaching Kingston I sought out Mr. Withnay, a merchant whom I knew, who introduced me to the engineer, Mr. Kitson, who gave me employment in his department in the capacity of foreman, which brought me 6 s. per day with a ration and a half. This was worth more to me than the pay of Colonel M'Gillivrai.

I passed the winter here and a part of the spring, during which time we had several alarms; but the most pleasing was that which occurred in March caused by the reflection of the sun's rays on cakes of ice in a gap, which

lay in the direction of Les Illes aux Canards (Ducks) and which, in spite of the aid of the telescope, looked like an army marching in formation, and seemed to advance from the vicinity of the Riviere des Quarante. Immediately they sent out some scouts on horseback, who returned two hours later to report that the appearance was due to reflection.

The second alarm we had was when in April the Americans set on foot an expedition against York.^{130½} We saw in the afternoon several sails on Lake Ontario, which seemed to be coming toward Kingston, as if to make a landing. As soon as the alarm sounded, women and children prepared to leave the town; the neighboring militia was summoned; the glenguerri contingent¹³¹ went out in advance. At about eleven o'clock at night they came to rouse the workmen, and we were taken to the arsenal and armed. The Indians, some three or four hundred strong, and led by Mr. DeLormiers¹³², hurried into ambush near the river Des Quarante. Those who, like myself, were in the Department of Engineers, worked all night by the light of lanterns and in the rain, our guns beside us, mounting two 64 pounder cannons.

With great difficulty, we had just finished our task about four o'clock in the morning, when the scouts reported that the sails which had been seen the evening before had disappeared in the direction of Fort York. This news was confirmed by the arrival of the remnant of the troops who had escaped (at the capture of the fort) and who arrived some days later, helter skelter.

I return for a moment to the month of March; I believe it was at the beginning of this month, or in the course of it, that there deserted an outpost, composed of some soldiers and a sargeant, who left by night their post at the Pointe des Sauteurs. Several of them were drunk, and without doubt they corrupted the others. The news soon reached the fort, and some ten or twelve of the savages were ordered to go after them and bring them back dead or alive. They overtook them at the traverse near L'isle de Montreal; one of them fled to the island and five of them put themselves on the defensive; but the savages killed four of them under cover of night, and made a prisoner of the fifth, who was hanged the next day. They had left the other on the L'isle de Montreal, and returned a little before day. When it was light enough they sent out two boats which came back with the other, who had frozen to death on the island.

I do not recall any other adventures of this sort; but there happened however, a very extraordinary incident in connection with the frigate which was built there the same winter. It was the day set for the launching; great was the rejoicing there that day; the bands of music as well as the gentility were on board. She started as soon as the wedges were removed, but she had not gone more than 40. or 50 feet on her trucks when one of the cross-beams which supported her, broke. She stopped suddenly, without any means of making her go. This upset the festivities, for all the workmen had been promised three days leave with their pay going on. At least 150 men came to replace her on trucks, by means of jacks and crabs; and when the master carpenter inspected from below the cradle on which she lay, he found that eight trusses had been tampered with, having been notched to the depth of two inches on each side some time during the night preceeding the launching. No one could understand how this could possible have occurred, as six sentinels had been near the said frigate day and night.¹³⁴

The eighth of May I received a letter from my wife that wrote me that she was sick in bed; she had been so for several days. This determined me to go down. I sought out the engineer, Kitson. I laid before him my situation and that of my wife; he granted me my liberty after much trouble, and gave me an order on the treasurer for the pay that was due me from the 24th of April to the 7th of May. That evening I settled with Mr. Lestage with whom I lodged. I counted out to him the balance due for the four months and some days of board, at eight dollars per month, the sum of six dollars and a half, and I left the next day, the eighth of May, 1813, furnished with my passport and a testimonial of good character to descend to L'isle Perrault.

After settling my indebtedness to Mr. Parisien, I departed to take up my residence at Ste. Anne's for awhile; but as my wife grew very tired of the life there, we went down to St. Francois des Wabanakes toward the middle of July, where on the 20th of the same, Sophie was born. As the parish Curate lived in the Indian village, I obtained permission to occupy the parsonage for the purpose of conducting there a school for children. Here I passed the winter and the summer, but as that parish is made up of small islands, and as it was necessary for the children to use canoes, I decided in the autumn of 1814 to move over to the mainland and to rent a house there of Mr. Verville, where I continued to conduct my school.

Perceiving, however, that my earnings were too small to support my family, I left in the course of April, 1815, to engage myself with the Northwest to go up to the Sault de Ste. Marie in the capacity of Master Carpenter for the period of two years for the consideration of 60 pounds, current of Lower Canada, per year, to repair what the war had destroyed, to wit: a saw-mill, houses, stores, powder magazines, etc., with the aid of five men skilled with the axe; having a clerk's outfit valued at eight Louis the board and lodging of my family free, at the Sault, or at Montreal; and, if I cared to go down to Canada, to have passage with my family, at the expense of the Northwest Company.

I presented myself at Montreal on the summons of the agents, the 5th of May. The 6th of the same, we ascended to La Chine; the 8th, Mr. M'Gillivray came to deliver the cargo, for two canoes; and we set out, and camped at La Pointe Claire. The next day we lodged with Bts. Germain, guide of the brigade, where my wife gave birth to Edward. The next day, as we ourselves were unable to go on, I left part of our baggage in the canoes, retaining what was necessary to us, and Germain continued his journey. The third day, as my wife was doing well enough, we crossed to Lac des Deux Montagnes where I bought a boat sufficiently portable for me to try to rejoin the brigade, but I was compelled to abandon this plan. I reached with much difficulty La Petit Nation where I lodged with Mr. Papineau¹³⁵, seigneur of that place. He rendered me great assistance, while we were waiting for an opportunity to continue my journey. This ~~was~~ did not occur, for after a fortnight, when Mr. McDonald was passing on his way to Kamittikwia, he directed me to return to Montreal, that the agents might procure for me another passage. I descended therefore, with Madame Papineau, who had business in town; and these gentlemen furnished me with a medium-sized canoe and seven men, to convey myself to the Sault post haste.

We took but 22 days to make the ascent. I had also a packet of letters to deliver to Mr. McLeod¹³⁶--wherever I should find him. We went to Lac Nepissing before seeing him; but the next day, near the middle of the Lake after we had passed La Pointe Aux Croix, so called because a canoe, four or five years before, had been lost here with eleven men in a vain attempt to round the rock in a gale of wind outside, we saw in the distance a canoe coming. Feeling sure it was Mr. McLeod, we lay to, and stopped at a little

island, where Mr. McLeod landed. I gave him the letters addressed to him; he immediately set out to return, and we camped at the Portage de La Chaudier des Francois, so-called because of three cauldrons made for potash as perfectly as if made by the hand of man. The portage is three to four arpents in length, over living rock; at the end of which, one takes the Riviere des Francois, which is reckoned 25 leagues to its emptying-place, Lake Huron.

The first rapid one has to shoot is that of L'isle Aux Pins; the second, that of Les Grande Faucils; the third, the Rapid de Parisein, where one makes a portage Les Grandes Eauz, is so named because here a man named Parisein and several others drowned; the fourth is Le Grande Recole, or Le Petit Recole, which are separated one from another by an island about a league long. Going on from there, one comes to Les Dalles, so-called because the river contracts itself at that place to the width of forty to sixty feet for about four or five arpents, of which one side is a rock sheer and smooth, and tilted to an angle of nearly 45 degrees, so that when the water is very high those who attempt to tie their boats by a line have a great deal of trouble to ascend. The other bank just across is quite high and strewn with broken rocks of all sizes, where the Yroquois used to lie in ambush to attack the French who came to trade at that time on Lake Huron. For it appears that the Hurons as well as the Yroquois of those days would come to carry on their forays even to Lakes Huron and Superior, seeing that they were defeated by the Sauteaux, who had discovered them at the point which bears the name of Pointe aux Yroquois to this day. According to the story I have heard told me by the old Indians, in the time of their fore-fathers, a party of Yroquois who had camped at that point, were discovered by the Sauteux, who then resided on Lake Superior; the latter drew near them by night, seized their canoes, crossed over to the island opposite them, and came to surprise them in their camp, after having surrounded them on all sides. Only seven or eight escaped from the serious attack, so that since that time, they have never reappeared. The Indians of Le Pic have showed me the place where the Yroquois had been slaughtered by them, with some bones which the vicissitudes of time had not been able to efface.

Below Le Recole, there is a shallow rapid which is short. Here I was delayed, I myself, together with the ten men in the canoe, being compelled to take to the water, in order to get by that place. From that place one

encounters Les Petites Fauciles, where one unloads and reloads immediately, and the boat shoots about twice its length in the form of a sickle. From there one can, by going a couple of leagues, gain the lakes. In the distance one passes L'enfant Perdu, a place still very distinct. There once upon a time some Indians had landed to camp near a certain underground cavern which was there. One woman put her child in its cradle and thoughtlessly set it down near that cavern. Her husband had gone to the woods to kill pigeons or partridges, and his wife, with her other children a little way off, was intently engaged in the making of a lodge, when she heard her child crying. She hastened back, but she did not find it, though she could hear it crying in the cave near her. The husband came at once, and all the family set to work to follow it, enlarging the opening, always toward the cries of the child, which grew farther and farther away. At last, worn out with fatigue, and hearing no more, they were obliged to give up for the time. The next day there came other Indians to help them continue the same work, but they were all compelled to give up their undertaking, because the cave was in the rock. Although this happened many years ago, one may easily distinguish that this passage had been made up by the hand of man.

From L'enfant Perdu we went to the Sault de Ste. Marie, arriving the 24th of July at the house of Mr. Caneron¹³⁷ who was then in charge, and to whom I delivered some letters. The first of August I left for La Pointe Au Pins with my men, to the number of eight, and with the aid of two horses we hauled to the beach in the course of a month, timber for a house thirty feet in length, a shed sixty feet long, and another on posts, thirty feet square, rafted them and had them on the building site by the 5th of October. I built at once the house for Mr. Cameron, and then my own, in order to make myself a work shop in the same. I hewed in the winter the wood for the larger shed, and made the wheel for the saw-mill; in the spring I fashioned the timber for the shed on posts, together with the mill, waiting until Captain M'Cargo arrived to help us with his sailors to raise the buildings there. Later during June, 1816, Colonel Coltman arrived, accompanied by Major Fletcher, and some soldiers with them, detailed to examine the misconduct of the gentlemen of the Northwest¹³⁸. They camped on the upper part¹ of the portage. Some days later they continued their journey to Fort William. A few days after, Lord Selkirk¹⁴⁰ arrived with his Meurons¹⁴¹, his officers, and his lawyer. While I was at work on the mill near the place where he

passed, he stopped near me and asked me several questions in regard to the burned mill, and the one on which I was working; he asked me who I was, whether I was engaged for many years. I satisfied all his inquiries concerning myself as well as I could. "Very good", he replied, "When your time is up, you must come to Riviere Rouge. I am going to establish a colony there, and will you employment." I made him a deep bow, and thanked him in advance for his kindness, and for his generous offer. He left the next day or the day after, to go capture Fort William.

The gentlemen of the Northwest, well informed as to the intentions of Lord Selkirk in respect to them, had made shift to dispatch their canoes early in the spring, and had taken in several cases of guns, all in order, which they placed under key in case of developments; and they had sent up by the strait, eight pieces of cannon, which had remained in the store at the Sault from the preceding year, with their carriages, for the fortification, it was said, of Fort William; but Le Milford had obtained from the government authority to seize the whole. This Colonel Colmand had done. On the arrival of the canoes of the Northwest which he had forestalled, he took the arms into his camp at the other end of the portage and loaded them on his barges. The Milford had no knowledge of the cannon, or if he had, he left them. He carried away only those he had with him. The agents arrived a long time before, and when they saw Milford arrive and disembark then to their people, who exceeded a thousand men; but the latter replied with one voice, that they were not engaged to make war. They went so far, however, as to close the gate of the fort. Captain Mathey soon presented himself, repulsed the man who was in charge, Mr. Milford entered with his party without resistance, and made all the messieurs prisoners,--that is to say, those who were there, for many had left for the winter. He made them deliver the keys to everything, but they had time to make way with many letters, as well as the books, which they threw into the fire before the seizure was made.

After this, Milford allowed Mr. M'Gillivrai to go transact his business at Montreal under charge of Captain Mathey, and of Lieutenant Arsenue¹⁴⁴. After the arrival of Mr. M'Gillivrai, at Montreal, Mr. De Rocheblav and Mr. Daniel MacKenzie¹⁴⁵ fitted out, each one, a canoe without cargo, of 16 men each, and took a sherref with them, by order of the Court of York, authorizing them to arrest Milford and to retake Fort William. Some days before, the

barge had arrived with several families, as many clerks as engaged, who would not remain in the service of Milford, so he sent them back to the Sault where they were wintering. As the season was advanced, Mr. De Rocheblav decided to go by the vessel with his men. They left the Sault the 14th of November in a strong northeast wind with rain. I said to Mr. Cameron, that is was dangerous to leave so late in the season. He replied that Captain M'Cargo had said that there was no danger. As it was late that day, they dropped anchor opposite L'isle De La Pointe Aux Pins and there they slept, the weather being mild. The wind being the same the next morning, they proceeded under sails; toward the middle of the traverse of La Pointe Aux Poissons Blancs, a violent wind from the northwest came up, the weather turned cold, which, in a moment, froze the sails and cables, so that they were powerless to manage the vessel. It was driven between La Pointe Aux Poissons Blancs and La Riviere au Brochets where it was shipwrecked. They suffered much hardship, in returning to the Sault and waited there until the lake was frozen, before setting out again. They waited until the month of February, and, as they went out by Le Pic, Mr. M'Bean accompanied them to Fort William, where the Milford threw them all into prison, till spring, when he set out for La Riviere Rouge, after restoring to them their fort. That turn of affairs upset many arrangements for the rebuilding of the Sault.

My engagement completed, I determined to change my employment. I sought out Mr. M'Gillis, who had returned to the Sault in place of Mr. Cameron the 26th of May, 1817. I asked him to settle my account, as the term for which the company had hired me had expired. "I will give you," he said to me, "an order for the amount, which you will take with you to Montreal; for you are bound to go down, as you are not free until you reach that city." I said to him that I was free at the Sault, and that I had contracted some days before with Governor Vincent for Hudson Bay. He said that that could not be done, and that I would lose my wages if I did not go down. There was due me a balance of 54 pounds currency of the province of Lower Canada. I went to see the Governor Vincent, and related to him my predicament; he advised me to ask Mr. M'Gillis what he wanted for my descent and that he would pay it. All this was useless. I took his answer to the Governor, who procured for me a passage in one of Mr. Ermatinger's boats, with an order to provide for my wife and children until my return to the Sault, and that I should try to get that same year to Michipicaton.

I left the Sault the 7th of August, 1817, when my little Felicite was a month old, and I reached Montreal the 20th. I collected my money with difficulty, for they told me that the rules of the Company were changed; that they paid only a month after the arrival of those whom payment was due. I saw indeed that this was designed to deprive me of all means of going up again. I was therefore obliged to pass the winter of 1818 at St. Francois. I went in the spring in May to Montreal; all the canoes for the Sault had left; I was compelled to return. It was reported that Mr. Meniclie was going up with his family; I returned a second time to the town but he had gone seven or eight days before; and seeing no opportunity, I bought some provisions, etc.; I resolved to go up there alone.

The first of August in the afternoon I embarked, and reached La Chine; from there I continued my journey with favorable weather. I was retarded only a little by the wind. Knowing that it was much easier to skirt along just outside the chain of isles in the open, which leads to La Croche, and from which the traverses are short, I resolved to continue my route that way. I arrived in three days and a half, by this road at L'isle Drummond, where I remained a whole day. From there I came to camp at the house of Mr. Johnson, to the great surprise of everyone, the 31st of August.

Being unable to go with my family to Michipicoton through lack of a canoe, I decided to pass the winter at the post at the Sault. I arranged with Soulliere for his house. In the course of January, having business on L'isle Dreumond with Mr. Solomon, I set out to go there with my son William, and I contracted with Mr. La Croix to build him a saw mill. After returning to the Sault, I went back again the 17th of February, 1819, with my family. The 20th of July I delivered the work to him after which I returned to the Sault, where I prepared to go to Michipicoton.

As my wife was about to give birth to Susanne, I remained a month longer until she was entirely recovered, so that we could not start until the beginning of September, when it was very late in the season to travel on Lake Superior. We came to camp at La Pointe Aux Pins, where we remained some days to collect blueberries. There were many that year. From our departure from La Pointe Aux Pins, we took over a month to reach Michipicoton.

being constantly held back by the winds; we almost perished near La Cap Dechaïjon, being reduced to living on nothing but the bark of the birch. In short, we did not reach Mr. Stuart, Clerk of the honorable company of Hudson's Bay at Michipicoton till the 2nd of November, at the time when it was too late to go farther with a family. The disagreements which existed between the messieurs of La Baye and the Northwest, had determined them to abandon the trade with the savages at this post nearly two years before; but they had there a small station, for the benefit of the colonists of La Riviere Rouge, and for forwarding the Company's correspondence by the most advantageous route. We passed the winter there, as agreeable as possible.

As soon as navigation of the lakes opened, Mr. Stuart, having decided to send out a party to Lac Kapaniche, to the fort of New Brunswick, which is halfway on the road to Mousse; and from there Mr. Morphe was enjoining to send letters to La Bay. We set out, two of us, to wit, James Miland, and myself, the 16th of May, 1820. It took us 16 days to make the trip. In the month of July I received a letter from Governor Vincent who asked me to make him two canoes. I set myself about it immediately, and while I was getting the wood ready, Mr. Stuart sent out a barge for the Sault to obtain what was needed at the post. On this my wife took passage with Dr. Boun and one of my children, of whom Susanne, the youngest, died some days after reaching the Sault. The barge returned at the beginning of August, with my wife, on board. She brought back Esther whom her mother had left the year before at the home of Mr. Johnson.

After the canoes for Mr. Vincent were completed, I made one for fishing purposes for the post, after which we set out for La Rivier a Le Chienne, which takes its name from the fact that a French gentleman passing by on his way to the Lac de Pluie and beyond, as far as Fort Dauphin, where he was obliged to pass the winter, had in spite of all he could do, left behind a small dog, which he loved for her fine qualities; and he found her here on his return in July of the year following, at the entrance to the same river, very fat, and unharmed by the Indians. It is customary every year to go to set seines for the trout which come up the river to spawn at the beginning of September, before the whitefish begin biting at Michipicoton. We stayed

there, four men and myself, twenty and odd days, and we salted down only two quarters. The winds were so constant that the trout were not able to enter the river. We had to leave off and return to fish for whitefish where we had better luck, for we salted down thirty quarters. My sole occupation consisted in looking after the snares for catching partridges. On the whole I passed another winter here very pleasantly.

In the course of May, 1821, the canoe coming light from Montreal, apprized us that conditions were changed: the Northwest ruled no longer; the Indian trade was to be continued under the name of the Hudson Bay Company; the entire regulations were no longer the same. The clerks were no longer to have the same privileges, especially in the case of those who believed themselves injured were to put in their claims, and full satisfaction would be given. I said, therefore, to the governor, who spoke good French, that I would be pleased to resign; that my family was so large that I could not support them. "If you wish to retire from your engagement," he said to me, "the Company will give you all that you need; Mr. Stuart and Mr. M'Kentock will give you a canoe and provisions, and a man to help you reach the Sault Ste. Marie; and you will receive in the course of August the amount of your balance."

I left Michipiconoton the 29th of June, and I reached the Sault the 6th of July, where I am settled, if it please God, for the rest of my days; to the end that after having voyaged for forty-and-odd years on the stormy sea of this world, I may strive with all my might, during the days that are left me, to reach the shore of the Blessed Eternity.

FOOT NOTES

1. Situated on the River St. Maurice, about nine miles northwest of the town of Three Rivers. The presence of iron ore was discovered and well known in the 17th Century, but it was not till 1773 that operations were begun to utilize these deposits. At this time a company was formed under the leadership of Francois Etienne Cugney, and operated furnaces here until 1743, when the industry was taken over by the French government and continued till the English occupation. Owing to mismanagement and official speculation, the forges did not pay.
2. The battle of Quebec was fought September 13, 1759, and was followed by the surrender of the city. The capitulation of the country occurred September 6, 1760.
3. Founded by the Jesuits, contemporary with the founding of Harvard College. It is represented today by Laval University.
4. William Kay, brother of Alexander Kay, was a considerable trader of Montreal between 1778 and 1787 trading to the Illinois Country, Niagara, Detroit and Grand Portage. He died sometime between July, 1787 and April, 1788.
5. Marchesseux was a merchant trader of Michilimacinac. In 1778 he had five canoes engaged in the trade to Green Bay and the Mississippi. The same year he signed a petition to Governor Carleton asking for a Missionary to Michilimacinac and subscribed 24 francs toward the project. He was a member of several trading companies founded at different times. His name is given to a branch of the St. Peters River in Minnesota.
6. These men were professional voyageurs, their names appearing with some variations in the Journals of Alexander Henry, Jr., and elsewhere. Francois La Charite was in the employ of the Northwest Company at Red Lake, 1804; "Quebec" alias for Charles Chouinard, in the Kaministiquia trade, 1804; Francois Robert at Fort des Prairies, 1804; Louis Vallee, on brig Colombia, and Williamette tour, 1814.
8. Grandfather of the author of this narrative. Jean Baptiste Perrault, his father, married Marie LaMaitre in 1757.
9. Credit for the removal of the fort to the island seems due to Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair.
10. Captain Daniel Robertson of the 84th Regiment, took command at the post, September 18, 1782, and held it until his death, May 10, 1787.
11. For the political relations and trade rivalry of Great Britain and Spain on the Mississippi.
12. The treaty of peace whereby British possession was formerly renounced was signed September 3, 1783, but long before that time these settlements had been under American government. In 1779 the government of

Virginia had been established here, following Clark's exploits, and was maintained continuously until the region was taken over by the Federal Government.

13. Probably J. B. Saucier.
14. The activities of the English merchants brought similar complaints from residents of Cahokia, notably Jean Baptiste La Croix who set forth in his petition of October 29, 1785, that "the alien merchants of Michilimacinao", who had been permitted to sell their goods to the French, had been selling to the Indians also, thereby intruding on the privileges granted him by the court, March 8, 1782. The court decreed that the English alien merchants should not sell liquor to the Indians, but it expressly refused to interfere with the free trade of the aliens with the people of Cahokia.
15. Aguste Chouteau was founder of St. Louis and during his lifetime, its leading merchant and citizen.
16. Respecting this illicit commercial intercourse St. Clair wrote in his report, 1790, "Even much the greater part of this merchandise for the trade of the Missouri River is brought from Michilimacinao by way of the Illinois, partly by Spanish subjects themselves, partly by British traders----to Cahokia and landed there and afterward carried over to St. Louis as opportunity can be found. The goods are usually paid for in furs, which are carried back to Canada via the Illinois River, Chicago, and Lake Michigan.
17. Francisco Cruzat was governor from 1775-1777, and again from 1780-1787.
18. This passage in brackets was probably written at a different time from the rest of the narrative, and was bound up in the manuscript volumes containing the whole, out of its proper place. It was therefore omitted by Schoolcraft when he went to publish in translation the portion of the narrative in which it belongs, as he observed the order of the manuscript volume.
20. Probably for '84.
21. Alexander Kay, brother of William Kay, was an officer in the Indian Department at Macinac in 1780. In July, 1781, he had delivered goods in obedience to the orders of Lieutenant Governor Sinclair to the Indians of the Illinois country, and did not return till the summer of 1782. It would seem that he was an officer of the Indian Department at the time of the trading venture described below, as his (brother) William Kay, made a claim to Lord Dorchester July 20, 1787, for pay due him as sole representative of his late brother. The latter met his death in 1785 as the result of a wound received at the hands of a drunken Indian.
22. Probably some sort of dance.

23. Just within the entrance of the river there is a sudden widening out of the river, vertical to the course of the river. Cf. Perrault's map I.
24. Cf. Pigeon River; the entrepot for the Northwest Company's trade, northwest of Superior.
26. The Grand Portage here referred to is not the one of Pigeon River, but the principal portage on the St. Louis River. Cf. Perrault's Map I.
27. Portage de la Prairie, or Savanne Portage, lies between the East Savanne, flowing into the St. Louis, and the West Savanne, flowing into Sandy Lake. Cf. Perrault's Map.
28. Knife Portage derived its name from the fact that the portage road lay over sharp rocks, which is tilted in a vertical position, and which cut the feet of the carriers.
29. Schoolcraft says that the term to put "en cache", was applied often in the sense "to deposit, as when the canoes left at a portage."
30. William Johnson calls them "tollibeas". They are a species of small whitefish, weighing from one to three pounds. Both he and Reverend Mr. Boutwell found them used as the principal article of food by the Indians about Leech Lake in 1833.
31. Pine River is a branch of the Mississippi, rising near White Fish Lake. For this and other geographical data respecting this region see Perrault's Map.
32. A Pierre Pinault was a voyageur with the Northwest Company after the fusion of 1804.
33. A Jean Louzon was a voyageur with the Northwest Company after 1804.
34. "Tales of cannibalism are current among the northern voyageurs", says Schoolcraft, "who are generally more intent upon raising the fears or wonder of their auditors than scrupulous of the facts they relate." "The habit among northern Indians of feasting on human flesh", he says, "was confined to times of great excitement, usually in war."
35. Meaning unknown. Schoolcraft translates it as "fish-dam".
36. "Katawabata, or Parted Teeth. Thirty-seven years afterwards, namely in 1822, this man visited me at Sault Ste. Marie, being then a man verging towards seventy. He told me that he was a boy at the time of the taking of old Macinac, 1763. 'The French', he said, wished him to take up the war-club, but he refused. The English afterwards thanked him for this, nor did they ask him to go to war. They continually advised to peace, and, he adds, 'I am a friend to peace.'

Though not in the lineal line of the chiefs of Sandy Lake, he was regarded as a civil chief and counselor; and was respected both by the Indians and the traders. He died at Sandy Lake in 1822."--- Schoolcraft.

37. Marked on Perrault's Map I, as Petit Detroit.
38. Every two or three miles the men were accustomed to stop for a smoke. The distance traversed was called a "pipe".
39. Joseph Reaume was a cousin of Alexis Reaume, both of whom are referred to in the Narrative. Joseph was in 1779 an employee of the Northwest Company at Fond du Lac, and five years later was in the department of Athabasca River.
40. See Perrault's Map III. James Grant was a companion and kindred spirit with Robert Dickenson. He was a member of the Company of Macinac Merchants at Cahokia in 1783. A Captail James Grant of the 60th Regiment was in 1764 stationed at Detroit. It is possible that he, like many others, was led to resign by the lure of the fur-trade.
41. The Indian translation respecting Turtle Portage is included in the Schoolcraft Papers.
42. A plant of the genus, tobacco, growing in the forrests. It was almost exclusively smoked by the Indians of Canada, and often mixed with the tobacco smoked by the Canadian fur traders. The berry borne by it was often called the bear-berry.
43. An alias for William Harris. The nick-name was obviously derived from "Bill", being the French-Canadian rendering. Harris was born in Albany, New York. He resided at the Sault during Schoolcraft's residence there, 1822-'30. "This man", said the latter, in 1830, "like most of the clerks, interpreters, and canoemen of the north-west who chance to live long, is in a state of extreme indigence."
44. A kind of trout of an oily nature.
45. James Aaron Holt was an important merchant of Michilimacinac at this time. He was a member of the Macinac Company and served as clerk of the Court of Inquiry that was held to investigate charges brought by the fur traders, June, 1788. He is mentioned in the court records of Cahokia in connection with Charles Gratiot as owing a large sum of money to the estate of William Kay.
46. Captain Daniel Robertson.
47. Schoolcraft's translation ends at this point.
48. Gabriel Cotte', son of Nicholas Cotte was a trader at Macinac, and in 1768 married Agatha DesJardins of the same place. In 1778 he signed the petition for a Missionary and subscribed 26 francs. He was a vestryman of the church and was still living in 1794.

49. No W. Todd has been found. Perhaps the reading should be Mr. Todd, in which case it is probable that the person is referred to as Andrew Todd, nephew of Isaac Todd, who was a leading merchant of Montrael after the conquest, and senior member of the firm, Todd, Magill, & Co.
50. Etienne and Alexis Campion were brothers and natives of Montreal. As early as 1778 they were engaged in the fur trade of Green Bay, the Mississippi, and the Illinois country. They were signers of the agreement for a General Store at Macinac in 1779. Etienne Campion was still living in 1794.
52. Probably Jean Baptiste Cadotte, Sr., father of Jean Baptiste and Michael. He was married in Macinac in 1756, and in 1765 entered into partnership with Alexander Henry, Sr. He gave over his business to his sons in 1796.
51. Charles Jean Baptiste Chaboillex, son of Francois Charles, was born at Three Rivers. He had three brothers, and all were engaged in the fur trade at Macinac, and partners in the General Store at Macinac, 1779. Charles was afterward in the service of the Northwest Company, dying at Terrebonne in 1812.
53. John Sayer in 1780 signed the petition of the Macinac merchants protesting against participation of government officials in the fur trade. In 1792-'93 he was agent for the Northwest Company at Sault Ste. Marie, and it was afterward in charge of the Fond du Lac department at Fort St. Louis until he quit the company about 1801, 1802.
54. Probably Alexander LaFrambois, successor to Laurent DuCharme at Milwaukee, and later one of the founders of Chicago.
55. Charles Patterson was a trader with the Sioux on or near Yellow Medicine River at an early date. In 1775 Alexander Henry met with him at Lake Winnipeg, where he was trading in company with the Frobishers. He possessed great influence among the Indians and was relied upon by DePeyster to furnish trustworthy information respecting the causes of certain Indian murders in 1779. When Joseph Ainse held his meeting at Praire Du Chein in 1786 in the interest of peace, Patterson used his influence to prevent the Sioux from attending. It afterward developed that Ainse carried on a private trade with the Indians using government stores. Patterson was drowned in a storm on Lake Superior in 1786. (According to Perrault)
56. Cf. Perrault's Map II.
57. Murdoch Cameron remained an influential member of the Macinac Company till its absorption by Astor's Southwest Company in 1811, when he and three other Praire du Chein traders are said to have received one-third of the stock of the new company between them. The Macinac Company, by the way of the St. Peter, penetrated into Spanish territory at this time, trading with the Tetons and Yanktons who had been first visited by an English trader, Peter Pond, 10 years before.

58. James Aird was a Scotch trader engaged in the Indian trade as early as 1779. He remained with the Macinac Company until it was acquired by Astor, and afterward was connected with the American Fur Company. He resided at Prairie du Chein from about 1800 till his death in 1819. During the second war with England he sided with the British.
59. Cf. Perrault's Map II.
60. Apparently it was customary to speak of the Blackfeet Indians as slaves; it is probable that in this case, no ethnological meaning attaches to the word, as this same slave is spoken of further on as his "Panise".
61. "Sa Panise" (feminine) indicates that it was a woman. The term was used in Canada synonymously for "slave", owing to the fact that they were commonly secured from the Pawnee Tribe.
62. The name appears "Giasson" below. Jacques Giasson (1709-1762), was a prominent trader of Montréal, and was early engaged in exploiting Green Bay (1757). He died in 1762, leaving two sons who continued to trade in the Northwest. One of these, Francois, was in the service of the Northwest Company on the Upper Red River after 1804.
63. Joseph Louise Ainse was born at Mackinac, May 1, 1744. He had served as interpreter for about twenty years previous to this important mission in the interests of peace. He was afterward charged by the Madinac merchants with embezzeling government stores for his own trading ventures, and was found guilty after a long trial in 1790.
64. The description which follows in parentheses was written at another time. The writing is somewhat different and it is bound out of place in the manuscript volumes containing the narrative. The description treats of two subjects: peace, and war.
65. No explanation of the use of this phrase is given in this book.
66. Jean Baptiste Cadotte had married a Chippewa woman in 1756, and excercised considerable influence over them owing to this fact.
67. Captain Dease was Superintendent of Indian affairs at Mackinac.
68. Pierre Grignon was a merchant of Mackinac and in business there for many years. He was a son-in-law of Charles Langlade who was very prominent in the Northern country.
69. Thomas Richardson was still living at Mackinac in 1799.
70. The term "French" is here used in the sense of "traders" and perhaps more specifically, to designate the traders of Montreal. Similarly, the traders of the Hudson Bay Company were known as the "English".

71. No description of the pipe dance appears in this issue.
72. Either Baptiste or Francois. Baptiste was with the Northwest Company at Lower Fort des Prairies in 1799; Francois was in the employ of the same company on the Chippewa River and Red Lake after the fusion of 1804.
73. Michel was the half-breed son of Jean Baptiste Cadotte, and himself married a Chippewa woman. He later became associated with the Northwest Company and then the American Fur Company doing business at La Pointe.
74. James Aird.
75. Louis Blondeau, afterward with the Northwest Company from 1804. In 1815 he entered the service of the Hudson Bay Company and testified against his former employers in the litigation that ensued soon after.
76. Probably for Laroche or Laroque.
77. Francois Nolin was clerk for A. N. McLéod, at Fort Dauphin with the Northwest Company in 1799, and again in 1804 was at the same place.
78. John Johnson was an Irish gentleman who came to the Sault in 1793, and continued to trade there until his death in 1828. He suffered severe losses at the destruction of Sault Ste. Marie by the American forces during the War of 1812, for which he afterward sought in vain for compensation from both the American and British governments. He married the daughter of a Chippewa chief, and was the father of three sons and three daughters: viz., Louis, George, William, Jane, Eliza, and Charlotte. Jane married Henry Rowe Schoolcraft; William was the writer of the Letters On The Fur Trade.
80. Two Hamelins were at this time living at Mackinac, Louis and Agustin. Louis, a companion in arms with Charles Langlade settled at Michilimackinac after the war.
81. The parish register of Mackinac shows under June 25, 1794, the marriage of "Jean Bouga and of Jeanne, the former Negro, the latter a Negress, both free". Neill says that they were formerly the slaves of Captain Daniel Robertson, commandant at Mackinac, 1782-1787. With Alexander Henry, Jr., on the Red River was Pierre Bonza (Bonga?), "A Negro" between 1800 and 1806. He reappears at the capture of Fort William in 1816.
82. Josiah Bleakley, merchant trader, was in 1788 made attorney in the settlement of the estate of William Kay at Cahokia. At that time, he was spoken of as "late of Michilimackinac but now of Montreal."
84. Charles Bousquet (or "Bousquai") afterward entered into the services of the Northwest Company. In 1799 he was with John Sayer at Fond du Lac; and between 1802 and 1805 he was at Sandy Lake.

85. Michel Machard (Machar) was an uncle of Pierre Grignon, and was for a long time a trader in the northwest. As late as 1796 he was in opposition, but in 1799 he was in its services at Rainy Lake.
87. Pierre Lefebvre was a voyageur with the Northwest Company on the Upper Red River after 1804.
88. John Johnson also noticed this phenomenon at his wintering-place at La Pointe.
89. On Pidgeon River.
90. John Bennett resided at the Sault, and in 1800 commanded the sloop, "Otter", in the service of the Northwest Company.
91. This fort was called Fort St. Louis and was occupied by the Northwest Company until it was obliged to withdraw from American territory after the War of 1812. Neill says that it was established as the result of the information gathered by J. B. Cadotte's expedition of 1792 to the sources of the Mississippi.
92. Probably one of Sir Alexander MacKenzie's cousins, of whom he had four, namely: Donald, Roderick, James, and Henry. Alexander was, this year, 1793, engaged in his celebrated exploring expedition across northern America.
94. In 1799 he was with Mr. Sayer at Fond du Lac as interpreter, and he remained with the Northwest Company after the fusion of 1804.
95. Alexander Henry, Jr. was a nephew of the elder Henry. He became identified with the Northwest Company.
96. It was customary for traders to remain at their posts as far as possible, and force the Indians to bring their furs in for trade. Where there were rival traders, however, runners were sent out to drum up trade, taking a few goods or giving out orders on the establishment, and collecting furs themselves. This was termed "une derouine". Not infrequently, rival traders made such agreements as above between themselves for obvious reasons.
97. Probably "pierro le panis", alluded to supra.
98. Probably Angus Shaw, who wintered on the Upper English River in 1799, and in 1804 became a partner in the Northwest Company. The Mackinac Register, however, shows an Alex Shaw there in 1794.
99. Perrault's chronology is confused here and elsewhere. Alexander MacKenzie left the Northwest Company in 1799. "The third year" would be 1801-1802; this would make MacKenzie leave in 1800, according to Perrault.

100. Factions were constantly forming within the Northwest Company, owing to disputes and jealousies. This particular dispute arose between MacKenzie and old Simon Mc Tavish. The opposition organization started by MacKenzie bore the name, "Alexander MacKenzie & Company"; it was also called the X. Y. Company (in contrast to the N. W. Company),--a name borne by other and earlier opposing companies.
101. It is not in accordance with the facts to say that MacKenzie abandoned his efforts. The truth is that his organization made itself so formidable to the Northwest Company that the latter was glad to incorporate it. This took place in 1804, after the death of Simon McTavish.
102. This would make six years in all that Perrault spent at LePic,--22 years since he had set out from Montreal to engage in the fur trade!
103. Several persons of this name appear in the lists of employees given in Masson. Henry Munro was interpreting-clerk at LePic after 1804; John Munro was clerk at Lac Nipigon and Lac des Iles about the same time.
104. Perrault married an Indian woman,--when, he does not say.
105. Alexander Fraser was with John Mc Gillivray on Lower English River in 1799. With Cuthbert Grant, he was leader of the Bois Brules and Indians for the Northwest Company, who killed Governor Semple at Fort Douglas, June 19, 1816.
107. For this and other data, see Perrault Maps VII and VIII.
108. William Morrison was a native of Mackinac. He followed Alexander MacKenzie in his opposition to the Northwest Company and after the fusion of 1804 he re-entered the services of the Company and remained with them until they were expelled from the American territory. He later entered the service of the American Fur Company, having charge of the Fond du Lac department for many years.
109. The union of the Northwest Company and the X. Y. Company in 1804 was followed by a reduction of the wages paid to employees.
110. Alexander McKay was a friend and associate of MacKenzie, the explorer, and accompanied him on his expedition across the Rockies in 1793. He left the Northwest Company in 1810 and joined Astor in his project of winning the fur trade of the Colombia. McKay went by sea, together with Duncan McDougall, David Stuart, and Robert Stuart, later of the American Fur Company. He left New York in September, 1810, on board the Tonquin. He was killed by the Indians of the Pacific Coast at the time of the massacre of the crews of the Tonquin.

111. It was arranged that two expeditions should be sent out simultaneously; one by water from New York, and one by land from St. Louis. Wilson Price Hunt of New Jersey was selected by Astor to lead the overland expedition, and preparatory to its departure, another canoe of bark was obtained and equipped, and a crew of 14 Canadians, under Hunt and MacKenzie, with Perrault as clerk, conveyed it to St. Louis. Owing to the opposition of the Northwest Company, it was difficult to obtain men. Some were obtained at Mackinac. With this expedition was Ramsey Crooks, afterward head of the trade of the American Fur Company centering at Mackinac.
112. Donald MacKenzie left the Northwest Company in 1809 and joined the Astor Company. After the failure of the Colombia Project he rejoined his earlier associates and upon the absorption of the Northwest Company he became governor of the Assiniboine district for the Hudson Bay Company. He left the Northwest in 1833 and came to Mayville, New York, where he died in 1851.
113. Perrault is mistaken here. The date should be 1810. The expedition started up the Missouri in April of 1811.
114. 1810.
115. DePeyster in a note to his speech to the Western Indians in 1779 wrote, "North canoes are of better workmanship, and made very large in order to carry a great quantity of goods beyond Lake Superior."
116. Pierre De Rocheblave was a nephew of Phillipe Rastell, Sieur de Rocheblave, Governor of Illinois at the time of Clark's expedition. He was either a brother of Noel Rocheblave of the firm, Rocheblave & Porlier. Pierre entered the Indian trade early, and was a member of the X. Y. Company and following the fusion of 1804 he returned, this time permanently, to the Northwest Company.
117. The American soldiers were so-called by the Indians. This was just prior to the outbreak of the second war with England.
118. Cf. Perrault Maps IV, V, VI, and VII.
119. The traders of the Northwest Company were largely of French extraction.
- 121.
- 122.
123. Denlum's brother 1810-1811?
124. The date should be 1811.
125. Probably Joseph Gagne, companion of Sir John Franklin on his first Arctic expedition in 1820.

126. John McBean was interpreting-clerk at Fond du Lac in 1804. Perrault mentioned him as going with Rocheblav to Fort William in 1816, and being seized by Selkirk there.
127. Shrub is the name applied to a beverage made by poiling some fruit-juice with rum or brandy; "sabave" is possibly a mis-reading on the part of the copyist for "scubac", or "usquebaugh". Shrub was a common article of the trade.
- 128.
129. This date is probably correct.
130. In the spring of 1803 Duncan McGillivray, in behalf of the Northwest Company, hired Captain John Richar of the Hudson Bay Company and sent a vessel of 150 tons to Hudson Bay, and at the same time sent an overland expedition to the same quarter. Two posts were constructed, one at Charleston Island, the other at the mouth of the Moose; but the Hudson Bay Company undersold them and the posts were abandoned in a year or two. No other incidents of this sort have come to my attention.
- 130½. The American plan of campaign of 1813 for the mastery of Lakes Ontario and Erie embraced the capture of the forts on the Niagara frontier, York and Kingston. In the latter part of April, Commander Chauncey, with 14 vessels and 1,700 men, under General Dearborn and General Pike, left Sackett's Harbor and on the 27th attacked York, which was garrisoned by 600 men, including the militia and dockyard men, under General Sheaffe. The city was captured but General Sheaffe was able to destroy his naval stores and a vessel on stocks before retreating toward Kingston.
131. General Brock wrote just previous to the war, "The militia from the Bay of Quinte down to Glengarry is the most respectable in the Province." For an account of its formation by Colonel Alexander McDonnell and its services in this war, see Lucas, War of 1812.
132. Jean Baptiste Lorimer was a captain in the Indian Department, and an influential leader of the Indians against the Americans, on which account he experienced severe treatment when he was captured in 1813. In 1816 he accompanied Lord Selkirk at the taking of Fort William, and was one of the signers of the treaty that Selkirk made with the Indians at Red River.
134. The naval war of Lake Ontario resolved itself into a contest in shipbuilding. During the winter of 1812-1813 the British were building ships of 24 guns each at York and Kingston, while the Americans were pressing work on two at Sackett's Harbor. The completion of the American vessels first enabled Chauncey to take the Lake first, and to capture York. Sheaffe destroyed the vessel-building there before retreating. The British vessel at York was finally launched in May, 1813. The delay occasioned by the above incident was not unimportant, for launching of the vessel in May gave the British naval superiority for a time.

135. Louis Joseph Papineau, Speaker of the House of Upper Canada in 1816 and 1817, and prominently involved in the Canadian rebellion in 1837-8.
136. Archibald McLeod was one of the leading spirits of the Northwest Company. In 1799 he was proprietor of Fort Dauphin. He was prominent in the petty war between the Northwest Company and the Hudson Bay Company, taking from the latter Fort Wedderburn in the Athabasca country in 1817.
137. This was Duncan Cameron; he was a trader for Northwest Company at Lake Nipigon in 1799. In 1814 he was appointed with Alexander McDonnell to stop the progress of Lord Selkirk's colony on Red River. In 1816 he was arrested by Colin Robertson and taken to Hudson Bay to be sent to England for trial.
138. Perrault is here trusting to his recollection and is in error. The visit here mentioned occurred a year later, and after the visit of Selkirk recorded below. After the capture of Fort William, the Canadian government sent W. B. Coltman, member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, and given the rank of Colonel in the Indian Department, and Major Fletcher, with a party of soldiers to quell the disorders arising between Selkirk and the Northwest Company, and to make an investigation and a report on the same. The party left late in October in 1816, but were stopped by the ice on Lake Huron. It was not till the early summer of 1817 that they reached the Sault. Coltman proceeded to Fort William on June 1st, leaving Fletcher at the Sault; the latter remained there till the 22nd.
139. The principal depot of the Northwest Company. It was built in 1805 and was named for William McGillivray, the most important man of the organization. He is said to have originated the plan used so successfully by the Northwest Company, and later by the Hudson Bay Company, of making every efficient clerk in due time a partner or stockholder in the concern.
140. Thomas Dundas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, had made several attempts prior to this time to establish a colony in Canada. His acquisition of control over the Hudson Bay Company by purchase of stock in 1811 and his project of forming a colony on the Red River had led him into a struggle with the Northwest Company and involved a struggle between these two powerful organizations that was only terminated by their union in 1821. Selkirk was at this time on his way to the scene of the disturbance, and on the ground that he was exposed to personal attack had secured the escort of a small detachment of soldiers. While at the Sault he got news of the death of Governor Semple at the hand of a party of men of the Northwest Company, and he set out to take Fort William by way of reprisal.
141. The deMeurons were a regiment of foreign mercenaries imported by the British government during the war, similar to the Hessians of the Revolution.

144. Before setting out, Selkirk had succeeded in getting himself appointed a justice of the peace for Upper Canada. The partners were sent to Montreal under arrest.
145. Daniel MacKenzie was a retired partner of the Northwest Company. He was at the fort at the time of the seizure, and while drunk, was forced to sign a deed of the fort to Selkirk. He afterward got a verdict against Selkirk for 1,500 pounds in 1819.